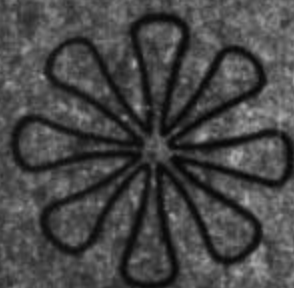


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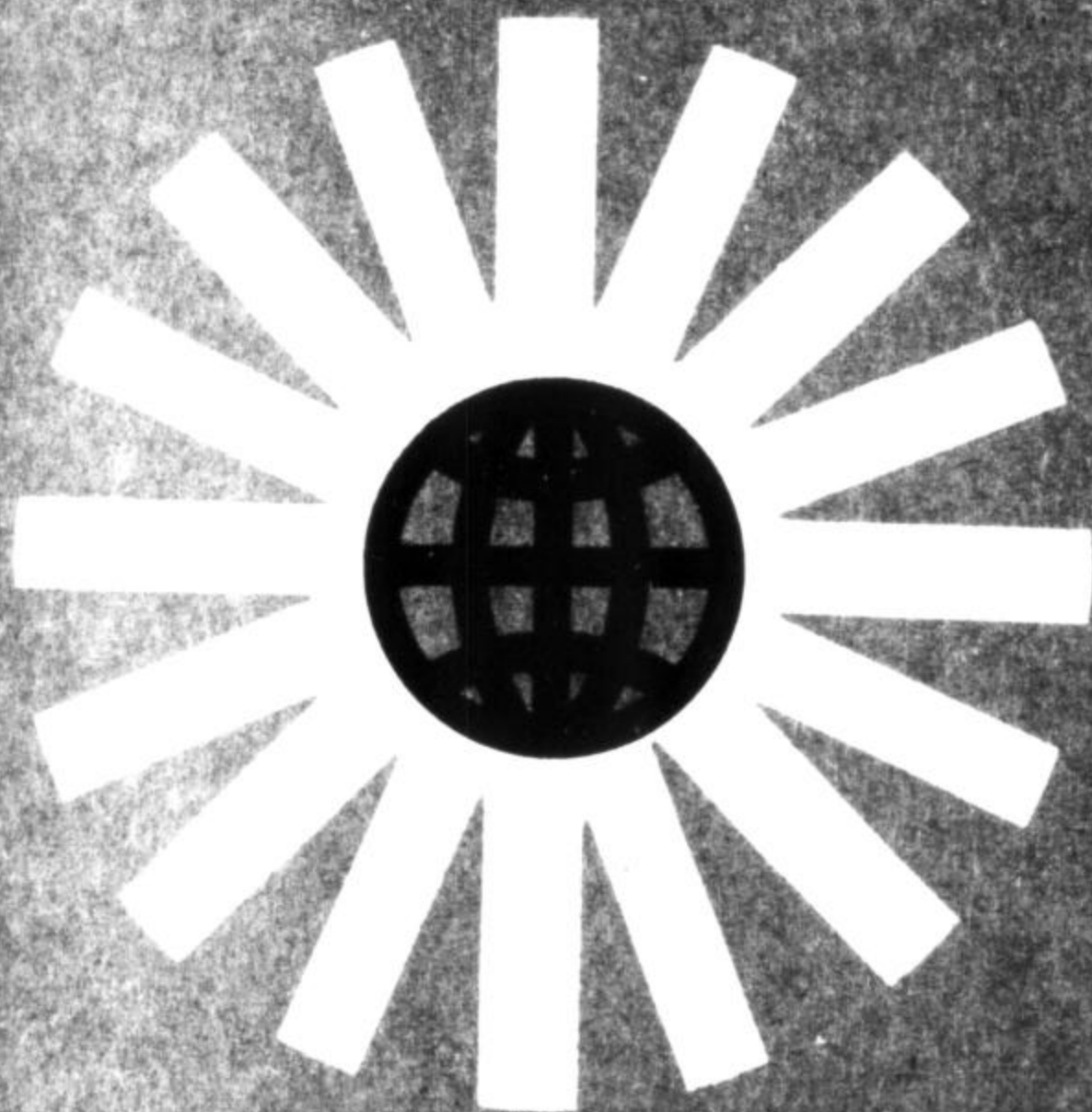
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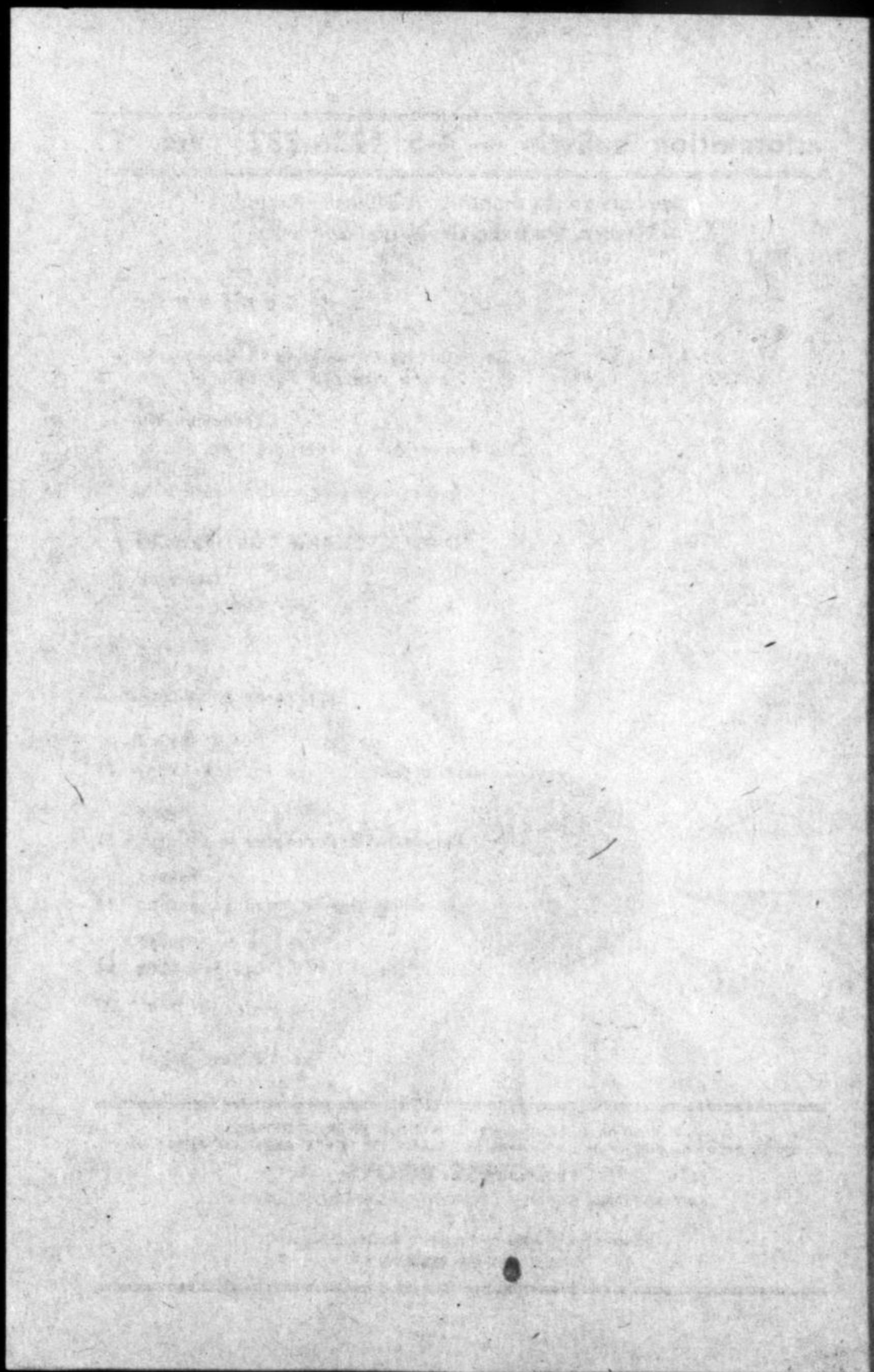
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APRIL 13, 1973



COMMUNIQUE ON MEETING OF REPRESENTATIVES OF EUROPEAN COMMUNIST AND WORKERS' PARTIES

A meeting of the representatives of 27 European Communist and Workers' Parties was held in Moscow on February 21-22, 1973 to discuss problems linked with work among young people.

The meeting was attended by the representatives of the Communist Party of Austria, the Communist Party of Belgium, the Bulgarian Communist Party, the Communist Party of Great Britain, the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, the Socialist Unity Party of Germany, the German Communist Party, the Communist Party of Greece, the Communist Party of Denmark, the Socialist Unity Party of West Berlin, the Communist Party of Ireland, the Communist Party of Spain, the Italian Communist Party, the Progressive Party of the Working People of Cyprus, the Communist Party of Luxembourg, the Communist Party of Norway, the Polish United Workers' Party, the Portuguese Communist Party, the Rumanian Communist Party, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the Communist Party of Turkey, the Communist Party of Finland, the French Communist Party, the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, the Swiss Party of Labor, the Left Party—Communists of Sweden, the Communist League of Yugoslavia.

The delegations spoke of their Parties' experience of work among young people and exchanged views on the prospects for wider participation of young people in the movement for European security and their cooperation in the common struggle of the forces of progress against imperialism, for peace, democracy and socialism.

The meeting was held in a spirit of full understanding and friendship.

February 22, 1973

25th ANNIVERSARY OF THE FEBRUARY 1948 VICTORY (CZECHOSLOVAKIA)

On February 23, the citizens of Prague and all people of Socialist Czechoslovakia marked the anniversary of a big revolutionary event—the historic February victory of the people which opened a new

era in the development of the Republic, the era of socialism. Tens of thousands of workers, students and office employees came to Old Town Square in Prague, where units of the People's Militia—the armed Guard of the Czechoslovak working class—lined up the Square. Exactly 25 years ago, here, on this same Square, the first units of the newly formed People's Militia demonstrated their determination to take up arms in defense of the revolutionary achievements and interests of the people.

At three o'clock in the afternoon a wave of applause swept over the square as G. Husak, General Secretary of the CC CPC, and L. I. Brezhnev, General Secretary of the CC CPSU, appeared on the reviewing stand. Together with them were President of Czechoslovakia L. Svoboda, Chairman of the CSSR Government L. Strougal, Members and Candidate Members of the CC CPC Presidium V. Bilak, K. Hoffmann, A. Indra, A. Kapek, J. Kempny, J. Korcak, J. Lenart, P. Colotka, M. Hruskovic, V. Hula, CC CPC Secretaries J. Fojtik, O. Svestka and F. Ondrich. Present too—Soviet Ambassador to Czechoslovakia S. V. Chervonenko and other Soviet guests.

A. Kapek, Member of the CC CPC Presidium and First Secretary of the Prague City Party Committee opened the meeting dedicated to the 25th anniversary of the February victory of Czechoslovakia's working people.

G. Husak delivered a speech.

SPEECH BY G. HUSAK

Dear Comrades, Friends, our dear Guests,

On behalf of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, on behalf of the President and the Federal Government, on behalf of the Central Committee of the National Front, allow me to sincerely greet all of you attending this meeting, and together with you all the working people of our country and congratulate you on this great revolutionary holiday of our people—the 25th anniversary of the victorious February.

For centuries the Old Town Square has witnessed many important events in the history of our peoples. The most glorious, however, will remain the powerful demonstration of the working class and progressive forces in Prague and throughout the country 25 years ago. At that time revolutionary Prague wrote one of the most glorious pages in its history. It demonstrated that it is a true bastion of our Communist and workers' movement.

It is for this reason that on the 25th anniversary of the February events, the Prague City Party organization has been awarded the "Order of the Victorious February." We express our sincere congratulations to the Communists of Prague, the collectives of enter-

prises, units of the People's Militia and individual comrades on receiving this high award.

During the days of February 1948 the question was being decided of who would govern the country. The question was being decided whether we would advance towards socialism or go back to capitalism. The question was being decided of whether Czechoslovakia would again become a plaything in the hands of the imperialist forces or whether it would ensure a reliable future for itself in strong alliance with the USSR and the fraternal socialist countries.

Now, 25 years later, we can clearly see the importance of the February victory of the people and the role it played in the subsequent development of Czechoslovak society.

It was not an easy lot that history prepared for our people. For centuries we had been forced to wage a difficult struggle against national and social oppression. Our peoples' progressive democratic forces made great sacrifices for liberation. But it was only with the appearance of the working class on the historical arena that objective conditions emerged for the solution of this task. The movement of the working class for social justice became, at the same time, the main force in the struggle for the freedom of our peoples. Back at the time of the birth of the Czechoslovak state in 1918, the working class, inspired by the Great October Socialist Revolution, clearly demonstrated its will to see the emergence of a new state, a state of the working people, a socialist state. At that time the bourgeoisie still managed to nullify the desires and hopes of the workers' movement. However, during the twenty years of its domination, it was not able to resolve any of the country's main internal or external issues.

The bourgeoisie was incapable of providing the working people with bread and work, could not give our peoples either freedom or independence. And, finally, acting in its own selfish class interests, our bourgeoisie, in alliance with Western imperialism, brought the country to Munich and occupation. In historical ordeals the Czech and Slovak bourgeoisie showed itself to be not a zealous master of the country, as Klement Gottwald said, but a misfortune-bearing betrayer of our national and state interests. On the other hand, the working class, led by its Communist vanguard, took decisive action against fascism, proving that its internationalism was at the same time the only true patriotism. That is why the working class became the legitimate leading force in our national-liberation struggle. For the working class the struggle to restore the Czechoslovak state was at the same time a struggle to make it a new, truly people's state. It was the Communists who were able to unite all the patriotic forces and bring to victory the national-liberation movement which reached its zenith at the time of the Slovak na-

tional uprising, the uprising of the people in Prague and the Czech regions of the country. Subsequently the Party developed the ideas of the national-liberation struggle to draft a program for a popular-democratic revolution. A vivid expression of this was the Kosice government program which our entire people accepted with satisfaction as their own program.

We shall never forget that we owe the national existence of our peoples and our liberation from the fascist yoke to our true friend and ally, the fraternal Soviet Union.

We shall never forget the innumerable sacrifices made by the Soviet people, nor the years of the Second World War and the heroic struggle of the Soviet Army which brought us freedom. Today, when we are celebrating the 25th anniversary of February, the glorious Soviet Army, a reliable shield of peace and socialism, freedom and security, is celebrating its own anniversary. And on the day of its holiday we send our militant comradely greetings to the Soviet Army.

From the very beginning the struggle waged by our Party and the country's progressive forces was inseparably linked with the October Revolution and the Soviet Union. The historical experience gained from the Munich betrayal, the war and the liberation has convinced our people that the only long-term and reliable guarantee of our national freedom, our statehood, our independence and peaceful development is firm friendship with the Soviet Union.

This historical truth has been confirmed with all clarity by post-war world events. Without the comradely cooperation, all-round support and internationalist aid from the Soviet Union we would not have been able to build socialism in our republic. And therefore, in connection with the 25th anniversary of the glorious February victory we express our sincere comradely gratitude to the Soviet people, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and its Leninist Central Committee, for the comprehensive aid which they have always given and continue to give us. We assure our Soviet brothers that in the Czechoslovak people and our Communist Party they have today and will have in future reliable allies and true friends.

A great honor for us, comrades, and a demonstration of deep brotherly feelings is the fact that taking part in the celebrations to mark the February victory is Comrade Leonid Ilyich Brezhnev, our great friend, who as a general in the Soviet Army took part in liberating our country, Hero of the CSSR, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. We warmly welcome him and on your behalf congratulate him on receiving the highest Czechoslovak award, the Order of the White

Lion, First Degree, with chain. We ask Comrade Brezhnev to convey to the Soviet people and their glorious Communist Party our militant greetings and wishes for great success in building communism.

Comrades, liberation and the victory of the 1945 revolution resulted in fundamental changes in our country's life. The working class and all working people achieved a position in the country in keeping with their actual weight. A substantial portion of the industry was nationalized, a land reform and other revolutionary changes were carried out. However, a section of the bourgeoisie which had taken part in the struggle against fascism still remained in power. The years 1945-1948 became a time of resolute class struggle between the forces of progress and reaction. The Communists and, with them, the majority of the people strove to carry forward the gains of the popular-democratic revolution. But the bourgeoisie, which had formally subscribed to the National Front's Joint Program, in fact did everything it could to reduce it to naught. The bourgeoisie opposed the creative labor of Communists with its plan of subverting the republic, it opposed alliance with the USSR, intending to turn our country once again into an appendage of the West.

In the acute political struggle for power the Party exposed the class nature and reactionary goals of bourgeois representatives. But now the working people would not permit themselves to be deprived of the fruit of revolutionary struggle. They would not allow a repetition of 1920. There already existed an experienced and united working class and its battle-tested Communist Party with its firm revolutionary leadership. Another factor was the firm alliance of workers and peasants. And shoulder to shoulder with our people stood our true ally, the Soviet Union, which made impossible any attempt at imperialist intervention.

When in February the bourgeoisie attempted to carry out a counter-revolutionary coup, at the call of the Party millions of workers, peasants and other working people rose in defense of the revolutionary gains. The mighty force of the people smothered in embryo the reactionary plot, ensuring a revolutionary, constitutional resolution of the government crisis. By defeating the bourgeoisie our people finally decided the question of power and further socialist development. The old dreams of generations of fighters for socialism came true. The working class assumed the leadership of society, taking the destiny of our peoples into its own hands.

February was at the same time a great victory in the struggle for Europe's postwar arrangement, for the formation of the socialist world system. It enriched the international Communist movement

with new experience in the struggle for the establishment of working-class power.

The February victory was the culmination of many years of revolutionary struggle of the working people and the Communist Party for the overthrow of capitalism. In difficult battles the Party proved itself to be the most consistent fighter for the interests of the working class, all working people, our peoples as a whole. In the school of Leninism, following the example of the Bolsheviks of Russia, it learned how to wage this struggle and bring it to victory. Its transformation into the leading political force is forever connected with the name of Klement Gottwald, outstanding revolutionary leader of our own and the international Communist movement. In celebrating the 25th anniversary of the February victory, we recall with respect and thanks his unforgettable services, his contribution to the victory of the working class in our country.

Comrades, February opened up the road of building socialism. Thanks to the devoted labor of millions of people, the past 25 years saw the implementation of the Leninist plan of building socialist society. Socialism, as a new and higher social system, has justified the people's expectations. It has in every way confirmed its advantages in our country, too. In the course of a quarter of a century it has resolved the main national, government and social problems of our society. It has successfully tackled problems before which capitalism was helpless.

Bourgeois rule meant democracy for a select handful. Under socialism the people are the true masters.

In the economy capitalism meant stagnation and crises. Socialism has brought with it steady and considerable economic growth.

The lot of the working class and the toiling people under capitalism was unemployment, insecurity, poverty and migration. Socialist contemporaneity guarantees the people a high standard of living, complete social confidence and a reliable perspective.

Capitalist Czechoslovakia was beset by national contradictions. Socialism has brought a just, Leninist resolution of the national question in our country, ensured the fraternal unity and cooperation of the Czech and Slovak peoples and other nationalities.

Slovakia has turned from a backward agrarian land into an industrially developed republic, its economy has become an important component of the single Czechoslovak economy.

Bourgeois rule meant also the international instability of our state. Socialism has brought our people, in the community of socialist states, a quarter of a century of peaceful life and a firm international position.

Only a people rid of capitalist rule can achieve such results. And we have been applying and developing the advantages and prospects of socialism in our country for only a comparatively short period

of time. In spite of the novelty and complexity of the tasks, thanks to the Party's correct policy and the selfless, the inspired work of millions of people, we have achieved the most significant success in the whole history of our peoples, incomparably greater than all that the bourgeoisie had done.

In connection with the 25th anniversary of the glorious February victory, we express our deep gratitude and thanks to all those who, with revolutionary gallantry and fortitude, fought and triumphed in the struggle against capitalism for national liberation, for a better life for the present generations. We pay homage to all those who contributed to the historic February victory. We address words of thanks to the working class, cooperated peasants, intellectuals and the members of our Communist Party, vanguard, organizer and inspirer of that glorious victory, to our youth, women, the Armed Forces, to all those who contributed to the successful accomplishment of the tasks of socialist construction. We gratefully appreciate the role of the People's Militia, which appeared 25 years ago. Today, too, we hail it. We also hail the armed units of the National Security Corps, and our People's Army standing on guard for our people's revolutionary gains.

The building of socialism, as the greatest social transformation in history, was accompanied by quest and difficulties. But errors and misjudgments cannot detract from the historical significance of the fact that socialism has triumphed once and for all in our country, that the CSSR is a firm and inseparable component of the socialist camp and true ally of the USSR.

In 1968, revisionists attempted to distort our achievements, carry out a revision of February and turn back the wheel of history. Their counter-revolutionary plans were, however, in contradiction with the will and interests of the people, in whose minds and hearts the ideas of socialism and friendship with the Soviet Union had struck deep roots. With the internationalist help of our allies the forces of the Party and the people true to Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism repulsed the attacks of counter-revolution. In open political struggle the Right-wing opportunist and anti-socialist forces suffered a defeat. After April 1969, under the leadership of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia we restored all that had been demolished and returned our country to the path of socialist development. We learned an ever-lasting lesson from the crisis. Never again shall we allow our people's socialist gains and friendship with the Soviet Union to be placed in jeopardy. We shall safeguard and defend them with the same resolve with which the revolutionary working class acted in February 1948.

Comrades, at its recent plenum the Party Central Committee summed up the results of a quarter-century of socialist construction and our work following the 14th Congress of the CPC. They are

very positive results. The past 25 years have been a triumph of socialism, a triumph of the ideas of Marxism-Leninism in our country. Our people, our working class and its Communist Party are justly proud of their achievements, but they will not stop here. To carry forward the behests of February means resolving the revolutionary tasks of today and tomorrow with the utmost intensity. This makes it incumbent on us to spare no effort in consolidating the Party's unity and loyalty to the ideals of Leninism. This makes it incumbent on us tirelessly to expand the unity of the Party and the people, the alliance of the workers, peasants and other working people, of the nations and nationalities of our republic, the alliance and friendship with the Soviet Union and our socialist allies.

The road to this has been pointed out by the 14th Congress of the CPC. Its decisions represent a comprehensive program of further development of our socialist society. They express the interests and aspirations of our people. That is why the people have wholly approved them and are putting them into effect. Less than two years have passed since the Congress. They have been good years for our economy, for our people, for increasing the standard of living. Considerable headway has been made in all spheres. But we do not rest content. We have a lot of work ahead. We have a lot of difficulties before us. But we also have everything necessary for our continued advance. We have accumulated an adequate body of experience and knowledge, courage and energy. We have a powerful developed economic potential. We can lean on powerful and reliable allies. That is why we look with faith and optimism into the future, which will bring the further blossoming of our socialist country.

As in February 1948, our people are joining the great movement for carrying out the tasks set by the Congress and the fifth five-year plan, for the further strengthening and development of our socialist society. We are convinced that every person who values our country's fate and future will make his labor contribution to this cause. The coming years will be a worthy continuation of the revolutionary road on which we embarked 25 years ago in the glorious February of 1948.

Hail the 25th anniversary of the February victory of the working people of Czechoslovakia!

Long live the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic and its heroic working people, which is putting into effect the great behests of the glorious February victory!

Long live the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, which led our people to the victorious February and is leading us further along the road of building a developed socialist society!

