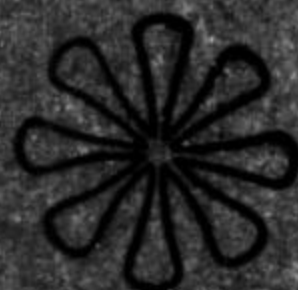


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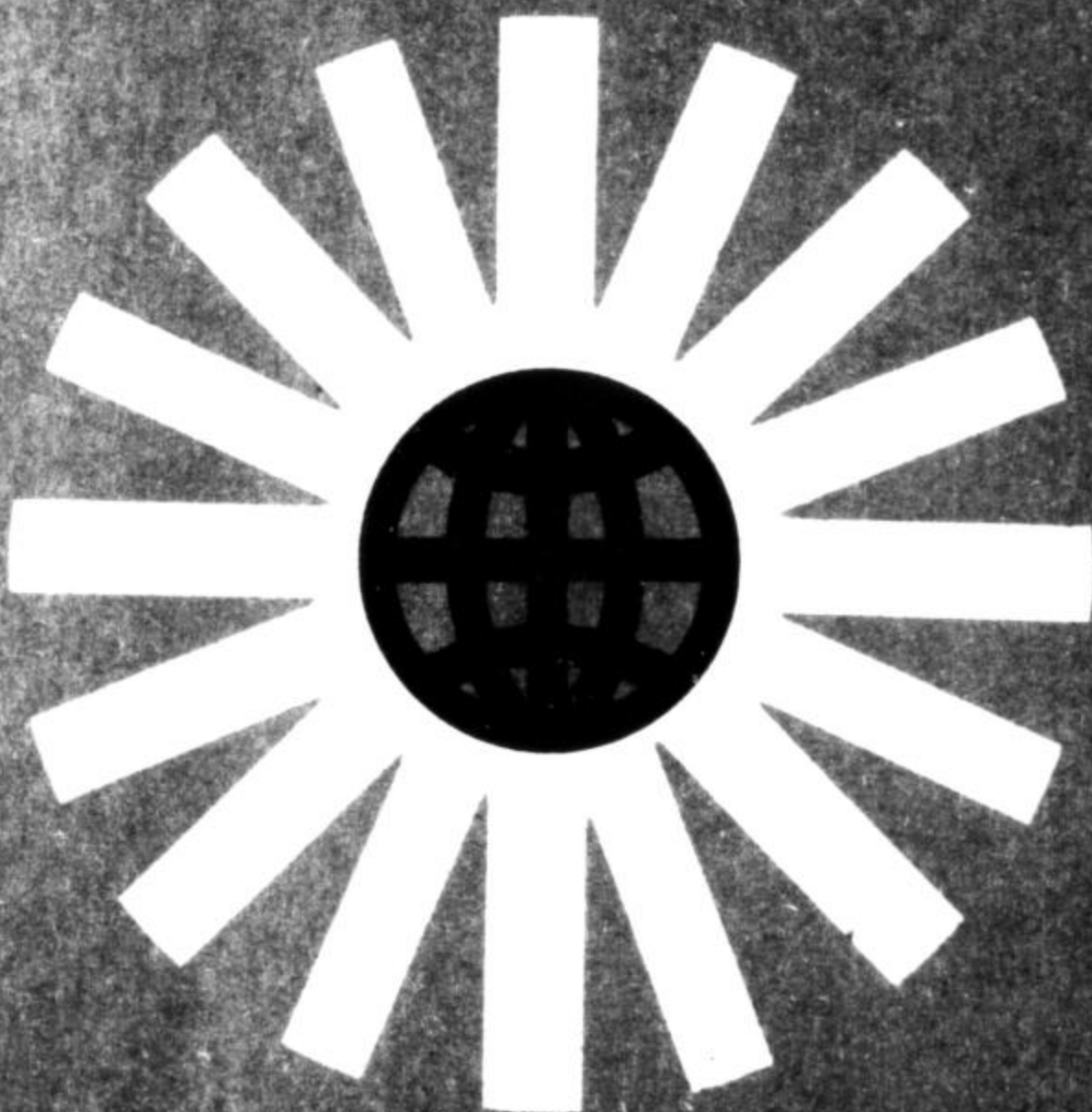
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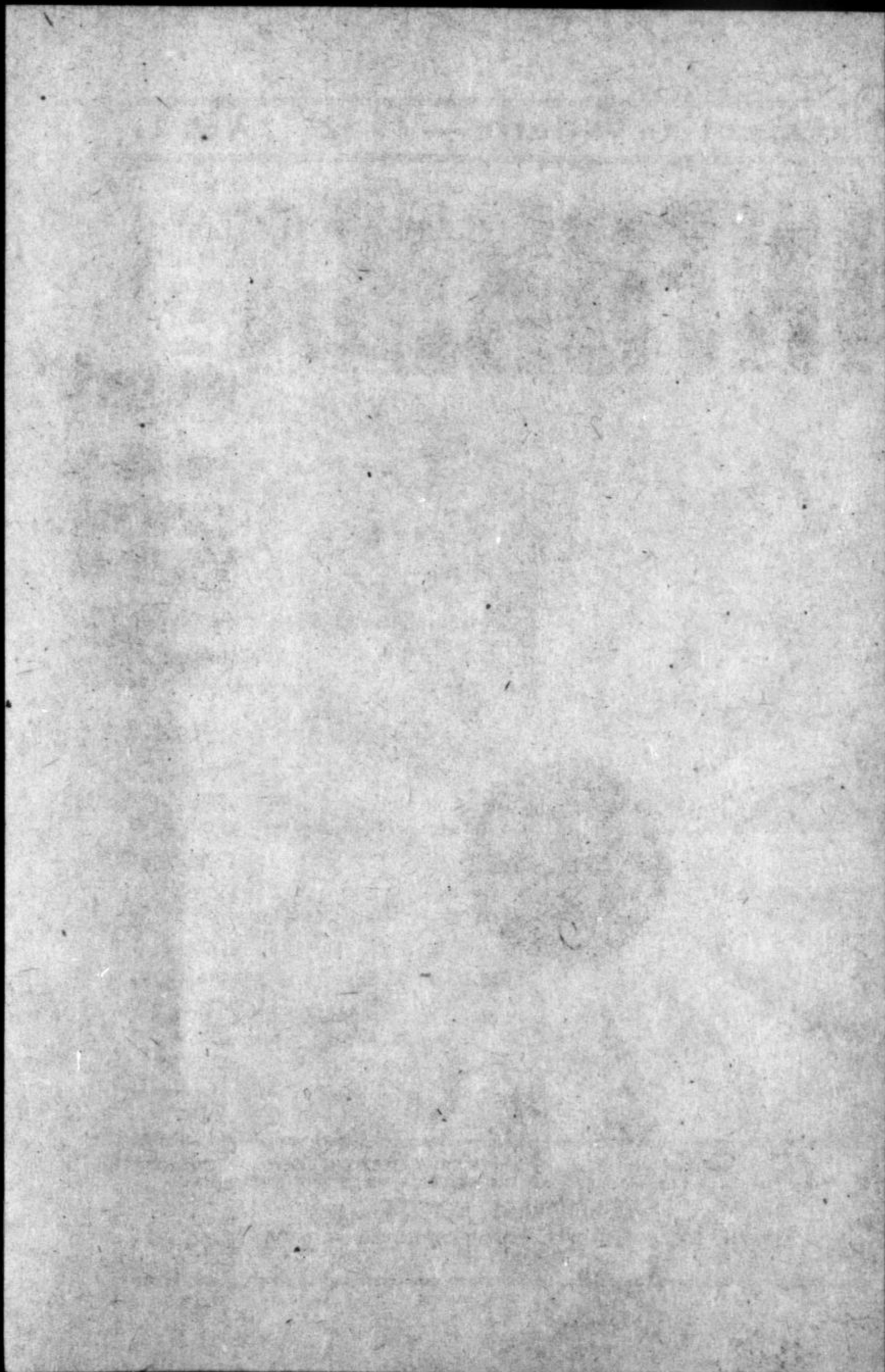
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**FIDEL CASTRO
SPEECH**



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CONGRESSES AND CONFERENCES

POLITICAL RESOLUTION OF 14th CONGRESS OF CP OF ARGENTINA

The defeat of the monopoly dictatorship at the elections on March 11, 1973 has completed one more stage in the life of the country. We are now in another, contradictory stage, during which successes and retreats will alternate but, in the final analysis, bearing in mind the high level of consciousness of the masses and the deep political content of their demands, forces will come to the fore which are fighting against dependence and for national liberation.

The significant changes that have occurred result from big battles of the working class and the people against the dictatorship. During the last months of the Lanusse Government, the slogan "Join together for nationwide struggle" was gaining ground among the masses. To save itself and avoid the mounting general revolt, the dictatorship played the false card of the "Grand National Accord" (GNA), and announced elections on definite terms. Thereby it avoided this nationwide confrontation, but was unable to prevent the decisive defeat sustained at the elections on March 11. The reactionary forces were compelled to retreat; they lay low, waiting to emerge at a new, convenient moment.

The new situation in the country is determined, not so much by the changes taking place at the top, in the government (although we appreciate their significance), but first of all by the changes in the consciousness of the masses, whose sentiments differ from those of 1946 when Peron was first victorious at the elections.

The masses have become steeled in the crucible of great battles, they have accumulated rich experience and matured politically.

The present period of the Justicialista rule cannot be viewed as a mechanical repetition of the past.

There have been changes in the balance of power between reaction and the progressive, patriotic circles, in favor of the latter. Better conditions exist for advancing the movement towards national and social liberation of the Argentinian people. Left trends have strengthened. The Rights were forced to retreat and regroup their forces; some camouflaged themselves in the Justicialista Liberation Front (JLF) and in the Justicialista Party itself, where they form a "fifth column."

The influence of the national bourgeoisie in government affairs

has greatly increased in the new stage which commenced on May 25. The Justicialista government can, therefore, be defined as a government essentially bourgeois-reformist.

Its economic plan reflects the aspirations of the national bourgeoisie, striving to play a greater part in the management of the economy, leaving in the main intact the economic might of the landed oligarchy and monopolies. The plan contains some positive elements which, to a certain degree, do impinge upon the interests of the oligarchy and monopoly, making for an intensification of the main contradictions between the great majority of the Argentinian people and imperialism, the landed oligarchy and big capital.

The economic plan of the Justicialista government is clearly intended to remedy the economic recession, but is of a transient nature, while the Argentinian crisis is not a transient but structural phenomenon. It requires, therefore, radical measures to bring the backward socio-economic structure in line with the development of the productive forces, now hampered by this structure. It is not a question of reconstructing the national economy, but of restructuring it.

The Communist Party does not wish to see the defeat of the present government. If it pushes forward the implementation of the program of national and social liberation outlined in the "Programmatic Guidelines," around which Justicialism conducted its election campaign, then it will see the Communists in the front ranks of the people's struggle, fighting with them for a free homeland advancing towards socialism.

Some effective advances have been achieved in the sphere of democratic rights and foreign policy after May 25. These gains enraged the Yankee ambassador, and the U.S. Department of Trade in effect threatened an economic blockade of our country. These victories also enraged the Rural Society, that bastion of the oligarchy, the cattle-owners.

So far as the government's progressive measures are concerned, despite their inadequacy, the Communist Party is organizing support for them. This by no means implies that it will renounce its inalienable right of constructive criticism. In defining its political stand the Party goes not by words, but by deeds. It openly approves measures promoting the battle against dependence and for freedom, and it just as openly and frankly indicates omissions, vacillations and deviations.

Either the government puts an end to vacillations and seeks the aid of the popular masses so that the process may be completed, or political and social instability will grow. If it acts in concert with the mass movement it can achieve everything, but alone it

will achieve nothing. Acting against the movement, it can get bogged down in the mire of counter-revolution.

The Justicialista government is being pressured from two sides.

On the one hand, there is the reactionary gorilla camp with its offshoots in the Justicialista Liberation Front. Reaction intends to impede the materialization of the drive for a broad coalition of democratic and anti-imperialist forces; it is against the shoots of democracy which manifested themselves so clearly on May 25 and the succeeding days, growing any stronger. Should reaction succeed, conditions can be created favoring attempts at a counter-revolutionary coup.

On the other hand, there is the pressure of the working class and popular movement, of the democratic, anti-oligarchic, anti-imperialist movement for renovation. Should the pressure emanating from the depths of the people prevail, then the revolutionary process will, undoubtedly, deepen.

So there are two pressure forces, two prospects of development. In the final analysis, the result will depend on the scale and depth of the actions, unity and coordination of the forces supporting radical changes.

Within the Justicialista movement there are several opposing forces. Reactionary ultra-Right trends exist side by side with the Left revolutionary trends.

The mass basis of this movement should not be ignored, nor its influence on the working class and the positive evolution of political consciousness of its rank-and-file members. There is a noticeable political growth of Peronist youth who are beginning to realize their role in this process.

As is inevitable in every movement encompassing many classes the conflict of the Right and Left deepens to the extent to which the general crisis within the country intensifies and, consequently, to the degree to which decisions adopted are realized in practice.

Different and opposing tendencies may alternate without changing the basic direction of the process now under way.

In the nearly three months of the second stage of Justicialista rule, neither socio-economic nor political stabilization has been achieved.

The Constitutional crisis which began with the forced resignation of Dr. Campora, and his speedy replacement by Lastiri, was of a twofold nature. The first aspect concerned the satisfaction of the clear wishes of a considerable section of the population that had voted for Justicialism to see Peron at the head of the State. The second aspect was the attempt of the Rights in the Justicialista Liberation Front to weaken or paralyze the will for democra-

tization and change expressed in the election booths on March 11, and on the streets on May 25.

Justicialism is at the crossroads, facing great historical responsibilities. Either it carries out its promise made to the people in the "Programmatic Guidelines," or events may lead to chaos, favoring putschist adventures.

The road to national liberation is a complicated one. It is not a spontaneous, inexorable process nor will it proceed as a result of isolated actions by heroic groups of people.

The establishment of broad and durable democratic, anti-imperialist unity, standing above ideological, political and religious differences, is the supreme task of the present day.

The Communist Party will make its substantial contribution to the struggle for uniting the working class and people, leading democratic circles in the Broad Front which will enable the battle against dependence and for national liberation to be carried to its conclusion.

The truth, enunciated by the Party many years ago, is now obvious to all: national liberation is not a matter for one party, no matter how large it may be, or thinks itself to be.

The call for unity is constantly to be heard everywhere—in factories and other enterprises, in the villages and city neighborhoods, in the universities.

Unity of action from below is growing continuously. An instructive example is the moving appeal of the youth political organizations and the declaration of the women's political organizations.

Among the young generation there are increasingly strong anti-imperialist sentiments; it responds keenly to socialist ideas, and shows a growing desire for united action.

An analysis of the programs and platforms of the main political parties (the Justicialista Party, the Civil Radical Union, and parties in the Popular Revolutionary Alliance, among whom is our Party) as well as of the large social and trade union forces, will show that they all have certain common features.

While the progressive program provisions coincide, it is possible to distinguish secondary differences. Such differences must and should be discussed in a fraternal spirit befitting fighters for a common cause, for the national and social liberation of the Argentinian people.

National unity should have a democratic, anti-oligarchic and anti-imperialist content, which should be reflected in a joint minimum program, whose fulfillment will enable the country to be swept clean of the remnants of the past in the socio-economic structure and political superstructure.

The Communist Party, reaffirming its readiness to study the

draft programs proposed by the other parties, based on a similarity of views, puts forward the following proposals for the consideration of all:

I. DEMOCRATIC FREEDOMS

—Putting an end to the remnants of the policy of an "internal front." Preservation and broadening of democratic freedoms. Repeal of the Statute introduced by the dictatorship on political parties and the continuing repressive legislation.

—Establishment of normal democratic procedures in the trade union movement.

—Enacting a law guaranteeing university autonomy, tri-partite administration and humane and scientific teaching.

II. RAISING THE LIVING STANDARDS OF THE WORKING CLASS AND PEOPLE

—An all-round wage and salary increase to meet the rising cost of living, and the stabilization of prices. A sliding scale of wages, guaranteeing minimum living costs.

—A more effective campaign for lowering prices on goods of primary necessity; in the first place, control of prices of all stages of production and distribution of goods. Participation by the workers and people in the price control commissions.

—Adjustment of pensions according to the cost of living.

—Rents to be fixed at no higher than 15 per cent of the earnings of workers and employees.

—Defense of jobs and creation of new ones.

—Lowering of rents, credits at low interest rates to be made available to poor and middle peasants, and fixing of prices for goods produced by peasants, which would compensate for the expenses involved in their production.

III. TAX REFORM

—Tax reform should be based on the principle: the bigger the income the higher the tax, but with a higher tax-free minimum.

—Special one-time tax on big assets to help resolve the country's financial problems.

IV. PROTECTING NATIONAL WEALTH

—Nationalization of foreign trade in wheat and other cereals. Import controls; control of financial system (banks, insurance, etc.)

—Nationalization of oil and natural gas with a government agency controlling extraction, processing and trade. Nationaliza-

tion of coal, uranium and electric power. Nationalization of ITT and Siemens enterprises.

—Safeguards for national industry, including ban on investment loans.

—Encouragement of producer, consumer and credit cooperatives.

—Safeguards for state-owned enterprises.

