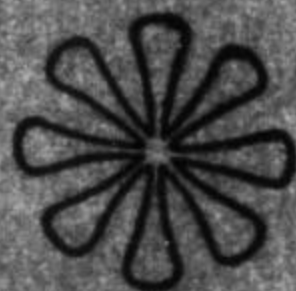


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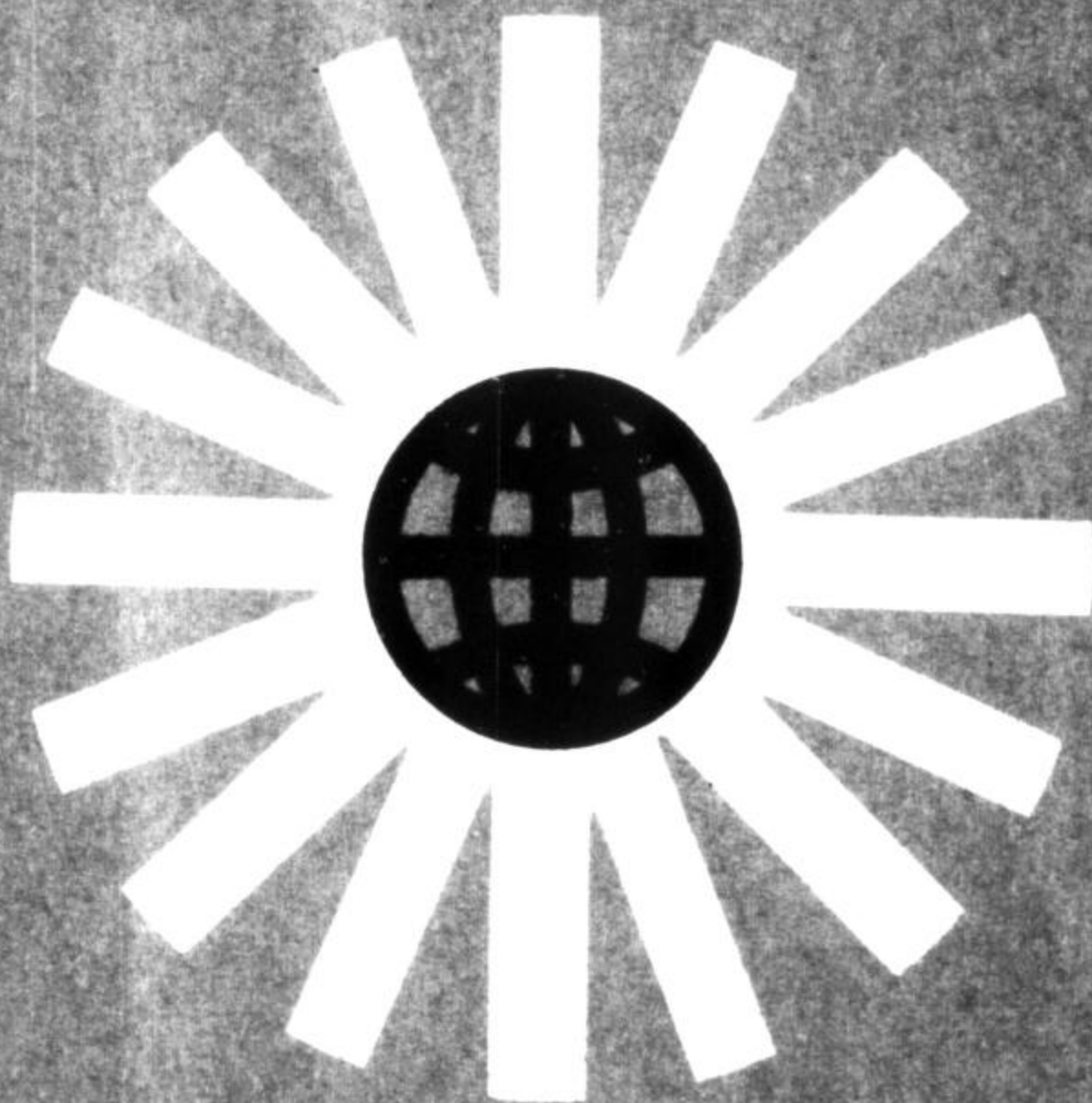
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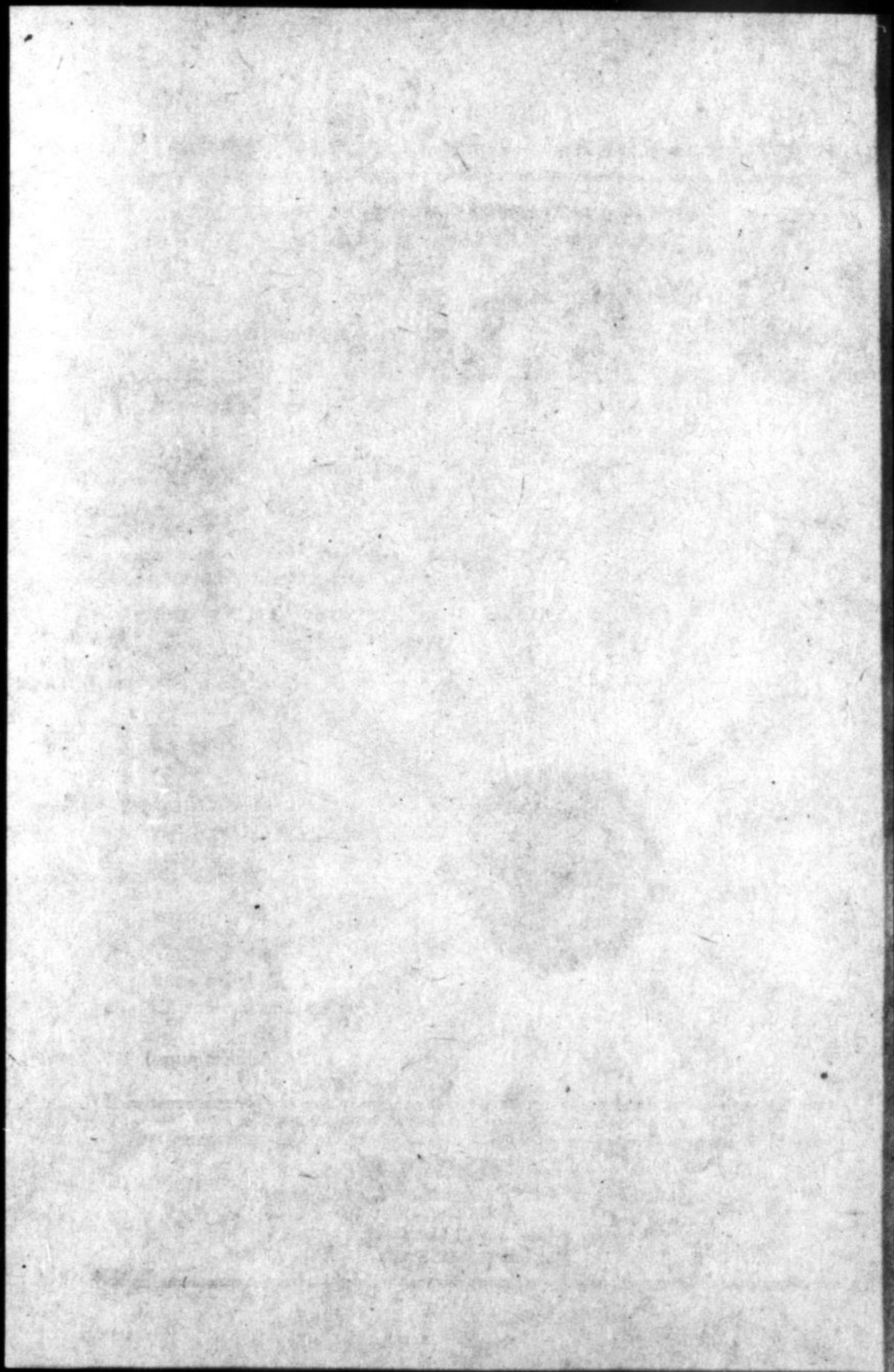