Comrade Husak's speech was repeatedly interrupted with prolonged applause, cries in honor of the CPC, the February victory, in honor of the Soviet Union, the Soviet Army, in honor of the inviolable Czechoslovak-Soviet friendship.

The floor was then given to Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, General Secretary of the CC CPSU.

SPEECH BY COMRADE L. I. BREZHNEV

Dear Comrade Husak,
Dear Comrade Svoboda,
Dear Comrade Strougal,
Esteemed citizens of Prague,
Dear comrades and friends,

On the occasion of this great national holiday, the 25th anniversary of the historic February victory, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet and the Soviet Government warmly congratulate all the Communists and working people of socialist Czechoslovakia.

I fully share the thoughts and feelings expressed by Comrade Gustav Husak in connection with this anniversary. Today, when a quarter of a century separates us from those days, one can see with special clarity that February 1948 was one of the turning points of postwar history. It was a major class battle on the world scene which was won by socialism. It marked a fundamental turn in the destinies of the peoples of Czechoslovakia.

The working class, peasants, all the country's working people responded to the ardent call of the Communist Party voiced by Klement Gottwald from here, from Old Town Square. He declared firmly and unequivocally: Czechoslovakia will no longer be a pawn in the imperialist game. The people opted for socialism, for genuine independence, democracy and progress.

Czechoslovakia has long been famous for the skill of its toilers, the talent of its engineers and scientists, the art of its writers, composers and artists. Proceeding from this favorable basis, the Czechoslovak people, in new social conditions, have multiplied the country's economic and cultural potential many times over. These successes in building socialism are all the more substantial as they were achieved in difficult conditions, against the resistance of hostile class forces within the country and abroad which did not give up the hope of staging an "anti-February."

Today Czechoslovakia is a leading, economically advanced country of the world whose role and influence in international affairs are steadily growing. This is a natural result of 25 years of the

struggles and the labor of workers, peasants and intellectuals under the leadership of the Communist Party, the tangible fruit of a policy based on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and socialist internationalism.

Dear friends,

Every time I come to visit you I involuntarily recall the victorious spring of 1945, when we Soviet soldiers embraced Czechs and Slovaks in the streets of Prague and other cities like brothers and together celebrated the victory over fascism. This demonstration of gratitude and love for the Soviet people, this recognition of their great sacrifices and efforts in our common struggle created a lasting imprint in my heart, as in the hearts of all Soviet soldiers who had fought for the liberation of Czechoslovakia.

Today is a doubly significant day for all of us, for the celebration of the February victory has coincided with the celebration of the creation of the Soviet Army, which is marking its 55th anniversary today. In this connection one cannot fail to recall that fighting side by side with Soviet soldiers in the bitter battles against fascism were the Czechs and Slovaks of the famed corps of General Ludvik Svoboda, today the esteemed President of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic. That was a real brotherhood of arms.

In the years that have passed since then our friendship has strengthened and matured. All the important things that constitute the meaning of the life and work of the peoples of the Soviet Union and Czechoslovakia are a source of kinship and unity. We are fighting together for the implementation of the ideals of the working class. We are bound together by our common desire for peace, our resolve to spare no effort to ensure the security of the socialist countries and avert the threat of war to mankind. It is this resolve that constitutes the basis of the Warsaw Treaty, the basis of bilateral agreements concluded between the fraternal countries. Together we are building and consolidating our great common asset, the socialist community.

A close, voluntary cohesion of sovereign, independent states in the name of socialism and communism, deep respect for one another, complete equality, fraternal mutual assistance — this is our community!

The broadest cooperation in all political, economic and cultural spheres in the interest of each fraternal country and the cause of socialism as a whole — this is our community!

Unity in the struggle against imperialism, firm resistance to the policy of aggression, solidarity with all who are upholding the cause of freedom, independence and social progress — this is our community!

Today the whole world recognizes that the major, one could say the decisive, contribution to the development of international events

in favor of the peoples belongs to the fraternal socialist countries, to our common purposeful policy.

Of course, much has yet to be done to consolidate reliably the trend to peace, security and cooperation. Speaking of Europe, a number of complex problems have still to be resolved to banish from the continent once and for all the very spirit of the cold war. Relations between European states should not be clouded by remnants of the fascist policies of diktat and violence. This is the stand we take in our approach to the Czechoslovak people's legitimate demand that the so-called Munich agreement be declared null and void and contrary to international law. This problem can and must be resolved in a constructive way.

Our joint policy, based on the principles of socialist internationalism, has passed the test not only in Europe. It also played an important part in the victory of the heroic Vietnamese people. We firmly believe that the joint efforts of the socialist state and progressive, peace-loving forces all around the world will help other peoples as well in their struggle against aggression, for freedom and independence.

Dear comrades,

In the February days of 1948 the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia led the working people into the struggle against reaction under the slogan: "Forward! Not one step back! On to socialism!" This militant call is alive today. It is alive in the minds and the deeds of the working class, the working peasants, the people's intelligentsia. It is alive in all your work to carry out the decisions of the 14th Congress of the CPC.

We wish you every success in the struggle for the further flourishing of socialist Czechoslovakia!

Long live the eternal friendship and fraternal alliance of the Soviet and Czechoslovak peoples!

May the great community of socialist states grow stronger and prosper!

Long live peace throughout the world!

The concluding words of L. I. Brezhnev's speech were greeted with a storm of applause and greetings. The participants in the meeting chanted: "Long live peace!", "With the Soviet Union for all times!", "Friendship!", "Hurrah!"

A. Kapek moved that, on behalf of the participants in the meeting, heartfelt, friendly greetings be conveyed to the Soviet people together with assurances of the unswerving devotion of Czechs and Slovaks to Gottwald's slogan: "With the Soviet Union for all times" A new round of ovation flared up. The crowd chanted the words of K. Gottwald uttered a quarter of a century ago: "With the Soviet Union for all times!"

The strains of the "Internationale" rise over Old Town Square. The people of Prague sing the international Communist anthem.
Pravda, Feb. 24, 1973

FRIENDLY VISIT TO THE CSSR BY L. I. BREZHNEV*

L. I. Brezhnev, General Secretary of the CC CPSU, was on a friendly visit to the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic from February 22-24, 1973, at the invitation of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, the President and the government of the CSSR. He took part in the festivities commemorating the 25th anniversary of the Czechoslovak working people's victory over reaction.

During his stay in the CSSR L. I. Brezhnev met and had talks with Gustav Husak, General Secretary of the CC CPC, Ludvik Svoboda, President of the CSSR, and members of the CC CPC Presidium and Secretariat.

The Czechoslovak comrades told about the political, organizational and ideological activities of the CPC aimed at consolidating and developing socialism, and about achievements in the republic's economy and culture. The gains of Czechoslovakia's working class and other working people are reflected in the records of the February 1973 plenum of the CC CPC, which summed up the socialist progress made by the CSSR over the past 25 years. The plenum debate on the course and perspectives of implementation of the decisions of the 14th CPC Congress will constitute an important stimulus in rallying the efforts of the Party and the people for the solution of problems involved in building a developed socialist society in the CSSR.

The Soviet side stressed that the experience of the CSSR attests the importance of the leading role of the working class in socialist society and of preserving and furthering the revolutionary traditions of the working class. Confidence was expressed that Czechoslovakia's working people, by following the victorious path of February 1948 under the leadership of their militant Marxist-Leninist vanguard, the Communist Party, will achieve still greater prosperity for their socialist country.

L. I. Brezhnev informed the Czechoslovak comrades about the tasks which the CPSU and the Soviet people are fulfilling in the third, decisive year of the five-year economic development plan of

**Pravda*, and *Rude Pravo*, February 25, 1973.

the USSR and about implementation of the decisions of the 24th CPSU Congress. The Czechoslovak side stressed the significance of the experience of building communism in the Soviet Union and of the Soviet people's gains in the economic, cultural and all other spheres of social activity. They laid special emphasis on the fact that the CPSU and the Soviet Union support fraternal Czechoslovakia at every stage of socialist development. The Communists and working people of the CSSR think highly of this support and see it as a manifestation of the consistently internationalist line of the Leninist CPSU.

Both sides voiced satisfaction over the all-round development of relations between the two parties and countries. Economic cooperation on both a bilateral basis and through the participation of the two countries in the Comprehensive Program of Socialist Economic Integration is making good progress.

The participants in the meeting noted with deep satisfaction the two parties' unity of views and action on all current international issues. The meaningful and coordinated policy of the socialist community played an important role in easing international tensions in Europe. In the focus of European politics today are preparations for an all-European conference of states on security and cooperation which may usher in a new stage in the postwar history of the continent, the stage of lasting peace and mutually beneficial economic and cultural cooperation on an equal footing in the interests of all nations. To accomplish these tasks, it is necessary to settle the problems still complicating relations between European countries. This applies, first of all, to the Czechoslovak people's legitimate demand that the Munich diktat be recognized as null and void and contrary to international law.

A major international event of the recent period was the end of the war in Vietnam. The Vietnamese people's victory was met with the greatest satisfaction by the whole of progressive and peace-loving mankind. The Soviet Union and Czechoslovakia hope that the coming international conference in Vietnam will finalize the agreements reached and play a part in enabling the heroic freedom-loving people of Vietnam to realize their national aspirations in peace.

The participants in the talks expressed satisfaction over the fact that an agreement has been reached to restore peace and national concord in Laos. They hope that it will soon be possible completely to eliminate the Indochina seat of war. The Soviet Union and Czechoslovakia share the conviction that a duty of all peace-loving countries is to do all in their power for a settlement of the Middle East conflict through elimination of the consequences of Israeli aggression and on the principle of respect for the legitimate

rights and interests of all the states and peoples of the area.

The participants in the meeting noted that joint action by the socialist community, the world Communist movement and all progressive, peace-loving forces against the imperialist policy of aggression and war is producing ever more tangible results. The Czechoslovak comrades underscored the tremendous contribution made in this respect by the CPSU, which consistently carries into effect the Peace Program worked out by the 24th Party Congress. In this connection, they pointed out the great significance of the positive changes brought about in relations between the Soviet Union and the United States for international détente, greater international security and world peace.

The CPSU and CPC will continue to work for closer cohesion of the socialist countries and the world Communist movement on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, in the name of new victories for peace, democracy, national independence, socialism and communism.

The meeting between L. I. Brezhnev and the Czechoslovak comrades proceeded in a cordial atmosphere and demonstrated complete unity of views on all the questions discussed.

CONGRESSES AND CONFERENCES

FIGHT AGAINST BIG CAPITAL, FOR THE WORKING CLASS AND SOCIALISM*

I. THE CHANGING WORLD

Our time is witnessing far-reaching changes in the history of human society—the worldwide transition from capitalism to socialism.

The establishment of socialism first in the Soviet Union and then in other countries has shown that the founders of the workers' movement were right in saying that socialism is the future of the peoples. Due to the transfer of the means of production into the hands of society it is possible to use available opportunities to satisfy the requirements of men. This conclusion is ever more convincing today, when science, revolutionizing established concepts,

*Political resolution of the 24th Congress of the Communist Party of Denmark, published in *Land og Folk*, February 7, 1973.

has become a direct productive force and, embodied in new technology, offers the possibility of building a happy life through constant creation.

This is impossible under capitalism. Production and social life are determined by the interests of private capitalist monopolies intent on making profits. Due to their interference, technological progress breeds unemployment and fear of the future, leads to back-breaking labor, causes destruction of nature and spoliation of life and creates the threat of catastrophe.

The peoples can achieve peace and social progress only through constant struggle against the striving of capitalist monopolies to retain their power and privileges. Opposed to their system—imperialism—are socialism, the working-class and national-liberation movements. The future of mankind is being decided in this international class struggle.

Imperialism is no longer in a position to determine the course of history. Socialism is gaining an ever more decisive influence on international development as practice bears out its advantages as a social system. The building of socialism in the Soviet Union leads to the solution of totally new and big social tasks. Other socialist countries, too, are advancing to developed socialism. This not only signifies their material and political consolidation but also that socialism's force of conviction for the peoples is growing.

By contrast, the imperialist countries are experiencing growing instability and new crisis phenomena. The struggle of the working class and democratic forces against monopoly domination is growing in scope.

Despite reverses, the anti-imperialist national-revolutionary liberation movements are gaining new influence and weight. Bangladesh has won independence. The oil fields in Algeria, Iraq, Syria and other countries have been nationalized. The struggle is going on in Chile for radical democratic changes in the direction of socialism.

Thus, in recent years the world balance of forces has on the whole changed still more in favor of socialism, peace and the liberation of the peoples.

This is particularly manifest in the fact that now the possibility exists for effectively preventing imperialism from unleashing a new world war and compelling it to respect the principles of peaceful coexistence. Results have been achieved that only a few years ago appeared impossible.

The U.S. President had to sign treaties in Moscow on peaceful coexistence and first disarmament measures. The West German government was compelled to abandon its revanchist claims, recognize the existing boundaries and conclude agreements with the

GDR. The struggle for the recognition of the GDR has been crowned with success. Preparations have begun for the conference of the European states on security and cooperation. Negotiations are under way on the peaceful reunification of Korea. Opposition to China's admission to the UN has ended. All this constitutes an advance in implementing the Peace Program put forward at the 24th Congress of the CPSU, which meets with growing support.

However, the weakening of imperialist positions by no means signifies that imperialism is no longer dangerous and that the war menace and actions by reaction have been eliminated. In Vietnam U.S. imperialism has again demonstrated the craftiness with which it is pursuing its criminal war policy whenever it has a chance. The Middle East still remains a hotbed of war. There is the threat of war in Korea since the U.S., under UN cover, continues to keep its troops in South Korea and blocks the peaceful reunification of the country. In many areas the reactionary and fascist forces are out to bolster their positions and provoke new conflicts. New schemes are being hatched in the imperialist states against the socialist world and the peoples' struggle for peace. The new forms of anti-communism are part of the current broad ideological campaigns. This is why it is so essential to resolutely counter the attempts of imperialism to find new means of effectuating its plans after it had been forced into retreat.

For the Danish people it is especially important to understand in what way imperialist powers are trying to exploit the internationalization of production and economic integration in order to activate their policy of participation in political and military blocs. The EEC decision on "transformation into a European union" by 1980 signals a course set for the creation of a super-power in which West German imperialism will be the main force. This will create new threats to peace and the smaller EEC countries in particular will be the victims of such a bloc. Economic ties with the bloc will be used to impose on them political and military decisions contradicting their national interests. But in our time the imperialists cannot act at will in this sphere either. The struggle of the socialist countries and other peace-loving forces for détente and peace, the rivalry and contradictions between the imperialist powers foil their plans time and again. This opens up before the peoples, including the people of Denmark, the possibility of waging a successful struggle. This is why we must reject all attempts to call for discontinuing the struggle against the exacerbation of the bloc policy. On the contrary, it should be developed and intensified, first of all on the basis of joint actions by all democratic and peace forces in the EEC countries. This places special responsibility on the Communist parties of these countries and it is particularly important for

them to agree on common actions.

The following tasks come to the fore in the struggle for peace:

—Securing peace and independence for the peoples of Indochina; immediate cessation of the criminal military actions of U.S. imperialism; the signing of the peace agreement on withdrawal of all U.S. troops that has already been reached; solidarity with the peoples of Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia; support for their efforts to rehabilitate their countries.

—Establishing a stable peace order in the Middle East on the basis of the Security Council resolution on the withdrawal of the Israeli aggressive troops and respect for the national rights of all peoples of the area, including the Palestinian people.

—Ensuring that the all-European security conference will lead to the elimination of the division into blocs caused in our part of the world by the creation of NATO and the cold war, and its replacement by a system of collective security and equal cooperation of states.

The peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems provides favorable conditions for the peoples' struggle for national independence, democracy and socialism. This is especially important for the Danish people after the decision on EEC membership.

The main condition for using the available opportunities is the unity and solidarity of all anti-imperialist forces and above all the world Communist movement. Great damage is caused by the fact that the present Chinese leadership has placed itself outside these aspirations in the name of Maoism, acting against them and supporting imperialist plans, e.g., the plan for turning EEC into a military bloc. We must hope and try to assure that the leadership of the Communist Party of China will change this position and return to the road of cooperation.

The world Communist movement has become a big ideological and political force of our time. It is united by the ideas of Marxism-Leninism and the internationalism of the working class. At the 1969 International Meeting the Communist parties jointly elaborated the key problems of the present period and put forward a common program of action in the fight against imperialism.

Now as always, the Communist Party of Denmark advocates broader cooperation with the international working-class movement, all anti-imperialist forces and the existing socialism. It actively works for closer unity of the world Communist movement on the basis of joint actions and ideological unity, in line with the universally valid laws of the struggle for socialism.

Danish Communists also contribute to the common struggle of the peoples by their fight for democracy, national independence and socialism.

II. THE CRISIS OF DANISH SOCIETY

Important changes have taken place in the development of capitalist society in Denmark. At the end of the 50s and the first half of the 60s Denmark had a relatively stable growth of the economy, with industry becoming a leading branch of production and export. Specialized high-quality products gained access to the world market, when the drop in the prices of raw materials in relation to finished products created favorable conditions for trade exchange. Illusions appeared about a stable, "crisis-free" and "progressive" capitalism in Denmark.

Towards the end of the 60s the foundations for such ideas were shattered. The unplanned economic growth characteristic of capitalism caused ever more grave disproportions and crisis phenomena, with the balance of payments deficit reaching the record high of four billion kroner, inflation getting out of control and unemployment growing despite the assurances of "full employment."

Capitalism could no longer govern its own system. The top crust of the ruling classes drew the conclusion that an independent Danish economy did not accord with their interests.

Thus the problems facing Danish society are not temporary, they reflect the deep crisis of the capitalist social system in Denmark.

Aggravation of Class Contradictions

Contrary to all talk about "social harmony," class contradictions are sharpening. Economic growth meant above all enrichment for big capital and expansion of its power. Its share in the national product increased still more, while the share of wage labor dropped below 29 per cent. Capital is being concentrated in the hands of fewer and fewer persons, independent enterprises in agriculture, trade and handicrafts go out of business en masse and even the big capitalist enterprises are ruined or merge in the conditions of monopoly competition.

For the working people the economic growth did not at all mean the creation of "a welfare state," but more insecurity, more needs that remained unsatisfied and fear of the morrow. They see the growing gulf between the possibilities of a better life as a result of the use of modern technology and the actual situation. Inflation enriches the real estate operators, while no less than 14 per cent of the annual increase in wages is absorbed by the growth of prices and tax robbery. This explains why the resistance of the working class develops into a sharp class struggle.

State-Monopoly Capitalism

Big capital tries to protect itself from the consequences of the crisis of its system by applying new methods of domination. Capitalism in Denmark, too, has become state-monopoly capitalism.

The ever closer fusion of monopoly and state power is typical, permitting interference in economic life to consolidate monopoly profits. Tax, finance and monetary policy is an element of the general exploitative process. Big capital is quite willing to turn over to the state and the communes the essential but less lucrative areas of activity, such as insurance, education, road-building, building of airfields. This enables it to spend less and to obtain more profit at the taxpayers' expense.

When a country's economic policy is said to be centered on "securing the right economic climate," it is really centered on assuring greater incomes for big capital. And precisely because the governments that succeeded each other approached all problems from this very angle, their measures did not solve problems and only aggravated the crisis of society.

The state is drifting farther and farther away from the people. Its measures are arbitrary and unjust. Particularly, this applies to the major items of the average citizen's budget—taxes and house rent. Those with large possessions ease their situation by writing off assets, applying for credits, or by out-and-out profiteering. Others are tied by taxes on sources of income and regular items of expenditure. Though the state harps on the need for economizing, it is squandering funds on unnecessary things. The scandalous public exposures refer to but the most outrageous cases.

Accession to the EEC and the Anti-Monopoly Front

By acceding to the EEC big capital took a new and fatal step. It was unable to enforce state-monopoly regulation as rigidly as it wished, and decided to sacrifice the national state as a form of domination in favor of the supra-state organs of the monopolistic Common Market. EEC directives and appeals to observe "EEC commitments" are nowadays the methods of Denmark's state-monopoly capitalism. Danish big capital and its enterprises are falling under the sway of international monopolies. And they could not care less, because it facilitates squeezing more profit out of the people. Big capital has enlisted the power elite to support its EEC ambitions, and at an EEC meeting in Paris the government underwrote commitments to remove obstacles to further concentration of capital, promising that in the next phase its economic policy would be oriented on "economic and monetary alliance."

The accession to the EEC instantly caused stocks and shares to rise. Big capital obtained more convenient instruments for writing off assets and for opposing concessions to wage labor with references to EEC competition.

EEC policy causes a sharpening of the class struggle, its spread to new areas of life. Fighting against the EEC, the working class showed once again that it is the backbone of the nation. It has fortified its unity, has become more active, and has gained new allies. Fighting for its class interests, it is also the nation's biggest force in combating EEC policy.

Important changes are afoot within the classes. The working class is augmented by an influx from the countryside, by formerly independent producers and women working at home. The vast majority of office employees and technicians have to contend with the same conditions as wage workers; their interests are now closer. However, this does not yet apply to the upper stratum of specialists and officials closely connected with capital. The contradictions between big capital and the smaller producers are becoming more acute.

The Common Market activity of big capital is thus creating fertile ground for a common front rallied around the working class against big capital, for the democratic right of participating in management, and for national independence.

Deepening of the Crisis of Society

The course of events has also changed the situation and perspective of the youth, large sections of which are actively involved in the battle for radical changes. Young people base their demands on present, rather than past criteria, and are therefore more strongly discontented.

For most of them study plays an increasing part in life. In the circumstances, young people are conscious of the injustice and lack of rights prevailing in society. The questions they raise cannot be dismissed with the usual explanations. In production, study, use of acquired knowledge, looking for housing and other elements of independent existence, young people run into the closed doors of our class society. Not only the working youth, but other young people as well, aspire to ideals conflicting with the existing society, and this re-awakens interest in Marxist theory. Students demand that the educational system should respond to this interest. When youth activity and its aspirations, totally devoid of prejudice, combine with the struggle of the working class, they become an important force pressing for social change.

The social involvement of women, too, is growing. The double

load they carry—participation in production and household duties imposed by tradition—creates an intolerable situation. Demands for equal rights, also envisaging social guarantees and a more extensive system of auxiliary institutions, play an ever greater part in the struggle for a new society. To support these demands is the common duty of all, irrespective of sex.

Those who seek broader cultural development on the basis of present possibilities are also coming into conflict with the existing social conditions. Growth of research and the creative arts depends on those who hold economic power and obstructs the freedom of experiment essential for further progress. The mass communication media, such as the press, radio and television, which could well be vehicles of mutual cultural enrichment, are falling short of this objective, because dominated by big capital and its agents, who want them to be instruments for preserving their class domination.

The manner in which big capital utilizes the scientific-technical revolution is creating new and grave problems for the people. The work tempo is reaching impossible limits. Accidents in factories and new occupational diseases are becoming more widespread. Fatiguing travel to and from work, consuming several hours daily, augments the stresses of the working day. New techniques and their use on a mass scale are polluting and contaminating the natural environment. And though the cost of preventing pollution is really part of the cost of production, big capital tries to impose it on the state and communes. It is trying to evade responsibility by claiming that environmental pollution, and the like, is a "supraclass" and "purely technical" problem. In effect, however, it can be solved if treated as part of the class struggle against big capital not only in enterprises, but in society as a whole.