V. FOREIGN POLICY

—A policy independent of imperialism and based on respect for national sovereignty, the right to self-determination and peaceful coexistence.

—Latin-American solidarity. Solidarity with all countries fighting for liberation.

—Exposure of the Inter-American Mutual Assistance Treaty (Rio de Janeiro 1947) and all obligations inimical to national interests.

—Withdrawal from the Organization of American States and efforts to form a new OAS to promote continental solidarity and the anti-imperialist struggle.

—Diplomatic, trade and cultural relations with all the peoples of the world without exception. Closer relations with the socialist countries whose trade is based on mutual advantage.

We also hold that there should be an exchange of views on when and how to review the Constitution and convene a Constituent Assembly elected on the basis of proportional representation. There can be no doubt that Argentina needs a new Constitution that would include the best provisions of the 1853, 1949 and 1957 Constitutions concerning democratic freedoms, social rights, nationalization of energy resources and other vital demands relating to agrarian reform, nationalization of key industries, and the structure of the future democratic state.

The present Constitution is out of date, out of keeping with the spirit of the age we live in. The new Constitution should reflect the aspirations and demands of the masses, the deep-going changes in the socio-economic structure and political superstructure. The watershed today is between *national liberation and dependence*. That is why anti-national elements, supporters of the latifundia and monopolies, can have no part in the national unity front.

National unity to achieve liberation must rest on a program and on the principle that all its affiliates shall have an active part in decision-making and equal rights and obligations.

The creation of a national unity front of all democratic and patriotic forces will be accelerated if there are closer ties between the various Left movements and if such unitarian structures as the National Encounter of Argentinians and the Popular Revolutionary

Alliance are retained and expanded. The Communists are making a maximum contribution to the achievement of this goal.

The national liberation front will be monolithic and consistent only to the degree to which the working class is its backbone.

For the working class to exert a decisive influence on the liberation process, there must be more energetic struggle against the vertical corporate trade unions, for democratization of the General Confederation of Labor and individual federations and unions. This is vital to the interests of the working class and to national liberation.

We are opposed to the present leaders of the General Confederation of Labor not because they are Peronists, but because their actions are detrimental to the labor and national-liberation movement.

Among the Peronist leaders are men devoted to the working class, men with whom the Communists have cooperated for many years and will continue to do so. The Communists are prepared to cooperate also with other trends in the labor movement in defense of the working people and the nation.

A grave situation has developed in Argentina.

The Right forces have been defeated but not finally vanquished. They continue their hysterical propaganda about the danger of 'national disintegration.' They are looking for methods to fit the situation that has arisen since May 25. They want to infuse the "Grand National Accord" spirit into a possible government of "National Reconciliation."

Argentine reaction has the support of Yankee imperialism, the support of the CIA.

Yankee imperialism will not give up so rich a prize as Argentina. Its "South Cone" plan is meant to shore up the dictatorial regimes in Paraguay, Bolivia, Uruguay and, first and foremost, Brazil, that U.S. imperialist spear aimed at all Latin American liberation movements.

The U.S. encourages the subversive counter-revolutionary activity in Chile, endeavoring to encircle our country and bring pressure to bear on the Justicialista government, hold back, discredit and eventually disrupt the progressive process.

That plot must be foiled. We must be prepared, ideologically and practically, for abrupt changes in the situation; we must be prepared to bar the road to the reactionary plotters.

The basic contradiction in Argentina is that between the majority of its population and the whole country, on the one hand, and Yankee imperialism and its agents, the landed oligarchy and big capital, on the other.

The battle against dependence, for liberation, is consonant with

the reality and the requirements of the nation. It is the main slogan of the times.

Objective conditions in Argentina favor consistent implementation of far-reaching reforms and completing the democratic, agrarian, anti-imperialist revolution.

We must therefore immediately organize a Coordinating Center of all democratic progressive, anti-oligarchic and anti-imperialist forces that would serve as a support base for an anti-imperialist democratic coalition government.

If all the democratic forces opposed to dependence and prepared to work for national liberation do not reach agreement on immediate and more distant aims, the process begun on May 25 might end in failure.

The strength of the Communist Party lies in the fact that, even in conditions of a dictatorial regime, it could not be isolated from the masses; it thus showed that the Leftward shift of the masses was irreversible.

Argentine reaction used its favorite weapon of anti-communism and anti-Sovietism in an attempt to liquidate the Party. It did not succeed. The Communist Party has become a major factor of Argentine life, and today more than ever before its main task is work among the masses, especially in the trade union movement, organizing and leading the masses. At the same time, we must set our sights on a Party of 200,000 as an important stage on the road to a mass Communist Party.

We must systematically popularize the Party program, a program for a democratic, agrarian and anti-imperialist revolution oriented on socialism.

We must increase the circulation of the Party press and literature and raise the ideological and political level and Marxist-Leninist education of the Party rank and file.

Argentina is not an isolated island. It has a part in the multifold worldwide revolutionary process, is influenced by it and contributes to it. It is only in this historical context that one can understand the Argentine scene. One can assess the prospects open to our people and our country only within the framework of the epoch we live in—the epoch of the collapse of the colonial system of imperialism, the epoch of national independence for peoples oppressed by imperialism, the epoch of the strengthening of the world socialist camp led by the Soviet Union, the epoch of transition from capitalism to socialism on a world scale.

It is against this national and international background that our Party is fighting for a free Argentina advancing to socialism.

REPORT BY GEORGES MARCHAIS ON DOMESTIC POLITICAL SITUATION

Following is the concluding part of a report on the domestic political situation presented by Georges Marchais, General Secretary of the French Communist Party, to the plenary meeting of the CC FCP, on September 13, 1973 and published in *L'Humanité* on September 14.

The French Communist Party proposes campaigning in the immediate future for the following objectives:

IN THE SOCIAL SPHERE

—Progress towards harmonizing national social legislations to adjust them to the most favorable provisions, which implies lowering pension age to 60 years, with the right to a decent and complete pension, reducing the working week, introducing a sliding scale of wages, salaries and social benefits, and ending pay discrimination against women and youth.

—Elaborating European statutes for the right to work.

—Elaborating immigration statutes guaranteeing working people who ply their trades abroad equal pay for equal work, full social rights and civil freedoms, and respect for their nationality.

IN THE SPHERE OF FINANCE AND TRADE

All our proposals—based on the same principles as those we adhere to nationally—are aimed at stabilizing monetary and financial conditions for trade between the Nine, assuring the latter's independence in food supply, and expanding industrial and technological cooperation. They are directed against the dominance of multinational monopolies irrespective of whether they are controlled by U.S., British, German, French or other capital. We advocate:

—Coordinating genuinely national regulations on capital movements and democratic control over them. This measure takes account of the importance of trade between these countries, the existence of a "green Europe" and the need to safeguard employment and combat speculation on the scale of several countries.

—Establishing control over the branches of U.S.-controlled multinational companies by using public dollar reserves. This is something more than a measure to defend Europe against the U.S. of-

fensive. It is also a genuine measure to safeguard the interests of the peoples concerned. It can help to reduce international monetary and trade anomalies, as well as their harmful effect on industrial enterprises and employment.

—Forming public information and research commissions in big companies of international stature. The working people and their elected spokesmen should be represented on the commissions.

—Controlling and limiting U.S. investments.

IN THE SPHERE OF ACTIVITY OF INSTITUTIONS

—Continuous supply in the member states and the Strasbourg Parliament of information on drafts and documents worked out by the commission and all other bodies, so as to end clandestinity in the functioning of European institutions.

—The trade unions to be represented more equitably and to have real powers in Common Market agencies.

IN THE SPHERE OF TRADE AND COOPERATION

We have said that France should oppose trade concessions encouraging invasion by U.S. products. We also declare for fostering exchanges and cooperation between the Nine, including the production sphere.

However, the Common Market should not be a closed economic and trade bloc.

France, for its part, should actively develop its commercial, industrial, technological and scientific relations with all countries, notably with the socialist countries and newly independent countries.

In these spheres, French policy at the moment is far removed from exigencies and existing possibilities.

You will see that these are all constructive proposals fitting into the context of overall action for a democratic Europe of working masses and peoples, for a genuinely independent Europe.

For we want an independent Europe making a distinctive contribution to peace and disarmament and capable of establishing—both with the United States and the socialist countries—relations of cooperation based on strict equality of the rights and interests of the peoples.

This presupposes a transformed and democratized community in which the influence of the working people and democratic forces would predominate. This community can be nothing but an association of free countries uncommitted to any military bloc and contributing to the establishment of peace and collective security throughout Europe.

To speak of an independent Europe in the absence of these conditions is to indulge in empty talk or deliberate mystification.

The prospect of dissolving military blocs, to be succeeded by a new system of collective security and lasting peace based on disarmament and cooperation, is perfectly realistic today.

A new situation favorable to détente and international cooperation is shaping in the world as a result of the numerous agreements and treaties concluded over the past three years on the principles of peaceful coexistence, which are now recognized all over the world. A turn towards détente and durable peace is coming about in international relations.

It is in the interests of France definitely to abandon the cold war approach to which the regime clings, joining in the positive international evolution with a view to promoting it, and use every chance of easing tensions. France can play this role in the family of nations by contributing its share to the effort to abolish war for all time and establish relations of trustful and durable friendship and cooperation between all countries, big and small alike.

There are new ample opportunities for France to pursue such an active policy of peace and disarmament in particular within the framework of its present international relations. If it did so, it would not be isolated as it tends more and more to be at the present time.

The Pompidou government is showing unexpected concern about the evolution of the FRG's "Eastern policy," in particular about the alleged threat of neutralizing the FRG as a result of the Vienna talks on arms limitations in Central Europe. Does this mean that it regrets the aggressive Germany of the past, the Germany of Adenauer and Strauss, which laid claim to the territories lost by Hitler and openly aspired to atomic armament?

Rather than encouraging, as Pompidou does, the militarist and reactionary forces which are now exerting a strong pressure to impede the West German government's "Eastern policy," a French government really concerned with the national interest should in seeking international détente, peace and security lean for support on the positive trends manifest in Europe, notably in the Brandt government's policy.

In keeping with the line I have just set out, and in connection with social and economic measures to deal with the crisis, our Party considers that both the interests of France and those of world peace demand that our country immediately adopt the following positions:

—Stop all nuclear tests; renounce the national strike force and any other nuclear force within the framework of Western Europe which would be, whatever its form, a veritable torpedo against détente

at a time when there is an opportunity to reverse the trend towards an arms race; join in the Vienna conference on arms limitation in Central Europe; participate in international disarmament conferences and agreements.

—Adhere to the agreement on preventing nuclear war signed by the Soviet Union and United States and declared by the two powers to be open to all countries.

—Oppose every revival of the policy of blocs, in particular under the guise of redefining the Atlantic Pact, which is what the Nixon-Kissinger plan for U.S. domination of the capitalist world seeks. France should under no circumstances re-enter NATO through the back door; it withdrew from that body in 1966 on General de Gaulle's initiative.

—Contribute resolutely to the success of the Helsinki conference on security and cooperation in Europe so as to make for its positive conclusion at an early date and on the highest level in accordance with the historic significance of this event. Strive to ensure that its decisions make it possible to move on — by establishing durable and mutually guaranteed relations of collective security and peaceful joint work by all European states — to dissolving and abolishing the existing military blocs. Establishing a collective security system in Europe is compatible with the conclusion of bilateral treaties between countries. Accordingly, instead of describing the Soviet Union as the adversary and encouraging a slander campaign which may lead to a deterioration of relations, it would be wiser for the regime to sign a treaty of non-aggression and friendship with the Soviet Union. Propose Paris as the seat of an agency entrusted with promoting the establishment and development of mutually beneficial exchanges between all the countries of our continent.

In all capitalist countries, the working people, ordinary men and women, are hard hit by the effects of the crisis. They are stepping up their social and political struggles, which is seen in the upward trend of class struggle and the shift to the left registered in various countries.

In the face of common problems, the working-class and democratic forces should intensify their common fight. There are new opportunities for this.

Thus, for example, the measures I have listed earlier may, we hope, help to define common objectives of the working-class and democratic forces of Europe and to step up the common struggle of the working masses and the peoples of this region of the world.

I spoke in my *Times* interview and later, at our 20th Congress, of our Party's resolve to contribute to the fulfilment of this task, specifically to the establishment of new relations between the Com-

munist parties and Socialist parties of capitalist Europe. We reaffirmed and developed our ideas on this matter at a joint meeting we had in Bologna with our Italian comrades and in a report submitted to the latest meeting of our Central Committee.

It is these ideas that will guide our Party delegates at the consultative meeting which the Communist parties of capitalist Europe have resolved to hold in Stockholm on September 27 and 28.

We certainly do not expect the reactionary government of our country to cope with the crisis by safeguarding the people's interests.

Only through struggles involving the working people, all democrats and all Frenchmen concerned with the national interest and the country's independence, can these "urgent measures to end the crisis" be translated into reality.

Naturally, these struggles are at the same time a contribution to the elaboration — with our partners of the Left — of measures complementing the Common Program by offering immediate objectives for joint action.

Already we call on all Party organizations and all Communists resolutely to place themselves in the forefront of the struggle of every category of the working population, popularize and win support for our proposals, show a maximum of initiative and find forms of propaganda and action in keeping with current requirements and possibilities.

We are in a position and ready to act in common with all who are affected by the present situation and concerned about their future and that of the country and want France to be a prosperous, independent and strong country in which life will be better. There is room for all working-class, democratic and national forces in this action, in the popular alliance that must be set up to solve the nation's problems.

Speaking at Ivry, I said that the cantonal elections would also be an aspect of the struggle for social progress and democracy. Social struggles and election campaigns support each other.

In accordance with a most reactionary tradition, the government tries to "depoliticize" the cantonal elections. Rightist candidates prefer to come forward in disguise, for it is hard to defend the policy of social retrogression, the attack on liberties and disregard of the national interest, which is followed by the UDR, the independents and their centrist satellites.

Our candidates and our organizations will redouble their efforts to bring it home to the millions of Frenchmen who backed the Common Program last March, as well as to numerous others who are dissatisfied with their condition, that the cantonal elections afford them a new opportunity to express their opposition to the

current trend of the country's policy, which elected reactionaries are pursuing on the national level and in the general councils. These elections are an opportunity to deliver a new blow to a disastrous policy, make a new breach in the stronghold of moneybags and hasten the victory of the Common Program.

There is no better way to achieve this than by voting Communist, for the candidates of our Party are campaigning in clear terms and loyally, insisting on their resolute opposition to the regime's policy and their allegiance to the Common Program and Left Alliance.

To back them means also countering a disgraceful anti-Communist campaign.

The development of these struggles may result before long in the maturing of conditions for decisive political changes.

The difficulties besetting the working people and the masses are so great that the necessity for a real and deep-going change of policy has never seemed as evident as now to an unprecedented number of Frenchmen, who see in the existence of the Common Program a confirmation of the possibility of such a change and a basis on which to press forward their struggles.

It is precisely this situation that makes us think we may not have to wait until the scheduled date of election.

The deepening crisis calls for prompt measures. If the French people see that the government cannot carry out these measures they are entitled to call on the Left to find a way out of the impasse. When that happens, let Peyrefitte not claim that legality has been violated. We do not have to take lessons in respect for legality from Peyrefitte or his friends, who several months ago wanted to deny the Left the right to govern if it won a majority in the elections and whose official mouthpiece, *La Nation*, today backs the putschist stranglers of freedom who have overthrown Chile's legitimate government.

Contrary to the UDR and its reactionary allies, we Communists hold that universal suffrage should decide in any circumstances.

However, there is a major condition to meet if the prospect of political change is to become reality: the alliance of the Left and all popular forces must become even more solid and develop into a majority.

This is a time for alliance and action, not for huckster-like worries or attitudes designed to gain strength at the expense of one's partner, even by leaning on maneuvers of the Right. We say this without the least intention of starting a controversy. Calculations of this kind can, if anything, prolong the reign of reaction. Success of the entire Left will be based on the progress of its every component and not on the domination of one by another, which we would never accept.

We, for our part, are going to make a still greater effort — and the measures we now suggest are prompted by this resolve — for the unity of all working people, all democrats, progressives and patriots within a vast and powerful popular alliance to end the crisis through measures meeting the national interest and bring about the victory of the Common Program of the Left.

We want the democratic alignments which have not yet fully taken up their place in this alliance to do so without delay.

Edmond Maire, General Secretary of the French Democratic Confederation of Labor (CFDT), pointed in a recent interview to the possibility of his organization defining with the CGT the objectives which the parties of the Left could include in their program. "Thus," he said, "the parties would have a government program taking account of the aspirations of the trade unions and the unions would assume their place in the alliance of popular forces in complete independence."

Of course, the Common Program contains even now many objectives meeting the trade unions' aspirations. Incidentally, this is why it has won the CGT's firm support. Naturally, it is for the CGT and CFDT to discuss the objectives on which they believe they can come to terms. I wish to say that we, for our part, are willing to study any proposal likely to further improve the Common Program in this respect. Indeed, there is ample room in the alliance of popular forces for the CFDT, as for all other trade union and social organizations, and its independence and specific mission would be fully respected.

We are convinced more than anyone else of the need to unite the diverse components of the working-class and democratic movement in an alliance in which each would place its distinctive features in the service of objectives jointly defined in the interest of the working people and the country.

Our watchword is to give priority to struggle in unity by the working people, democrats and patriots.