The Battle of Ideas

The profound crisis of society is not confined to just the economy and politics. It has spread to the spiritual domain and to public morals. Capitalist society's inability to solve its problems is causing a widespread reassessment of long-standing notions. The traditional appeals in favor of the old social order are no longer convincing. To prevent this from leading to the natural conclusion that the pillars of society must be altered by revolutionary means, the ruling classes are trying to convince the nation that it should reconcile itself to the existing conditions. They spurn traditional ethical standards and go out of their way to provide empty entertainment and leisure, to implant stultified ideals, to cultivate crudity, and are not stopping short of encouraging drugs and pornography. They are

aware that this degradation may impel neo-reactionary, even purely fascist, currents. This is part of the new method of inculcating bourgeois ideology, designed to prevent the masses from appreciating and fighting for their interests. Practice, as well as theory, show that socialism alone can solve the problems facing the people by transferring the commanding heights in the economy to society, using them according to plan in the interest of the people and with its participation, and by constituting a state embodying the power of the working masses. This is why socialist ideas, the theory of Marx and Lenin, are becoming ever more widespread in the fight against bourgeois ideology. The latter, for its part, is bent on spreading false notions about socialism and communism. Combating this is part of the ideological struggle, which plays an ever greater role in the class confrontation of the present day.

Fortifying the Forces That Can Alter Society

As yet, Denmark is not faced directly by a socialist revolution, historically necessary though it is for social progress. At present, the objective is to form the forces that can alter society.

Recent years have yielded new experience, which shows that new forces can be rallied. The experience of the democratic and anti-monopoly popular movement against the EEC has shown that the vast majority of the working class is capable of uniting against big capital. It has shown, too, that the people can be rallied for political action against the plans of the monopolies. The forces are there; it is a question of marshalling them.

One way of marshalling them is by mounting joint actions against the power of big capital. Such actions give the working class and its allies new faith. Joint action by the working masses can lead to democratic gains that consolidate popular influence and strip big capital of power. Further struggle may alter the relations of class forces, enabling the working people to establish a new democratic order, an anti-monopolistic democracy, to create a new state serving the people, rather than the monopolies. This could be Denmark's road to socialism. But it is a road of struggle, requiring activity and unity by all forces that realize that their vital interests are scorned by big capital.

III. NEW POLICY NEEDED

To change the situation in Danish society, we need a new policy. The usual game of politics does not lead forward.

The conditions for a new policy are ripe. The traditional framework of political life is disintegrating. Confidence in official politicians is vanishing. The people themselves must speak up if

democracy is to acquire vitality. This is indicated by the situation in various parties.

Defeat of the Front of Conservatives, Liberals and Radicals

It is becoming more and more obvious that the bourgeois parties have no perspective.

The record of the government of Conservatives, Liberals and Radicals is a warning of the consequences which implementation of the employers' policy by a Right wing will bring. This is the main cause of their election defeat, which led to a division in and between the coalition parties and to vacillation among their electorate.

EEC policy is giving rise to new antagonisms among these forces. They ignore their original liberal and nationalist ideological platform and come out for state-monopoly interference and for subservience to imperialism and international capital. They pose as "renovators" and a "popular force" and lean on bourgeois reformism for support, saying that it "must stave off revolution." They search for tactics to link the Social Democrats to the Right by a new policy of blocs. At the same time new reactionary trends make themselves felt in the bourgeois camp. In this situation, numerous backers of bourgeois parties among the electorate are exploring new paths.

A New Policy Line Feasible

This provides conditions which the working-class movement could use to resist the Right, exert pressure on big capital and win over those who have so far followed bourgeois parties. To this end it should propose a responsible policy meeting the people's demands for a higher standard of life and ensure genuine participation in its implementation. In the face of resistance from big capital, it could lean on the organized strength of big labor unions, the movement of tenants, cooperative members, housewives and other mass movements. This would mean following a new policy and would bring enthusiastic approval from the population.

If this has not come about it is because the workingclass movement and Left-wing forces still lack the requisite unity in struggle for the working people's interests. The Social-Democratic government's policy shows that this government has no intention of dissociating itself from bourgeois policy and takes its cue from it, specifically by restricting consumption in view of Denmark's entry into the EEC. The Social Democrats, who advocate class collaboration, see their task in assuring the class domination of capitalism. They gear their activity to cooperation with bourgeois reformism. They do not use the militancy of the working class

because they dread it. This is a road which does not lead forward.

As the top leadership of the trade union movement adheres to the same position, the unions have failed to live up to their role as an organization upholding the interests of wage labor against capital and its state. The leadership of the Central Federation of Trade Unions cooperates with the employers on the terms set by capital and according to the line of the Labor Court. It uses bureaucratic methods which either limit the influence of the union rank and file on decision-making in regard to working conditions or make it impossible. It blocks changes in the structure of the unions that could make them more efficient and prevents the formation of a common organization of wage workers and joint action by them.

However, there is a growing trend in the unions towards using them for their original purpose, that is, as independent class organizations owing no allegiance to the Social-Democratic Party.

This is why the point of departure of a new policy should be the demands of the working people themselves and their action against capitalist oppression and the evils of imperialism—in the enterprises and trade unions, among youth and students, in the women's movement. If there is militant unity of this kind of action, it can influence politics and win rights and power by curbing big capital.

The widespread use of democratic standards in the working people's campaign against the EEC initiated a policy on new lines. It is necessary to submit problems to the people for judgment, to explain and discuss these problems, thereby ascertaining the issues around which unity can be achieved. It is a basis on which joint action can be taken regardless of what the power elite has to say. The road leading forward is through common discussion, unity and action.

Trends in the Working-Class Movement

There have been two principal currents in the working-class movement: the reformist trend, which maintains the existing social system and sees its task in managing capitalist society and winning reforms that could induce the people to reconcile themselves to the system, and the revolutionary current, which transforms society, seeing its task in struggle for reforms and rights that bring the working class the influence and power needed to change the foundations of society.

Historically, reformism has dominated the Danish labor movement mainly in the form of social-democratic ideology and policy. However, a hundred years of reformism have shown it to be unable to end the class rule of capitalism or change the existing distribution of wealth among classes and bring about the promised 'socialist development.'

The reformist notion that social conditions can change "by themselves," without struggle, is still a strong argument prompting a large section of the working class to resign itself to the prevailing state of affairs. However, more and more people are coming to realize that reforms which do not change society cannot lead forward.

On the other hand, many draw half-hearted conclusions from this and remain adherents of neo-reformism, whose advocates hope that the "new" state-monopoly reforms, which do not encroach on the power of big capital, can lead forward. This notion is typical of the policy of the Social-Democratic and the Socialist People's parties. In political practice, they were exposed by the failure of the "labor majority" in 1966-1968.

At present neo-reformism expresses itself in the proposal for "economic democracy" put forward after the crisis in which the Social-Democratic Party found itself over the policy towards the EEC. This would in no way strengthen the positions of wage labor vis-à-vis big capital. Indeed, it would be a factor which state-monopoly capitalism could use to give monopoly a further share of wages and salaries. The proposal proceeds from the illusion that "socialist growth" can be assured through establishment of a special fund.

However, the fact that this proposal has been advanced is a reflection of the growing demand for social change and the readiness of the working class to act. It is a cause of division, if in different forms, in both Social-Democratic parties. Resentment at the leadership's opportunism and the demand for a class policy make the need of active unity clearer to the masses.

Nevertheless, condemnation of the inhuman nature of the existing society and disillusionment with the opportunist leaders' policy of betrayal do not automatically lead to consistent struggle against the class rule of big capital. Some spokesmen of those strata which have been aroused by developments and have begun to protest find themselves in bondage to outmoded concepts which seem revolutionary but actually lead to fruitless efforts and ideological muddle. They interfere with day-by-day work aimed at rallying a force that can transform society. They take a scornful view of the working class and real socialism. They played a divisive role during the anti-EEC campaign. They seek refuge in the philosophy of negation, which is a form of petty-bourgeois individualism. Bourgeois ideology and its media pick up all this and publicize it.

These trends, which have come into being in varying circumstances, have shown their unsoundness in these past years. It is becoming evident that real revolutionary energy and the renewed

interest in Marxism will have a future only if linked with the struggle of the working class and the world Communist movement.

Why Is the Communist Party Necessary?

It follows that to fight against big capital is impossible without Communist ideas and actions.

The Communist Party steadfastly bases its activity on the ideas of Marxism-Leninism, needed for understanding the class struggle, which determines both the development of Danish society and the international situation, and the tasks arising from this.

The Party links socialist ideas with the working class and its everyday struggles.

Being a contingent of the world Communist movement, the Party links the struggle of Denmark's working people with the struggle of other peoples against imperialism, for peace and socialism.

The Communist Party is the revolutionary party of the Danish working class.

The propertied classes know this very well. This is why they deliberately try to prevent precisely the Communists from increasing their influence and spread anti-communism and anti-Sovietism, which are the main obstacle preventing the masses from realizing their strength and potentialities.

In these conditions, Communists operate with a full sense of responsibility for the future of the Danish working-class movement. This is why they refuse to give in to the pressure of bourgeois ideology. They fight against anti-communism and resist every attempt to make the Party recognize the opportunist approach to socialism from the Right or the "Left" as legitimate.

All this makes the Party's task most exacting. Communists can be the organizing and guiding force needed in the working people's struggle only if they are uncompromising and principled. Following this line of action, the Communist Party has advanced through a difficult period to a new upsurge.

Joint Activity: a Permanent Method

The Communist Party of Denmark is an independent party. This is not to say, however, that Communists are self-centered. Indeed, they always regard it as their task to unite the broadest forces in struggle for common interests. For the Communists, joint activity is a permanent method of furthering the struggle of the working class and the people.

Unity implies that in spite of differences the points on which unity of views has been achieved are given priority as the basis of joint action. Unity requires loyalty to the common basis of

action so that mutual confidence may be fostered and may serve further joint efforts. It does not rule out autonomous activity by the partners on their own principles but this activity should provide conditions for a fruitful exchange of views about issues on which agreement is lacking. Unity means primarily action.

Hence Communists do not merely announce their ultimate goal. As an alternative to the policy prevailing today, they put forward proposals showing how pressing problems can be solved when the interests of big capital are not the determining factor. These are proposals which can strengthen working people's unity and which Communists are willing to discuss with others.

From the rostrum of its 24th Congress, the Communist Party of Denmark puts forward its "Communist Program for a Better Life for the People," a program for democratic and national, anti-monopoly policy, a program of building up the strength of the people and the working class to lead Denmark to socialism.

IV. FOR A STRONGER COMMUNIST PARTY

It is only through struggle that forces can be united, a new policy introduced and a socialist society built. This struggle can culminate in victory only if the foremost fighters for the working-class cause exert a guiding influence on it. The Communist Party was founded to unite these forces in an organized and class-conscious whole. Hence building it up is decisive if the working people are to succeed and to win power in Denmark.

To strengthen the Communist Party means extending its influence and its links with the working class and the population. It also means perfecting Party structures, making the Party more socialist-minded and expanding it through the membership's organized effort. These tasks are closely interlinked.

In the recent period, marked by the increased activity of working people—a proof of the correctness of the Communist point of view—the Party has strengthened its positions in some respects. There are opportunities for the Party to effect a new breakthrough on the political scene.

The Party will continue to base its activity on its tested organizational principles and the decisions of its 23rd Congress aimed at improving Party work. To be equal to the opportunities of today, it is necessary to back up the demand for full execution of these decisions in the following respects:

— a decisive condition for the efficiency of the Party and the realization of its policy is the activity and role of branch organizations. This means, first of all, that these organizations should through various initiatives enable their members to take a more

active part in the discussion of problems of political struggle and the experience gained. Party life on these lines is a requisite of furthering Party democracy and making it a guide to Party work as envisaged by the standards of activity of Communist organizations. It must be linked with constant work by members and branches—in interviews with people, defense of the people's interests, the distribution of Party publications, and so on. Useful experience has been gained in upholding the people's immediate interests (tenants' rights, added-value tax and so on). It is necessary constantly to devise and use new working methods that heighten the appeal of Communist policies. We must organize our work more competently, bring as many people as possible into it and properly distribute tasks among them.

The Party is winning new members, especially among youth, but its growth must and can be intensified. We must do this well remembering that many people regard joining the Party as an important step accompanied by shedding old prejudices. Life in branch organizations is important for inspiring new members with confidence and for encouraging more sympathizers to join. We must engage new members in work and pay them comradely and tactful attention, which will help them to become valuable workers all the more speedily. We must inform them in detail of the Party's activities and ideas.

First of all, it is important to win more worker members, to help the Party in strengthening its positions among the working class. This is why the Party's trade union work plays a decisive role. The Party's positions in the trade union movement are stronger than ever before but this should not lead to Communists becoming administrators of reformist organizations. On the contrary, they must actively participate in the struggle of the working class precisely as Communists. Communists must therefore increase the organized contribution of their Party both in trade unions and the enterprises so as to rally the working people in support of a militant trade union line. This applies in equal measure to the organizations of salary earners. We must bring out several pamphlets on important problems of trade union policy and the Communist attitude to them.

The influx of young people into the Party has increased and we now have more young Communists among our rank and file and cadre members. We owe this to the gains of the Communist Youth League, to its growing membership, its increased influence on policy towards youth and the growth of its new cadre. The Party and its organizations are greatly interested in steady work by CYL organizations and must help them actively.

The CYL is an autonomous organization operating on the same

ideological basis as the Party and supporting the Party's policies. Hence Party organizations should seek proper mutual relations with CYL organizations. In this way they can also gain valuable support from young people.

In their activities—at enterprises, in the trade unions and among students—Party members must show greater confidence in the youth. A Party that looks to the future is always a party of young people.

Though there has been a certain increase in the number of Communist women, their role in the Party is still not what it should be from the point of view of numbers and weight in Party work. It is necessary to make the equality of women, which is taken for granted in the Communist Party, a reality. This equality is not impaired, if groups of Communist women are occupied with problems of specific interest to women. On the contrary, this can only promote the equality of women and gain more women members for the Party.

Lately, the Party has admitted noticeably more members from various fields of culture. They must be involved first of all in the work of primary Party organizations. Special commissions should be established to deal with problems of importance to Party work in general, particularly to conduct special studies and implement the Party line in their professional work.

There are many reasons arousing interest in the Communist Party and prompting people to join it. However, it is well-grounded ideological conviction that strengthens bonds with the Party and makes individuals staunch fighters for its cause. That is why systematic study of the foundations of Marxism-Leninism and the work to apply and spread its ideas must form a permanent integral part of Party work in all spheres. Every Communist must study and understand these problems. This is also a basis for training new Party cadres. In our time ideological struggle plays a growing role. And our daily discussions should display an understanding, clear and principled stand not only in relation to blatant bourgeois propaganda but also in relation to neo-reformist, Trotskyite and Maoist distortions of socialist ideas and attacks on working-class internationalism.

Educational work must be substantially improved, for there were signs of relaxation, and this at a time when there are all the grounds for intensifying it. The Party should show constant concern for organization of beginners' courses and studies at advanced stages. Use should be made of modern technical facilities. A committee on study work is being set up whose task will be to draw up immediately after the Congress directives on educational activities in the primary organizations, carry out the preliminary work

to open a Higher Socialist School in Denmark and draw up proposals on improving the educational level of Party cadres.

Discussions of current events in the light of our ideas, study of Marxist-Leninist literature and reading the *Tiden-Verden Rundt* journal should be put on a permanent basis in branch organizations, courses and schools, in the work of leadership, in the Party press and all other spheres of Party work among the masses.

Guiding Party work in district Party organizations is important in carrying out Party policy and organizing Party activities in line with concrete conditions and possibilities and in making the Party an effective factor in the political affairs of the regions. The creation of enlarged districts puts higher demands on leading work, independence and initiative in planning and control. A closer study must be made of the influence exerted by the policy of big capital in the localities, the results of this analysis serving as the basis for planning work. The district leadership is responsible for aid to lower organizations with the aim of improving their work and establishing mutual ties with them.

When adopting political decisions, the Central Committee must also specify practical tasks connected with them and see to their realization. This requires a higher degree of collectivism in leadership and better distribution of its functions. This is the only way to make leadership more effective.

The *Land og Folk* is one of the most effective means of popularizing Party policy and organizing the struggle of the working people. The Party, therefore, is making every effort to ensure publication of the newspaper. The Directives on the Party press adopted by the 23rd Congress remain in force. The work of the newspaper should be directed on a nationwide scale by the Central Newspaper Commission. For purposes of constant improvement of the content of *Land og Folk* the editorial staff should be enlarged, in particular by opening a branch in Jutland.

Circulation of the newspaper is increasing and the introduction of a special edition at the end of the week has created new conditions for sales. Party organizations should be more active in selling the newspaper on Fridays and Saturdays, making this a permanent task of primary organizations.

Collection of funds for the Party and the newspaper was and remains a constant struggle and it will hardly become easier. Material aid comes from Party members and many non-Communists who help the Party in various fields. Every fund-raising campaign yields splendid results. However, the need must be stressed for regular payment of membership dues and establishment of a guarantee fund, collection of funds and other measures to this end.

In the period between congresses elections will be held to the

communal and regional councils in 1974 and to the Folketing. Greater representation in the elected organs is of substantial importance for the struggle of the working people and for broadening the influence of the Party. The election results depend on the work done in the period between elections. Communists should show by their work that they are the best fighters for the interests of the people in the communes and regions and must expose all claims to the effect that it is useless to vote for the Communists. Candidates should be nominated and the electorate should be acquainted with them well in advance.

Communists are inspired by the realization that their daily and persistent efforts are of crucial importance for the transition of society from capitalism to socialism. This realization is based on an understanding of the historical necessity of socialism, its impressive achievements in the USSR and other countries and on an understanding of the might and historical role of the working class.

Communists participate in the daily struggle against capitalism and strive for the implementation of a new policy, proceeding from a socialist perspective and fully realizing that only in this way will a force be created capable of carrying out social transformations.

The transition to socialism takes different forms in different countries and different periods. Everywhere, however, it proceeds according to the general laws elucidated by the theory of Marxism-Leninism. Communists differ from those who tend to ignore the laws of struggle and believe it possible to go forward while marking time.

Communists differ from those who forget the need of work to form a revolutionary force among the people and believe it possible to go forward with the help of grandiloquence alone.

Communists are fighting in a fraternal alliance with the working people of the world, with triumphant and existing socialism.

Together with the progressive forces of the Danish working people, the Communists are fighting against big capital, for the nation's future, for socialism.

IN BRIEF

SAN MARINO

The San Marino Communist Party held its Eighth Congress in San Marino on February 24 and 25.

Ermenegildo Gasperoni, General Secretary of the Party, submit-

ted a report on unity of the working people and middle productive strata aimed at forming a government of democratic renovation and at advancing to socialism. "At this Congress," he said, "we affirm emphatically and with deep conviction that the problem of renovating our republic can be solved through unity of the working class and the middle strata Ours is a party which fights for socialism because it sees in socialism a system that provides solutions to the burning economic, social, moral, civic and democratic problems of mankind."

The Congress was attended by delegations of a number of foreign Communist and Workers' parties, including the CPSU.

The delegates unanimously passed a resolution approving the pre-Congress theses of the CC SMCP, which were discussed in local Party organizations, and E. Gasperoni's report.

The Congress reaffirmed the Party's commitment to promote world Communist unity.

It elected the Central Committee and Control Commission of the SMCP.

U S A

On February 5-6, the CPUSA held a regional conference attended by approximately 200 delegates from the Party organizations of Eastern and Southern states.

The conference discussed the Communists' tasks in Party building, as well as problems of the *Daily World* and the Young Workers' Liberation League, the Marxist-Leninist youth organization.

The main report was presented by Gus Hall, General Secretary of the CPUSA.

Gus Hall estimated the situation at home since the end of the Vietnam war. He stressed the need to continue the fight against U.S. imperialism's policy of aggression in various parts of the globe.

Speaking of the U.S. rulers' domestic policy, Gus Hall said it is aimed at striking undisguised blows at the working class and the poor. Hence the need to promote the movement of ordinary workers against the anti-popular policy of monopoly capital.

Gus Hall called on the Communists to devote greater attention to the activity of central trade union bodies and state federations, in many of which ordinary workers showed growing resentment at the policies of the AFL-CIO leadership.

In the ideological field, the Party must step up its work among the masses to activate the fight against racism and expose the false concept that growing prices at home were a consequence of growing wages.

The rapporteur gave considerable attention to the problem of

intensifying political action against the U.S. rulers' reactionary home policy.

Carl Winter, editor of the *Daily World*, spoke of the need to improve the newspaper, increase circulation and raise funds.

The conference was addressed by nearly 50 delegates, who told about progress in strengthening the Party's links with the masses, including young people, and in winning new members.

PLENARY MEETINGS

FASCISM EXPOSED IN THE FIGHT FOR DEMOCRATIC FREEDOMS* (Bolivia)

During the year following Colonel Banzer's coup d'état in August 1971, police stations, army barracks, jails and other places of detention were filled with fighters for the popular revolutionary cause: Communists, guerrillas, leaders of the masses; political figures, intellectuals, anti-fascists and democrats. Even many eminent members of the opposition parties of the so-called Nationalist Popular Front were incarcerated. To this day hundreds of political prisoners are locked up in the Coati, Chonchocoro, Achocalla, Panoptico Nacional and other concentration camps which, twenty years after the military coup of Mamerto, are again being used by the Banzer—Paz Estenssoro government and their temporary allies.

Opposition figures were not only arrested, they were murdered as well. For the first time in the country's history mass killings have been justified by ideological differences. Occasional shootings (under "justifiable pretexts," as professional killers like to say) were no longer enough, and a system of gradual, continuous annihilation was introduced with the knowledge and cooperation of the Armed Forces command . . . An abominable hostage system faithfully copying Gestapo methods was introduced, with children and even babies serving as hostages, to say nothing of blackmail by apprehending relatives and different kinds of detention.

The mass media — the radio, press and television — are not only subjected to censorship to filter away information the regime finds unsuitable, they are used for misinformation, for fascist, anti-Communist propaganda campaigns.

*Excerpts from a report endorsed by the plenary meeting of the CC CP Bolivia, held at the end of 1972.

The mass media are used as a weapon of ideological warfare. For the first time in our modern history the owners of the mass media have introduced self-censorship, as suggested by Bolivian intelligence bodies operating as subsidiaries of the CIA, the Brazilian Department of Public and Political Order, and army intelligence services.

Wiretapping, violation of privacy of correspondence, arbitrary searches of cars, and hotel spies are all features of the police regime of repression.

That is why exposure of the tyranny's unsavory aspects — the contradictions between declarations and deeds, between what was yesterday a demand and today is flouted, exposure of the lies of the Interior Ministry and its councillors — alongside the struggle for fundamental civil rights, is not only an obligation and duty of solidarity with the victims of repressions, a manifestation of the struggle for democracy, but also a concrete form of isolating and unmasking the representatives of dyed-in-the-wool reaction, its ideology of violence and criminal methods. It is, finally, a form of struggle enabling the masses to reject neo-fascism and work for its subsequent political defeat.

In this sense participation in the struggle for rights and freedoms is not a prerogative of Communists alone. Taking part in it are broad social strata of different ideological allegiances. Nor is political activity an obstacle to joining the army of fighters for democracy and freedom. United action of all these strata, groups, individuals and organizations in the struggle for democratic freedoms, irrespective of differences of conviction, party affiliation, race, sex or age, is an important contribution to the anti-fascist struggle in which more or less democratically minded representatives of parties of the Nationalist Popular Front or the Armed Forces can and should take part.

The absence of democratic freedoms is fascism's Achilles' heel. In the present conditions of the struggle it is our duty to exploit this weakness systematically and in an organized fashion. Unfortunately, such an important and humanitarian question as the fight for human rights, for the freedom of political prisoners and the exposure of fascism receives little concrete material embodiment in solidarity with the victims of repressions. There has been little headway in propaganda and agitation on the national as well as the local scale, in mobilizing mass organizations (trade union, student, democratic) in defense of their members, in organizing special movements for democracy and political freedom; the importance of all this is in fact underestimated by the members of these organizations, their allies and the masses.. Thus, it is urgently necessary to enhance the volume and quality of work in this sphere, whether in respect of defense of the victims of repressions,

restoration of annulled rights, or the struggle for complete political amnesty.

IDEOLOGY AS AN ARENA OF ANTI-FASCIST STRUGGLE

Ideological struggle cannot be reduced to the answer to be given to the challenge of reaction, the problems bred by it, or repulsing its attacks. Nor can it be aimed at the simple rectification of the situation, as this would lead us into defensive, if not tailing positions with regard to the plans of the bourgeoisie and imperialism. The ideological struggle against imperialism and the bourgeoisie is today as important as the political struggle against fascism. When the question is one of power the battle for men's minds must be waged simultaneously with the struggle for class positions. In this question, too, fascism had taken the initiative. Here are some elements of its offensive tactics:

Dr. Paz Estenssoro is credited with elaborating a "theory" of the national state as the preliminary stage of any revolutionary change in the country's socio-economic structures. This so-called theory is being used as a direct indictment of the Torres government which, according to Paz, had jeopardized the existence of the socio-economic organism which, at the time, was in a "formative" stage. Tracing back Paz Estenssoro's theoretical efforts, one finds that 30 years ago he employed the very same pseudo-scientific verbiage in his parliamentary speeches. And if some significance is still attached to arguments of this type, it is not because they are original or in the best interests of the nation. In reality the author of this "theory" is trying to make his ideas a kind of theoretical bourgeois veto of revolution. It is our duty to expose its class essence, political purpose, historical falsehood and pseudo-scientific character.

Less experienced bourgeois leaders have produced theories about the "socialization of poverty" and the impossibility of directing the fight for socialism towards its ultimate goal in our country's conditions of economic backwardness. This is a variant of the old scheme of the movement for "revolution with the help of American dollars," the scheme of Messrs Eder, Dulles and "friend" Holland; its authors claim that otherwise there will be no development and, hence, there will be no revolution. Exposing refurbished variants of such ideas is a part of the struggle for the potentially revolutionary progressive masses still following the Nationalist Revolutionary Movement.

With the bluntness of a soldier unfamiliar with sociology the head of the fascist regime himself has substituted the words "peace," "order" and work" for the bourgeois notions of "class struggle," which are, in his view, a Communist invention aimed

against the "fatherland" and its interests, as well as for bourgeois notions of its legitimate right to exploit the working class and make profits. This substitution is, in essence, also a refurbishing of the Nationalist Revolutionary Movement's multi-class theory which legitimizes bourgeois governments enjoying the support of the "satisfied exploited." In Paz's words, the proletariat must be grateful to the bourgeoisie.

These three examples demonstrate the need for an all-out ideological struggle against bourgeois ideas drifting untouched in the sea of "nationalist political science"; but they do not even begin to exhaust the class enemy's arguments circulating from his ideological arsenal. They can be exposed and defeated within the proletariat and its petty-bourgeois allies, where such bourgeois-sponsored ideological notions are current. The struggle must be against reformist, Right and Left opportunist distortions that appear in the activity and the minds of revolutionaries, in the labor and trade union movement, the political activity of the masses, in ideas concerning methods of struggle, in military questions and problems of education, law, the legality of violence, etc.

We must recognize that there is a considerable lag in resolving these urgent tasks and we cannot risk any more distortions of the fundamental principles of our struggle. Fascism's extremist actions in every field make it incumbent on us to launch this second major front of the class struggle in which the scientific character of the proletarian theory predetermines victory. This struggle must be shifted to the domain of concrete theoretical activity. This, we repeat, is not only our answer to the challenge, but also our duty, in the implementation of which the initiative must fall finally into our hands . . .

We are completing an analysis of the country's political realities conditioned by the actions of the state in line with its class nature, its bourgeois interests and forces, which are in alliance with imperialism and in opposition to the interests of the nation, the wishes of the people, the demands of the working class. We are confident of the ultimate outcome of this confrontation. As for our role as leader and accelerator of progressive solutions, the period since our Third Congress testifies to the correctness, on the whole, of its political guidelines. The probability of the political consolidation of fascism and the significance of it were also correctly assessed by the Third Congress; the main line of our present work is in accord with the interests of the working class, the people and the cause we are serving. This fully confirms the prediction of the classics of revolution that "sustained, invisible work in directing all forms of the proletariat's class struggle, work to establish a strong, tested party, must precede the eruption of genuine mass

struggle and ensure the conditions for it to turn into revolution."

The struggle against the national bourgeoisie and its foreign patrons must be carried on at a higher level in keeping with present conditions and the demands of the newly opening revolutionary perspective. Today the masses can see more clearly and definitely than in the pre-fascist period the correlation between democratic and popular tasks, between national-liberation and socialist tasks of the revolutionary labor movement. The immediate tasks of this struggle are: to raise higher the banner of the people, organize and rally the masses around the popular anti-imperialist front, strengthen the working class party and direct the struggle against fascism, for a popular government of national liberation.

COMMUNISTS AND THE POSSIBILITY OF A NEW COUP

The present fascist regime is by no means imperialism's and the bourgeoisie's only alternative, nor does it offer an answer to all the problems of the crisis in spite of their control over the levers of power. Bourgeois reality always contains the possibility of new coups to install governments responsive to the demands of opposing groups within the coalition. This serves to temporarily mislead those popular, democratic and revolutionary forces which place some hopes in the stand and political line of the participants in a coup d'état. We must remember that the position of the working class, the position of revolutionaries, cannot vacillate like a pendulum between the ultra-reactionary or reformist forces of the bourgeoisie and their master, imperialism. The forces of national liberation, democracy and revolution cannot assume a "position of support" for any bourgeois group of putschists in the interests of one group of the bourgeoisie or another, which, in the final analysis, run contrary to the interests of the country, the people and the workers. The toilers cannot and should not support one bourgeois group against another because their own class interests are in antagonistic contradiction with the interests of the conflicting groups, which are engaged only in a struggle for power. But this does not mean that the labor movement, the popular movement and revolutionaries, should remain neutral or on the sidelines of the political struggle. On the contrary, they must play an active part in it and exploit contradictions and confrontations in the bourgeois camp in their own interests, in the interests of the revolution and strengthening their own forces. In every new situation we revolutionaries must be guided by the class criterion, which can help us to use the alternatives emerging as a result of the aggravation of contradictions in the enemy's camp for the benefit of the proletariat, and not play the part of useful opportunists which the Left extremists so frequently play.

The exploitation of contradictions and, even more, so, the possibility of united action, should not be regarded as identity of interests or unconditional support by the people, the class and its vanguard for this or that bourgeois group, however progressive it might appear; for in fact such a group may prove progressive only to the extent that the forces of revolution compel it. This is the principled position which we Communists have firmly adhered to all through the last decade with its numerous coups d'état performed by the bourgeoisie in conjunction with the military.

SOME ELEMENTS OF UNITED ANTI-FASCIST ACTION

The popular anti-imperialist front expressing the Bolivian people's will in the fight for their vital demands and national sovereignty can gain strength only by relying on its own forces, on its mass organizations, from the smallest to the largest and strongest.

This front can be strengthened in the course of the struggle and organization of the masses for the achievement of the following objectives, whose anti-fascist content speaks for itself:

1. Democratic freedoms. Complete political amnesty and amnesty for trade union leaders.
2. Defense of sovereignty and national wealth.
3. Higher living standards, wages and salaries. Freezing of prices.
4. Trade union independence. Revival of the Bolivian Mine Workers' Federation.
5. Return to work of all persons discharged for political motives or trade union activity.
6. Autonomy and collectivism of university administration.
7. Defense of the peasantry's gains in the struggle for social security, opposition to the land tax contemplated by the present government.
8. Struggle for the rights of NCO's and officers of the Armed Forces and National Guard responsible for public order.

All these tasks, and each one separately, represent slogans with which we Communists can promote the united action of workers, peasants, students and university teachers, scientists and technicians, democrats and progressive representatives of the Armed Forces and National Guard, and thus organizationally constitute an Anti-Imperialist Popular Front.

Revolutionary confrontation with fascism on a national scale requires the solidarity of the internationalist Communist movement headed by the party of Lenin, support on the part of the national-liberation and international labor movements, on the part of all fighters for democracy, peace and progress in every part of the

globe. This solidarity and support are possible only to the extent that our people, in turn, are capable of performing their internationalist class duty with regard to the people's national-liberation movements, in the first place with regard to the struggle waged by fighting Vietnam, Socialist Cuba, the popular government of Chile and the democratic nationalism of fraternal Peru.

Communists should become even more resolute fighters against facism, for democracy and revolution.

NEW PROSPECTS IN STRUGGLE FOR PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE, AND ACTIVITIES OF THE ICP TO CHANGE ITALY'S FOREIGN POLICY AND ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT*

The signing of the Paris agreements was the crowning victory in the long struggle waged by the people of Vietnam with indurctible courage and exceptional self-sacrifice. The United States was forced to stop the war, withdraw its troops, dismantle its military bases and pledge before the whole world not to intervene in the internal affairs of the country. The basic national rights of the people of Vietnam—to freedom, independence and national unity—were recognized and officially confirmed.

The victory of the people of Vietnam is also a victory for the camp of socialism, the international Communist and revolutionary movement, all forces of progress, including the democratic forces in the United States.

The signing of the agreement to end the war in Vietnam is an event of tremendous significance which will have a beneficial effect on the entire international situation. It will give a new stimulus to all movements and the entire struggle for independence and emancipation from all forms of national and social oppression, for freedom and democracy that is going on all over the world, including also our country. It opens the way to successes in reducing international tensions and creating world order based on peaceful coexistence and equal cooperation among all nations.

The events in Vietnam have shown that imperialism, particularly American imperialism, retains its aggressive nature. . . .

*Excerpts from a report by ICP General Secretary Enrico Berlinguer on February 7 at a joint meeting of the Central Committee and Central Control Commission of the Italian Communist Party. Published in full in *Unita*, February 8, 1973.

At the same time the war in Vietnam has shown that imperialism can no longer do as it pleases. It can be defeated or forced to retreat, to negotiate and respect the rights of other peoples. Besides, there are forces in the modern world capable of checking, limiting and, in the final analysis, of radically changing the basic catastrophic tendencies inherent in the logic of capitalism and imperialism. The events in Vietnam are essentially further proof that the world balance of forces has changed and continues to change not in favor of imperialism, but in favor of socialism, democracy and peace. . . .

The war in Vietnam started, developed and ended at a time when serious differences arose in the international workers' movement and between the socialist countries, particularly between the Soviet Union and the Chinese People's Republic. . . .

In any case, there can be no doubt that the differences in the socialist camp played a negative role and that American imperialism attempted to take advantage of them. Regretfully, it has to be acknowledged that these differences had to an alarming extent spread to various problems of international policy. It is our opinion that the present-day friction and polemics have no connection with the friction and polemics of the early 60s. . . .

These complex developments warrant the following conclusion: if disagreements in the socialist camp and the international workers' movement are a serious negative factor for the international situation as a whole, then they cannot and should not be tolerated. Our Party has never said and does not say now that these disagreements should be dismissed with indifference, or that it is impossible to understand their reasons or who is right and who is wrong. More, we are for an open comparison of viewpoints which we tried and will continue to try to promote, at the same time refraining from hasty judgements. . . .

In modern world conditions peaceful coexistence is more and more becoming an "objective necessity," the main and necessary condition for mankind's salvation, for resolving the problems of the entire world and of each separate country and for the future development of civilization.

For us, peaceful coexistence signifies the following:

1. the only alternative to an atomic catastrophe and a necessary basis for the solution of the complex problems facing mankind;
2. mobilization of all democratic and peace-loving forces in support of those goals which can be attained only through struggle;
3. the most favorable conditions for struggle against imperialism and reaction, for recognition of the rights of peoples, for democracy and socialism.

We also understand that although certain goals of peaceful co-existence have been achieved, the struggle is going on and must continue. For imperialism, even when forced to take the path of peaceful coexistence, attempts to enforce its own conception of international relations. There also exist different interests and varying conceptions (caused in part by different objective conditions and in part by mistakes) in the camp of anti-imperialist, peaceful forces, in the workers' movement and in the socialist camp itself, and this has to be reckoned with.

We believe, however, that it would be a mistake to view the strategy of peaceful coexistence as a sphere for agreement between two world super-powers (the United States and the Soviet Union) to the detriment of other states and the rights of nations and, essentially, a division of the world and domination of other countries by two of the biggest powers of the world. The facts show that this is not the case and that the situation as it exists now does not point to the likelihood of such an outcome of the strategy of peaceful existence and does not allow to regard such a danger as serious.

We confirm our Party's position on this as stated at the 1969 International Meeting in Moscow.

We do not doubt that the Soviet Union is playing a highly important role in the defense of world peace. It is in particular for this reason that we reject as contrary to the interests of peace any criticism, from whatever source, of the dialogue between the United States and the Soviet Union. This dialogue is absolutely legitimate and necessary. The imperialists would naturally like to see this dialogue result in maintaining a "status-quo" through an agreement between the two countries. But this desire of the imperialists has come up against the policy of the Soviet Union and the struggle of the revolutionary and progressive forces, the masses and peoples. It is obvious at the same time that a no less important role is played by other great world powers, particularly China. Most characteristic of the present time, however, is the desire of every people and every state to be independent, to have its voice heeded and to participate, on an equal footing, in the framing of policies and the establishment of international order....

The problems of peaceful coexistence concern not only states and relations between states. They likewise concern the workers' movement, the revolutionary and anti-imperialist forces, popular forces and the people whose contribution is indispensable.

Basically, the strategy of the Soviet Union and the socialist countries is not only a decisive factor in the defense of peace, and is not only effective support and aid in the struggle for the emancipation of the peoples, it also coincides with and aids the struggle

of the workers and popular forces in all regions of the world. Such is our opinion. Other popular forces, close to us or far removed, which do not quite share this conviction of ours, also hold the view that the existence and might of the USSR and other socialist countries and their policy are a concrete factor of the world realities of today, a factor influencing the conditions and development in the world to an extent that makes itself felt in the activity of all democratic and peaceful popular forces. This is not to say that there are no distinctions in conditions or functions, no subjective distinctions, no differences or divergences of opinion. The state is one thing and the Party another; the commonwealth of socialist countries is one thing and the world Communist movement and international working-class movement, another. This invites the question: what is the best way in which each component of the complex international movement can show independent initiative and make an original contribution in the new international conditions? . . .

We seek a revision of Italy's foreign policy.

In pointing out that Italy should recognize the DRV without any further delay and establish relations with the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Vietnam, we concentrate our struggle on problems of European security, the Mediterranean and the Middle East. We demand "complete national independence for Italy in a peaceful, democratic and independent Europe which will take shape as the opposing military blocs are gradually abolished until eliminated altogether . . ."

If we are to believe the information obtained by journalists in Peking from a spokesman of the Italian Foreign Minister during his visit to the Chinese capital, Chou En-lai is reported as saying the Peking government welcomed the process of European unification, stressing that, in China's opinion, this process should not be restricted to the economic sphere but should also involve politics and defense. If true, this statement may become a thesis which we consider unacceptable—I repeat, unacceptable—for two reasons: first, because this would mean regarding the integration of Europe in its present form as a positive fact while fully ignoring the struggle of the working-class movement and the popular forces, which want to curb and end the power of monopoly and the traditional ruling classes and to democratize individual EEC countries and the EEC itself; secondly, because this line would objectively imply an arms race and hence an inevitable continuation of subservience to the United States from anti-Soviet positions.

We believe however, as we have already said, that Europe should be a democratic, peaceful and independent continent, a friend of both the Soviet Union and the United States, that it should seek

an end to blocs and strive for the peaceful coexistence of all peoples and countries. . . .

The changes which are taking place in the international situation and whose most patent proof is the definitive failure of cold war objectives call, in various European countries, including Italy, for a general revision of both foreign and home policy, for what amounts to a change of economic and political development trend. . . .

A peculiarity of this juncture is that while the international situation has changed radically compared with the cold war period, Italy's social and political development has, on the other hand, spent itself in this period of history and entered a deep crisis.

It follows that the choice of a new policy and new perspectives in both foreign policy and internal development has become a national necessity brooking no delay. Unless Italy firmly makes this choice, overcoming all conservative barriers, it is fated to be gradually excluded from the changing economic and political situation, from new processes in Europe and the rest of the world, with its domestic crisis becoming aggravated to the point of complete decline. Italians, and above all Communists, must take a stand against this prospect. . . .

The sharp class and political battles of recent years have revealed the need for thoroughly renovating economic development and social and economic relations. The opportunities for change are really greater than at any other period in Italian life since 1947, but there are also difficulties and resistance blocking change.

The working-class and trade union movement have shown their strength by scoring new gains. The struggles of recent months are a proof that the working-class movement fully retains its fighting capacity and its determination to press forward even in the difficult conditions of economic crisis.

Democracy has succeeded in beating off attacks and stood the harsh tests it was put to in the form of a strategy of building up tensions, adventurist moves, provocation and the longest economic crisis of the postwar period. . . .

The battle is not over, however. While attempts to check the offensive of the working classes and prevent radical changes and a renovation of the economic and political policy trend have failed to undermine the strength of the working-class, popular and democratic movement or the strength of our Party, they have, nevertheless, doomed the country to virtual stagnation, characterized by a standstill in its general development. This is, indeed, the main reason for the gravity and dangerous character of the situation today. It is the evil which may spell disaster for democracy. Hence Italy must no longer be left in these intolerable conditions.

No party can lift the country out of this situation single-handed. Still less can this be done by a coalition of parties like the one forming the mainstay of the present government. It is now necessary to carry out a "program of genuine renovation and national rebirth," and this requires joint effort and cooperation by all popular and democratic forces. . . .

What is needed first of all is, in effect, for the democratic state power to set key tasks in the economic, social and civic rebirth and renovation of the country (such as elimination of the discrepancy in development level between the North and the South and between economically prosperous areas and areas lagging behind, the reorganization of agriculture, soil protection, reform and advancement of the educational system, social maintenance, public health), decide on the main lines along which investments should be made, government funds spent and consumption increased, and assure that these tasks are accomplished. This also necessitates social reforms that would change property and power relations in favor of the working classes and the gainfully employed middle strata of the population and, consequently, create a broader basis for democracy and give new impetus to its development. . . .

We recall once again the perspective indicated by our 13th Congress. The program of national renovation and rebirth demands closer links and cooperation between all democratic forces, and primarily the three major components of the Italian popular movement: Communist, Socialist and Catholic. These closer links are virtually being established in part, which shows, first of all, that democratic parties and trends of the other current can fulfil a task of their own. Suffice it to mention the broad unity reached by the General Italian Confederation of Labor, Italian Confederation of Working People's Trade Unions and Italian Labor Union on the basis of a program of immediate trade union demands, reforms and general economic policy; suffice it to recall the numerous agreements and the unity of action achieved by the Communists, Socialists and Catholics (members of the Christian Democratic Party or other Catholic organizations); as well as by other democratic groups, on Vietnam and the fight against fascism, of the joint measures adopted in numerous fields by youth movements, of the growing trend towards unity in regional councils and between regions.

It will be seen that the perspective we have offered the country and the Party and are fighting for is not unrealistic . . .

It is time to renounce anti-Communist prejudice, a survival of outdated notions which international and domestic reality is objectively removing. The issue of Communists is central to national development because it is a question of participation of the most active segment of the people in implementation of the program for

the nation's social progress, a question of their supporting and approving of this program. All more or less far-sighted and realistic-thinking Italian and European politicians are aware of this and admit it among themselves. Why, then, not say in public what they are convinced of and discuss in secret, namely, that the preservation and future of democracy in Italy depend on relations with the Communist Party? More important still, why not translate into consistent political actions what would not be a favor granted to Communists but a service to the country? Why persist in using against Communists time-worn battered formulas which poison the political atmosphere and prevent individuals and parties from acting?

The present government is the exact opposite of the political leadership our country needs. It is a weak and conservative government which can offer the country no perspectives because it has none itself . . .

All this makes it necessary to get rid of the Centre Right government as early as possible. What is the line to be followed? We propose the perspective of forming a government of democratic change, which was indicated and specified at our 13th Congress. As for the near future, we have said and we repeat that it is necessary to reverse the present trend by forming a government that would exclude Right-wing parties, a government whose policy, programming and methods would make it possible to begin a constructive dialogue between all democratic forces, as well as between the government and large organizations of working people. We have said and we repeat that in regard to a government of this nature the opposition of our Party could be different from what it is in regard to the present government.

Central to the reversal of the present trend is the issue of democratic and anti-fascist legality. The situation in this respect is intolerable already. Citizens are fired at. Every manner of assassination attempts and open acts of terrorism follow one another, above all in some cities and areas, more particularly, and again, in Milan. To make things worse, the authorities show neither adequate energy nor a desire to punish the culprits, many of whom are well known, nor to enforce proper respect for legality and the tranquillity of citizens and their families. The situation is particularly grave in schools and universities, where order is lacking due to the absence of political reforms, stagnation, the increased activity of fascist bands and ill-advised or provocative acts of violence.

It is becoming more and more obvious that in our country there exist Italian and foreign centers of provocation and organized groups of fascist terrorists operating with the complicity or, at all events, under the patronage of certain sectors of the military and police

apparatus and government bodies. It follows that we need a government which would take drastic steps to end all this and act firmly, so that citizens might fully trust the democratic state and believe in its ability to defend itself.

We also appeal to the working people, to all citizens and young men and women, to their democratic, anti-fascist and civic sentiments, and call on the whole people to be vigilant. As matters stand, acts of provocation by even small groups are likely to do great harm to the working-class and popular struggle and the democratic cause and help reactionaries, fascists and the present government. This means that a tolerant attitude to the slogans and ill-advised or provocative moves of "Left" extremist groups is out of the question. We cannot confine ourselves to making it clear to everyone that we have nothing to do with this kind of activity. We must also disclose to the people and youth those who are responsible for acts of provocation, and must seek their public condemnation by the masses. We must also take organizational steps to restrict the opportunities for action by groups intent on provocation. Furthermore, we must carry on an ideological and political struggle without compromise or vacillation, bearing in mind the deep crisis in which small extremist groups find themselves owing to the fallacy of their over-confident analyses and propositions, as well as to the fact that international events have not been developing as these groups had expected. Consequently, we can successfully continue the struggle to bring them back and win them over to our side on the basis of an explicit and serious policy . . .

Both we and other Left, democratic forces should proceed along three lines: discussion of the program, initiative and struggle in regard to and within parties, and mass movements.