The government dreads this unity and this is why it attacks so violently the most persevering architect of unity, the French Communist Party.

It dreads the force of conviction of our solutions and policies and this is why it distorts them so grossly.

That is also the reason why we must redouble our efforts for unity and do more and more, so that the French people may judge what we say and what we really do.

This means that we must go on widely publicizing our solutions for the foreseeable and the more distant future, setting forth our conception of France's advance to democracy and socialism.

The Political Bureau proposes that the Central Committee launch

to this end a new campaign of discussion meetings on the basis of the book *The Democratic Challenge*. A small pamphlet presenting the main points of our conception could stimulate discussion and help in acquainting people with our ideas.

Reactionary attacks reveal to numerous working people and democrats that we are the principal adversary of the rule of money, the great revolutionary party of our country.

The record number of new people admitted to our Party this year and the great success of the *Humanité* festival show the sympathy which the FCP enjoys in the country.

They prompt us to display still greater dynamism in winning new friends and new forces.

This is also — we should never stop recalling it — a decisive condition for progress of the alliance and for success in the fight for democracy and socialism.

CC PLENUM OF THE JORDANIAN COMMUNIST PARTY

Below we give extracts from the third section of the report adopted at the CC Plenum in May 1973.

I. PRESENT SITUATION IN JORDAN

The situation in Jordan, one of the countries resisting aggression, and which more than any other is linked with the Palestinian people and its problems, influences, positively or negatively, the entire course of the struggle against imperialist Israeli aggression, and for the liberation of the occupied Arab territories and the re-establishment of the lawful rights of the Palestinian Arabs. On the other hand, Jordan's future is dependent on the success of the general Arab struggle against imperialist and Zionist attack, the struggle to eliminate the consequences of aggression and defeat the aggressive and expansionist plans of the Tel-Aviv rulers, in which the whole of Jordan, the West and the East banks, is one of their main objectives. There is no need to cite examples proving that the appetites of the Israeli aggressors are not limited only to the West Bank, but extend also to the East Bank. If the aggressors succeed in securing their positions on the occupied West Bank, then the East Bank will become the target of their future expansionist aspirations.

The loss of the West Bank would increase the danger threatening

the East bank. The greedy appetites of the Israeli aggressors grow with every fresh piece of territory they swallow. After all the concessions to the Tel-Aviv rulers made in 1948 and 1949, particularly by the terms of the Rodhos Agreement, their predatory seizures of new lands continued and as a result they grabbed the whole of the West Bank.

The Zionist movement and the rulers of Tel-Aviv make no secret of their intention to create a "Great Israeli State." The East Bank of the Jordan is included on their map of this state.

Therefore the joint struggle of the fraternal Jordanian and Palestinian peoples, side by side with other fraternal Arab peoples against the Israeli aggressors, for the liberation of the occupied Arab territories is the only possible way to avoid the loss of the East Bank, to save its population from the danger of losing their native land.

WHO IS RESPONSIBLE FOR WORSENING SITUATION IN JORDAN?

From the first days of Israeli imperialist aggression and the subsequent occupation of the West Bank, our Party pointed out that the main task of the Jordanian people was to liquidate the consequences of the aggression and liberate the occupied territories. To achieve this a broad national front is needed of all the forces opposing the occupation, and also a government of national unity, which would undertake to mobilize all the material and human resources and potentialities of the country to execute this great task in cooperation with fraternal Arab countries.

However, this sincere call from our Party met with strong opposition from two main trends: the capitulatory and the adventurist trends. Because no national front for struggle against the occupation was set up, nor a government of national unity formed, the country came up against enormously complicated difficulties and dangers. The gravest of these were the bloody events of September 1970 and the liquidation of the Palestine resistance movement, with Jordan quitting the Arab front.

These events showed that links with imperialism, a hostile attitude to the national movement, refusal to rely on the popular masses and their energy, unwillingness to solve the task of uniting and mobilizing the forces of the country, refusal to take advantage of the possibilities offered by the strengthening of Arab solidarity and cooperation with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, with all the liberation forces of the world—all this inevitably encourages further flagrant demands by the Israeli aggressors and leads to an even greater fall into the abyss of capitulation.

Basically, this tendency is a reflection of the interests of those ruling class forces of big landlords, capitalists and bureaucratic

bourgeoisie, who endeavor to satisfy their narrow, selfish interests at the expense of the national interests. The obstinate adherence to this course, contrary to the country's national interests, is symptomatic of their fear of the mounting struggle of the masses against the occupation and its likely results in the future. They realize that once the main task of the moment, the return of the occupied territories, has been solved, this could influence the course of the subsequent political and social struggle.

The struggle in Jordan prior to the 1967 aggression developed mainly around the choice of path of the country's further development. In other words, the struggle was to advance Jordan along the path of economic independence and social progress. The aggression of 1967 did not cancel this problem. It simply became intertwined with the main task of liquidating the consequences of the imperialist Israeli aggression and liberating the occupied Arab territories. More, the aggression itself, with its fearful consequences, still further underlined the need to solve this problem, particularly after the military defeat and the collapse of the Jordanian administration on the West Bank, after the masses there had been left completely unarmed, deprived not only of weapons, but of any democratic, political and cultural organizations capable of mobilizing the masses and leading their struggle against the occupation. These are the fruits of a policy of repression, terror and territorial discrimination pursued by the Jordanian authorities for many years. The nature of this policy can be judged by the fact that the Israeli occupation forces found in some groupings that formed the social basis of the regime on the West Bank, and in the laws limiting elementary democratic rights, a ready-made tool which they used, and continue to use against the masses in the occupied territories.

The serious threat to the future, not only of the West Bank, but also of the East Bank lies in the policy of hostility to the popular masses and the national movement in Jordan, and the terror of the big landlords, capitalists and bureaucratic bourgeoisie in the face of the developing struggle and Jordan's eventual entry on the path of economic independence and social progress.

PEOPLE'S OPPOSITION IS GROWING

The present policy of the Jordanian rulers is in sharp contradiction to the interests and aspirations of the people. It is meeting increasing opposition by the popular masses and various national and democratic forces. In view of the terror and repressive measures, this opposition is frequently of a passive nature. It is expressed in the growing alarm of the people, in a non-acceptance by the national-democratic forces of the policy of dependence and

capitulation, in their rejection of the plan for a "United Arab Kingdom," their indifference to the "National Union," despite the great hullabaloo surrounding it.

Despite strict censorship, the majority of newspapers publish many articles and commentaries by people who represent different political and social groupings, that in one form or another criticize government policy, the curbing of democratic rights, corruption, bribery, and nepotism which are widespread in the government apparatus. Biting cartoons appear criticizing and satirizing many aspects of government policy.

Furthermore, workers, peasants, intellectuals, employees and artisans express their indignation and dissatisfaction at the terribly high cost of living, the continuing increases in the prices of food and other goods, and rising rents.

Although acquiescent Right-wing trade union leaders are in the Executive Committee of the Federation of Trade Unions and head a number of unions, the workers conduct a struggle against the employers' attacks on wages and the workers' earlier gains, for increased wages and improved conditions and democratic labor legislation. They are increasingly protesting against interference in trade union affairs, and demand that the unions should be free.

Students of the Jordanian University have organized protest marches on the campus against high fees, and government security forces have intervened to suppress these protests.

Inside Jordan, in the Arab countries and internationally, the wave of protest is increasing against measures designed to suppress the opposition movement and various progressive and national forces. Hundreds of letters and telegrams are sent to the Jordanian Government demanding the release of political prisoners and democratic rights for the people. In Arab and other countries of the world, committees for the defense of political prisoners in Jordan have been established.

Broad Arab and international campaigns of protest against the arrest of several Party leaders have been organized, and the policy of the Jordanian Government is subjected to sharp criticism in the national-democratic press of the Arab countries.

As before, the main task of the moment is the creation of a broad national front, the need for which is constantly emphasized by our Party and which would include representatives of all social classes and strata fighting against the Israeli occupation, and also the fight for the establishment of a national unity government. There is no other way to rid Jordan of the policy of dependence and submission to imperialism, of sliding into capitulation, other than the path of conscious and organized popular struggle.

But, although our Party's policy meets with a response and

support of increasingly greater masses of the people, and of national-democratic and progressive forces, many obstacles and difficulties remain. Our Party will have to conduct a hard and difficult battle in order to achieve any appreciable progress in this sphere.

Apart from all else, the creation of a national front is impeded by widespread territorial discrimination and intense terror, on the one hand, and by the spread of feelings of despair, bewilderment, fear and adventurist tendencies, on the other. Another obstacle is the numerous negative aspects of the present situation within the Arab countries.

However, no matter how important these negative factors, various difficulties and complications, they must not be allowed to hide from us the objective conditions, especially the provocative actions by the Israeli aggressors, their monstrous aggressive terroristic acts, their greedy expansionist aims.

The growing understanding among the masses of the danger presented by Israel, and the fact that the Jordanian government's policy of capitulation and dependence is leading us up a blind alley, increase dissatisfaction and indignation, and lead to an intensification of the struggle and to a greater understanding of the need to create a national front for carrying out the necessary changes with the aid of a national unity government.

II. SITUATION IN OCCUPIED ARAB TERRITORIES

The Israeli invaders, who for more than six years occupy Arab territories, continue to suppress, terrorize and murder the people remaining there. Not a day passes without the occupation forces conducting mass searches, arresting scores of people, killing some of them, driving out others from the country and throwing still others into jail. Seldom does one meet a family which has not suffered from the bestial actions of the occupying forces, who terrorize women and children. More than 4,000 people have been arrested and thrown into jail in the occupied territories. They are kept in the most cruel conditions, many are subjected to the most refined physical and moral tortures. Many have died under torture or have been left crippled. As a protest many have gone on hunger-strikes.

All this is accompanied by destruction of houses and whole villages. Seven thousand houses were destroyed before the end of last year. Tens of villages and refugee camps on the West Bank and in the Gaza sector have been wiped off the face of the earth. Thousands of inhabitants have been transferred to other regions. And all this under the pretext of security and on the plea that these sacrifices are due to the Palestinian resistance.

The occupation authorities refused to permit a special UN commission to visit the territories under their control and to investigate their crimes. But this did not prevent the exposure of the crimes, murders, tortures and destruction in the occupied territories. Throughout the world the campaign of protest and condemnation is growing against the Israeli crimes which violate the elementary rights of man. International democratic organizations are campaigning widely to expose Israeli crimes and bestialities and for solidarity with the victims of aggression and invasion.

Within Israel itself there is a growing democratic movement opposed to Israeli aggression and condemning the acts of suppression and terror against the Palestinian Arabs. At the head of the movement stands the Communist Party of Israel, which from the very first adopted an internationalist position of struggle against an aggressive war and against the expansionist aims of the Tel-Aviv rulers. The Communist Party conducts a decisive struggle against the occupation policy, demands a peaceful solution of the Middle East crisis in accordance with the Security Council resolution No. 242 and advocates the lawful rights of the Palestinian Arabs and their right to self-determination.

In his speech at the Seventh Congress of the Communist Party of Israel the General Secretary Comrade Meir Vilner said:

"The record of Israeli rule in the occupied regions is stained with blood and tears. It is a terrible indictment against the Israeli government. In the eyes of the military authorities it is a crime to speak out against the occupation or to give a glass of water to anyone suspected of any kind of misdeed. It is a crime if someone fails to denounce one's father or brother, or expresses grief at the death of relatives. Young boys and girls have stood before a military tribunal accused of bringing the newspaper *Al-Ittihad* to the West Bank and reading it; of belonging to student youth and women's organizations, or of collecting money for the afflicted families; of carrying the Palestinian flag on demonstrations, or of breaking up classes.

The trumpeters of Zionist propaganda endeavor to convince the masses on the West Bank that they are faced with a dilemma: either to remain under the rule of the Israeli occupation, or return to the rule of a reactionary Jordanian regime, alleging that there is no other way. Their propaganda invokes the history of the Jordanian regime, citing territorial discrimination, the bloody events of September, and the oppression of the mass of the Palestinian people, as well as referring to the inability of some Arab countries to oppose the occupation.

In the economic sphere the occupationists continue to execute their plans for economic annexation and transforming the occupied territories into an appendage of the Israeli economy. They have

complete monopoly of the supply of raw materials, equipment and fuel to the few branches of industry and trades existing in the occupied territories, and the majority of traders become agents for Israeli economic organizations. Israeli industrialists set up industrial and trading enterprises jointly with the capitalists of the occupied lands. The occupied territories have become a market for industrial, and some types of agricultural products of Israel.

Economic reports show that the deficit in the trade balance of the West Bank with Israel in 1969 amounted to 169 million Israeli pounds and in 1970 to 217 million pounds.

Israel has converted the occupied territories into a market of cheap labor. There are nearly 50,000 workers from the West Bank and Gaza sector employed in Israel. Their wages are half those paid the Israeli workers. The vast majority perform unskilled work under harsh conditions. They are denied all rights, social or health security. The wages of Arab workers at mixed Israeli-Arab enterprises set up in the occupied territories are even lower.

The most dangerous aspect of the economic policies of Israel's rulers in the occupied Arab lands is the breaking down of the agricultural sector of the economy. Such extensive use of Arab workers in Israel causes Arab peasants to abandon their lands and landowners to reduce cultivation because of the manpower shortage and relatively high wages of industrial workers — all of which threatens the reduction and destruction of agricultural production. When the occupation authorities no longer need Arab workers, most of whom are farmers, and throw them out into the streets, into the ranks of the unemployed, they will be left without work and without land, which will force many to leave the country in search of work and subsistence.

The occupation authorities make no secret of their plans to take over Arab lands and evict Arab citizens. To date they have, under various pretexts, taken over more than 1.5 million donums (1 donum = 910 sq.m.) of Arab lands. The land takeover campaign takes various forms, from confiscation to open or covert buying. The Israeli government's latest decision "banning" Israelis from acquiring land in the occupied regions and restricting land purchases by official organizations is no more than an attempt to mislead public opinion. In addition to the takeover of lands the occupation authorities are setting up dozens of Jewish settlements in strategically important areas.

Our Party is waging a heroic and selfless struggle on the West Bank against the occupation and its monstrous crimes. The Party is in the front ranks of the defenders of the people's rights, in the front ranks of the struggle for preserving the land. The Party is winning the respect and recognition of the masses and the national-

democratic forces on the occupied territories and outside. Our press does an important job in the occupied territories, conducting explanatory work among the masses, defending them and exposing the crimes and expansionist plans of the invaders.

Our Party is working actively to establish a broad Palestinian front on the West Bank and in the Gaza Strip. The report of the Party's Executive Committee for the West Bank shows how "the Zionist occupation, the plunder of the land, the building of Jewish settlements, the annexation of our economy and its merger with the Israeli economy in industry, trade and agriculture, the tremendous profits obtained from this operation, the employment of tens of thousands of workers on unfair conditions, the subversion of our national culture and persecution of intellectuals . . . , the racist character of the Zionist occupation, their disrespect for our national honor, religious feelings and holy places, their efforts to dispose of our fate — all this arouses the hate of our people, of its different social strata and classes. All these facts move different classes and social strata to the struggle against the occupation. This is the objective basis for the creation of a broad front of struggle against the invader."

Lately much has been done to set up such a front, and these efforts meet with extensive support on the part of various national forces. The first practical steps have already been taken.

The creation of a broad national front has become especially urgent and necessary in view of the mounting dangers emanating from the occupation regime and its feverish activity aimed at the Hebrewization of Jerusalem, the takeover of lands, the organization of Jewish settlements, eviction of the population and liquidation of the refugee problem. Spontaneous action must be replaced by conscious, organized action. The all-round struggle against the occupation demands the immediate mobilization of the broadest sections of the people in town and country, their unification in all kinds of organizations in keeping with existing conditions and characterized by efficiency, activity and mobility.

It is most important to do everything possible to raise the level of trade union organization among the workers, draw more members into existing unions and set up new ones in various spheres of labor. Special attention should be given to the personal qualities of union leaders, their patriotism, loyalty to the workers and readiness to uphold their rights. In the villages it is necessary to set up land defense committees, committees for the defense of national culture and the Arab legacy, human rights committees, committees for the defense of arrested patriots and help to their families. Trade unions must be expanded and vitalized. It is necessary to set up refugee committees, committees in defense of the national

economy, student, youth and women's committees, cultural and sports clubs, etc. Through joint struggle and activity these different committees can subsequently set up a supreme body to coordinate their actions and struggle. The creation of such organizations and committees, along with the creation of national front committees, would greatly facilitate the transformation of the national front into a broadly organized, active mass movement capable of becoming an insurmountable barrier for the enemy, through which the masses would be able to contribute brave fighters for the struggle and provide it with conscious, trustworthy national cadres.

In this connection it would be useful to disseminate the resistance experience gained in the struggle against German and Japanese occupation in World War II, as well as the rich experience of the heroic Vietnamese people in organizing resistance to, and the defeat of, the American interventionists and their stooges in Saigon.

The Arab people of Palestine, tempered in more than half a century of struggle against imperialism and Zionism, tempered in trials and hardship, will never bow to the invaders. Despite all hardships, despite all sacrifices, their resolve is mounting to continue their heroic struggle to the victorious end.

The Palestinian masses outside the occupied lands support the struggle of those in the occupied territories and join hands with them in the fight against the aggressors. The masses in the Arab countries and their national-democratic forces, all forces of peace, freedom and socialism throughout the world headed by the great Soviet Union, view with admiration the struggle of the Palestinian people and the Palestinian resistance movement in the occupied territories and support the Palestinian people's heroic struggle and just cause. All of this is a firm guarantee that victory over the Israeli invaders and their patrons, the American imperialists, will be won.

III. PALESTINE RESISTANCE MOVEMENT

The Palestine resistance movement, which emerged and gained strength in the struggle against Israeli occupation, in the struggle for the restoration of the legitimate rights of the Arab people of Palestine and their right to self-determination, is today an important militant detachment in the Arab peoples' fight against imperialist Israeli aggression, for the liberation of occupied Arab territories.

An important demonstration of Arab and world support for the cause of the Palestinian people and their resistance movement was the conference in support of the PRM held at the end of last year in Beirut with the participation of dozens of delegations from Arab and socialist countries, from Asia, Africa, Latin America

and Europe. It is also an indication of the close ties of the Arab people of Palestine and their movement with other Arab peoples, with their movements for national and social liberation, with the world revolutionary movement.

Because of their heroic, stubborn struggle, resistance movement and armed action against the policy of capitulation and cowardice, the Arab people of Palestine are fiercely attacked by American imperialism, the Zionist movement and the Israeli aggressors, both within and outside the occupied territories. The hundreds of inhuman attacks undertaken by the Israeli military against Palestine refugee camps and resistance bases in Lebanon and Syria are an indication of ferocious hate and criminal plans to eradicate the Palestine resistance movement and destroy the Arab people of Palestine. The piratical operation organized April 10, 1973, by Israeli bands with the support and encouragement of American circles, during which bandits penetrated into the center of Beirut and committed heinous crimes against Palestinians and Lebanese which resulted in the murder of three prominent Palestinian leaders, as well as other Palestinians and Lebanese, is one of many thousands of testimonies to the evil criminal designs of U.S. imperialists and the Tel-Aviv rulers against the Arab people of Palestine and the PRM.

Our Party, which initially appeared in Palestine and remains at the hub of the struggle of the Palestinian Arab people, wants to see the national movement of the Arab people of Palestine, which includes the PRM, firm and united, to see it closely bound with the Arab peoples, the movement for their national and social liberation, with the world revolutionary movement and its prime force, the Soviet Union and other socialist countries.

Proceeding from this joint militant basis and the best interests of the Arab people of Palestine, their just cause and struggle, our Party holds that it is urgently necessary to examine all mistakes and shortcomings still besetting the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) and the PRM. Accordingly, our Party submits the following proposals to the PLO and the PRM and all their detachments.

1. Strive with devotion, earnestly and perseveringly, with a keen sense of national responsibility, to complete the unification of all PRM contingents on the basis of a realistic program of struggle.

2. Unite all the forces of the Arab people of Palestine in and outside the occupied areas. This should be done on democratic lines to ensure that the Palestinian National Council comprises genuine representatives of all national democratic classes and social strata — workers, peasants, intellectuals, students and the national bourgeoisie. The Council should elect an executive or central committee of the PLO as the legitimate spokesman of the Arab people of

Palestine, the real leader of their struggle and their every activity, as well as the activities of their other organizations.

3. Revise the PLO program and draft a new program to be freely and democratically discussed and approved by the new National Council. The draft should take into account:

(a) changes importantly related to the Palestine problem and which have come about over the past quarter of a century in Palestine, the Arab world and the international arena; the primary need is to reconsider the attitude to the UN resolutions on the Palestinian question.

(b) the need to confirm in the new program that the national movement of the Arab people of Palestine is inseparable from the Arab peoples' movement for national and social liberation and that the interests of the Palestinian people do not clash with those of other Arab peoples.

4. Define the main task of the current stage, which is to eliminate the effects of the imperialist Israeli aggression committed in June 1967, to fight for the implementation of Security Council Resolution No. 242, first of all as regards the withdrawal of Israeli forces from all occupied Arab territories, and safeguard the legitimate rights of the Arab people of Palestine and their right to self-determination.

To bring about the implementation of the above resolution of the Security Council would in present conditions be an important achievement of the Arab people of Palestine and other Arab peoples and of their movement for national and social liberation. It would deal a strong blow to the U.S.-Zionist alliance, the Tel-Aviv rulers and their plans for aggression and expansion in the region. The implementation of the Security Council resolution would create a more favorable climate for the Arab people of Palestine to continue their fight for the restoration of their legitimate rights. It would also provide more favorable conditions for the Arab peoples' movement for national and social liberation to advance towards consolidation of the political independence of the countries representing the movement, so that it might advance all the more rapidly along the path of economic independence, democracy and social progress.

5. Support every effort towards establishing in the occupied areas a broad national front uniting all national democratic forces on the basis of a national program. The chief task of this program should be to counter Israeli aggression, preserve the land, prevent land seizures for Jewish settlements and resist the eviction of Palestinian Arabs from the West Bank and Gaza Strip.

6. Work to organize an armed resistance movement in the occupied territories with due regard to local conditions. This movement should use the vast experience gained by the resistance movement in the past six years. It should be well organized, disciplined,

politically conscious, and efficient and should lean on the masses for support.

7. Renounce all adventurist methods which are prompted by desperation, and actions which contradict the nature of the movement of the Arab people of Palestine and which, far from being appreciated by the world revolutionary movement and international democratic opinion, harm the reputation of the Arab people of Palestine, their struggle and just cause.

Continuing the activity of the PLO and the Palestinian resistance in Jordan is the paramount and imperative task of the Arab people of Palestine, the Jordanian people and the national movement in Jordan, and also of the entire Arab national liberation movement, of the struggle against imperialist Israeli aggression, resistance to Israeli aggression and liberation of the Arab territories.

In view of the foregoing, it is necessary to seek — with a keen sense of responsibility — a settlement of the conflict between the PLO and the Jordanian government. All divergences and contradictions between all concerned should be subordinated to the solution of the main task which is to end the Israeli occupation and free the occupied Arab areas. This means, first of all, discarding unrealistic, adventurist slogans and refraining from attempts to fan existing differences and conflicts.

It is necessary to begin on these lines, proceeding from these points of departure, bring into being a large body of Arab opinion seeking the return of the PRM to Jordan, call on the Arab states governed by national anti-imperialist and anti-Zionist regimes and on all national democratic and progressive forces of the Arab world to play an active role in this matter, and also appeal on a proper and realistic basis to the masses in East Jordan. All this, coupled with the struggle of the national democratic forces in Jordan, will provide favorable conditions for the solution of the problem and the return of the PRM to Jordan to take up its positions in the fight against Israeli occupation.

The struggle against the U.S.-Zionist alliance and the Tel-Aviv rulers will be protracted and intricate and will abound in difficulties and obstacles. However, these difficulties and obstacles can be overcome provided the PLO, PRM and Palestinian national democratic and progressive forces realize the nature and scope of the struggle, rally together, become aware of their great responsibility and work steadfastly in order to eliminate mistakes and shortcomings with courage and determination.

Our Party, which is committed to the joint fraternal struggle of the Palestinian and Jordanian peoples, to the fight against the U.S.-Zionist alliance, against the brutal occupation forces, for the liberation of the occupied Arab lands, the unity of the two brother peoples and their free and happy future, is fully convinced that the

just cause of the Arab people of Palestine, the Jordanian people and fraternal Arab peoples will prevail.

IV. THE PARTY'S TASKS AT THIS STAGE

The trend of development over the past six years has confirmed the correctness of the principles and main tenets of our Party's policy as defined in the Party program formulated shortly after the imperialist Israeli aggression and later, in resolutions of the 1970 Party conference and in Central Committee decisions.

Every document and all the activities of our Party point clearly to the main task facing our people which is to eliminate the effects of the imperialist Israeli aggression and free the occupied Arab territories.

Our Party, taking sober stock of the situation in Jordan and the Arab world, backed Security Council Resolution No. 242 and a peaceful settlement of the Mideast crisis in keeping with the above resolution, implying, first of all, Israel's withdrawal from all Arab territories.

With a view to accomplishing this main task, our Party called for the following actions:

1. Fighting by various means against the Israeli occupation troops.
2. Establishing a national front in Jordan that would unite the two banks and comprise spokesmen of all classes and social strata opposed to occupation.
3. Forming a national unity government that would grant democratic freedoms, set out to combat territorial discrimination, mobilize all of the country's forces and potentialities, all its manpower and material resources, and put them in the service of the fight and the solution of the main task.
4. Achieving Arab solidarity in the fight against occupation, imperialism and Zionism.
5. Promoting friendship and cooperation with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, with all forces advocating peace, freedom and progress throughout the world.

In the three years that have passed since the September bloodshed, it has been necessary to work for the settlement of the conflict between the Jordanian government and the PLO, so that the PRM might return to Jordan and take vantage positions in the fight against occupation.

This Central Committee considers that all these tasks are correct and retain their validity and that the events which Jordan has gone through and the present situation in the country and the Arab

world make it imperative for the Party and all national-democratic forces on either bank of the Jordan to persevere in the effort for their fulfilment.

LCP STATEMENT ON SITUATION IN ARAB WORLD

Following is the slightly abridged text of the statement which appeared in full in *Al Akhbar*, August 30, 1973.

The Central Committee of the Lebanese Communist Party met in plenary session in the middle of last August to discuss the situation in the world, in particular the Arab world, in the light of the Political Bureau report, as well as recent developments. On the basis of the debate, the CC described the main features of the international situation and the situation in the Arab world as follows:

SITUATION IN THE ARAB WORLD

The positive aspects of the new international situation find no reflection in the Middle East due to the policy of retreat and concessions pursued by Rightists in the leadership of the Arab national liberation movement, who prevent the movement from taking advantage of the changes in favor of peace, liberation and socialism occurring in the world.

Over six years have passed since the June 1967 aggression and yet the Arab peoples are faced with the same problems plus new ones arising from the increased dominance of Rightists and from concessions which these elements make in various home and foreign policy spheres. These concessions express themselves in suspending social progress, going back on what was achieved, suppressing patriotic and democratic mass activity, dividing the national liberation forces through anti-Communist and anti-Left slogans, severing the bonds of solidarity with the Palestinian resistance, maintaining a conciliatory stance towards Arab reaction and U.S. imperialism, and loosening Arab-Soviet friendship.

DANGEROUS TREND TOWARDS RETREAT AND CONCESSIONS IN EGYPT. ITS MANIFESTATIONS

The Central Committee reaffirms the conclusions set forth in the Party Program and the political thesis of the Third Congress

on the need to set up a broad front of all Arab anti-imperialist, patriotic and progressive forces and concentrate on the main contradiction, that between these forces, on the one hand, and imperialism, Zionism and reaction, on the other, and not on secondary contradictions between patriotic forces. At the same time it is deeply concerned about the tendency to retreat and the lack of principle shown by some Arab national regimes today, as well as about the increased activity of Rightists in these regimes and the policy of retreat which they are pursuing on a growing scale and which has already become a deviation without a limit.

The tendency to retreat and make concessions has become dominant in Egypt. This is particularly dangerous in view of Egypt's standing in the community of Arab countries, especially among those confronting the aggressor, and in view of Egypt's place in the Arab national liberation movement. The situation in Egypt today is characterized by a sustained policy of abolishing Abdel Nasser's legacy in every sphere of life. This policy expresses itself in renouncing social and economic gains, suspending economic development and industrialization, striking blows at the state sector, encouraging concessions to the private sector and investment by foreign imperialists and reactionary Arab regimes, trying to undermine friendship with the Soviet Union and holding down democratic and progressive Nasserite forces.

This tendency can under no circumstances lead to a solution by peaceful means or through armed struggle. The advocates of solving the problem through conciliation with imperialism and reaction try, therefore, to justify themselves and put the blame on the Soviet Union, adducing numerous arguments which cannot convince anyone.

The Arab peoples know by experience that all the gains of the Arab national liberation movement in the political sphere as well as in the sphere of economic development, social change and military aid are associated with Arab-Soviet friendship. That is why they reject attempts to raise doubts regarding the Soviet Union and why they seek closer friendship and alliance with the first socialist country. They consider this indispensable for solving the major problems before the Arab national liberation movement in ending Zionist occupation and in continued advance along the path of national liberation and social progress. The fact that their every success is linked with this friendship explains why anti-Soviet intrigues and attempts to question the role of the Soviet Union have been defeated.

The Arab peoples emphatically reject Maoist allegations about "Soviet-U.S. collusion," which link up with the fabrications of Arab reactionaries and with attempts to raise doubts behind which are

forces refusing to continue the struggle. The Arab peoples hold that the purpose of these allegations is to isolate the Arab national liberation movement from its allies and friends and divert it from anti-imperialist struggle. They see them as a slogan aimed at covering up a deal with the U.S., a conciliatory attitude to reaction, abandonment of the cause of national liberation and social progress, and a means of fomenting chauvinistic and narrow nationalist sentiments to further the aims of Right-wing and reactionary forces.

CRISIS OF THE RIGHTIST LEADERSHIP OF THE ARAB NATIONAL LIBERATION MOVEMENT RESPONSIBILITY OF THE PROGRESSIVE FORCES

In view of the situation in the Arab world, with degradation continuing, there is no serious prospect of solving the problem in such a way as to end Israeli occupation, eliminate the effects of the imperialist Zionist aggression, and safeguard the national rights of the Arab people of Palestine, including the right to self-determination on their own native soil. This inability to find a solution constitutes the substance of the crisis which the Arab national liberation movement is passing through and which is essentially a crisis of the Rightist leadership of the movement. The situation makes it imperative for all patriots and progressives to find a way out of the impasse, a progressive alternative to the Rightist trends in the leadership of the Arab national liberation movement.

Continuous concessions to and retreat before U.S. imperialism and Arab reaction did not produce, nor could they have produced, the results expected by the advocates of passivity and retreat. They did not make it possible "to win over America" and prevail on it to exert pressure on Israel, nor did they fulfil other illusory hopes. The result was the exact opposite or, at any rate, what might have been expected: ever more brazenly, the U.S. extends unlimited political, economic and military aid to Israel, which goes further and further in its policy of aggression against Syria and Lebanon, as well as the Arab people of Palestine in the occupied areas, and continues all-out colonization of the lands overrun in June 1967.

Recent struggles and positive changes indicate that the outcome of the battle has not yet been settled in favor of imperialism and the Right.

Despite a deterioration of the situation and the feeling of hopelessness that has gripped large sections of people, the Arab patriotic progressive movement has not succumbed to despair. It is fighting on with determination and the recent period has seen, not only retreats, but also great battles which warrant the statement that the battle is still going on.

Mention should be made in this connection of the recent struggles which the progressive patriotic forces of Lebanon carried on in common with the Palestinian resistance against plans to end resistance. Also noteworthy are the positive changes in the Palestinian resistance, the nationalization of oil in Iraq and the subsequent adoption of the National Front charter by the Iraqi Communist Party and Arab Baath Socialist Party, the achievements of the national democratic state in Democratic Yemen, the gains of the revolutionary forces in Oman and the Persian Gulf area, the advances of the agrarian revolution in Algeria, which is proceeding in an atmosphere of intensifying class struggle, and the miscarriage of the latest reactionary conspiracy in Syria, which made struggle for religion its slogan.

Throughout the Arab world, from the Atlantic to the Persian Gulf, a vast mass campaign is developing, demanding elimination of the strategic interests of U.S. imperialism in our region and an end to the U.S. political, military and economic presence, particularly in the form of the U.S. imperialists' oil interests. This campaign has become so powerful that the oil monopolies and Arab reactionaries are trying to emasculate its national and progressive content through maneuvers and suspicious plans aimed at robbing the masses of the slogan "put oil in the service of struggle" and at updating links between imperialism and Arab reaction by making the Right wing of the Arab liberation movement a new participant in this system.

ESTABLISHMENT OF A FRONT IN IRAQ: A GAIN OF ALL PROGRESSIVE ARABS

The CC LCP notes with satisfaction that the adoption of the National Front charter by the Arab Baath Socialist Party and Iraqi Communist Party is an achievement of all the progressive, patriotic forces of Iraq and the Arab world as a whole. By strengthening the position of Iraq's progressive regime in the face of a reactionary imperialist conspiracy, the move affords fraternal Iraq vast opportunities to advance towards accomplishing the tasks of the national democratic revolution, towards socialism. It is a major setback for Arab reaction and anti-Communist policy, a failure of attempts to disrupt patriotic and progressive unity and cause divergences and clashes between Arab Communist parties and the democratic nationalist contingents of the Arab liberation movement.

Positive changes in the Palestinian resistance movement are gathering tempo. Serious steps have been taken towards united action and joint struggle.

The Central Committee notes that the development of the Pales-

tinian resistance as a component of the Arab liberation movement inseparable from the latter as far as the fundamental positions of struggle against imperialism and Zionism are concerned is intensifying. As the struggle expands and as anti-imperialist trends go deeper, the Palestinian resistance is moving farther away from Arab reaction, strengthening its alliance with the progressive forces in the Arab world and anti-imperialist forces all over the globe.

As well as persevering in all its armed struggle in the occupied territories—a struggle gaining in scope and strength—the resistance movement is coming to appreciate the importance of political work among the masses and the need to foster national unity on democratic lines, discard Rightist views which prevent militant cooperation with Arab progressives and international anti-imperialist forces and desist from “left” adventurist actions which seriously prejudice the resistance and, moreover, tend to isolate it from the main Arab forces and their international allies.