The discussion of the program going on at diverse levels should be conducted more succinctly so as to ascertain clearly the points on which opinions coincide. This is possible because there is already a widespread consensus of opinion on both diagnosing Italy's ills and specifying the main lines along which action should be taken. The significance of the programmatic proposals advanced by the three major trade union confederations, by peasant associations, the cooperative movement and women's organizations, as well as by the regions, is becoming ever more evident. However, the closing task in synthesis and decision-making must undoubtedly be accomplished by parliament and the parties concerned . . .

The mass movement and the country's initiative are factors determining the quality and setting the pace of change.

The working-class and trade union movement is demonstrating its ability to fight and to achieve success in spite of a protracted economic crisis. Herein lies the importance of the struggle recently

completed by chemical and building workers and of the struggle being carried on by workers in the mechanical engineering, metallurgical and other industries, by farm-laborers and peasants, teachers and students, by civil servants.

FOR ACTIVE INVOLVEMENT OF YOUNGER GENERATION IN BUILDING SOCIALIST POLAND*

This is the first time the plenary meeting of the PUWP Central Committee discussed problems of the youth.

The Party and the people were prompted to make a deep and comprehensive analysis of the problems connected with the education and preparation for life of the younger generation by the urgent need to make full use today and in the future of its tremendous potential, abilities and talents.

The requirements of the present stage of the building of socialism make up give thought to the responsibilities of our Party, state and society as a whole in correctly guiding the future of the youth, give thought to the duties of the youth to the country and the people.

The older generation of Poles carried out revolutionary changes in the country determining its socialist development. The historic service of this generation lies in the fact that it emerged victorious from the severe historic ordeals that befell our people during the Second World War unleashed by the Hitler invaders, and during the period of occupation. It was this generation that struggled to overcome Poland's backwardness and weaknesses, to start the country along the socialist path, establish unbreakable bonds of alliance with the Soviet Union, ensure national security and a worthy position on the international scene, to restore the country from the ruins and the destruction, lay the foundations of a modern socialist industry, multiply industrial and agricultural production and make education and culture available to all the people. These great and epoch-making achievements, scored in a historically short space of time, determined the older generation's place in the history of Poland, influenced the future of the people and individuals and moulded the national consciousness. In this lie the historical

*Introduction and the second section from the Program thesis "The Tasks of the Party, the State and the People in Educating the Youth," adopted at the 7th CC Plenum of the Polish United Workers' Party. Published as a supplement to Trybuna Ludu, November 1972.

services of the generation of fathers and mothers, and also their moral right to honor and respect by the youth of today and future generations.

The new generation of Poles entering life faces other problems just as broad and daring, no less difficult in some cases and often more complex, affording opportunities to display patriotism, romanticism and heroism in times of peace. It is the calling of the young generation and the content of its life to complete the building of socialism in our country, revolutionize development rates, to multiply and renovate the production forces, to take full advantage for the good of the country of Poland's participation in the scientific-technological revolution, to ensure the triumph of the principles of socialism in public life and in relations among people. The fulfillment of these tasks will determine the place the young generation will occupy in the history of our nation. Past experience and an awareness of the present and future tasks place responsibility on the Party and the people in educating the young generation, acquainting it with the prospects of the country's development and training it properly for the discharge of its duty to socialist Poland.

II. THE AIMS OF THE SOCIALIST EDUCATION OF THE YOUTH

1. Thanks to the struggle and labor of the preceding generations of the builders of people's Poland, the basic problems of the country's socio-political structure were fully resolved in the interests of the people, independence and successful development.

Poland is a socialist state of working people's power, consolidating the worker-peasant alliance under the ideological and political guidance of our Marxist-Leninist Party and accomplishing the constructive tasks of the dictatorship of the proletariat. It is the goal of the Party and the working people to build a socialist society through dynamic socio-economic development, rapid progress in the formation of socialist social relations and bonds and also by consolidating the socialist state.

The decisive choice of the system for Poland and its place and role in the modern world was made by the working class and in the only way corresponding to the interests of the people. The central task in the entire process of education is to promote realization among the youth of the decisive significance and historical correctness of these epochal transformations and the superiority of socialism as a system. This is necessary in order to channel the activity and enthusiasm of the youth into resolving problems of socialist growth, it is necessary in order to turn the energy and thoughts of the youth towards future tasks.

In the course of socialist social development every succeeding

generation inherits the legacy of preceding generations, continues their cause and prepares the rising generation to shoulder responsibility for the future of the state and the people. This is realized in the course of daily common labor, in the conditions of identity of ideals and aspirations. These, in turn, arise under the influence of the continuity of socialist development, creating opportunities for concerted action, mutual trust and strong bonds between generations. As socialist forms and principles grow stronger, the vital and dynamic socialist ideology poses new problems and opens up new prospects for the youth.

Socialism is the social reality which youth finds in existence on entering life, it is also the ideal, the program which must be realized. But that ideal is separated from the present-day reality by numerous problems that have to be solved.

Education, therefore, should be closely oriented on the future and the transformations conforming with it. The strategy and policies in education must adhere strictly to this principle. Creative activity does not arise merely out of recognition and approval of what has been achieved by others. It also results from a desire to implement recognized ideals.

The Party and the people are faced with new goals and problems and the aspirations of society are reaching out into the future. Education must show youth the prospects which it should strive to attain.

A society that is complacent and tends to minimize its goals is doomed to defeat in the world competition of thought and labor and forced to make way for others on the road to progress and development. This is why the Party regards bringing to the fore great and daring goals as the only correct way to educate the youth and prepare it for occupying a worthy place in the march of generations building socialism.

The youth is educated in the process of the development and struggle of the new with the old, the struggle of the forces of progress against the forces of reaction. The youth must work side by side with the Party, in the front line of this struggle, in the midst of the untiring efforts to improve reality, ensure uninterrupted functioning of socio-state mechanisms and constantly increase social productivity of labor.

The young generation will be able to carry out its duty only if it is educated in a spirit of public activity and high demands, if it displays a creative desire for achieving ever better labor results. A successful future for a people and a country can be ensured only by a generation fully aware of its obligations and the need for discipline, prepared to cope with shortcomings and struggle against difficulties, with a broad and bold approach to daring goals. A

socialist education means educating people to be bold, determined and industrious, honest and independent.

Historical consciousness embracing revolutionary and progressive traditions of the struggle for national and social emancipation, for building the foundations of socialism, pride in the results already achieved and approval of Poland's socialist development should serve as the basis for participation in new initiatives and arouse a desire to transform and improve reality, overcome difficulties and obstacles in realizing socialist ideals, perfecting the individual and the surroundings in the process of education and self-education.

Cultivating among youth all that is creative and progressive in our people's past and present helps to promote the best values of education. This is one of the main conditions for equipping youth with a system of values and examples worthy of creative emulation. Marx wrote that without this every generation would be blind. Without this, the critical approach to reality that is natural for young people and arises from their desire to improve and perfect it, can degenerate into sterile negation, fault-finding and paralyzing nihilism.

All generations should be united by the realization that the prerequisites for successful development created by the struggle and labor of past years are the starting point for new and qualitatively higher tasks. A great and essential force in accomplishing these tasks is criticism in evaluating one's own conduct and contribution, urging one to constantly improve one's labor and more actively participate in realizing common tasks.

The aspirations of society are the sum total of the aspirations of all its members. The dynamism of youth is the result of the desires and aspirations of all its representatives, of every young man and woman.

2. Poland and socialism are inseparable values. The immense historical task of building a "second Poland" determines the basic content of modern patriotism as a powerful factor of ideological and emotional activity, the substance and main goal of its education.

The patriotism of preceding generations was expressed in the struggle for national and social emancipation, in laying the foundations of socialism, in the heroic struggle against the tremendous difficulties of the initial period of the country's development.

Present-day socialist patriotism embraces all progressive values of traditional Polish patriotism, love for one's country, preparedness to make the greatest sacrifices for the country, affection for national culture, pride in the country's heroic past and its contribution to the development of world civilization. This is a new and deeper patriotism, arising on the basis of the socialist system and encompassing new social and ideological values.

The basic direction of the patriotic service of the country for the present generation of Poles is defined by the Program of the Polish United Workers' Party, the guiding force of the people in the building of socialism. Socialist patriotism is directed to the future, it determines the ideological content of the people's labor and is the source of the deepest motivation of the people's activities.

The supreme patriotic duty of every young Pole is to devote his creative energy to the realization of the ideals of socialism, the goal of the people's state, which, as the organizer of collective efforts in building socialism, is the people's principal asset and expresses their historical interests.

Patriotic service in the cause of one's country and people manifests itself most effectively in labor, which increases the people's material and cultural wealth, as well as in the acquisition of knowledge, which is needed for the advancement of Poland. The abolition of class antagonisms and the socialization of the means of production resulted in the main moral and spiritual values created by the people becoming the people's asset serving their future. Productive labor, conscientious study, initiative and efficiency determine the pace in building modern Poland as a highly developed country with an advanced social structure.

Civic preparedness to serve Poland, to serve its development and promote its good name, and confidence in their people and socialist country constitute the main patriotic duty of youth. Irrespective of world outlook, this is also a moral obligation of all whose family, professional or social duty is to educate children and young people. An important aspect of patriotic education is to inspire young people with respect for national symbols — the emblem, the flag and the anthem. Anyone who cherishes the good of Poland can contribute his share to the patriotic education of youth.

3. Patriotism today is inseparable from internationalism. Young builders of socialism should have a deep appreciation of the people's interests, aspirations and goals and side firmly with the world forces of progress, freedom, peace and socialism. They should combine national pride and dignity with consistent fulfilment of their internationalist duty.

Poland's future, happiness and security depend on unity and cooperation with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, with the forces of progress, freedom and peace all over the world. We are a component of them. There are no interests which can be realized at the expense of other peoples. All our objectives are identical with the aspirations of the international forces of socialism and the whole of progressive mankind.

Our Party upholds and fosters unity and friendship with the

Soviet Union. This friendship and unity arise from the identity of the class, national and state interests of the two countries. They are an expression of the indestructible ideological bonds linking the two countries and are based on rapidly growing concrete, everyday cooperation. The Party regards the attitude to the Soviet Union as the chief criterion of internationalism.

4. Socialist construction and the educational process are taking place in an atmosphere of class struggle, which assumes different forms. In our country, where the main economic and social pillars of the propertied classes have been destroyed, it is taking place primarily in people's minds and hearts. Anti-socialist forces try to influence young people by capitalizing on their political inexperience and the fact that they do not know the past from their own experience. We must, therefore elucidate national and international problems in such a way as to enable youth to distinguish between their country's enemies and its friends and to see what is genuinely progressive and what only seems new.

Affirmation of the principles of peaceful coexistence is an ever more marked trend of world development. It is accompanied by expanding economic, cultural, scientific and technological relations, by growing cooperation between countries with different social systems.

In these new conditions rivalry and ideological struggle between the two systems are gaining in scope and subversion is carried out under cover of the slogan of "free access of ideas." We must do our utmost to make the younger generation immune to hostile influences and to aspirations alien to us. At the same time we must encourage it to combat hostile ideology and counter it with our own, socialist views and ideals, our socialist morality and way of life.

We must prepare the younger generation for the steadily expanding internationalist contacts so that they yield maximum benefit for the country and the socialist cause. The task is to ensure that young people have adequate knowledge and qualifications and a firm world outlook, a deep understanding of world development, and assess the phenomena and processes they witness according to the principles of scientific socialism. They should feel themselves part of the great socialist community, realize their internationalist duty ensuing from this, uphold their national dignity as the apple of the eye and cherish the good name of their country.

5. Socialist moral principles and the ideals of communism have always been the lodestar of the working-class movement. These ideals are humanistic, for they regard man as the supreme value, call for his advancement and extol reason and science serving man's happiness and perfection.

The ideals of socialism are bound up, first of all, with the people's conception of humanism, whose slogans are inseparable from protest against social injustice and exploitation and which demands freedom, equality and prosperity for all.

Humanist ideals are intimately bound up with the traditions of the Polish people, who have reaffirmed them from generation to generation in fighting "for your freedom and ours" and for social justice. Socialist humanism has inherited all the best from humanist ideals and the struggle which progressive social forces carried on for them in the past. However, it is a new form of humanism. For the first time in history, it is real humanism aimed at building a society under which its demands can be met. At the same time, it brings into being the social force whose historic mission is to attain this goal.

A characteristic of the socialist system is the interdependence of the destiny, development and happiness of the individual and those of society as a whole. People's conscious efforts guided according to plan and wisely coordinated, produce an increasing social effect and create better conditions for the development of the individual.

The harmonious unity of social and personal objectives under socialism finds expression in the socialist model of the individual. It comprises elements expressing the unity of socialist social conditions and the everlasting values of universal morality and links the moral qualities of participants in revolutionary change with features determining their everyday creative effort. It links the romance of involvement in making history with a strong sense of duty in everyday life.

A distinctive feature of the socialist model of man, which determines its magnetism and its modernity, is the individual's active participation in the socialist transformation of his country, as well as the social motivation of his activity and interests. This model is based on the principle that social conditions shape the destiny and happiness of the individual. At the same time it makes the destiny of society conditional on the activity of the individual and regards participation in the effort to change reality as a moral duty and the main factor giving meaning to man's existence. Based on socialist ideology and morality, this implies both unshakable recognition of socialism and the ability to react critically to every manifestation of evil, coupled with effort to eliminate it and its causes.

An important component of one's socialist morality is the features which come out in one's relations with others and in one's private life. This sphere brings out the strongest links between universal moral values and socialist morality.

6. An individual who comports himself according to the social-

ist model of the individual has a keen sense of dignity and respects the dignity of others. He is responsive and shows disinterested and correctly understood solidarity with people. He is loyal to friendship and never breaks his word. He is modest, generous and honest, his behavior accords with proclaimed mottos and ideals and he courageously states his convictions and criticizes actions which he considers wrong, reprehensible and harmful.

We must impart to young people such sterling qualities as justice, conscientiousness, fearlessness in upholding their views, awareness of all that goes on around them, love for their parents and respect for their elders, appreciation and respect for veterans of the class struggle and the national liberation fight, for merited people. We must help them to perceive the beautiful and appreciate order, to be honest and feel responsible for the behavior of others as well.

These principles belong to the universal tradition of humanism. For centuries they were ideals which the finest of men strove to achieve and which the propertied classes rejected or flouted in relations with the exploited classes. Socialism makes it possible to achieve these ideals on a mass scale, to transform them into reality.

Socialist education rejects bourgeois moral standards based on selfishness and calculation, disregard for social ideals and requirements and indifference to the lot of other people, careerism and a consumer attitude to life. It combats such standards.

The socialist ideal does not imply asceticism. It does not force people to renounce material values or to refrain from acquiring them through socially useful labor. However, these values are a means of making life fuller and not the object of life. Nor are they a criterion of people's merits or position, for these are determined by the development of their interests and the extension of their aspirations, which find expression and materialization in loyalty to common ideas and active service for the good of society.

7. Marxism-Leninism is the ideology and social theory of showing the ways and means of building socialism. It forms the basis of the Party, the people's leader in this historic cause.

The main task in the ideological education of youth is to mould socialist consciousness, popularize Marxist-Leninist theory, equip them with a sound knowledge of social development laws and their country, and acquaint them with the Party's objectives, the ways and means of implementing its program, the growing role and obligations of youth in this common cause of the whole people.

Ideological purposiveness is based on the identity of rational and emotional factors. These factors demand unqualified recog-

nition of socialist social ideals and a deep understanding of problems and methods of solving them.

Readiness conscientiously to acquire knowledge and to cognize the world are a condition both for the development of every young man or woman and for establishing close links with a scientifically based program of socialist construction.

The most important task is to teach young people to make a mature assessment of facts, and to discern and analyze problems, in line with socialist principles. Knowledge of the principles of Marxism-Leninism should serve as a source of inspiration in linking proper discipline and a sense of responsibility with creative daring and sustained effort to perfect reality. This is how ideological education will fulfil its mission—by increasing young people's active participation in socialist construction, encouraging productive labor and creative initiative and providing a comprehensive motivation of labor and social activity.

By fostering the finest features of the youth of socialist Poland, their qualities as educated people keeping abreast of the times and their scientific world outlook according to the principles of the PPR Constitution, we want to strengthen the people's unity, which makes it possible to gear the energies and abilities of all generations ever more fully and rationally to the effort to realize a common program accurately expressing our common aspirations.

The Party and the state consider it one of their objectives to educate rationally thinking and socially conscious people who see the people's actual needs and aspirations, fully appreciate the interests of socialist Poland and are aware of their responsibility for its destiny and its future.

8. Of decisive importance in this respect is to educate young people in the process of labor, the main spring of development of society and the individual, of the prosperity of the country and its citizens.

Labor is a right and a moral duty of every Pole. The role of highly skilled labor, which will increasingly become "a pleasure and a necessary requirement of man" (Marx), is growing in step with the technological revolution.

The very nature of socialism makes it necessary to transform education through labor into a universal compulsory principle harmonized with young people's development periods, natural inclinations and environmental conditions. This obligation extends to the family, school, youth organization, enterprise, armed forces and all other sectors of the educational front.

We must develop in youth from the earliest age the ability to carry out simple assignments accustoming them to working for

themselves and those around them. Subsequently we must systematically infuse them with love of labor, gradually bring them into its further stages, foster among them a conscientious attitude to studies as a form of students' labor activity, train them to operate as members of a collective body and interact with it. We must inculcate and foster the principles of professional ethics, and develop in them a sense of discipline and duty from an early age.

To arouse their interest in professional activity, encourage the acquisition of technological skill and develop efficiency in labor, it is indispensable to raise young people's technological standards and improve their polytechnical training, beginning with the operation of widely used mechanical devices and equipment.

A requirement of our time is to master one's profession to perfection, to emulate the most competent. Young people should strive to be in the lead everywhere, achieve ever better results in every field of activity and combat stagnation and routine. No work is unimportant. Every activity is necessary to society provided it is properly organized and effectively carried out.

If young people are to work better with every day, we must encourage them to improve their professional skill, execute every task with the utmost conscientiousness, take a critical view of their own performance and the effort of fellow-workers and put increasing demands upon themselves and those around them.

In educating the younger generation, it is highly important to bring young workers, peasants and intellectuals closer together, encourage them to appreciate one another's labor and respect conscientious effort in any field.

9. It is very important steadily to improve conditions for young people to take an active part in public life. We must foster the activity of youth in every sphere of socialist democracy conceived in Leninist fashion, that is, as the organic unity of rights which are unfailingly respected and judiciously exercised and principles of discipline and order respected just as unfailingly, and conscientious performance of one's civic, professional and social duties, if we want the younger generation to be properly equipped to govern the country and bear an increasing share of responsibility for its fortunes.

What Poland needs today is for young people to show more discipline at home, at school, on the job, to respect the principles of public order, to be more ready than ever for joint action, for a common effort to organize labor more effectively and achieve higher productivity.

Valuable civic qualities needed by all are a keen sense of responsibility for the country's destiny, realization of the fact that its

interests stand above everything else, respect for the people's state and the ability to cooperate with it day by day, an uncompromising attitude to every manifestation of backwardness and stagnation which should translate itself into courageous effort to transform one's immediate surroundings and the life around one.

The interests of society are injured by both an anarchist disregard for civic duty and local particularism. They are injured by deep-rooted red tape in many localities, neglect of public control, a conservative posture on useful initiatives and a lack of effort to act on them.

Socialist democracy gives young people broad access to all representative bodies, to every self-government body and every public organization. A big and exacting task of the rising generation is to join actively in the management of national and local affairs, one's own enterprise, village or commune, boldly to take the initiative in labor and civic activity, strengthen socialist labor collectives and steadfastly improve things at one's place of residence.

Harmony between young people's aspirations, on the one hand, and the aspirations of the collective body and the interests of the state, on the other, is maintained most directly and effectively at the place of work, study or residence. Young people should be active above all in these spheres, for they must not wait passively until others introduce changes or improvements but most resolutely join in the march of progress. This is a method of educating oneself, of attaining maturity, of gaining experience in overcoming difficulties, of stepping up one's activity among people of one's own age who have common aspirations and growing up to perform public duties together.

10. Educational work isolated from practice tends to become mere talk, an abstraction. Similarly, practice which is not gaining an ideological and educational content is barren and bound to degenerate. Man's personality must be fully expressive of the unity of ideological conviction, i.e., moral, social and political values, knowledge and activity. Firm ideological convictions, as well as a capacity for independent action and awareness of one's responsibility for one's life and one's prospects and opportunities, should be built up from early youth according to the stages of progress towards maturity.

Education and action under socialism are as inseparable as social ideology and policy. Hence all echelons of the educational process must perform their function concertedly and purposively.

The family holds a special place in this respect. The values imparted to young people in the family by their parents, brothers and

sisters are the most lasting. They condition the results of the entire educational process. This is why parents who are Party members should set an example of applying sound educational principles, and their treatment of children should serve as an important criterion to be taken into account by Party committees and organizations.

To establish a united educational front, we must overcome contradictions in impact between various factors and consciously promote those elements which accomplish socialist education tasks most effectively. The Party considers that the family, school, youth organization, armed forces, factory and the mass media must interact harmoniously at every stage of development of youth.

Young people today attain maturity earlier than in the past. This means that we must intensify education with due regard to the shorter phases of physical and mental development. It is in society's best interest that the period of full-fledged professional and social activity should begin simultaneously with the attainment of the optimum of physical and mental activity. The main task is, therefore, to speed teaching and young people's training and self-training for life, labor and public service, and to help youth effectively in attaining professional and civic maturity.

An indication of this maturity, and the main criterion of the merits of any young man or woman, is a growing contribution to labor, everyday social activity, effort for the good of the country and devotion to its socialist ideals.

These are also the principal factors determining the younger generation's contribution to the construction of developed socialism in Poland.

CPI CENTRAL EXECUTIVE RESOLUTIONS*

The Central Executive Committee of the Communist Party of India which met in New Delhi on February 9-11 adopted a number of resolutions, two of which are published here.

DEFEAT SEPARATIST CONSPIRACY IN ANDHRA

The Right reactionary forces have gone on a sinister offensive in Andhra Pradesh. Using the disruptive and diversionary slogan of separatism, they have indulged in an orgy of destruction, terror and violence. Some of them have come forward with slogans of

*New Age, February 18, 1973.

"independent Andhra" and "south to confront the north," thus threatening the very unity of our country.

They have waged a tearing campaign against land reforms, agricultural income tax, urban property ceiling and the takeover of the wholesale trade in food grains. Their aim is to totally reverse the progressive trends in national economic and political life which came to the fore from 1969 and to disrupt and distort the growing radicalization and unity of the vast masses. Having suffered a rebuff in their attempt to frontally oppose progressive policies and programs, the grand alliance of right reaction has taken to the new tactic of whipping up regional chauvinist passions and utilizing regional disparities and the people's distress in order to gain the same objectives.

In Andhra Pradesh, the Jana Sangh, Swatantra, Syndicate and disgruntled rightist faction of the Congress have banded together in pursuit of this heinous aim.

The Central Executive Committee of the Communist Party of India warns the nation that if the rightist offensive succeeds in splitting Andhra Pradesh, the separatist forces will be strengthened in the whole country and the future of the advancing democratic forces would be in grave peril.

It warns that U.S. imperialism, the monopolists, landlords and other vested interests are fully behind this movement as part of their grand design to step by step disintegrate Indian unity and pave the way for a rightist takeover in the country which they failed to achieve earlier.

The Central Executive Committee of the Communist Party of India points out that the rightist counter-offensive in Andhra Pradesh would not have attained the tempo and sweep that it did were it not for the indecision and delay on the part of the central government, as well as the virtual paralysis of the state administration.