Lately, above all since the eleventh session of the National Assembly, the resistance movement, which is becoming increasingly aware of the need to appeal to the main forces which can effectively support the cause of the Arab people of Palestine, has taken, under a program of joint political action, serious measures towards establishing unity in struggle and unifying the actions of its diverse contingents. It has taken important steps to extend and carry forward its links with its international anti-imperialist allies.

The Central Committee, fully realizing the objective difficulties in the way of these positive changes, notes that their scope, depth and speed also depend on a variety of subjective factors, primarily the readiness of advanced, progressive forces to work for the establishment of a firm basis guaranteeing continuity of the process of change.

**PLANS FOR A PALESTINE STATE AND THEIR CONNECTION
WITH PLANS TO LIQUIDATE AND TAKE OVER THE
LEADERSHIP OF THE RESISTANCE MOVEMENT. THE
OBJECTIVE OF THESE PLANS IS TO SPLIT THE RANKS
OF PALESTINE RESISTANCE**

Proceeding from the actual situation in the Arab world, the Central Committee holds that the Palestinian resistance is increasingly becoming a major obstacle to defeatist trends in the search for a solution of the problem, an obstacle which hostile forces are compelled to reckon with. Hence the continued efforts to liquidate the movement, take over its leadership and artificially set up Palestine detachments prepared to negotiate. The plans for a Palestine state, which are linked with plans for liquidating the movement, are part

of a policy of retreat and are aimed at spreading discord over a non-existent problem, splitting the resistance movement, isolating it from supporting detachments of the Arab national liberation movement, and liquidating the resistance movement as a revolutionary wing. All imperialist-sponsored plans for setting up a Palestine state share in common the goal of putting an end to the struggle of the Arab people of Palestine and to the problem as a whole, because it is an acute issue in the confrontation between the Arab forces of liberation and progress and the forces of imperialism and reaction.

OIL WEALTH OF ARABIAN PENINSULA AND PERSIAN GULF AREA AND RAPID DEVELOPMENT OF THE AMERICAN-IRANIAN-SAUDIAN PLOT

Reviewing the situation in the Arabian Peninsula and Persian Gulf areas, the Central Committee holds that the vast oil wealth of the region, especially with the steadily rising consumption of oil, makes it a focal point of imperialist interests and action.

Closely related to the situation in the region is the conference of American ambassadors from Middle Eastern and Southeast Asian countries in Teheran, as well as hasty attempts to resurrect CENTO and set up a new "regional" alliance including Saudi Arabia, Iran and Jordan. Within the framework of stepped-up activity of imperialist and reactionary forces, reactionaries in Saudi Arabia and Iran have been assigned the role of a "local policeman" with the task of striking at the national liberation movement in the area.

Reactionary activities in Saudi Arabia, as well as the position and development of Iran as a force with serious interests in the Persian Gulf area, provide a source of mounting threat against the national liberation movement in this region and the progressive regime in Iraq, which is being pressured by Iranian reaction and is the target of endless plots masterminded by it. This has created tensions on the Iran-Iraq border and prevents Iraq from taking part in repulsing imperialist Zionist aggression.

In these circumstances the revolutionary forces of the region are engaged in a courageous struggle against the plans of imperialism and reaction, especially Saudian reaction, which is interfering wherever it can and supporting local reaction in Northern Yemen, Oman and all parts of the Persian Gulf. The Central Committee holds that progressive, patriotic Arab forces should give full support to the revolutionary-democratic detachments in the Democratic Republic of Yemen, Oman and Northern Yemen, as well as to the patriotic forces in Saudi Arabia courageously fighting against the most ugly forms of violence, oppression and exploitation.

COMPLETE UNIFICATION OF EGYPT AND LIBYA AND THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE'S POSITION WITH REGARD TO ARAB UNITY

The Central Committee discussed events connected with the complete unification of Egypt and Libya and reaffirmed its fundamental stand with regard to Arab unity, holding that it is an expression of objective reality and the aspirations of the masses inseparably linked with the struggle for national liberation, democracy, progress and socialism.

The Central Committee reaffirms that for unity to become a genuine embodiment of mass aspirations and an effective tool in promoting their objectives of liberation, progress and socialism, it must be based on clear-cut positions and democratic principles in the mobilization of the broad masses, with due consideration for their rights, especially the rights of the working class to organize politically, so that they may be able to play their full part in defining their country's policy lines; this is the main prerequisite for ensuring the strength of the united state and forestalling reactionary plots of any kind, the earnest of a progressive, democratic national policy.

While the struggle for unity merges with the struggle for national liberation and social progress, the desire for unity should not be separated from the need to strengthen bonds with friendly forces. The Right-wing tendencies hostile to democracy, communism and the Soviet Union currently apparent in the appeals of some groups, reveal their intention to use the unity slogan as a camouflage for a policy of retreat towards imperialism and reaction, a policy departing from the progressive national line. Such sentiments in the appeals of other groups reveal their desire to use the unity slogan as a camouflage to conceal their unilateral cessation of the class struggle and give food for the propagation of fictitious notions like the "third way." These are the groups attempting to invoke the so-called "people's revolution" to emasculate the slogan of democracy and rid it of its progressive content, straightjacket the movement in ossified forms imposed from above, and deny the working class and toiling people the right to political organization, democratic activity and organization and ideological independence within a broad anti-imperialist democratic, national front.

The changes taking place with regard to the question of the complete unification of Egypt and Libya go to prove, like the unification experiences before, that Right-wing trends in the Arab national liberation movement are incapable of putting the unity slogan into effect. These Right-wing trends view unity either from narrow class positions or from narrow territorial positions. In some cases they

use the unity slogan as a substitute for the struggle against imperialism, in others they see it as a magic formula, quite unconnected with reality, for a way out of all the difficulties encountered by the Arab national liberation movement, thereby demonstrating their inability to resolve these difficulties.

In the sphere of relations between progressive, patriotic Arab forces our Party has always advocated the active promotion of all forms of joint struggle, in Lebanon as well as in the Arab world as a whole, holding that success in this field is a prerequisite for success in accomplishing all the tasks facing the Arab liberation movement.

Proceeding from this point of view, our Party's Third Congress addressed its well-known appeal to all progressive, patriotic Arab organizations and forces to call a conference with the task of setting up a popular anti-imperialist Arab front capable of rallying our people's forces in the face of imperialist plots and occupation, in the struggle for the return of our natural wealth, for social progress and Arab unity on a firm, viable basis.

FORMATION OF THE ARAB FRONT OF ASSISTANCE TO THE PALESTINE REVOLUTION — AN IMPORTANT POSITIVE DEVELOPMENT IN THE ARAB NATIONAL LIBERATION MOVEMENT

Proceeding from these positions, our Party worked to help convene the Arab People's Conference held in Beirut in November 1972, at which the Arab Front of Assistance to the Palestine Revolution was formed. Our Party sees the birth of this front as an important positive development in the Arab national liberation movement, an event creating the first nucleus for our people's unity on one of the cardinal questions on which the broad masses agree, that of the Arab people of Palestine. Our Party hopes that this front, which should be developed and made to function actively by creating the necessary conditions for its work, will become the basis for the creation of a popular Arab anti-imperialist front whose tasks will embrace all problems of the Arab liberation movement and which will merge with the mainstream of the Arab anti-imperialist struggle.

ROLE OF ARAB COMMUNIST PARTIES IN MOBILIZING THE MASSES AND PRESENTING AN ALTERNATIVE PROGRESSIVE PROGRAM

Having analyzed the role of the Arab Communist movement, the Central Committee notes that as a result of the difficult conditions that developed after the aggression and defeat, Arab Com-

munist parties were faced with the tremendously important task of repulsing the attacks of imperialism, Zionism and reaction, especially in the wake of recurrent retreats and concessions and the emergence of Right-wing trends to various degrees dominating the Arab national liberation movement.

The Central Committee notes that, alongside these retreats, there is a growing mass interest in scientific socialism. And this squarely raised the question of concerting the efforts of all national progressive forces, notably the Communist parties, to present an alternative democratic national program capable of rekindling faith in the masses and mobilizing them to fight imperialism, Zionism and reaction, for freedom, progress, socialism and unity.

Now as always, our Party will work for solidarity with all the contingents of the Arab Communist movement, now the victims of harassment and terror by the reactionary and Right forces. Our Party will always work for militant unity of the various detachments of the movement and for unity with all progressive national forces. Our Party will devote even more attention to exchanging experience and promoting cooperation between Arab Communist parties, with a view to joint work in resolving the major problems confronting the Communist parties and the Arab revolutionary movement as a whole.

KEY CONCLUSION FROM SURVEY OF POSITION IN ARAB WORLD

The key conclusion drawn by the Central Committee from an analysis of the position in the Arab world is that the Arab national liberation movement is now in a state of profound crisis. The basic reason for this crisis is the strengthened position of the Right forces in the movement's leadership and their continued attempts to wipe out its progressive gains. To that end, they are working hand in glove with reaction, making concessions to it and to the political foes of the Arab peoples, imperialism and Zionism, both of which are trying to regain their lost privileges and to strengthen their position. The Central Committee also notes that, despite the difficulties it has meant for the Arab national liberation movement, and the threat it offers to its gains, this crisis could not prevent the emergence and development of a number of positive elements within the movement. They find expression in the heightened class and political consciousness of the masses, their keen interest in socialism as the only solution of the national, economic and social problems confronting them, the mounting activity of the masses, their bigger share in the work of the various organizations, their growing readiness to fight on two fronts,

against reaction and against the Rightist forces within the movement, to safeguard gains already won and disrupt all attempts to abolish them.

The Central Committee is of the opinion that in the coming period the struggle between the mutually-opposed forces and their class, ideological and political differences, will become sharper still. This presents greater opportunities to advance our movement by combating the Rightists, thwarting their plans to surrender to the enemy on the national question and to abandon our social and economic gains.

BASIC TASKS OF PARTY AND ALL PROGRESSIVE NATIONAL FORCES

In the light of this situation, the Central Committee has formulated the following basic tasks for the Party. Their accomplishment presupposes the use of all forms of struggle and joint work with all the progressive national forces in the Lebanon and in all other Arab countries.

1. Cooperation and interaction with Arab Communist parties in all fields; agreement on clear-cut formulation and interpretation of the position in the Arab world and the tasks this poses for the Arab national liberation movement at the present time; discussions with a view to working out a progressive program for the movement to replace the one advanced by the Right forces.

2. Participation in and support of all actions designed to unite the Arab progressive and patriotic forces; measures to foil all attempts to widen the rift in the movement and provoke conflicts and clashes. This includes efforts to implement our Third Party Congress appeal for a conference of all Arab national progressive parties and organizations to discuss the problems facing the Arab peoples, and the struggle for strengthening the role of the Arab Front of Assistance to the Palestine Revolution as one form of interaction between various detachments of the Arab revolutionary movement.

3. The Party must assert its position on Arab unity and work to give this unity a more progressively democratic content, i.e., struggle against imperialist reaction and for the following basic demands of the Arab masses: progressive social and economic gains, democratic freedoms, including the working class's fundamental right to have its own political party, also cooperation and interaction of progressive national forces. These are essential prerequisites for the unity so strongly desired by the Arab masses as a basic condition for defeating the plots of imperialism, Zionism and reaction.

4. Support for trends now developing in a number of Arab countries, notably Iraq, Democratic Yemen and Syria, towards organization of progressive national fronts involving all progressive national organizations; efforts to extend such fronts and enrich their programs to make them genuine leaders of the masses and responsible to the masses for the country's progress, the reconquest of its national wealth, and for measures promoting the vital interests of the working people.

5. Support of mass democratic movements of a progressive character in various Arab countries; exposure of police pressure, which has latterly assumed dangerous dimensions. Support of progressive trends in countries with national regimes, and also other positive measures that help the masses, at the same time exposing attempts to discredit such measures. Exposure of sectarian campaigns against progressive trends, for instance, the sectarian movement in Syria inspired by reactionary circles in Saudi Arabia and other countries. At the same time, we should not gloss over shortcoming and errors.

6. Closer ties between the Party and the Palestine resistance movement, based on a viable alliance aimed at utilizing all available means and opportunities to help the resistance movement. Specifically, we should support it against foreign-inspired campaigns to liquidate it and against campaigns organized by imperialist and reactionary circles and manifestly designed to distort its essence and purpose. All-round assistance to assert and consolidate its international status as a revolutionary, liberating anti-imperialist force.

7. Consistent ideological struggle against infantile Leftist trends in the Arab national liberation movement, showing the danger they offer, exposing the subversive and opportunist role of China in the international arena, primarily in relation to Arab problems.

8. Closer contacts between the Party and the Arab progressive national parties and forces; closer ties with the liberation movement in the Persian Gulf area, Oman and the Arabian peninsula, helping the movement there to become more effective.

9. Closer friendship between the Arab peoples and the Soviet Union, as the cornerstone in the Arab national liberation movement's struggle for its proclaimed goals. Such friendship is not only a matter of principle, but also has practical implications, considering the aid and assistance the Soviet Union continues to give the Arab peoples and states, both in their national struggle against occupation, for the liberation of their territories, and in their economic development and achievement of higher living standards. Closer friendship with the Soviet Union is both a national and international task; defense of this friendship is, above all, a national

task for all Arab peoples. Naturally, closer friendship with the Soviet Union is the main link in strengthening relations between the Arab national liberation movement and the world revolutionary movement as a whole.

10. Continuation of the Party's work in explaining the position in the Arab countries and the Arab national liberation movement, particularly with respect to Palestine, as a means of strengthening cooperation with fraternal and friendly parties, and effective participation in international actions, for instance, the World Congress of Peace Forces to be held in Moscow this fall.

STATEMENTS AND SPEECHES

SPEECH* BY FIDEL CASTRO TO FOURTH CONFERENCE OF NON-ALIGNED COUNTRIES

(ALGIERS, SEPTEMBER 5-9, 1973)

Mr. Chairman, respected Heads of States and Governments, representatives of heroic national liberation movements.

Delegates,

In conveying greetings from the Cuban delegation to you, Comrade Boumedienne, your countrymen and the distinguished representatives of nations gathered at the conference, we should like to stress the significance we attach to the fact that it was decided to hold this Fourth Conference of Non-Aligned Countries in Algeria, whose people have evoked admiration at their heroic and sustained struggle, becoming a stimulus to other countries fighting against oppressors, for national independence.

I should like to recall that Cuba is a socialist country with Marxist-Leninist ideology. Our final goal is communism and we are proud of this. Proceeding from this conception of human society, we determine our national and international policy. We adhere first and foremost to the principles of proletarian internationalism and what I say here will be based on these ideas. It is the duty of all revolutionaries to defend courageously their criteria and precisely this I intend to do here.

*Granma, September 8, 1973.

Speakers here referred to various ways of the division of the world. For us, the world is divided into capitalist and socialist, imperialist and neo-colonialist, colonialist and colonized, reactionary and progressive countries; governments are divided into those supporting imperialism, colonialism, neo-colonialism, and racism, and governments opposing imperialism, colonialism, neo-colonialism and racism.

This, we hold, is the fundamental aspect of the alignment or non-alignment issue because nothing could relieve us of our essential obligation of combating energetically past and present crimes committed against mankind.

Undoubtedly, this movement has grown and, as concerns Latin America, this is confirmed by the existence of three new states: Peru, Chile and Argentina and by the progressive political transformations in those countries. The final goals of this movement, however, should be determined by quality and not quantity, if we really are to be a moral and political force for the peoples of the world. Otherwise, we run the risk of the movement being penetrated by reactionary forces which would prevent it from reaching its goals, as well as the risk of an irremediable loss by the non-aligned countries of their unity and prestige.

Although the economic problems related to the interests of the countries we represent are justified and important, it is our political criteria that are and will remain the fundamental factor of our activities.

In the political sphere, a tendency was apparent during the many months of preparations for this conference, to oppose the non-aligned countries to the socialist camp, which was detrimental to our cause and served only the interests of imperialism.

The theory of two imperialisms — one headed by the United States and the other supposedly by the Soviet Union — a theory spread by capitalist theorists — was supported — either intentionally or due to the ignorance of history and the realities of the present-day world — by the press and leaders of the non-aligned countries. This was also furthered by the activity of those who, supposedly acting from revolutionary positions, were betraying the cause of internationalism.

This tendency, in one form or another and with varying hues, is apparent in certain political and economic documents prepared in connection with this conference. The Revolutionary Government of Cuba resolutely opposed and will continue to oppose this tendency. This is why we feel obliged to approach this delicate subject as the essential problem in greater detail.

There are some people, who, showing apparent injustice and historical ingratitude, and oblivious of the facts of reality and the

deep and insurmountable abyss separating imperialism and socialism, are trying to ignore the glorious, heroic and extraordinary service rendered by the Soviet people to all mankind, as if the break up of the colossal system of colonialism that dominated the world till the Second World War, as well as the emergence of conditions making possible the liberation of scores of nations previously directly oppressed by the colonialist countries, the disappearance of capitalism in large areas of the world and the birth of forces which set a limit to the insatiable greed and aggressive spirit of imperialism, had absolutely nothing to do with the glorious October Revolution.

How is it possible to qualify the Soviet Union as an imperialist state? Where are its monopolies? Where is its participation in multinational companies? What industries, mines and oil fields does it own in the developing world? Where are the workers exploited by Soviet capital in any Asian, African or Latin American country?

Soviet economic cooperation with Cuba and many other countries is not built on the sweat and sacrifices of exploited workers in other countries, but on the sweat and endeavor of the Soviet working people.

There are others lamenting that the first socialist state in history is turning into a military-economic power. We, the developing and once exploited countries, should not lament this. Cuba rejoices over it. Without the October Revolution, without the immortal feat of the Soviet people who were the first to withstand the imperialist intervention and blockade and later repulsed and routed the fascist aggression at the cost of twenty million lives, who developed their technology and economy at the cost of incredible efforts and heroism, without exploiting a single worker in a single country—without all this it would be absolutely impossible to end colonialism and establish a balance of forces in the world facilitating the heroic struggle of so many nations for their emancipation.

We should not forget for a moment that the weapons with which Cuba defeated the mercenaries at the Bay of Pigs and defends itself against the United States, the weaponry in the hands of the Arab peoples struggling against the imperialist aggression, the arms used by the African patriots against Portuguese colonialism and by the Vietnamese in their heroic and triumphant struggle, came from the socialist countries and mainly from the Soviet Union.

The resolutions adopted by the non-aligned countries help us to understand where the dividing line passes in international politics today.

Whom do we accuse of arming and supporting aggressive Israel

in its war against the Arab countries and cruel occupation of the territories where the people of Palestine have the right to live freely? We accuse United States imperialism. Against whom did the non-aligned countries protest over the blockade of Cuba, the intervention in Santo Domingo, the bases at Guantanamo, in Panama or Puerto Rico maintained against the will of their peoples? Who is behind the murder of Patrice Lumumba? Who encouraged the assassins of Amilcar Cabral? Who helps maintain in Zimbabwe a white racist state, who aids in converting South Africa into a reservation for black men and women existing as semi-slaves?

In all these cases the culprit is the same, North American imperialism which also backs Portuguese colonialism in its struggle against the peoples of Guinea-Bissau, the Cape Verde Islands, Angola and Mozambique.

When our resolutions speak of the millions of dollars, pounds sterling, francs or marks pumped annually out of the developing colonial and neo-colonial countries through spoliatory investments and shackling loans, they condemn imperialism and not another social system. The existing realities cannot be changed by equivocal expressions.

Any attempt to bring the non-aligned countries into conflict with the socialist camp is deeply counter-revolutionary and only serves imperialist interests. The invention of an imaginary enemy has only one aim: to avoid the real enemy.

The success and future of the non-aligned movement depends on preventing imperialist ideology to infiltrate and not allowing oneself to be deceived by it. Only the closest alliance between all the world's progressive forces can provide the strength necessary to defeat the still powerful imperialism, colonialism, neo-colonialism and racism and achieve success in the struggle to translate into reality the aspirations of all peoples for peace and justice.

In view of the growing demands by the developed capitalist countries for sources of energy and raw materials to sustain the absurd consumer society they have created, imperialism would have repartitioned the world, mankind would find itself enveloped in new wars and many independent countries comprising this movement would not have been in existence were it not for the containing force, i.e., the socialist camp. Today, even among ruling circles in the U.S. there are advocates of military intervention in the Middle East should the need for oil require it.

To deprive us of friendship with the socialist community is to weaken us and put us at the mercy of imperialism, which is still so powerful. This would be a shortsighted strategy and political myopia.

Mr. President,

Latin America is deeply concerned that Brazil, backed by the U.S., is becoming a strong military power, out of all proportion to the needs of its rulers who employ murder, torture and imprisonment against their people. The obvious aim is to transform Brazil into a military enclave in the center of Latin America in the service of North American imperialism. The Brazilian government which, together with the U.S., took part in the invasion of Santo Domingo, in the overthrow of Bolivia's progressive government, and contributed to the recent imposition of a reactionary dictatorship in Uruguay, is not merely a tool of the U.S. but is gradually transforming the country into an imperialist state. Both Brazil and Bolivia have their observers at this Conference. We hope that such governments, from which some nations of our continent are still suffering, will never be admitted to the movement of non-aligned countries.

Much has been said here about the situation in Southeast Asia and the Middle East, about the peoples who are opposed and bled white by Portuguese colonialism, and about brutal repressions by the racists in South Africa, Zimbabwe and Namibia.

American imperialism continues to assist the non-colonialist regime of South Vietnam which refused to fulfil the Paris Agreements. It supports the puppet government of Lon Nol in Cambodia, and also Israel, which refuses to carry out UN resolutions and to return the occupied territories. It supports Portugal which, aided by the U.S. and NATO, flouts world opinion and does not carry out the resolutions adopted by international organizations. It supports racist governments which not only intensify their repressions, but threaten other African peoples.

Such is the bitter and disgraceful reality challenging the strength, unity and the resolve in the struggle of the non-aligned countries.

Leaders and representatives of more than 70 states have gathered here to adopt concrete agreements and measures to isolate the aggressors and bring about their defeat. We decisively support the Arab peoples suffering aggression, the heroic fighters for independence in Guinea-Bissau and the Cape Verde Islands, of Angola and Mozambique, the oppressed peoples of South Africa, Zimbabwe and Namibia. We will consistently fight against imperialist countries aiding and abetting similar crimes.

We, representatives of all the non-aligned countries, recognize the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Vietnam and declare our full support for its struggle to ensure the fulfilment of the Paris Agreements. We stand for support of the patriots of Laos and Cambodia, and declare that no power on earth can prevent the solution of the problems confronting the peoples

of the Middle East, Africa and Southeast Asia. The firmness with which we act in solving these problems will be evidence of the real strength and scope of the movement of non-aligned countries. Cuba will decisively support the agreements to be adopted in this connection, even though in doing so, we may have to shed our blood.

We cannot but refer to the Democratic Republic of Vietnam. Its people, whose heroism has been displayed a thousand times over, have suffered the most devastating aggressive war. Millions of tons of bombs have rained down on enterprises, towns and villages, schools and hospitals. The selfless and victorious struggle of the Vietnamese people against imperialist-aggression has served the interests of the whole of mankind. We must not confine ourselves to mere manifestations of sympathy. This country, so deserving of admiration, is now carrying out the difficult task of reconstruction and we propose that the non-aligned countries take part. Let everyone of us help according to our means. This will give new and revolutionary dimensions to the non-aligned countries in regard to international solidarity.

The non-aligned countries must also show solidarity with Zambia and Tanzania in their struggle against South African and Rhodesian aggression. They must also support the endeavors of the Korean People's Democratic Republic to bring about a peaceful reunification of the Korean people. Our support must be given to the Panamanian people in their just struggle for re-establishment of sovereignty in the Canal Zone; and we must show solidarity with the Chilean people struggling against imperialist conspiracy. Argentina should be supported in its justified demand that the usurped Malvina Islands be returned, and we should defend the right of the Puerto Ricans to complete sovereignty.

Our country has to bear the humiliating presence of a North American base on part of its territory, forcibly maintained against the will of our people who are faced with the savage and criminal U.S. economic blockade. Despite this, our people remain firm and continue the successful construction of socialism in the immediate proximity of the U.S. Our country has been able to resist it because it carried out a real revolution, eradicating all forms of exploitation of man by man, and promoting on this basis a high moral standard and a firm and indissoluble unity.

To free our country completely from imperialist exploitation it is also essential that the feudals, landowners, the oligarchy and other social parasites be unable to rob the people of the fruits of their labor. We call upon you to declare your solidarity also with the Cuban people.

Crucial to our victory is mutual understanding with the socialist countries, and its essential condition is the unity of countries strug-

gling for independence and development. We support all statements in favor of closer unity of the non-aligned countries for the solution of key problems of international life, figuring in the various draft resolutions presented to the conference. However, we are disturbed and indignant at the news that a leader of the stature of Sekou Toure has to defend himself, not only from the Portuguese colonialists, but also from plots being prepared in developing Africa itself. Our faith lessens in some declarations about unity when we see that the People's Republic of Congo and the Somali Democratic Republic are subjected to assaults from other African countries, when we learn of the difficulties facing the revolutionary government of the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen, in overcoming hostile actions which originate in Washington, but which are effected from places much nearer home.

This proves once again that our genuine unity depends, not on temporary non-alignment, but on a more profound and permanent identity, arising on the basis of revolutionary principles, a common anti-imperialist program and the aspirations for a substantial and definitive social change.

This is the attitude of Cuba. The points of view which I have outlined here will, naturally, not be shared by all leaders present here. However, I have discharged my duty, outlining them to all of you honestly, and with respect.

Thank you.

FRIENDLY VISIT OF L. I. BREZHNEV, GENERAL SECRETARY, CC CPSU, TO THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF BULGARIA*

At the invitation of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party, L. I. Brezhnev, General Secretary, Communist Party of the Soviet Union, paid a friendly visit to the People's Republic of Bulgaria from September 18-21.

During the visit, L. I. Brezhnev had talks with the First Secretary of the CC BCP, Chairman of the State Council of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, T. Zhivkov; members and candidate members of the Political Bureau and secretaries of the CC BCP. The talks ranged over a wide number of current problems and took place in an atmosphere of cordiality, mutual understanding and complete unanimity.

**Pravda*, September 22, 1973.

Those participating in the talks between L. I. Brezhnev and T. Zhivkov were:

From the Soviet side: Secretary of the CC CPSU, K. F. Katushev; members of the CC CPSU — Assistant to the General Secretary of the CPSU, K. V. Rusakov, and the Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs of the USSR, N. N. Rodionov; member of the Central Auditing Commission of the CPSU, Assistant to the General Secretary CC CPSU, A. M. Alexandrov, and candidate-member of the CC CPSU, V. N. Bazovsky, the USSR Ambassador to the People's Republic of Bulgaria.

From the Bulgarian side: Secretary, CC CPB, K. Tellalov; members of the CC BCP — Assistant to the First Secretary CC BCP, M. Balev, and the Ambassador of the PRB to the USSR, D. Zhulev; candidate-members of the CC BCP — Assistant to the First Secretary, CC BCP, D. Metodiev, and the First Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs of the PRB, A. Traikov.

A great deal of attention was devoted during the talks to Soviet-Bulgarian relations, which are an example of genuinely fraternal relations between socialist states and peoples, and the embodiment of the principles of proletarian internationalism.

L. I. Brezhnev and T. Zhivkov, in noting the successful growth of Soviet-Bulgarian political, economic, cultural and scientific cooperation, discussed the tasks of still further intensifying this cooperation in all spheres of life. It was emphasized that at the root of Soviet-Bulgarian cooperation and the political alliance of the Soviet Union and Bulgaria lay the close and ever strengthening ties, complete identity of views and the fraternal solidarity of the two Marxist-Leninist parties of the two countries, the CPSU and the BCP.

Both sides emphasized that in conditions of the construction of a developed socialist society and of the transition to communism, and in order to promote a continuous strengthening of the socialist world system, the further improvement of the already established forms of multilateral and bilateral ties, and the active search for new forms and lines of cooperation, acquire especial significance. The belief was expressed that a constant exchange of experiences, more effective contacts between the Party and state organs, economic, scientific, ideological and social organizations of the USSR and PRB, constitute the main path to broadening in every possible way the organic ties between the two Marxist-Leninist parties, and between the Soviet and Bulgarian peoples. They underlined the considerable importance of the decisions of the July 1973 Plenum of the CC BCP, for building all-round cooperation, closer relations and unity of action between Bulgaria and the Soviet Union.

Both sides noted the fundamental importance of active partici-

pation in multilateral political, economic and cultural cooperation of the fraternal countries and expressed the conviction that the development of their bilateral relations would assist the continued cohesion of the socialist community, including realization of the Comprehensive Program of Socialist Economic Integration. In this connection they reaffirmed the importance of the decisions collectively elaborated by the leaders of the fraternal parties at the 1973 Crimea Meeting.

Information was exchanged on the accomplishment of economic plans, on the steady fulfilment of the programs of constructing communism and socialism in the USSR and Bulgaria, and on the international activities of both countries.

T. Zhivkov underlined the great contribution of the CPSU to the strengthening of world peace, the success achieved in fulfilling the Peace Program adopted at the 24th Congress of the CPSU, and L. I. Brezhnev's personal contribution to its formulation and its realization, particularly pointing to the significance of the treaties and agreements signed with the FRG, the U.S. and France.

L. I. Brezhnev referred to the growing prestige of the peace-loving policy of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, the importance of its consistent endeavors towards strengthening peace and good-neighborly relations in the Balkans and the whole of Europe.

Satisfaction was expressed by both sides at the process taking place towards relaxation of tension in Europe and they stressed their conviction that the successful implementation of the second stage of the Conference for European Security and Cooperation based on goodwill and mutual endeavors by all the participants, should ensure the completion of its work this year. This would mean a decisive advance towards creating a stable and effective system of security of states in Europe, towards their multilateral and mutually advantageous cooperation and an improvement in the entire political situation.

The sides noted the significance of the conference of non-aligned states in Algiers and of the documents adopted there in the interests of the peoples' struggle against the political and economic dependence on imperialism, and for national and social liberation.

L. I. Brezhnev and T. Zhivkov declared their complete solidarity with the struggle of the Chilean people for the right to develop on the path of national independence, economic and social progress. They decisively condemned the actions of Chilean reaction that had led to the overthrow of the lawful Popular Unity government, to the death of the fearless fighter for the cause of the Chilean people, President Salvador Allende, to mass terror and bloodshed, and expressed their firm conviction that the reactionary forces would not succeed in breaking the will of the freedom-loving Chilean people.

In connection with the Middle East situation which is still fraught with difficulties and dangers which menace peace, the two sides supported a speedy political settlement of this problem based on the well-known UN resolutions and declared for assuring the lawful rights and interests of all the countries and peoples of this region, including the Palestinian Arabs.

The situation in Indochina also came under discussion. The two sides expressed their unswerving support for the just position of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, condemned the breaches by the Saigon regime of the Paris Agreement and declared for unfailing observance of the Agreement by all participants. In underlining the historic significance of the victory of the heroic Vietnamese people, both sides reiterated their determination to give effective aid to the fraternal Democratic Republic of Vietnam in building socialism. The establishment of a stable peace throughout the whole of Indochina is of extreme significance, not only for the relaxation of tension in Asia, but throughout the whole world.

The sides expressed the conviction that full and reliable liquidation of all sources of military conflicts on the continent of Asia, the guaranteeing of a stable peace and good-neighborliness in the relations between all Asian states will depend directly on the realization of the constructive idea of creating a collective security system with the participation of all the interested countries of Asia.

L. I. Brezhnev and T. Zhivkov expressed the unanimous opinion that the favorable changes in the international situation make it possible for all countries, large and small, to play an active part in solving urgent problems of world politics.

During the talks it was noted that the success of the fraternal countries in building socialism and communism, in solving big international problems is largely due to their close unity and all-round cooperation. The active and coordinated policy of the countries of the socialist community is a factor of world significance. The USSR and Bulgaria will be guided in all their actions by the need for all-round strengthening of the unity of the fraternal socialist states.

The CPSU and the BCP will continue to do all in their power to strengthen the unity of the world Communist movement and consistently oppose both Right and "Left" revisionism and opportunism. Both Parties consider that their primary concern is the further strengthening of the unity in action of the socialist world system, of the international working class, the national-liberation movement, and all revolutionary, progressive anti-imperialist forces of today.

During his visit, L. I. Brezhnev met working people of the Bulgarian capital, addressed a meeting of Soviet-Bulgarian friendship

and visited the Razgrad District. The visit of the General Secretary of the CPSU and his meetings with the working people were a new powerful demonstration of the indissoluble Soviet-Bulgarian friendship, of the fraternal solidarity between the peoples of both countries.

The Chairman of the State Council of the PRB, T. Zhivkov, presented L. I. Brezhnev, the General Secretary of the CC CPSU, with the Golden Star of Hero of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, and the Order of G. Dimitrov. On behalf of the Bulgarian people he warmly and sincerely congratulated L. I. Brezhnev on being the recipient of the highest award of the socialist Bulgarian state.

L. I. Brezhnev expressed deep gratitude to the Central Committee of the BCP and the State Council of the PRB for this high award and the high praise given to the policy of the CPSU, and wholeheartedly thanked all the Bulgarian working people for their many friendly congratulations.

SPEECH* BY COMRADE L. I. BREZHNEV

Dear Comrade Todor Zhivkov,
Dear Comrade Stanko Todorov,
Dear Bulgarian friends and brothers,

It is a great joy to be with you once again, and feel the warmth and sincerity of our meeting. Moments such as this make one particularly conscious of our unbreakable ties and of the integrity and depth of Bulgarian-Soviet friendship and its great importance for our Parties and peoples.

I wholeheartedly thank all those who have spoken, for the respect and love they have expressed for the Party of Soviet Communists, for our country and Soviet people. Every Soviet Communist, every Soviet man and woman responds in kind, Bulgarian brothers and sisters. Loyalty for loyalty, friendship for friendship!

I wish also to express my heartfelt gratitude to Comrade Zhivkov, and others who have spoken here, and to all of you, my dear friends, for the kind words and warmth expressed on awarding me the honorable title of Hero of the People's Republic of Bulgaria. As I said yesterday, this high honor accorded me I attribute to the policy of our Leninist Party and its Central Committee that is always striving to strengthen universal peace, and consolidate the great friendship of the fraternal socialist countries. I assure you, comrades, that I will be true to these noble ideals to the end of my days and will try by my deeds to justify your high trust.