It warns that any concession to the separatists would only embolden them to step up their offensive and to extend it to other states. It is firmly opposed to any plan for a so-called round table conference to discuss the issue of separation of Andhra Pradesh. The only subject of discussion can be how to maintain and strengthen the unity of Andhra Pradesh by removing causes for friction and suspicion between the people of the two regions.

The Central Executive Committee of the Communist Party of India is of the view that firm measures must be taken to restore normalcy in the state. Effective and speedy steps must be taken to implement the Prime Minister's five-point formula, which, under the circumstances, is the most practical formula and provides a viable basis for a satisfactory solution of the problem. Rapid action must be taken to provide relief to the drought stricken areas in

the state and plans drawn up for the implementation of the land ceilings act, as well as for the takeover of the wholesale trade in foodgrains and the nationalization of all bus routes in the state.

The Central Executive Committee of the Communist Party of India warmly greets all Party units, members and supporters who have stood firm and rebuffed the separatists, setting an inspiring example. It warmly greets the workers, agricultural laborers, poor peasants and other toiling sections who have refused to join the separatists and who constitute the vast majority of the population. It warmly greets the many congressmen, including MLAs and MLGs who have stood by the cause of integration.

It appeals to all these forces to come together and to explain to the NGOs, students and other sections of the middle class who have been temporarily misled, the grave menace of the rightist counter-offensive and the damage that the break up of Andhra Pradesh would do to their real interests. The unity of all these healthy forces and their united campaign is the best guarantee for the preservation of the unity of Andhra Pradesh and the defeat of the right reactionary counter-offensive.

The Central Executive Committee of the Communist Party of India warns the country against the scheme for the appointment of a second states reorganization commission which is advanced by right reaction spearheaded by the Jana Sangh. The Jana Sangh has come out with a sinister scheme for thirty or forty states. The aim behind this move is to disorient, disrupt and smash up the democratic movement of the masses by provoking mass fratricidal conflict between people of different regions and languages and to put an axe to the very roots of Indian roots.

Measures have to be taken to remove anomalies and genuine grievances, provide special help to backward districts and regions and meet the just demands of the tribal peoples. But this has nothing in common with the nefarious conspiracy now sought to be given nationwide dimensions through the demand for a second states reorganization commission. The DMK's pernicious scheme of "joint government at the center and maximum autonomy for the states" acquires menacing significance in this context. Sections of the Akalis also seek to stoke the fires of separatism.

The Central Executive Committee of the Communist Party of India appeals to all left and democratic parties and forces, including those in the Congress, to fully grasp the danger and design of the new rightist tactic and counter-offensive.

It appeals to them to unite to repel this counter-offensive. It appeals to them to join in a massive manner the struggle to preserve the integrity of Andhra Pradesh and defeat the separatists. It appeals to them to come together in mighty movements and actions for the securing and implementation of radical socio-economic measures

and also to tackle the burning problems of the people. Without such steps, the right counter-offensive cannot be met and defeated nor India advance along the road to economic freedom and the national democratic transition to socialism.

VIETNAM'S GLORIOUS VICTORY*

The Central Executive Committee of the Communist Party of India hails the glorious victory won by the heroic people of Vietnam in compelling the United States imperialist aggressors to sign the Agreement on Ending the War and Restoring Peace in Vietnam.

With this victory, a new chapter opens in the struggle of the people of Vietnam for peace, independence and reunification. United States imperialism, after this major defeat for its criminal and barbaric aggression, seeks desperately to salvage whatever it can for its neo-colonialist aims in Southeast Asia. Compelled to agree to the withdrawal of all U.S. forces from South Vietnam, the Pentagon seeks to continue and strengthen its military bases in Thailand and other parts of Southeast Asia as well as its naval presence off the coast of Vietnam.

The puppet Saigon regime is being bolstered up by Nixon and his lieutenants, by building the biggest stockpile of modern armaments, including what is believed to be one of the biggest armadas of bombers and other military aircraft in the world. At the same time, 500,000 political prisoners in Saigon's concentration camps face torture and death as part of the United States-Thieu plan to exterminate all political opponents.

Violations of the ceasefire agreement by the puppet forces have not ended. The work of the Joint Military Commission and the International Commission of Control and Supervision is being impeded.

But all these desperate maneuvers cannot save the U.S. imperialists and their puppets from the onward march of the people of Vietnam.

The Communist Party of India appeals to all political parties, mass organizations and individuals in our country, who have together built up the vast movement of solidarity with Vietnam and who can today be rightly proud of their share in the Vietnamese people's victory, to continue and intensify their solidarity actions with the Vietnamese people.

The people of India must stand by the Vietnamese people in ensuring the full implementation of the peace agreement and in the work to rebuild and reconstruct their country.

India's voice must be raised against any violations of the agreement by the U.S. imperialists and their puppets. The nationwide

*Slightly abridged.

campaign for the release of the political prisoners in Saigon's tiger cages and concentration camps must be intensified.

The Communist Party appeals to all to contribute generously to the Indian funds for building a hospital in Vietnam. The All-India Trade Union Congress session in Calcutta has given the lead by collecting on the spot 10,000 rupees from the delegates.

Vietnam's victory opens up new chapters for the struggles of all peoples for peace, security and national independence — and particularly for the peoples of Asia.

The Communist Party of India urges the Government of India to take urgent and immediate actions:

- To use its influence in the councils of the world to ensure that the peace agreement is fully respected and is not violated by the United States of America or by any other imperialist or aggressive power which may seek to intervene to subvert the Vietnamese people's efforts for reunification and progress;

- To contribute to the maximum extent towards the building of closer and closer cooperation in all fields with the Democratic Republic of Vietnam;

- To recognize the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Vietnam.

Such actions by India will be a valuable contribution to peace and security in Asia and the world and will enhance India's own prestige.

IN BRIEF

AUSTRIA

The Central Committee of the Communist Party met in plenum on February 14-15. It discussed a report on present-day problems of Austria's economy delivered by Political Bureau member, F. Fuernberg. E. Scharf, Political Bureau member, spoke on the international situation.

Party Chairman F. Muhri reported on preparations for the 22nd Party Congress in 1974.

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

The plenary meeting of the CPC Central Committee, held in Prague February 20-21, heard a report by Party General Secretary Gustav Husak on fulfilment of the 14th Congress decisions.

There were 19 speakers in the debates following the report.

The plenum noted the achievements of the people of Czecho-

slovakia after the 14th Congress and the strengthening of relations between Czechoslovakia, the Soviet Union and other socialist countries. Czechoslovakia's general foreign policy line takes a realistic approach to the possibility of improvement also in relations with the capitalist countries.

The plenum stressed that Czechoslovakia is prepared to contribute as much as it can to the joint efforts of the socialist countries to reach agreements on security, development of European cooperation and improvement of mutual trust among states.

Czechoslovakia attaches great importance to establishing good-neighborly relations with the FRG and to solving controversial issues with that country.

In the view of Czechoslovakia, G. Husak pointed out, the time had come to hold official negotiations between the governments of the two countries. We are prepared, he said, to start talks at any time. Given goodwill, agreement can be reached and a viewpoint acceptable to both sides can be found, which will help to liquidate, once and for all, the Munich agreement, the illegal act which has become the symbol of the start of the Second World War. This would be in the interests of Czechoslovakia and the FRG, and European peace and security.

In its resolution the Central Committee endorsed the report of the CC CPC as a guide in the further work of Party organs, organizations and Communists and in the preparations for district and regional Party conferences. The plenum approved a report on the work of the CC CPC Presidium and Secretariat since the December 1972 plenary meeting of the CPC Central Committee, the CPC budget for 1973, the structure of the CC apparatus as proposed by the Party Presidium, and proposals on cadres.

Concluding the work of the plenum, G. Husak said that it showed the high level of unity of the Central Committee on all problems under discussion.

DENMARK

The Central Committee of the Communist Party met in plenum on January 27 in Copenhagen. It elected an Executive Committee, Secretariat and Editorial Board of the *Land og Folk* newspaper.

The new 14-member Executive includes Party Chairman Knud Jespersen. The Secretariat includes K. Jespersen, P. Emanuel, P. Henriksen, I. Norlund and I. Wagner.

The plenum also discussed the internal situation and appealed to the working people to strengthen unity in the struggle against the employers and against Denmark's subordination to the monopolistic EEC.

The participants in the meeting welcomed the signing in Paris

of the agreement on ending the war and restoring peace in Vietnam as a historic victory for the heroic Vietnamese people.

ISRAEL

The Central Committee of the CPI met in Tel-Aviv on February 9-10. A report, "The Political Situation Following the Signing of the Agreement on Ending the War and Restoring Peace in Vietnam, its Significance for the Middle East and the Party's Tasks," was delivered by CPI General Secretary M. Vilner.

A resolution on the report describes the agreement as "a historic victory for the people of Vietnam and a military, political and moral defeat for American imperialism."

Imperialism's weakening positions in Indochina, the plenum noted, means a weakening of its positions in the Middle East.

The CC CPI called on all peace-loving forces of the country to intensify the struggle for fulfilment of the Security Council Resolution No. 242 and the decisions of the General Assembly on the Middle East, for withdrawal of Israeli troops from the territories occupied in 1967 and for a just and stable peace ensuring the rights of all states and peoples of that region, including the Arab people of Palestine and the people of Israel.

The plenum also passed a resolution condemning the Israeli rulers' attacks on democratic freedoms in the country.

ITALY

On February 7-9, the Central Committee and Central Control Commission of the Italian Communist Party met in joint session in Rome. General Secretary Enrico Berlinguer reported on "New Prospects in the Struggle for Peaceful Coexistence and the Activities of the ICP to Change Italy's Foreign Policy, Economic and Political Development." (Excerpts from the report are published in this issue.)

PERU

The Central Committee of the Peruvian Communist Party held an extraordinary session in Lima on January 21. A large number of Party activists from different regions of the country were invited to participate in the work of the plenum.

The meeting discussed the report of the Political Commission on the development of the process of revolutionary change being carried out by the military government headed by President Velasco Alvarado.

A plenum resolution notes that the reactionary forces, taking advantage of the situation that arose after the introduction of a new tax system in order to arouse discontent among the masses, sharply raised prices. In labor relations the employers refuse to

meet demands of the working people and comply with corresponding instructions of the Ministry of Labor on settling labor disputes. "The aim of the counter-revolution is obvious," the resolution says. "It is to paralyze the key branches of the national economy in order to create conditions favorable for a counter-revolutionary coup."

The plenum called on all Party organizations to launch broad work among the people in order to rally them in the revolutionary process for the defense of their gains from encroachments by reaction and imperialism.

POLAND

The Central Committee of the Polish United Workers' Party called a plenary meeting in Warsaw on February 26. It was attended by Party officials and economic executives from many branches of the national economy. The plenum was opened by E. Gierek, First Secretary of the CC PUWP. It discussed and approved a report by Piotr Jaroszewicz, Politbureau member and Chairman of the Council of Ministers, on a program of effective utilization of raw materials and material resources.

USSR

On February 18 the newspaper *Pravda* reported that the CC CPSU discussed the question of launching the exchange of Party membership cards. A resolution notes that preparations for the exchange are proceeding on the whole in organized fashion, in accordance with the guidelines of the 24th Congress and the May 1972 Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee.

In the course of preparations for the exchange of Party documents inner-Party life has become richer in content, the activity of Communists is growing and so is the influence of Party organizations in solving economic and political tasks. All this contributes to the further consolidation of the Party and enhances its role as the guiding and leading force of Soviet society.

The main questions connected with the organizational-technical aspect of the preparations for and conduct of the exchange have been solved.

Considering that Party committees, political organs and Party organizations have in the main completed preparatory work for the exchange of Party documents, the CC CPSU permitted the Central Committees of the Communist Parties of the Union Republics, territorial and regional Party committees, the Main Political Administration of the Soviet Army and Navy, the political departments of the border and internal troops to start the exchange of Party documents beginning with March 1, 1973.

It was deemed expedient to unfold the work of exchanging Party documents gradually, without haste.

SWEDEN

The Board of the Left Party—Communists met in plenum in Stockholm on February 8-9.

The plenum appealed to all workers, professional organizations and to all other progressive forces to turn the May First celebrations into a nationwide manifestation of working people's unity.

The plenum discussed preparations for the autumn parliamentary elections and the campaign for new labor agreements between the unions and employers.

A special address adopted by the meeting stresses the need for unity of the working class and all progressive forces in the struggle against the omnipotence of capital and for winning the working people's vital demands.

The plenum rejected the proposal by the splinter pro-Maoist group styling itself "Communist Party of Sweden" for "technical cooperation" with the LPC during the autumn election campaign. The plenum stated that although Left unity in the workers' movement was very important, cooperation with an organization waging a deliberate struggle against the LPC has no real foundation and would mean misleading the voters.

FINLAND

The CC CPF met in Helsinki, February 24, to discuss steps towards promoting all-round Finnish-Soviet cooperation in connection with the 25th anniversary of the Finnish-Soviet Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation and Mutual Assistance, as well as various Party matters.

JAPAN

The CC CPJ Presidium met in Tokyo, February 13-14, to discuss CPJ activity in parliament, preparations for the election to the House of Councillors, the results of the intermediate local elections, steps to increase the *Akahata* readership, the fight against anti-Communist attacks on the ideological front, the situation in Vietnam and other matters. (*Akahata*.)

LEBANON

The CC LCP, meeting in plenary session at the end of February, discussed the international situation, specifically in the Middle East, and the political situation at home.

The meeting adopted a relevant statement, which appeared in the weekly *Al Akhbar* on March 10.

RUMANIA

The CC RCP held a plenary meeting on February 28-March 2.

The February 28 sitting, dedicated to the 25th anniversary of the

merger of the CP and the Social-Democratic Party of Rumania, was addressed by RCP General Secretary N. Ceausescu. He noted that the formation a quarter century earlier of a united working-class party which led the Rumanian people's fight for the socialist transformation of the country was a brilliant political victory for the proletariat and other working people.

The formation of a united party of the working class, N. Ceausescu stressed, was objectively necessary for the victory of the socialist revolution and for building the new society. Throughout the years the RCP has ensured the progress of socialist society and fostered internationalist solidarity with Communist and Workers' parties.

The meeting discussed steps to reach 1973 plan targets and improve the organizational structure of ministries and other administrative bodies.

It decided on measures to use available reserves in all economic fields for increasing the country's economic potential.

The meeting heard a report on the international activity of the RCP and the government in 1972 and discussed a number of draft laws to be submitted to the people for discussion and then to the Grand National Assembly for approval.

In conclusion, the meeting was addressed by N. Ceausescu.

SAN MARINO

The CC and Control Commission of the SMCP, elected at the Eighth Party Congress, met in plenary session in San Marino early in March. The meeting elected Ermenegildo Gasperoni to be Party Chairman and Umberto Barulli, General Secretary. It also elected a Party Leadership of nine and a Secretariat of three.

SOUTH AFRICA

The journal *The African Communist* for the first quarter of 1973 carried a communique on a plenary meeting of the Central Committee, South African Communist Party.

Deep-ranging discussions were held on the developments in South Africa since the plenary meeting of 1970. Strong emphasis was placed on the priority need for strengthening the Party's underground structure and activities and on working for the maximum unity and effectiveness of the revolutionary national liberation movement.

A report on the international situation was discussed and the general line of policy followed by the Executive was approved. The CC determined to continue the Party's efforts to unite the anti-imperialist forces — the socialist countries, the working class movement and the national liberation movements — for peace, national freedom and the advance of socialism.

Noting the heavy blow sustained by the Party and the entire liberation movement by the death on August 1 of Comrade J. B. Marks, the Central Committee expressed its determination to strive ceaselessly for the fulfilment of his life's work.

The meeting elected Comrade Yusuf M. Dadoo as Chairman of the South African Communist Party.

WEST BERLIN

The SUP of West Berlin met on February 16-17 to discuss "Tasks of the Working Class in the Struggle to Improve Working and Living Conditions" (rapporteur, Horst Schmitt, Bureau member and Executive secretary), "The Irreconcilable Character of Contradictions Between Socialist and Bourgeois Ideology" (rapporteur, Karlheinz Kniestedt, Bureau member and Executive secretary), and "The Third SUPWB Congress and Steps to Reinforce Our Party" (rapporteur, Erich Ziegler, deputy Chairman of the Party).

Twenty-seven speakers took the floor in the debate. Party Chairman Gerhard Danelius, who made a concluding speech, answered workers' questions about the execution of Third Congress decisions.

The meeting called on the working people of West Berlin to join in the coming May Day demonstration for peace, democracy and socialism, against the power of monopoly and reaction.

YUGOSLAVIA

Belgrade, March 5. The Presidium of the League of Communists meeting in Belgrade on March 5, resolved to hold the Fourth LCY Conference in Belgrade on May 10-11. The Conference will hear a report on the work done since the Second Conference and assess the results of the execution of Second Conference resolutions and the tasks set in the letter of LCY Chairman J. Broz Tito and the League's Executive Bureau.

The LCY Presidium also discussed the League's tasks in carrying out the economic stabilization program.

STATEMENTS

PUBLIC OWNERSHIP AND DEMOCRATIC CONTROL OF OUR ENERGY RESOURCES* (Canada)

The growing debate around the issue of a Mackenzie Pipeline raises a number of fundamental questions having to do with Canada's present and future development.

What stands out in this debate is the necessity of formulating a Canada-wide energy policy. Such a policy does not presently exist and because this is so, Canada's energy, like Canada's natural resources, is being sold to U.S. corporations by provincial governments and monopoly interests for a fast buck at the expense of Canada's present and long term needs.

A FULLY INTEGRATED PLAN

A Canada-wide energy policy must be based on an exact knowledge of all the energy resources Canada possesses. It cannot be limited to a pipeline. Moreover, it must go beyond gas and oil, to encompass all sources of energy such as gas, oil, water, uranium, coal and hydro power. In short, it must be a fully integrated energy policy based on public ownership. Without democratic public ownership there can be no real control of these resources, no planned, rational exploitation of these resources and no effective decision-making by the Canadian people.

Energy is related to economic growth and independence. Once control of energy passes out of the hands of the Canadian people, so do jobs, living standards, economic development and Canadian independence.

The adoption of a fully integrated all-Canadian energy policy is a vital necessity. U.S. imperialism has not given up its aim of forcing through a continental energy policy. Such "sharing" of Canada's energy would give it control of Canada's resources, starting with gas and oil, and enable it to undermine our industrial development, the sovereignty and independence of Canada.

CANADA'S LAST FRONTIER

The North is Canada's last frontier. The Canadian people should make sure it does not become Canada's lost frontier by virtue of it being taken over lock, stock and barrel by U.S. imperialism, in

*The Canadian Tribune, February 14, 1973.

the same way it has taken over other parts of the Canadian economy. U.S. imperialism did not march in with its armed forces and take these resources over; they were handed over to U.S. imperialism by Provincial and Federal governments and Canadian monopoly interests for a fast buck. If a similar sell-out takes place today, if U.S. imperialism is allowed to control the energy resources of the North, it will in fact control the whole of the Canadian economy.

The question of energy, its ownership and control, is therefore not only an economic or technical question — it is above all a major political question having to do with the independence of Canada and its balanced economic development.

Minister of Energy, Mines and Resources MacDonald's statement that he is "not in favor of a continental energy policy" gives no assurance that the government is opposed to such a continental energy policy. Indeed, the failure of the government to enunciate a fully integrated all-Canadian energy policy, suggests that it is engaged in an intricate behind the scenes game of bargaining with the U.S. government over trade questions, including Canadian energy resources. The government's concept of Canada as a corridor through which the riches of the North, particularly gas and oil, can be shipped to the USA, leads in that direction.

PUBLIC OWNERSHIP

Unless the Canadian people use all their strength to oppose this continued energy sell-out, they may find themselves committed to a continental energy policy piece by piece, pipe by pipe, consortium by consortium, U.S. dollar by U.S. dollar. They should demand that the government declare itself unequivocally against a continental energy policy, scrap any agreements with the consortiums which lead in that direction, and undertake instead the formulation of a Canadian energy policy in consultation with all the Provinces concerned. Such a policy should include not only public ownership of all energy resources, but public ownership as well of an all-Canadian delivery system to transport oil and gas to all parts of Canada. This will ensure Canadian control of Canada's energy resources as well as control of the delivery system in ways which can be beneficial to the Canadian people.

The first priority of such a policy should be the satisfaction of the immediate and long term energy needs of the Canadian economy and of the Canadian people. Only after these needs are fully taken into account should consideration be given to the sale of surplus energy to the USA or to other countries. The sale of these surpluses should be used to finance the cost of construction and operation of the pipelines. If necessary, State loans should be made, with no ownership involved, to assist in the financing of the con-

struction and operation of the pipelines, with the loans repaid in oil and gas according to world prices.

The Communist Party believes these are the essential ingredients of a fully integrated all-Canadian energy policy.

Such a policy must necessarily take fully into account the safeguarding of the ecology of the North through effective measures of environmental controls.

COMMUNIST PROPOSALS

It must include measures to protect the vital needs, interests and rights of the northern native peoples. The starting point of a sound policy here is recognition of the necessity of preferential treatment of the native peoples. Indeed, it is only through preferential treatment that they can be sure of equal treatment. Any other policy would be discriminatory and downright harmful to their immediate and long term interests. Such preferential treatment should find its reflection in housing, education, medical services and in training programs. Such treatment should go alongside the guarantee of their rights as a people with respect to language and culture, including their right to have an effective voice on all questions having to do with northern development, and the protection of their own vital interests. Moreover, nothing which is done by way of development should interfere with their hunting and fishing grounds.

Not least, a fully integrated all-Canadian energy policy should be meshed with effective measures directed to achieve democratic public ownership of natural resources, the processing of these resources and the building of secondary industry, preferably adjoining these natural resources. A case in point would be the building of refineries and the petro-chemical industry in all areas where gas and oil energy resources are to be found.

CANADA'S FUTURE

The debate on energy, on a Mackenzie Pipeline, on Northern development, in reality raises the whole question of Canada's future. The basic issue involved is whether Canada shall continue the role of supplier and reserve of raw materials and of energy for the USA, or strike out on an entirely different course.

The challenge before Canada is to reverse the trend of building up the industries of the USA with Canadian resources, and embark instead on a course which could transform Canada into a great independent industrial state, pursuing an independent foreign policy and developing extensive and mutually satisfactory two-way trade with the socialist countries and all other countries in the world.

A fully integrated all-Canadian energy policy based on public ownership under democratic control is essential to the achieve-

ment of these aims and to balanced economic development, job opportunities, rising standards and Canadian independence.

*Central Executive Committee
Communist Party of Canada*

MOBILIZE THE PEOPLE TO DEFEND SEVERANCE PAY

Following is a statement adopted by the CEC of the Communist Party of Colombia, Bogota, January 27, 1973, and published in *Voz Proletaria*, February 1.

The Colombian government has issued Decree 98 establishing so-called regional social capitalization funds.

These funds are but the old project of the national savings fund rejected by the working-class movement under the regime of Lleras Restrepo, who imposed it on civil servants by decree. The Pastrana government is now doing as much in relation to wage workers in the private sector, even though the idea was again rejected by the Chamber of Representatives. In this way, while professing respect for public opinion, the government is disregarding it and the Congress to introduce at will a measure openly and unanimously condemned by the entire trade union movement.