Dear Friends,

I send my most cordial greetings to all the inhabitants of your

**Pravda*, September 20, 1973.

beautiful capital, Sofia, and to all the Bulgarian people, and wish every family happiness. I also take this opportunity to send my best wishes to the people of Stara-Zagora and Varna who have honored me with the Freedom of Their Cities.

I should like to say that it was with particular pleasure that I accepted the invitation from the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party and from Comrade T. Zhivkov personally to make this visit precisely now, in September, which is a month of revolutionary significance in your country. Some days ago you celebrated the anniversary of the establishment of people's power, and in several days time it will be 50 years since the anti-fascist uprising of 1923. This glorious date is celebrated, together with you, by our Party and the Soviet people, by the Communists and revolutionaries of the whole world.

The September uprising was the first determined battle against fascism. In the vanguard of the struggle was the revolutionary party, trained and led in class battle by such outstanding leaders as Dimitr Blagoyev, Vasil Kolarov and by Georgi Dimitrov, great son of the Bulgarian people, one of the most prominent theoreticians of Marxism-Leninism, and a leading figure of the international Communist movement.

There is a direct, most immediate connection between September 1923 and the victorious September of 1944. The experience of the Bulgarian revolution, like the entire experience of mankind since October 1917, is indicative of the irresistibility of the laws of history, of an inevitable triumph of socialism.

Together with you, dear friends, we honor those who continued the cause of the heroes of September 1923 and who realized the age-old dream of Bulgarians to see their motherland free and flourishing, their people strong and happy. Such is Bulgaria today, due to socialism, due to the Communist Party's leadership, due to the strong alliance between workers and peasants, embodied in the Communists' close cooperation with the Bulgarian Agrarian National Union, and to unity with the fraternal socialist states.

There has been a real revolutionary transformation throughout Bulgaria, one that has had an immensely constructive influence. It is probably impossible to describe more precisely your achievements. The change is to be seen everywhere — in industry, agriculture, social relations, culture, people's living and working conditions, and in their minds. It is a transformation which has preserved and greatly added to the spiritual values of the Bulgarian people, and it has laid solid foundations for the certain and rapid advance towards developed socialism, towards communism.

We, Soviet Communists, are proud of the achievements of the fraternal Bulgarian people and wish them new successes in the

striving for further development and prosperity of their beautiful motherland!

We take pride in the fact that it was the fraternal Party of Communists, the Party which enjoys the confidence and support of the masses, that secured the historic turn from backwardness to progress in the life of the Bulgarian people, and confidently leads it to ever new heights!

We take pride in the fact that all these years we went forward with you and that all-round cooperation between our countries has contributed to Bulgaria's remarkable achievements.

Many monuments have been erected on Bulgarian soil, symbolizing the age-long, unsullied friendship between our peoples. Next to those monuments dear to every Bulgarian and every Soviet person, there have arisen modern symbols of Bulgarian-Soviet friendship, the results of fraternal cooperation between the two socialist states: buildings of new industrial plants, factories, power stations, new power transmission lines, and much else.

A tangible result of Soviet-Bulgarian cooperation has been the construction of 180 major enterprises and projects which are the backbone of Bulgaria's young industry. Another 150 will be added in the current five-year period. Last year Bulgaria's power grid was linked to that of the Soviet Union. A gas pipeline is under construction and gas from the USSR will soon flow through it to Bulgaria. Thousands of Bulgarian workers and specialists are working on Soviet soil, shoulder to shoulder with their Soviet brothers at enterprises whose product is of great importance for the national economy of Bulgaria. The products of Bulgarian industry and agriculture have for long been very popular in our country. These are, comrades and friends, graphic examples of the present close intertwining of Soviet and Bulgarian economies.

The scope of Soviet-Bulgarian cooperation knows no limits. It is no exaggeration to say that the fraternal union of our peoples is reflected in every aspect in the life of society. It is cemented by the relations between our Communist Parties whose unity and brotherhood is a truly unbreakable foundation of our political alliance, the core of the all-round relations between our peoples and states. And the present new broad development of our friendship, the constantly flowing process of our rapprochement is a natural and legitimate continuation of the consistent and steadfast course of our Parties. Ever closer and all-round cooperation and unity of actions with the Soviet Union is the course followed by the Bulgarian Communist Party and forcefully reaffirmed at the July Plenum of its Central Committee. Closer and all-round cooperation and unity of actions is also the course of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union in relation to socialist Bulgaria.

Dear Comrades, the CPSU Central Committee thinks highly of the truly fraternal relations of confidence that we have with the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party, with its distinguished leader, a true son of the Bulgarian people, outstanding figure in the international Communist movement, our good friend and comrade-in-arms Todor Zhivkov. I would like to stress in particular the great importance of the Soviet-Bulgarian talks held during the visit of a Bulgarian Party and Government delegation led by Comrade Zhivkov to the Soviet Union last November. Such meetings help us to see more clearly the perspectives of our co-operation, and to advance with greater confidence. This has been the case so far, comrades, and so it will be in the future.

Dear Friends, permit me to dwell briefly on life in our Soviet Land today.

The results of the operation of Soviet industry in the eight months of this year were published recently. Take a look at what may seem to be dry statistics: it was planned to raise industrial output this year by 5.8 per cent. Actually, the growth in these eight months was 7.4 per cent. This is how the working class responded to the appeal of the Party to turn this year, the third year of the five-year plan, into a shock work year.

At present, our production collectives are busily working out plans for 1974. And what is remarkable is that the counter-plans and proposals of the workers exceed the initial figures set by our departments. The energy, initiative, the labor enthusiasm of the working masses in their millions — here lies, comrades, the main source of our successes. In every initiative we Communists lean, as V. I. Lenin taught us, on the most wonderful force — the strength of the workers and peasants. It is capable of making the boldest of our dreams and plans come true.

You know about the very harsh trials that our agriculture faced last year. The fact that we emerged successfully is a great victory of the Soviet collective and state farm system. This confirms the correctness of the Party's course for the consolidation of the material and technical basis of agriculture, and for its deep intensification. It is the result of the epic labor of collective farmers and state farm workers, of the workers in the towns and the soldiers of the Soviet Army who have won a veritable battle with the elements.

This year we can say that there is a good harvest on the vast expanses of our country. True, today too, nature has had some surprises for us; in many areas harvesting goes on during long rainy spells. At this moment it is too early to quote final figures. Much has still to be done, to take in the crops without losses, particularly in the eastern parts of the country. It will not be an exaggeration

to say that during the arduous and intensive work at harvest-time the peaceful field resembles a battlefield. People spare no effort in order to do their duty, despite the vagaries of the weather.

You know that the agricultural workers of the regions, territories and autonomous republics of the Russian Federation have pledged to sell the state not less than three thousand million poods of grain this year, the people of the Ukraine and Kazakhstan — not less than one thousand million poods respectively. The other Republics have also set themselves high targets. We hope that the gross grain harvest will considerably exceed the level of past years. A high harvest of cotton, sugar-beet, and a number of other crops is also expected.

Throughout the country an extensive program is being systematically put into effect to improve the well-being of our people. We are confident that everything mapped out by the 24th Congress of the Party will be accomplished. The Party will do its utmost to ensure that every Soviet family has good material conditions, lives in well-appointed modern flats, obtains more and more good and varied consumer goods, enjoys all the riches of culture.

All this means that we have a great deal of work to do and we shall persevere in it. We are by no means content with everything, nor do we think that all problems have been solved.

Communists, as you know, are accustomed to critically assess results, nor are they complacent over what has already been done. We fully realize that the fulfilment of our plans, the growth of the country's might, the improvement of the people's living standards all ultimately depend on the efforts of the people and especially on an increase in productivity of labor.

Following Lenin's behest, our Party has always drawn strength from relying on the people, on their intelligence, knowledge, high civic consciousness. And each time this yields remarkable results. This is the source of all our successes both in domestic affairs, in communist construction, and in foreign affairs, in the struggle for peace and security of the peoples.

Comrades, there is hardly need to re-state all recent activities leading to treaties and agreements, which embody the great successes achieved in the cause of détente. We can, justifiably, be proud of the fact that these successes are largely a result of our joint work and struggle.

I am referring not only to the foreign policy of the countries of the socialist community but to all activities of our peoples and our Parties for the further development and strengthening of the socialist system, for advancing the economy, raising the defensive capacity of our countries, and consolidating fraternal friendship between them. We are convinced that in future, too, successes

in building socialism and communism, in rallying the socialist community will be the most unfailing, most reliable guarantee of our new achievements in the struggle for durable and lasting peace on our planet.

At the recent Crimea meeting the leaders of the fraternal Parties of socialist countries centered their attention on ways to further develop the socialist community, to advance economic integration, to coordinate our joint actions in the international arena. There is hardly any need to speak of the importance of the work which is being done in this connection, since the alliance of the socialist states is a decisive factor of new advances of world socialism, of new triumphs of the revolutionary movement, of the maintenance of a lasting peace on earth.

In the struggle for peace the countries of socialism have many allies among peaceable states in all continents. No small role in ensuring further relaxation is played by our cooperation in problems of peace with those governments of capitalist countries which adopt a realistic attitude and show readiness to settle international problems by negotiation.

It goes without saying that the class struggle on the international arena, the struggle between socialism and capitalism, continues. As before, the social order of states belonging to differing social systems and their ideologies are poles apart. Differences still persist in the approach to major political questions. The forces which come out against relaxation have by no means laid down their arms, and still dream of taking mankind back to the icy period of the cold war.

We and our allies firmly believe that there are opportunities for a radical, stable improvement in the international climate. We believe that a new system of international relations can and must be built by honestly and consistently observing the principles of sovereignty, non-interference in internal affairs, by unswervingly implementing treaties and agreements signed, without any double-dealing and ambiguous maneuvers. But, of course, this requires an absolutely different approach, different methods and, perhaps, a different psychology from that which existed before.

For our part, we seek to do everything to consolidate and develop the positive tendencies that have emerged in the international situation, for settling through negotiations the international problems still outstanding.

With all this, comrades, our foreign policy has always been and remains a class, socialist policy. Our Party, our Soviet country, just as the other fraternal Parties and socialist countries, come out resolutely against aggression and the suppression of the liberation struggle of the peoples, invariably display ardent solidarity with this struggle, be it the struggle of the Arab peoples for liberat-

ing the lands seized by the aggressor, of the peoples of Indochina against foreign intervention, or the peoples of Latin America for the complete independence of their countries for economic and social progress.

Comrade Todor Zhivkov, in his speech here, setting out the attitude of the Bulgarian Communists, spoke quite correctly, vividly, with deep conviction and wrath about the events in Chile. I also want to say a few words about these events. We hold identical positions in this respect, and this is one more expression of our common unbreakable unity on all issues.

Soviet Communists and the entire Soviet people express with special vigor the feelings of class solidarity with the working people of Chile and profound indignation over the bloody crimes committed by the Chilean reaction.

The Popular Unity government of Chile set itself a noble goal of great historic importance: to carry out by peaceful means, within the strict framework of legality, the transformation of society in the interests of the working people with the active participation of the working people themselves, i.e., the overwhelming majority of the nation. But the exploiter classes and the reactionary military higherups acting in their interests, would not tolerate this, and ignored the interests and the will of the people. Blinded by class hatred, aided and abetted by imperialist forces abroad, they did everything to disrupt normal life in the country, openly took the road of violence, military dictatorship and terror. Reaction did not hesitate to forcibly overthrow the legitimate government. The democratically elected president of the country and supreme commander of the armed forces was killed. The counter-revolutionaries hurled tanks and artillery against the workers, and are brutally dealing with progressive figures loyal to the people's cause.

Soviet people are indignant over these atrocities and demand that they be stopped. We mourn the death of Chile's true sons and daughters who fell victim to imperialist terror; we bow our heads to the memory of President Salvador Allende of the Republic of Chile, International Lenin Peace Prize Winner, who died the death of a hero. He was one of the most pure and noble figures in contemporary political life. He was dedicated to the end to the cause of the people for which he gave his life. His heroism will inspire the working people of Chile and many other countries to new glorious exploits in the struggle for freedom, peace and progress. And we are firmly convinced that no savagery by the reactionaries will crush the proud spirit of the freedom-loving people of Chile or halt the irrepressible striving to freedom, democracy and progress in other countries of Latin America.

I suggest, dear comrades, that we all rise up to pay a tribute

to the memory of the President of the Republic of Chile Salvador Allende who died in the discharge of his duties, and all sons and daughters of the Chilean people who fell victim to the terror unloosed by reaction.

The foreign policy of the Soviet Union, as of all countries of the socialist community, is permeated with loyalty to the Leninist behest — to repulse the forces of imperialism, war and reaction, to come out jointly with those who are prepared to defend peace among the peoples. As you know, dear friends, much has already been achieved through our joint efforts, and much still has to be done on the European continent.

The second stage of the European Security and Cooperation Conference has started in Geneva. It is important that, after the good start made in Helsinki by the foreign ministers, there should be a business-like and constructive atmosphere in Geneva too. As we see it, the purpose of the work ahead is to prepare without unnecessary delay the drafts of the documents for the concluding stage of the conference which, in our view, it would be quite possible and advisable to hold this year.

One occasionally hears in the West that since the Soviet Union and other socialist countries show great interest in solving the questions of European security, in developing political and economic cooperation, why then not pressure them and bargain for some concessions?

What can one say to this? This is a naive and at the same time unseemly, I should say, merchants' approach to the question. Relaxation of tension in Europe is the common achievement of all the peoples, peace is needed by all the peoples of the continent and, therefore, its preservation and consolidation ought to be the common concern of all the participants in the conference. We believe that this should not be a matter of some diplomatic "trade exchange," but of joint, multilateral efforts towards eventually working out an effective system that would ensure the security of all European countries and peoples and mutually advantageous cooperation among them.

We are against narrow, selfish designs, against artificially giving prominence to particular questions to the detriment of the principal aims of the conference. We want questions pertaining both to European security, and to cooperation in the fields of economy, science, technology, culture and in the humanitarian field to occupy an appropriate place in the work of the conference. But we always remember, and believe others should remember this too, that broad and fruitful development of economic and cultural relations, the effective solution of humanitarian problems are possible only given the removal of the threat of war. The paramount importance of strengthening peace for all the peoples, for their progress, for

their future — is the only historical yardstick that in our time is valid for the assessment of world politics. And this fully applies to the forthcoming discussions at the conference in Geneva.

Of course, the way discussions will proceed at the conference is not the only important thing. It is also important that an atmosphere favorable to its work be maintained and enhanced around it. Meanwhile, one may hear of late calls in a number of major capitalist countries for boosting the arms drive still more, for inflating military budgets. Here and there in Western Europe forces are becoming active which seek to question these or other links in the system of treaties and agreements created here recently. Ill-conceived propaganda campaigns also take place, aimed at sowing mistrust in the policy of the USSR and other socialist countries. One cannot help thinking that all this is done with but one aim in view: to hinder by every means the success of the great work now under way, and so needed by the peoples.

We believe it would be an unforgivable mistake to miss the historical opportunity afforded by the very fact of the convocation and work of the all-European conference. The peoples are expecting it to produce major and authoritative decisions to benefit stronger peace. And we hope that such solutions will be found. This will be a great thing not only for the peoples of Europe, but for all the peoples of the planet as well.

Dear Comrades,

Dear friends and brothers,

The loyal friendship of the Soviet Union and Bulgaria, their growing affinity, our all-round cooperation — this is our common and treasured possession. At the same time it is a possession of the entire socialist community. It is a contribution to the cause of peace and social progress of all mankind.

To strengthen Soviet-Bulgarian friendship means to facilitate the further flourishing of our two countries.

To strengthen Soviet-Bulgarian friendship means to help strengthen the positions of world socialism.

To strengthen Soviet-Bulgarian friendship means to promote stronger peace.

I would like to assure you, dear friends, that Soviet people, Soviet Communists, are fully resolved to go on doing everything so that our fraternal relations grow stronger from day to day.

Long live Soviet-Bulgarian brotherhood!

May our invincible socialist community live and grow stronger!



STATEMENT OF COMMUNIST PARTIES OF THE LA PLATA BASIN

Below is the full text of the Statement issued by a meeting of representatives of the Communist Parties of Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Paraguay and Uruguay that took place in Buenos Aires on September 11, 1973.

The representatives of the Communist parties of Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Paraguay and Uruguay met to discuss and elaborate a common platform relating to problems of the La Plata Basin. They were inspired by proletarian internationalism and the need to defend peace and the interests of their peoples against the provocations of imperialism and internal reaction designed to sow enmity between the peoples and, in the final analysis, create a breeding-ground for war. Joint actions are essential for a struggle against chauvinism, fomented by the imperialists and reaction in furtherance of their plans.

The events of recent years within our region are illustrative of the propositions set out in the main document of the International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties (Moscow, 1969).

The striving of the peoples to ensure a rational and mutually advantageous use of natural resources is perfectly justified. The experience of socialist and other countries proves that the problem can be solved in this manner. The whole of Latin America, just as the countries of the La Plata basin, is suffering from a considerable shortage of energy which will become acute in the near future. Power development and the construction of hydropower stations is an objective necessity. However, under reactionary regimes dependent on imperialism, its fulfilment leads to monstrous deformations, serves as an excuse for rivalries and potential conflicts between some countries, and generates the domination of some countries by others. The Communist parties of the La Plata basin propose a rational policy for the utilization of the basin and a thorough solution of the problem concerning the zones inhabited by 50 million people. Among other problems this policy should cover the questions of controlling water resources in order to prevent catastrophic floodings and shallowness of the waters and ensure normal navigation, utilization of the water resources, irrigation, guaranteeing sanitary conditions and the supply of drinking water, fishing and other additional aspects of joint exploitation of the water resources of the rivers Parana, Paraguay and Uruguay. All this

must take place on the basis of friendly mutual understanding, and with consideration for the interests of all those countries through which these rivers flow.