The Working People's Union of Colombia brazenly described the measure as "socialist," thus betraying the working-class movement and its own member organizations.

It is a measure aimed at plundering the working people by robbing them of severance pay on the plea that national development must be fostered through the use of savings at a time when the foreign debt has reached a peak.

Yet it does not occur to the government, which is clearly prompted by the interests of the employers and by class considerations, to raise its hand against the colossal wealth amassed by the capitalists. It can bring itself to do such a thing only where the working people are concerned. This means that so-called development is to be stimulated at the expense of those who have nothing but their labor.

The greater part of these funds is to go to a tiny group of joint-stock companies registered at the stock exchange. In other words, the people's money is to be pocketed by powerful employers who exert decisive influence on the government.

The talk about these funds, said to be earmarked for housing

for the people and the development of backward regions is sheer demagoguery.

Small and medium employers who can secure no government credits or aid are also to be robbed of part of their capital.

WORKING PEOPLE'S LOSSES

The introduction of a new severance system plainly hits the workers, who are to be paid less than before.

Furthermore, the repeal of the provision binding the employer immediately to pay the full amount of severance money or be penalized (that is, made to pay the discharged worker the full amount of wages as if the latter still held his job) greatly prejudices the interests of the discharged by making it possible to delay severance pay indefinitely.

On the other hand, new bureaucratic monsters are brought into being in the shape of regional corporations controlled by manufacturers and the government. These corporations engage in profiteering and financial deals, with the result that while office records pile up and office employees' salaries grow, the work in hand is done poorly, as in the case of the Social Insurance Institute and other organizations of the same type. Added to this are the large sums which bosses and politicians are paid for their election services as their share of the booty provided by various swindles.

In view of the foregoing, we condemn the government's new measure and urge the people, all political currents of a democratic character, all trade union organizations irrespective of allegiance, all working people belonging to trade unions or otherwise, and all small and medium employers discriminated against by the big monopolies to declare emphatically against the anti-popular measure, insist on revoking Decree 98/1973, fight through meetings and demonstrations, and search for forms of united action that will enable them to organize a mass protest campaign and defeat the monopoly government's maneuver.

STATEMENT BY CC CP URUGUAY

In view of the grave military and political crisis in the country, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Uruguay on Feb. 13, 1973 adopted the following document, whose text appeared in *El Popular* on February 15th.

Events taking place in the country today are undoubtedly the most serious witnessed in many decades of national history. This is due, as our Party pointed out earlier, in particular at its 20th

Congress, to the policy initiated by Pacheco Areco and being continued by President Bordaberry. It is due to the existence of a system and governments subservient to an oligarchic and imperialist upper stratum concerned solely with its own class interests, which run counter to the interests of the working people and the vast majority of the population, governments which are guilty of causing an unprecedented increase in the suffering of the working people—hunger, a high cost of living, unemployment—and have dragged the republic into the abyss of a severe economic, social, political and moral crisis. Corruption is rife throughout the administrative apparatus; scandalous deals have been made leading to the embezzlement of hundreds of millions of dollars belonging to the nation, and of public funds amounting to tens of billions of pesos taken, in the final analysis, from the working people's pockets. The people's national dignity and sovereignty are constantly flouted.

Pacheco Areco tried in vain to check the people's mounting anger and struggle by adopting emergency security measures and virtually ignoring the Constitution and the principles of legality.

Sr. Bordaberry, who won only one-fifth of the votes cast in the election with the overwhelming majority of Uruguayans taking a stand against the policy initiated by Pacheco Areco, tries to continue this policy through the artificial and corruption-ridden mechanism of the so-called "little pact" with the National Party minority. His methods are increased violence and repression, and he has set out to fascisize the regime by "legal" means and reduce existing institutions to a mere facade lacking any genuinely democratic substance. Responsibility for the violence, bloodshed and continuous undermining of democratic institutions and liberties must be borne entirely by the oligarchy and its spokesmen.

The people are becoming ever more aware of the falsity of spurious alternatives and artificially fomented clashes intended to mislead and divide them. They see ever more clearly that the only realistic alternative is that which our Party has always upheld: paving the way—if we do not want the oligarchic top to stay in power—for a progressive, democratic solution, for genuinely popular rule. The country needs change, and the people insist on far-reaching changes in social and economic structures to end the rule of oligarchy and imperialism in the country.

The armed forces have begun to play an important role in this process, which is marked by the constant participation and struggle of the working class united in the National Convention of Working People, of the students, teachers and other segments of the population, the Broad Front, the Communist Party and other Front parties. They themselves declare that they have come 'fully to realize the problems facing the country—due to their special participation in

the country's affairs over the past year—and the gravity of the situation, which calls for resolute action by every section of the Uruguayan people to avoid complete chaos in the country."

The armed forces declare that they "are not, nor will be, the armed defender of economic and/or political groups whose spokesman see this and try, in pursuing their selfish aims, to divert the military from the path it must follow."

The armed forces specified their objectives in two recent documents. These deal with sovereignty, economic crimes and corruption, the land, monopoly, worker co-management of state enterprises, the need for an overall rise in the people's standard of life, the foreign debt, credit policy, normalization of the diplomatic service, the leadership of autonomous organizations, and other matters. There is no question that they advocate changes to solve numerous pressing national problems, which would open up promising prospects and make it possible to end the country's crisis.

It is evident that this program does not deal with some problems in adequate measure or ignores them altogether. The armed forces themselves admit this in their second document. The disastrous role of imperialism and private banks and the currency speculation carried on by the oligarchy and imperialist agents should have been shown up more fully. There should have been greater clarity regarding the highly relevant issue of restoring democratic liberties, specifically by releasing prisoners who are being detained without trial and, above all, ensuring unqualified respect for trade union rights.

The two documents are neither distrustful nor reticent in regard to the working class, the soundest force of the Uruguayan people which for years has been fighting for change and renovation needed by the country.

The negative view taken of Marxism-Leninism is wrong because Marxism-Leninism is essentially the ideology of the proletariat and is furiously attacked as such by the oligarchy and imperialism, which are carrying on an ideological struggle against popular forces. Marxism-Leninism is not only compatible with the ideals of democracy, republicanism and national liberation but regards the fight for these ideals as part of the road which must be travelled to arrive at the society of the future, a society based on complete justice, that is, socialist society.

It is not accidental that the working class and its vanguard, inspired by Marxist-Leninist ideas, are always in the front-line of the struggle for radical changes and that their goals objectively coincide with many of the goals set by the armed forces. First and foremost, they share the ideas championed by Artigas.

This opinion about the activity of the armed forces, stated by the

Communist Party with complete frankness, is by no means intended to minimize the positive significance of the programmatic documents mentioned above, nor of the position of the armed forces in general. The events of recent days unquestionably dealt a blow to the policy initiated by Pacheco Areco, and the country is passing through a period which promises well as far as the historical outlook is concerned.

At the same time we state most explicitly that the specific formulas used in the past for resolving the political crisis are a compromise preserving numerous aspects of the earlier policy, which led the country to the crisis.

General Liber Seregni, Chairman of the Broad Front, proposed in a recent speech that Sr. Bordaberry should resign, which would make it possible really to end the political crisis and embark on desirable solutions. Unfortunately, Sr. Bordaberry and the forces backing him opted for what has nothing in common with this proposal, which enjoys the support of the masses and diverse political alignments. As a result, negative phenomena fraught with danger persist, and this necessitates vigilance.

No one can really doubt any longer that no radical or definitive solutions can be effected in our country until the powers of the oligarchic top and of imperialism are completely broken.

The sad experience of the world and Latin America in this respect is very instructive. Hence the problem of a real and deep-reaching differentiation in Uruguayan society and of the irreconcilable conflict between the oligarchy and the people is as pressing as ever. In the long run, it is the people and an alliance of all fair-minded Uruguayans—civilians and servicemen alike—that provide the supreme guarantee of victory in a fight which is bound to be grim and during which we shall be confronted with a wily, treacherous and unscrupulous enemy until we defeat him completely and end the rule of the "top" for all time. Without this there can be no salvation for our country.

The working class will play a highly important part in this great struggle, as the convincing document published by the National Convention of Working People in recent days indicated once again.

In this struggle, the Broad Front, a united force well aware of its objectives and showing the country the policy to follow, will play a role of the first importance.

This struggle will involve our Communist Party with its clear ideology, powerful membership and organization and with the high prestige it enjoys among the working class and the masses generally.

General Seregni urged all Broad Front members to be always on the alert. His call applies to all patriots, for no one may adopt a

wait-and-see attitude in this hour which is decisive for our country.

All fair-minded Uruguayans must join in the people's organized common struggle in spite of their artificial and false division, in particular into civilians and servicemen.

The working class and the people will do their utmost to ensure that development follows a line guaranteeing a democratic, progressive, anti-oligarchic and anti-imperialist way out of the present situation. The people's joint strength can break the power of the decayed oligarchy and predatory imperialism.

The hour of decision has struck and it is also an hour of hope. We call on all Communists, all members of the Broad Front, all working people and all patriots to rally their energies and join in a united movement of the people which can frustrate every reactionary attempt and hasten a positive solution fully meeting the sacred interests of the republic and our people.

Central Committee of the Communist Party
Montevideo, February 13, 1973.

BILATERAL MEETINGS

JOINT STATEMENT OF THE MEXICAN CP AND THE CP USA

A fraternal meeting between representatives of the Mexican Communist Party and the Communist Party, USA took place in Mexico City on February 1 and 2, 1973.

The joint statement agreed upon by both delegations and signed by Arnoldo Martinez Verdugo, First Secretary of the Mexican Communist Party and Helen Winter, International Affairs Secretary of the Central Committee, Communist Party, USA, follows:

On February 1 and 2, 1973, a fraternal meeting between delegations of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the United States of America and the Central Committee of the Mexican Communist Party took place in Mexico City. Participating for the U.S. delegation were Helen Winter, member of the Political Committee and Secretary of International Affairs of the Central Committee; José Ristorucci, member of the Political Committee and the Central Committee; Carl Bloice, member of the Central Committee and editor of the *People's World* newspaper; Lorenzo Torres, member of the Central Committee and Chairman of the Commission on Chicano Liberation; and Juan Lopez, member of the National Council. The Mexican delegation was composed of

Arnoldo Martinez Verdugo, First Secretary of the Central Committee; J. Encarnacion Perez, Member of the Presidium of the Central Committee; Juan Canales, member of the Central Committee; and Federico Rodriguez, candidate member of the Central Committee.

In the course of the conversations, the delegations had an extensive exchange of information about the political situation in their respective countries and on diverse aspects of the activity of each party. This mutual exchange has served to further an improved understanding between the two parties, to better raise the understanding of the revolutionary struggle that each unfolds against the class enemies and agree to promote the most ample reciprocal solidarity in their revolutionary actions and on the side of the victims of ruling class repression.

In conformity with the principles of proletarian internationalism, this bilateral meeting has allowed the two parties to tighten even more the bonds of friendship and Communist solidarity between them.

The Mexican Communist Party expresses its sympathy and complete solidarity with the struggle being carried on by the Communist Party of the United States of America in favor of the interests of the working class, against monopoly capital and for socialism; against the racism and discrimination affecting the national minorities in the United States, such as the Black people, United States citizens of Mexican origin and Mexican immigrants who make up the Chicano movement, the Puerto Ricans residing in the country and the rest of the national minority communities. The Mexican Communists, who make serious efforts to promote solidarity for the struggle of these communities among the masses of Mexican people, fully support this struggle for equal rights of all these communities, for raising their economic and cultural level, and in support of their role in the struggle against the oppression and warlike actions of imperialism.

As to the danger that discriminatory laws of a special character be enacted by the United States government against Mexican immigrants, the Mexican Communist Party declares its agreement with the backing of the actions of the Communist Party of the United States of America, of the Chicano movement and United States workers against this threat.

For its part, the Communist Party of the United States of America expresses its support for the struggle being realized by the Mexican Communist Party in defense of the interests of the working class, the peasants, the students and other sectors of the Mexican population, and against the anti-democratic and repressive policies that the bourgeois oligarchy in power applies. It also protests the treacherous political murders of the Communist university professors at Puebla, Joel Arriaga and Enrique Cabrera, and

against the murders of students in Puebla, Monterrey and other universities and of peasant leaders in various areas of the country. And it expresses solidarity with the struggle for the freedom of hundreds of political prisoners in Mexico and demands their immediate release.

The Communist Party of the United States of America condemns the imperialist action which, by virtue of sending highly salted waters to the Mexicali Valley, has ruined the soil and created a crisis in the agricultural economy of that region, and supports the struggle of the peasants and the Mexican Communists for a just solution to this problem.

Both parties, which have spent their best efforts in solidarity with the people of Indochina and particularly with the heroic people of Vietnam, hail the great victory over imperialist aggression, and congratulate the workers and the whole Vietnamese people, who are guided by their illustrious Communist vanguard, who, based on their own efforts and counting on the help of the peoples of the world, particularly the socialist countries, defeated imperialism and its agents in South Vietnam.

The mobilization of the people of the United States for peace and an end to the imperialist aggression in Vietnam, as well as the solidarity of the Mexican people with the brave people of Vietnam, contributed to this victory that is now necessary to consolidate.

Communists of the United States and Mexico declare their resolve to collaborate in the great task of aiding the reconstruction of Vietnam and continue struggling for peace and non-interference by imperialism in Southeast Asia.

At the same time, the two parties declare, once again, their support for the struggle of the Arab people in defense of their independence and sovereignty, and demand that the resolution of the Security Council of the United Nations in connection with the Middle East be vigorously carried out, in order to re-establish peace in that region of the world.

With the purpose of gaining greater strength and efficiency in the struggle against the imperialist monopolies and to forge international unity of the proletariat of the United States and Mexico, the two parties intend to work for increased contact and mutual collaboration between the Mexican and United States workers who are employed by the same imperialist corporations.

In Latin America, the democratic and anti-imperialist revolutionary movement attains ever higher levels of struggle and victories of great historical importance. The Communist Party of the United States of America and the Mexican Communist Party express in this meeting their most determined solidarity with the people of Cuba who, in spite of imperialist blockade, construct socialism; with the people of Chile who vigorously struggle against

the internal reactionary oligarchy and U.S. imperialism, for guaranteeing that the road remain open for the construction of a socialist society; with the people of Puerto Rico who labor for their national independence and against North American colonialism; with the people of Panama who, in all fairness, demand the reinstatement of its sovereignty over the canal zone; and with the people fighting against exploitation in Latin America. It is especially important at this moment to declare our common solidarity with our brother Party, the Labor Party of Guatemala, several of whose national leaders recently were assassinated by the dictatorial government of Arana Osorio.

In the struggle against United States imperialism, we take into consideration the diverse forms of economic, ideological and political penetration utilized in various countries in Latin America. We denounce in particular the association of United States monopoly capital with Mexican big capital, which together penetrate several countries of Latin America, especially in Central America.

These conversations, which transpired in an atmosphere of warmth and revolutionary fraternity, will further contribute to reinforcing the closest kind of relations between the Communist Party of the United States of America and the Mexican Communist Party, and to the attainment of the highest level in the common struggle of our peoples against imperialism, for democracy and socialism.

JOINT COMMUNIQUE OF BRITISH AND ITALIAN COMMUNIST PARTIES*

The communique came at the end of the visit to Britain, at the invitation of the Communist Party, of the Italian Party's General Secretary Enrico Berlinguer and Central Committee member Napoleon Colajanni.

Discussions took place with British General Secretary John Gollan and political committee members Bert Ramelson and Jack Woddis.

The visitors also met Labor MPs, union leaders, journalists and other public figures.

The Communist representatives exchanged information on the political situation in their two countries and on the activities of the two parties.

Problems in Europe, international developments, and other ques-

*Morning Star, March 1, 1973.

tions of common interest, including the international Communist movement, were discussed.

The two delegations assessed the signing of the Paris agreements on Vietnam and the ceasefire in Laos as important victories for the national liberation struggle of the peoples of Indochina, aided by the Soviet Union and other socialist countries and by the worldwide movement of solidarity, the communique said.

"At the same time, they both stressed that there was a continuing need for solidarity with the peoples of Indochina to ensure the full implementation of the agreements and to assist the reconstruction of the three territories," it added.

"The growing détente in Europe, indicated by the growing diplomatic recognition accorded by West European governments to the German Democratic Republic, the agreement on West Berlin, and the preparations being made for a Conference of European States on Security and Cooperation during 1973, opens up new possibilities for achieving a peaceful continent," the communique said.

"These advances, which are due to the initiatives of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries and to the pressure of public opinion in West European countries, and especially that of the labor movements, have helped to create a new situation in Europe and provide a basis for overcoming further obstacles to establishing peace, security and cooperation."

Both Italy and Britain, said the communique, had in the past year seen massive and united action by working people in defense of trade union and democratic rights, against unemployment, for social reforms, and for higher wages and living standards.

"To defend the conditions of the people against the consequences of the growing internationalization of the big monopolies which threaten the people's livelihood, freedom and national rights as well as their prospects of advance to socialism, the two parties consider it vital to strengthen in every way possible the relations between the workers, their trade unions and their political parties in the European capitalist countries," it said.

"In this respect importance was attached to developing different forms of common action of an all-European character against the monopolies.

"The new dangers arising from the activities of the multi-national firms were underlined; and the need was expressed for the workers and their organizations to seek out and initiate the most effective and appropriate forms of united international action against such firms," the communique said.

"The same considerations led the two parties to conclude that the interests of the working class and the people in their respective countries and throughout Western Europe necessitated con-

tacts, discussions and common activities between the Socialist, Labor and Communist Parties," it added.

The two parties said they would continue to strengthen the close links and friendly cooperation which has always existed between them.

"To fulfil their responsibilities to the international working class and to the cause of peace, democracy, national liberation and Socialism, the two parties will continue to strive for the unity of the international Communist movement and of all forces opposed to imperialism, on the basis of the principles of autonomy and solidarity," said the communique.

VISIT OF THE KPL DELEGATION TO THE SOVIET UNION*

A delegation of the Korean Party of Labor headed by Kim Don Gu, member of the Political Committee and Secretary of the KPL Central Committee, visited the Soviet Union from February 27 to March 5, at the invitation of the CC CPSU.

The delegation was received by L. I. Brezhnev, General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, who had cordial and friendly talks with the delegation.

The Korean guests studied the experience of the CPSU in organizational and political activities, met and had talks with member of the CC CPSU Political Bureau A. J. Pelshe and CC Secretaries V. I. Dolgikh, I. V. Kapitanov and K. F. Katushev. There was a fruitful exchange of views on development of ties and cooperation between the CPSU and the KPL.

The delegation visited several industrial enterprises and establishments and acquainted itself with the work of the Moscow and Leningrad Party organizations in fulfilling the decisions of the 24th CPSU Congress. Everywhere the representatives of socialist Korea had a warm and fraternal reception.

On March 5 the delegation left Moscow for home and was seen off at the airport by Politbureau member A. J. Pelshe, CC CPSU Secretary K. F. Katushev and officials of the CPSU Central Committee.

The Ambassador of the Korean People's Democratic Republic to the USSR Kwon Hi Gen was also present.

*Pravda, March 6, 1973.

L. I. BREZHNEV MEETS WITH A KPL DELEGATION*

On February 28, L. I. Brezhnev, General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, met with a delegation of the Korean Party of Labor headed by Kim Don Gu, member of the Political Committee and Secretary of the CC KPL. The delegation came to the USSR at the invitation of the CPSU Central Committee.

L. I. Brezhnev and the KPL delegation had a comradely exchange of views on the further development and strengthening of fraternal friendship and cooperation between the CPSU and the KPL on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism.

Kim Don Gu informed L. I. Brezhnev of the achievements of the Korean people in building socialism, of the first session of the Supreme People's Assembly of the KPDR, fifth convocation, of the consistent activities of the KPL in carrying out the decisions of the Party's Fifth Congress and of the measures implemented by the KPDR for the country's peaceful unification. On behalf of the Central Committee of the Korean Party of Labor deep gratitude was expressed to Soviet Communists and all Soviet people for their unceasing support of the Korean people working for their country's reunification on a peaceful and democratic basis without outside interference.

L. I. Brezhnev described Soviet achievements in building communism and fulfillment of the tasks set by the 24th CPSU Congress in home and foreign policy. It was stressed that the Soviet Union invariably supports the efforts of the KPDR to normalize the situation in the country and achieve Korea's independent and peaceful unification. On behalf of the CPSU and the Soviet people L. I. Brezhnev wished the KPL and the working people of the KPDR further successes in building socialism and realization of the Korean people's national aspirations.

It was noted during the talks that the joint struggle of the socialist countries, the workers' and Communist movement and the national liberation forces decisively contributes to the relaxation of international tensions and promotion of peace and social progress. Both sides expressed the conviction that the unity and solidarity of all anti-imperialist forces is a reliable guarantee of successes in the struggle for peace, democracy, national independence and socialism.

Taking part in the meeting on the Soviet side were CC CPSU Secretary I. V. Kapitonov, member of the CPSU Central Auditing Commission O. B. Rakhmanin, Assistant to the General Secretary of the CC CPSU A. I. Blatov; on the Korean side — Kim Guk The,

**Pravda*, March 1, 1973.

member of the KPL Central Committee and Head of the CC Agitation and Propaganda Department, Deputy Head of the International Department Kim Gir Hen and KPDR Ambassador to the USSR Kwon Hi Gen.

The meeting between L. I. Brezhnev and the delegation of the Korean Party of Labor was held in a friendly and sincere atmosphere and marked with complete mutual understanding on all problems discussed.

MEETING OF CPSU AND CPGB DELEGATIONS*

A delegation from the Communist Party of Great Britain led by Gordon McLennan, member Political Committee of the CPGB Executive, paid a visit to the Soviet Union from February 18 to March 2, 1973 at the invitation of the CC CPSU. It included Executive members Dave Priscott, secretary of the Yorkshire District Committee of the Party, and Jean French, Tony McClelland, Chairman of the North-West District, Ian McKay, Organizer of the Scottish Committee of the Party, and Ralph Pinder, member of the London District of the Party.

During its stay in the Soviet Union the delegation visited Moscow, Leningrad, Kiev, Vilnius and Lvov. It had talks at the Department of Organizational and Party Work, CC CPSU, the Central Committee of the CP of the Ukraine and CP of Lithuania, Leningrad Regional Committee of the CPSU, Lvov Regional Committee of the Ukrainian CP, Vilnius City Committee of the CP Latvia, Kiev District Party Committee of Moscow, the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions and the Soviet Writers' Union. It visited enterprises, collective farms and educational institutions and acquainted itself with the work of Party and trade union organizations. It had interviews with Party functionaries and government officials, workers, collective farmers, intellectuals, students and school students.

On March 1, 1973 B. N. Ponomarev, alternate member of the Political Bureau and Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, I. V. Kapitonov, Secretary of the CC CPSU, N. A. Petrovichev, alternate member, CC CPSU, first deputy head, Department of Organizational and Party Work, CC CPSU, and A. S. Chernyayev, deputy head, International Department of the CC CPSU, had a meeting at the CC CPSU with the CPGB delegation.

*Pravda and Morning Star, March 2, 1973.

The representatives of the two parties informed one another of the activities of their respective parties. There was also an exchange of views on a number of problems of the international situation and on the international working-class and Communist movement as well as on questions of further development of contacts and cooperation between the two parties.

Both parties felt the Paris agreements on Vietnam were a historic victory for the Vietnamese people, who had been aided by the Soviet Union, other socialist countries, and the worldwide movement of protest which, in different ways, rallied to the support of the people of Vietnam and opposed U.S. aggression.

Both sides emphasized that united efforts of the people must continue in order to ensure that the Paris agreements are implemented so that the people of Indochina may live in peace, freedom and independence.

Both delegations stressed the significance of the steps toward the European conference on peace, security and cooperation, and pointed out obstacles still to be overcome in order to achieve a successful outcome to it. Relaxation of tension in Europe, reflected in various ways, among them in the increasing diplomatic recognition of the German Democratic Republic, which has also been recognized by Britain, and demanded by the progressive movement for so long, opened new possibilities for transforming the continent into one of peace. These successes, achieved due to the initiatives of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, as well as by the pressure of public opinion in Western Europe, especially on the part of the working-class movement, create the foundations for overcoming other obstacles on the road to achieving peace, security and cooperation. With this aim in view, the two parties reaffirm their preparedness to continue developing the broad public movement for security and cooperation in Europe.

They reiterated their support for the just struggle of the Arab peoples to eliminate the consequences of the Israeli aggression, and for the achievement of a just solution on the basis of the UN security council resolution of November 1967.

Solidarity with the peoples of Southern Africa and the Portuguese colonies, who are fighting courageously against colonialism and white minority rule, and all peoples struggling for their national and social liberation, was expressed.

The two parties declared for the unity of action between Communists and Socialists in the fight for peace and democracy, and against monopoly capital, for the vital interests of all working people.

They favored further strengthening the traditional friendly relations and cooperation between the two parties, developing trade between the two countries, extending social and cultural links and

strengthening friendship between the British and Soviet peoples. Both sides said the visit and discussions had made a contribution to strengthening relations between the two parties in the spirit of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism.

USSR-BRAZIL*

On March 5, the General Secretary of the Brazilian CP, L. C. Prestes, was received by B. N. Ponomaryov, alternate member of the Political Bureau and Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee.

L. C. Prestes told of the work of the Communist Party of Brazil. The terror and persecution by reactionary forces have not broken the courage and staunchness of Brazilian Communists, he said. They are waging an untiring struggle in underground conditions in the vital interests of the working people of Brazil, against domination by imperialist monopolies and the internal oligarchy, for democracy and social progress and are faithful to their ideals.

B. N. Ponomaryov voiced the CPSU solidarity with the struggle of the Brazilian Communists and wished the Brazilian Communist Party success in this struggle and in the efforts to build up its ranks on Marxist-Leninist principles. He also described the Soviet people's achievements in carrying out the program of communist construction and the Peace Program adopted by the 24th CPSU Congress.

L. C. Prestes expressed warm approval of the achievements of the CPSU and all Soviet people, wishing them continued successes in fulfilment of their plans.

The meeting was sincere and friendly.

Also present was E. I. Kuskov, member of the CPSU Central Auditing Commission and First Deputy Head of the CC International Department.

**Pravda*, March 6, 1973.

MEETING WITH CPB DELEGATION AT THE CC CPSU

On March 8, 1973 a meeting took place at the CC CPSU with a delegation of the Communist Party of Belgium. The participants in the meeting were, for the CPSU, B. N. Ponomaryov, alternate member of the Political Bureau and Secretary of the CC CPSU; V. I. Konotop, member of the CC CPSU, First Secretary, Moscow Regional Committee of the CPSU; and V. V. Zagladin, member, Central Auditing Commission of the CPSU, deputy head, Interna-

tional Department of the CC CPSU, and for the CPB, L. Van Geyt, Chairman of the CPB; J. Debrouwere, member, Political Bureau of the CC CPB; and R. Dussart, member, Political Bureau of the CC CPB, Director of *Le Drapeau Rouge*.

During the meeting the two delegations exchanged information on the activities of their parties. They voiced deep satisfaction over the traditional friendship and comradely cooperation existing between the CPSU and CPB, and noted in this connection that the joint communique on the meeting of the two parties' delegations on February 16-18, 1972 fully retains its validity.

The CPB delegation stressed the great significance of the Soviet people's achievements in carrying out the decisions of the 24th CPSU Congress for the overall progress of the fight between the two systems and for further altering the alignment of forces in favor of peace, democracy and socialism. It wished the Soviet working people further gains in reaching the targets of the third, decisive year of the five-year plan.

The spokesmen of the CPSU pointed out the effective role of the CPB in the working-class movement of its country, and the significance of its initiative in the struggle for the working people's rights, for democracy and peace. The CPSU delegation fraternally wished the Communists of Belgium further progress in their effort.

It was stressed that the CPSU and CPB are at one in estimating the principal aspects of the international situation, which at present is characterized by continuing détente.

Both parties hailed the historic victory of the heroic people of Vietnam. This victory was due in large measure to the aid of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries and to the worldwide movement of solidarity with Vietnam. The Communists and other progressive forces have an important part to play in promoting peace and bringing about the execution of the agreements signed.

The CPSU and CPB representatives reaffirmed their support of the Arab peoples' just struggle to remove the consequences of Israeli aggression and achieve a just settlement of the conflict by carrying out every provision of the Security Council resolution of November 22, 1967.

Both delegations put on record the positive processes of détente taking place on the European continent and declared for an early European conference of states. They reaffirm their readiness to continue promoting a widespread social movement for security and cooperation in Europe.

At the same time it was stated that even in a climate of international détente it is indispensable always to be vigilant, achieve the unity of all workers and democratic forces and step up the peoples' struggle against the maneuvers of imperialism, which per-

sists in attempts to suppress, in particular by force of arms, progressive and democratic movements in various parts of the globe. In these circumstances, anti-communism and anti-Sovietism from both the Right and the "Left" are particularly injurious to the fight against imperialism. The CPSU and CPB will continue to give firm rebuff to anti-communism and anti-Sovietism, whatever their source.

In discussing problems of the international Communist and working-class movement, both parties came to the conclusion that joint action has become stronger and the unity of the world's Communists on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism has grown since the Moscow Meeting of fraternal parties in 1969. They consider that in the future as well, bilateral and multilateral meetings on diverse problems of the anti-imperialist struggle should be held whenever called for.

The talks between the two delegations proceeded in an atmosphere of fraternal friendship and mutual understanding.
Pravda, March 10, 1973.

MEETING AT THE CC CPSU*

On March 9, 1973 A. P. Kirilenko, member of the Political Bureau and Secretary of the CC CPSU, received Nguyen Duy Trinh, member, Political Bureau of the CC, Working People's Party of Vietnam, Deputy Prime Minister and Foreign Minister of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam.

An exchange of views took place during the interview on steps to promote fraternal Soviet-Vietnamese relations now that the war has been stopped and peace restored in Vietnam. On behalf of both the Soviet and the Vietnamese side, the resolve was expressed to contribute in every way to the progress of fraternal friendship and close cooperation between the Soviet Union and the Democratic Republic of Vietnam.

Satisfaction was voiced over the successful completion of the Paris international conference on Vietnam and emphasis laid on the need unfailingly to implement the agreement ending the war and restoring peace in Vietnam in the interests of the Vietnamese people and of peace in Southeast Asia and throughout the world.

The meeting, which proceeded in an atmosphere of fraternal friendship and cordiality, was attended by O. B. Rakhmanin, first deputy head of department at the CC CPSU, N. P. Firyubin, deputy Foreign Minister of the USSR, and Vo Thuc Dong, DRV Ambassador to the USSR.

Pravda, March 10, 1973.

FROM THE PARTY PRESS

ONLY REAL DEMOCRACY CAN END VIOLENCE*

JIMMY STEWART

Assistant General Secretary of Communist Party of Ireland

Westminister has lived off Irish divisions for a year now. Divide and rule, that old secret of imperialism, is Mr. William Whitelaw's steady guideline.

And the year since direct rule was imposed has been one of unmitigated violence and increased repression.

Through it all the message has come loud and clear—the last thing the Tory government in Westminister wants to do is to establish democracy in Northern Ireland.

The Communist Party of Ireland said that this would be the situation when direct rule was imposed; everyday life for the people in Northern Ireland has borne us out.

Now we say that if unity remains a distant hope, Mr. Whitelaw's White Paper and what follows it will be just as heartless and cruel.

The Unionist clique in Stormont was removed from government because of, on the one hand, its internal splits and divisions, proliferating from week to week.

IMPOSSIBLE

On the other hand the continued imposition of the policies backed by the Unionist clique at Stormont was proving increasingly impossible.

If one remembers back to the spring of last year there were the massive Army invasions of the anti-Unionist areas with hundreds arrested every week, the Bloody Sunday massacre, the continued killing of innocent civilians by the British, the maintenance and development of the mass campaign for civil disobedience, the rents and rates strike, the anti-Unionist, MPs and councillors' withdrawal.

Over one-third of the population had said: "We will not be governed any longer by the Unionist Stormont authority."

*Morning Star, February 27, 1973.

ASSET

The weakness of imperialism at that time was that it had no force with which to replace this Unionist Party clique.

Imperialism's great asset was the divisions among the working people.

Those divisions were exacerbated by the Provisional IRA's bombing campaign against commercial targets which resulted in civilian deaths.

Forgetting the maxim of that well-known militarist Napoleon Bonaparte, never interfere with the enemy when he is in the process of destroying himself, the Provisionals continued with tactics which had proved that they only increased sectarianism and helped to maintain support for the discredited ideology of Unionism.

Thus they helped William Craig and the Right wing to gain mass support on the Unionist side and Whitelaw to come in on top, playing one section of the working people against the other.

DIVISIONS

Whitelaw has adeptly used those divisions. He has played the Provisionals off against the Ulster Defense Association, and vice-versa. This is best shown by the events last June when he established a truce with the Provisional leadership.

The truce did not last very long, and it is open to question as to whether the Whitelaw administration deliberately set out to provoke the Provos into ending the truce.

What is most certainly clear is that the Tory government and the news media deliberately created the impression among the Provos that its bombing campaign was provoking a major crisis for British rule in Northern Ireland.

HORROR

So at the end of July we had the Black Friday episode where many people were killed by Provisional bombs.

The horror felt as a result of this act not only enabled Whitelaw to move against the barricaded areas in Belfast and Derry, but, more significantly, helped him to create divisions among the democratic forces.

On the other hand, regarding the UDA, we had in September the so-called 48-hour war between the UDA and the British. This resulted in an unwritten peace treaty between the two sides whereby the UDA in reality remained in control of the Protestant working-class areas.

In addition to this, from July onwards we had an ever-increasing rise in sectarian killings which were in the main carried out by

the para-military organizations of the Unionist right, but there is also evidence to show that the British Army was involved.

This atmosphere of violence, the fact that areas were under control of para-military organizations plus the occupation of the British Army meant that day-to-day working-class organization became very, very difficult.

For instance trade unions found that meetings at branch level were in many cases impossible.

This has affected the tenants' organizations and of course all the political parties of the working class.

Also the fear of sectarian killings meant that in many areas workers of both religions either left their jobs or went in daily fear of their lives.

GHETTOS

Such fear and the active intimidation used to back it up has meant more people leaving their homes, more ghettos created, lines of division drawn even sharper between housing areas. Of course many mixed areas still exist, but they are shrinking.

With that background one should not have been surprised when Whitelaw's Green Paper discussion document showed that his thinking on the future of Northern Ireland ran directly counter to the demands of democracy.

Whitelaw has not taken us any farther now, in fact, resulting from the internment of the Unionist Right wing, we had the recent strike action organized by the para-military movements.

Revulsion is felt among the working people, both Catholic and Protestant, at the acts of intimidation and the senseless violence which occurred.

This has led to the position where the bankrupt Faulkner is able to come in from the cold and, accompanied by Paisley of the Democratic Unionist Party, Phelim O'Neill of Alliance and Vivian Simpson of the Northern Ireland Labor Party beg Whitelaw to achieve peace in our area at any price.

In this we have two features.

First, Whitelaw is able to continue the myth that the role of the British Tory government and Army in Northern Ireland is that of the impartial referee.

Secondly, he has here the embryo—he hopes—of his center force to replace the old Unionist Party alliance.

REPRESSION

What we as Communists reject is the call emanating from this four-party group for repression across the board.

What we state now, as we were stating before 1968, again when

direct rule took place, and since then, is that the issue is one of democratic rights.

All the violence of the present situation stems from the fact that the people of Northern Ireland have been denied those rights for over 50 years, combined with the fact that direct rule has given them even less rights than under the former Stormont regime—and that is saying something.

Military repression, detention without trial, heavy jail sentences, even threatened executions will not bring an end to violence.

RIGHTS

Only the granting of democratic rights now can provide the atmosphere whereby no forces have an interest in continuing violent acts.

This means that instead of spurious divisive referenda on the border issue the Westminster Parliament should immediately pass a Bill of Rights for the people of Northern Ireland.

Tenants' organizations, trade unions and other mass organizations of the people are getting together to overcome sectarianism by working-class unity, while on the other hand the hoped-for center force is looking to revamp British monopoly control over Northern Ireland.

Unity is the way forward now as ever. But to enable the working people to end all forms of violence requires the support of the British labor movement in particular and the British working people in general to break the bi-partisan policy of the parliamentary Labor Party and the Heath government.

It needs a united campaign by us all to end British imperialism's exploitation of divisions and sectarian violence.



THE GREAT VITAL FORCE OF SOCIALISM*

"One of the most important tasks before the Communist and Workers' Parties of the socialist countries is to develop all-embracing cooperation between these countries and ensure fresh successes in the decisive areas of the economic competition between the two systems, in the advance of science and technology" (Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties. Moscow 1969).

DYNAMIC COMPLEX

The peoples of the socialist community are brothers. The Council for Mutual Economic Assistance forms a distinctive economic complex which includes states with identical economies and socialist production relations based on public ownership of the means of production. An important feature of the new community is the socio-political and ideological unity. Most of these countries have either completed or are in the process of building developed socialism. The Soviet Union has started creating the material and technical base of a communist society. The objects of all-round convergence are the national economies of countries in the process of integration and the process is conducted by sovereign states.

In varying degree, CMEA cooperation embraces all phases of reproduction — from the joint solution of scientific-technical problems through production-trade cooperation to introduction of new technology and cooperation in assembly and exploitation of plant.

The rapid development of national economies and intensification of economic cooperation have produced impressive results. Power production, machine building and chemistry account for more than two-fifths of the gross industrial production of the socialist countries, which corresponds approximately to the structure of the more developed capitalist countries. The share of machinery and plant in the export by CMEA countries within the framework of mutual trade reached 40 per cent in 1972 (in developed capitalist countries it is in the vicinity of 35 per cent).

Through intra-regional trade the CMEA countries cover 98 per cent of their import requirements for coal, 88 per cent for oil products, 82 per cent for iron ore, etc. The fraternal countries supply

*Prepared by a group of experts from the International Institute of Economic Problems of the Socialist World System. Published in *Pravda*, February 14, 1973.

almost all their needs for machinery and plant through national production or mutual exchange. One of the concrete indicators of the formation of the CMEA complex is the fact that more than 60 per cent of the trade turnover of these countries falls to mutual trade (49 per cent in the EEC countries in 1971).

Characteristic of the socialist community are high growth rates. Preliminary figures show that from 1950 to 1972 the CMEA countries boosted industrial production 8-fold (the developed capitalist countries only 3-fold).

The CMEA countries possess a tremendous potential today. The Comprehensive Program covers the period up to 1990 when, according to Soviet economists, industrial production of the CMEA countries will have increased approximately five times over. There is every reason to believe that in the coming 15-20 years these countries will become the most highly developed industrial region of the world.

UP THE LADDER OF THE FIVE-YEAR PLAN

The five-year plans of the CMEA countries have not only been drawn up, they are being fulfilled at a higher level of coordination, cooperation and mutual aid than ever before.

Drawing broadly on each other's progressive scientific and technological experience, establishing optimal volumes of production and supplying each other with the required raw materials and equipment, all the fraternal countries have shown good results in 1972.

The national income — the more general indicator of production — registered the following increase over a one-year period (figures in brackets show increase for two years of the five-year plan):

Bulgaria 7 per cent, (about 14.6); Czechoslovakia 5.9 per cent (11.1); GDR 5.4 (10.0); Hungary 5 (12.4); Mongolia 3.5; Poland 9 (17.6); Rumania 9.8 (23.5); and the Soviet Union 4.0 (10.0).

As for rate of increase of the national income, the CMEA countries have for many years now been ahead of most of the more developed capitalist countries. From 1951 to 1971 the national income in the United States doubled, while in Bulgaria it increased 6.3 times, in Czechoslovakia 3.3, GDR 4.2, Hungary 3.2, Poland 4.0, Rumania 6.7 and in the USSR 5.6 times. This is further proof of the superiority of the socialist economic system.

As in the past, industrial production showed the most rapid growth. During the year it increased in Bulgaria 8.3 per cent, Cuba 15 per cent (heavy industry), Czechoslovakia 6.4, in the GDR 6.3, Hungary 5.6, Mongolia 11.4, Poland 10.8, Rumania 12, USSR 6.5.

During the first two years of the five-year plan most planned indices were over-fulfilled, and stable growth rates were maintained.

The growth of labor productivity was the key factor in the development of industrial production in the CMEA countries contributing over 80 per cent of the increase in industrial production in 1972 in the USSR, 91 per cent in Czechoslovakia and 100 per cent in Hungary.

New industrial projects are characteristic of socialist countries which build more and better with every year. In 1971 the CMEA countries increased their capital investments by 7 per cent and in 1972 their volume continued to grow. The increase was 1.1 per cent in Bulgaria, 6 per cent in Czechoslovakia, 3 per cent in the GDR, 21.5 per cent in Poland, 7.2 in the USSR.

It is noteworthy that the Soviet Union reached the United States level in volume of investments (according to a unified calculating method). In the United States the volume of capital investments increased by 80 per cent over the past 20 years, while in the CMEA countries as a whole, it increased 5.7 times.

In agricultural production the results for the past year were different in CMEA countries. The severe drought in many areas of the USSR caused a lower farm output than last year. However, even in these difficult conditions the grain harvest was higher than the annual average for the eighth five-year plan. The cotton harvest was the highest in the history of cotton growing in the country.

The indices for field crops and stock raising in the fraternal countries were good. The grain harvest in the GDR, Rumania and Bulgaria was the highest ever in those countries. Hungary took in an excellent wheat harvest, while in Czechoslovakia the average harvest of grain per hectare was 20.7 per cent higher than the 1970 figure. More livestock products were obtained in all the countries. In Mongolia 7.7 million head of young cattle or 700,000 above plan were raised in one year. In two years agricultural production in Poland went up 12 per cent.

There was a considerable extension of rolling stock facilities in transport. The railroad freight-car pool set up by CMEA in 1964 numbered 180,000 units at the start of 1972. Pipelines, this most modern means of transport, developed rapidly.

In 1971 the foreign trade turnover among the CMEA countries grew by 9 per cent, accounting for over 60 per cent of their overall foreign trade, and in 1972 this trend continued.

Fulfilment of the goals of the first years of the five-year plans provides a firm basis for fulfilling the 1973 targets, which is decisive for the realization of the five-year plans.

This year's targets are grand and challenging. They provide for the increases as shown in Table I (in %).

TABLE I

	Bulgaria	Czechoslovakia	GDR	Hungary	Mongolia	Poland	Romania	USSR
National income	7.5	5	5.7	4.5	11	7.9	14	6
Industrial production	9.9	5.8	6.5	5.5-6	11	9.7	16.2	5.8
Agricultural production	7.4	4.3	4.9*	2	14	2.1	9.0	12.6
Capital investments	same as preceding year	6.8	9.0	3-4	13.2	12.9	7.6	3.5
Real incomes of the population	6.5	5.5	5.3	4.5-5	4.0	6.6	8.0	4.5
Retail trade turnover	7.0	5.3	6.2	6-6.5	6.7	9.0	9.2	5.0
Foreign trade	13.3	9.4	14.0	7-8	6.8	17.0	21.5	7.9

*Agriculture together with the food industry.

TABLE II

Increase in Retail Trade Turnover in CMEA Countries for 1971-1972
(per cent of the previous year)

	Bulgaria	Czechoslovakia	GDR	Hungary	Mongolia	Poland	Romania	USSR
1971	6.5	5.2	3.9	7.4	7.4	8.0	9.1	6.8
1972	6.7	5.5	6.0	3.1	2.2	12.6	6.4	6.9

TABLE III

New Housing Commissioned in 1971-1972
(flats in thousands)

	Bulgaria	Czechoslovakia	GDR	Hungary	Mongolia	Poland	Romania	USSR
1971	48.9	109.8	76.1	75.3	52.9*	191	150	2,256
1972		114.5	85.9	90.0	62.3*	205		more than 2,200

*In thousands of square meters.

EVERYTHING FOR THE GOOD OF MAN

To serve the people is the supreme goal of the Communist and Workers' parties. The principle "Everything for Man, Everything for the Good of Man" has become the law of life in the countries of the socialist community. The fraternal parties constantly focus their attention on the problems of the socio-political development of society and the ideological and political education of the working people. Socialist democracy and socialist statehood are flourishing and growing stronger.

The current five-year plans aim at considerably raising the material and cultural level of the working people and this is being successfully realized. In 1971 and 1972 the real incomes of the population increased in Bulgaria by 4.9 per cent and 4.0 per cent, in Czechoslovakia individual consumption increased in 1971 by 5 per cent and in 1972 by 5.5 percent, in the GDR 3.7, 5.6 per cent (net cash income), in Hungary 5, 3.5 per cent, Mongolia—2.8 (1972), Rumania—5.5, 6.5 (real wages), USSR—4.5, 3.7.

Large-scale socio-economic measures were instituted in 1971-72. Minimal wages were raised for all or several categories of working people, prices were lowered on many consumer items, pensions were increased, etc.

An important indicator of rising living standards is an increasing retail trade turnover through which the greater part of wages is realized. In the CMEA countries it is growing rapidly (see Table II).

Such rates ensure a twofold increase in the retail trade turnover in Bulgaria, Hungary, Rumania and the USSR by 1975 as compared with 1965. In Poland and Czechoslovakia trade turnover will register an 80 per cent increase over the same period.

More and better goods are appearing on the markets of the CMEA countries and the trade turnover structure is improving. Production and consumption of such durable goods as automobiles, refrigerators, television sets, radios, tape recorders and cameras developed at an accelerating pace, which testified to a significant improvement in the people's standard of living. The proportion of manufactured goods in turnover increased, while the overall turnover of foodstuffs showed a larger share of meat, milk, eggs, fruit.

All the CMEA countries show great concern for housing construction. The present five-year plan foresees greater allocation for this than ever before. According to preliminary figures, approximately 60 million people will receive apartments in newly-built houses most of which will have all modern conveniences. This is more than the population of such countries as Britain, France or Italy. The first stage of the new five-year plans shows that this program is being successfully fulfilled. (see Table III)

Requirements are increasingly met through social consumption funds which are growing in the CMEA countries at a faster pace than retail consumption. This allows for steady improvement in medical services, social security, recreation and allocation of greater sums for culture and education.

This shows that last year the CMEA countries made great headway in fulfilling the main goal of the current five-year plans — that of ensuring a considerable growth of the material and cultural standards of the people on the basis of high growth rates of socialist production, its greater effectiveness, progress in science and technology and accelerated growth of labor productivity.

The results of the first two years and the plans for the third year of the current five-year plans are vivid proof that the CMEA countries are steadily and rapidly advancing to new heights.

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