The differences between Argentina, Brazil and Paraguay, and chiefly between the first two on this matter, are being openly fanned by North American imperialism. The construction of a hydro-electric station in Itaipu, a few kilometres from the Argentinian border, whose cost is estimated at several billion dollars and the design for which was drawn up without any prior consultation with the other countries of the Basin, nor taking into consideration the use of the energy provided by the river along the whole of its course, can have a negative effect on the possible change of the water regimen down stream. The Itaipu agreement, on the other hand, does great damage to the interests of the Paraguayan people, as it condemns the guaranis to dependence on Brazil for decades to come. In fact, the experts and specialists of the La Plata countries, including engineer Marcondes Ferraz, declared that execution of the Itaipu project could lead to a situation whose only solution would be through the use of force.

The utilization of waters and rivers passing through several countries is based on the principle that such use is legitimate if it does not harm another country (this regulation is embodied in the Act signed in Santiago in 1971, regularizing this problem for Argentina and Chile). The position of the ferocious terrorist dictatorship in Brazil on the La Plata Basin problem is in keeping with its general line, its expansionist policy which favors monopoly and foreign interests, in particular, North American, so that the Brazilian dictatorship acts as a provocateur and the mailed fist of American imperialism in Latin America, especially in its southern regions.

Imperialism, with the aid of Paraguayan and Bolivian dictatorships and supported by reactionary forces, tries to provoke conflicts between Latin American countries, and relies especially on the Brazilian dictatorship which has been assigned the role of policeman in the south of the continent. It is precisely this that prompted Nixon, when Garrastazu Medici visited Washington, to greet him with the following words: "The whole of Latin America will follow in Brazil's footsteps." The unrestrained instigation of a campaign of chauvinism serves to hide the dirty work of the dictatorship. Bourgeois nationalism, chauvinism and anti-communism are the main weapons of submission to imperialism. But it is not only the Brazilian dictatorship that fans chauvinism; while it refers to "Brazil, a nuclear power," Argentinian reaction talks of "Argentine power." The working people and nations must counter bourgeois nationalism with brotherhood and proletarian internationalism.

Imperialism is hatching a conspiracy against Chile; it engineers coups d'état similar to that in Bolivia and more recently, Uruguay. It supports the Rights in Argentina in order to hold back the leftward trend of the popular masses. The peoples' struggle for the economic development of their countries and for their social well-being is inseparable from the struggle against reaction. In this struggle for economic freedom and political democracy the peoples of the La Plata Basin, like the peoples throughout the world, are inspired by the decisive role of the USSR and the world socialist community in solving international problems, by the irresistible advance of peace, democracy, progress and socialism. The struggle for a solution which accords with the common interests of all the peoples of the La Plata Basin, is closely bound up with the struggle for democracy, national independence and social progress.

CONDEMN CRIMES OF CHILEAN REACTION

International opinion reacts to the coup in Chile and the military junta's atrocities with growing anger. Communist and Workers' parties condemn the crimes of Chilean reactionaries. Following are extracts from statements published in the early days of the coup.

CC CPSU STATEMENT ON LUIS CORVALAN'S ARREST

On September 28 last Senator Luis Corvalan, a prominent statesman and politician, General Secretary of the Communist Party of Chile, was arrested by the Chilean military junta and committed to a military court for trial.

Comrade Corvalan is a noted leader of the international Communist and working-class movement, an indefatigable champion of peace, democracy and social progress, of the Chilean working people's vital interests. Throughout the three years of existence of the Popular Unity government in Chile he consistently upheld the national interest and advocated social and economic changes and did his utmost for these changes to be effected with due regard to democratic rights and liberties.

The military junta, after assassinating President Salvador Allende and dealing summarily with hundreds of patriots and democrats, has now embarked on new reprisals against spokesmen of the country's genuinely democratic forces.

The Central Committee of the CPSU emphatically protests against the lawless and arbitrary acts being committed in Chile, against the persecution of its patriots, and calls on all the democratic and

progressive forces of the world to come out in defense of all the democrats of Chile and take action to prevent the physical elimination of Luis Corvalan and any acts of violence against him.

The CC CPSU demands freedom for Luis Corvalan and an end to the persecution of Chile's patriots and democrats.

Budapest. The CC HSWP emphatically condemns the counter-revolutionary military coup in Chile, says a statement of the Central Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party. Every Hungarian Communist and the whole Hungarian people are outraged by the forcible overthrow of the legitimate government of Popular Unity, the assassination of President Salvador Allende and the flouting of the democratic freedoms won by the Chilean people.

The statement denounces the terror campaign which the junta has unleashed against democratic forces, and expresses solidarity with the Chilean people fighting for democracy, with the Communist Party of Chile and other forces opposed to the counter-revolutionary junta.

Sofia. It is with growing concern and deep indignation that the working people of the People's Republic of Bulgaria react to reports on the military coup in Chile and the repressive measures being adopted there against the Popular Unity government, the working class and patriots, says the Central Committee of the Bulgarian CP in a statement. Developments show that home reaction and the imperialist monopolies linked with it have taken the path of violence and are out to eliminate the finest sons and daughters of the Chilean people.

Prague. Behind the anti-constitutional, forcible coup in Chile are the interests of imperialist monopolies which strive to resume plundering the country's riches and exploiting its people and to maintain the class privileges of the Chilean bourgeoisie, notes the CC CPC Presidium in a statement. On behalf of all Czechoslovak Communists and working people, the Presidium expresses complete solidarity with all Chilean patriots and firm confidence that their just struggle meets the vital interests of the Chilean people, the interests of ultimate victory for the cause of democracy, progress and socialism.

Ulan Bator. The military junta in the service of domestic and foreign reaction is perpetrating unprecedented crimes against Chile's democratic and progressive forces, says a statement by the Central Committee of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party. The CC MPRP stresses that now as before, the Communists and working people of the MPR firmly side with the freedom-loving people of Chile.

Berlin. A statement of the Central Committee of the SUPG published here says that the reactionary forces of Chile, backed by foreign imperialists, want to drown in blood the Chilean people's fight for freedom and independence and rob the people of their social gains. The CC SUPG stresses that the Communists and all working people of the GDR are on the side of Chile's people and reaffirm their internationalist solidarity with them. The statement expresses confidence that whatever battles the Chilean people may have to fight, their struggle for freedom, independence and progress will end in victory.

Paris. "For three years," says the Political Bureau of the FCP in a statement, "Chile's reactionaries have resorted to every device — subversion, and assassination — in fighting against a lawfully elected government. The forces of reaction have now taken the next step: the military coup is aimed at destroying democratic institutions, nullifying the working people's social gains and preventing the country's advance to socialism." The Communist Party called on all Communists and democrats of France to condemn the reactionary revolt and campaign actively in support of the Chilean people's struggle to preserve democracy.

USA. Henry Winston, National Chairman of the CPUSA, called in a radio address for a nationwide protest campaign against the reactionary coup in Chile. He condemned the U.S. monopolies for instigating the overthrow of the government under Salvador Allende.

London. The CPGB released a statement stressing that the military coup against the democratically elected Popular Unity government of Chile is emphatically condemned by all working people and the progressive movement in Britain, who identify themselves with Chile's working people.

Rome. ICP General Secretary Enrico Berlinguer voiced on behalf of the Communists and all working people of Italy fraternal support for and unfailing solidarity with the people of Chile.

Mexico City. The military coup in Chile is an act of aggression against democracy and the rights of the Chilean people and all other peoples of the world, who have been following with tremendous sympathy the democratic changes coming about in that country, notes a statement by the Mexican CP.

Paris. FCP General Secretary Georges Marchais and ICP General Secretary Enrico Berlinguer, who met in Paris, published a statement on the Chilean military coup.

Today we received new information on the situation in Chile

from comrades in Argentina, says the statement. Brutal terror is raging in Chile. Whole families are being destroyed. Rebel officers and gangs of fascists carry out mass shootings and hangings of workers, Communists, Socialists, trade unionists, and peasants who responded to the agrarian reform.

The Chilean rebels have staged a bloodbath. Chile's democrats, who are continuing their heroic resistance, ask us to step in. We sound the alarm and urge the working class, the peoples of our countries and European public opinion to stop the terrible massacre, to stay the executioners' hand.

"As for us," the statement goes on to say, "we pledge ourselves immediately to take requisite steps in each of our countries with a view to mobilizing all our activists, all working people and democrats. Furthermore, we are convinced of the need to launch the broadest possible protest campaign and we call accordingly on all who realize that there is not an hour to be lost. We are establishing requisite contacts to this end.

"We appeal to politicians and public leaders to intervene immediately, for action brooks no delay."

IN BRIEF

CONSULTATIVE MEETING

Representatives of 21 Communist parties from European capitalist countries held a consultative meeting in Stockholm on September 27-28 to discuss problems of mutual interest. It was decided to hold a conference in January 1974 to discuss the crisis of capitalism in Europe, the struggle of the Communist parties for socialism, democracy, national independence and peace and likewise the struggle for unity of the working class and democratic forces.

The consultative meeting passed a resolution in support of the people of Chile, expressing complete solidarity with them in their struggle against the dictatorship of the military junta and condemning the terror unleashed in the country.

The representatives of the 21 Communist parties fully support the struggle of the Communist Party, other democratic organizations and all the people of Chile. They declared their resolve to support any initiatives designed to increase solidarity with the Chilean people.

BULGARIA

The Central Committee of the Communist Party met in plenum on October 3-4 to hear a report by Todor Zhivkov on the friendly

visit to Bulgaria by L. I. Brezhnev, General Secretary of the CC CPSU, on September 18-21, 1973. The visit, a Plenum decision says, was a vivid and impressive demonstration of the crystal-clear Bulgarian-Soviet friendship and an event of historic significance for our country.

The Plenum expressed high appraisal and full approval of the talks between L. I. Brezhnev and the Political Bureau of the BCP Central Committee and Todor Zhivkov. The talks, says the decision, are a further contribution to the development and deepening of unity and cooperation between the BCP and the CPSU, between the People's Republic of Bulgaria and the Soviet Union, the further consolidation and development of fraternal ties between the two peoples.

Relations between Bulgaria and the Soviet Union, as was stressed by the July (1973) CC BCP Plenum, are entering a new, higher stage of development. Continued, all-round rapprochement, cooperation and integration between Bulgaria and the Soviet Union is a true expression of the objective historical laws of the development of socialist countries and a natural continuation of the consistent course of the Bulgarian Communist Party for unity of action with the CPSU in all fields of endeavor, for the flourishing of Bulgarian-Soviet friendship. Successful and fruitful realization of this course has always been and will continue to be our main national and international obligation, the prime task of our Party and the socialist state, of every Bulgarian Communist and of all the people, says the decision.

The CC BCP, continues the document, voices its full agreement with the conclusion reached by Comrades Todor Zhivkov and Leonid I. Brezhnev that in conditions of the building of a developed socialist society and transition to communism, the strengthening of the socialist world system and further development of bilateral and multilateral cooperation between the parties and states of the socialist commonwealth are of especial importance. The theoretical elucidation and practical implementation of this new stage will enrich our experience and promote the efforts to achieve still deeper, stronger organic ties between the socialist countries and blaze new roads for the continued upbuilding and consolidation of the socialist world community.

The talks between the two parties and state leaders, the Plenum decision continues, were convincing proof of the correctness of the Leninist foreign policy followed by the parties and governments of the People's Republic of Bulgaria and the Soviet Union for the just and reliable solution of urgent international issues and consolidation of world peace in the spirit of the Peace Program adopted by the 24th CPSU Congress. Forcefully reaffirmed is the readiness

of the BCP and the CPSU to promote still more energetically the consolidation of unity of the international Communist movement.

The CC BCP appealed to all the Bulgarian people to work to reach and exceed the targets of the 6th five-year plan, to strengthen and develop Bulgarian-Soviet friendship.

FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF GERMANY

A Plenum of the Board of the German Communist Party was held in Dusseldorf from 29-30 September, to deal with preparations for the forthcoming Party Congress in Hamburg.

A communique says that the Board of the GCP called on democratic public opinion to conduct a wide protest campaign against the intentions of Chilean reaction to deal summarily with the General Secretary of the Communist Party of Chile, Luis Corvalan, and thousands of other fighters for the country's freedom.

The Board sent a message of greeting to the forthcoming World Congress of Peace Forces in Moscow.

The Plenum approved the draft report of the Board of the Party to the forthcoming Congress, and also approved the draft Congress resolution and a number of mandates to Congress.

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

The SUPG Central Committee met in plenary session in Berlin on October 2. Erich Honecker, First Secretary of the CC SUPG, reported on the question of cadres, the first item of the agenda.

The Plenum, says a communique released by the ADN Agency, heard a report of the Political Bureau delivered by A. Norden, Political Bureau Member and CC Secretary, and a report by CC member and Minister for Construction, W. Junker, on housing construction in the GDR in 1976-1990.

A. Norden said that the friendly meeting of the leaders of Communist and Workers' parties of socialist countries in the Crimea was an exceptionally important event in the activities of the SUPG in the period under review.

Concerning the GDR's foreign policy, the speaker noted that the political and diplomatic blockade of the GDR organized by the NATO countries has failed due to the coordinated policy of the socialist community. The admission of the GDR to the UN is the result of the many years of consistent struggle by the socialist community and all anti-imperialist forces for the international recognition of the GDR as an independent and sovereign state.

Referring to relations between the GDR and FRG, the speaker said that the Treaty on the Principles of Relations between the GDR and FRG is an international legal basis for settling relations between the two countries. The GDR states emphatically that only the text of this treaty has legal force.

The speaker stressed that the Marxist-Leninist ideological offensive must continue to be an integral part of the peace policy conducted by the socialist countries.

The 10th Congress of the Communist Party of China showed clearly that the Chinese leaders continue to intensify their anti-Leninist course, and conduct their openly anti-socialist policy ever more sharply. It demonstrated that Maoism has nothing in common with Marxism-Leninism. Therefore, it is essential that the real meaning of Peking's policy be exposed.

Socialist economic integration with the Soviet Union remains one of the essential conditions for the successful fulfilment of the decisions of the Eighth Congress of the SUPG, continued A. Norden. The Political Bureau of the CC SUPG took note with deep satisfaction of the results of the friendly talks held in the Soviet Union between Comrade E. Honecker and L. I. Brezhnev, General Secretary of the CC CPSU, which served to broaden all-round cooperation between the USSR and the GDR.

In conclusion, A. Norden referred to the great significance of further expansion of ties with the fraternal parties of the socialist countries, and the Communist and Workers' parties of capitalist countries.

The Plenum unanimously elected the Minister for Defense, Army General H. Hoffmann, member of the CC SUPG, to the Political Bureau. W. Felfe, J. Herrmann, I. Lange, K. Naumann and G. Schuerer were unanimously elected candidate members of the Political Bureau of the CC SUPG.

H. Dohlus, W. Krolkowski and I. Lange were elected CC Secretaries.

In view of the appointment of G. Mittag, member of the Political Bureau, to the position of First Deputy Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the GDR, the Plenum relieved him of his responsibilities as secretary of the CC SUPG.

W. Halbritter was relieved of his duties as candidate member of the Political Bureau at his request.

ISRAEL

A Plenum of the CC of the Communist Party of Israel was held on September 15-16. The Plenum heard the report of Meir Vilner, the General Secretary of the CC CPI, on the results of the elections to the Histadrut (the General Federation of Labor) and on the preparations for parliamentary and municipal elections. The CC CPI endorsed the election program and candidates.

One of the resolutions adopted points out that the Israeli Government is intensifying its aggressive actions against neighboring Arab states and continues to strengthen its illegal rule in the

occupied Arab territories. All this is leading to a further deterioration of the situation in the Middle East and endangering world peace.

In another resolution adopted at the Plenum, the CC CPI reaffirmed its solidarity with the Communist and Socialist parties of Chile, with the working class and people of that country.

KOREAN PEOPLE'S DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

At its meeting held in Pyongyang on September 17 the CC of the Korean Party of Labor discussed the fulfilment of revolutionary tasks laid down at the Fifth Congress of the KPL in the ideological, technical and cultural spheres. It also discussed the operation cost accounting in the economy.

Kim Il Sung, General Secretary of the CC KPL, addressed the Plenum. Resolutions were adopted on the matters under discussion.

NETHERLANDS

A meeting of the CC of the Communist Party of the Netherlands took place in the Hague on September 15 and 16 at which internal and external policies were discussed. The communique published on the 17th September in *De Waarheid* says that the CC of the CPN decided to hold a Party conference in the autumn of this year with the participation of representatives of local Party organizations. The conference will discuss the political situation in the country arising from the inauguration of the Den Uyl Government, and the tasks facing the Party at the present moment.

The Communique issues a call to the Dutch working people to take part in a "national demonstration" which is to take place on October 20 in Amsterdam around the slogans of the struggle for democracy, against the attack on the electoral system, for higher wages and cessation of price increases, for peace and security, a lessening of the arms burden and the removal of atomic weapons from the Netherlands.