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PLENARY MEETINGS

NINTH PLENUM OF CC SUPG

The ninth plenum of the CC SUPG was held in Berlin May 28-29. The report of the Political Bureau was presented by Erich Honecker, First Secretary of the CC. It was followed by a debate in which 14 comrades took part. The plenum endorsed the Politbureau report and passed the directives of the CC on the election meetings of Party branches in 1973 and the procedure for elections to leading Party bodies and delegates to Party conferences and congresses.

Below follow excerpts from Comrade Honecker's report. The full text was printed in the newspaper *Neues Deutschland* on May 29.

REPORT OF POLITICAL BUREAU, CC SUPG

Dear Comrades,

The period between our Eighth and Ninth Party Congresses has been filled with active work to implement the tasks set by the Eighth Congress. In a few days this work will be entering its third year. The forthcoming elections in Party branches, which will be held between November 1, 1973 and February 17, 1974, will provide an opportunity for us to study our achievements to date and define the measures that must be taken in all fields to ensure the complete fulfilment of the resolutions of the Eighth Congress. This means a simultaneous discussion of the Central Committee's domestic and external political activities. All these questions demand our closest scrutiny.

PEACE PROGRAM OF CPSU HAS BECOME A JOINT ACTION PROGRAM

We can note with satisfaction that the internal and external conditions for the formation of a developed socialist society in the GDR have considerably improved. In the foreign policy field we can register the fact that today, two years after the Eighth Party Congress, the GDR has diplomatic relations with 82 countries, including France, Britain, Italy and Japan, all the Scandinavian countries and almost all the other countries of Western Europe. Diplomatic relations have also been established with many African and Latin American states, as well as with Australia. Negotiations are taking place on the establishment of diplomatic relations with the

United States. The GDR and FRG are to exchange permanent representations shortly.

The GDR is represented in the United Nations. It is an equal member of many important specialized UN agencies. The GDR, like the FRG, is to be admitted to the UN. Thus, the curtain has opened completely. The GDR's international status as a socialist state of workers and peasants is clear and understood, and no one can disregard it. Its participation on an equal footing in international life has been guaranteed. Every citizen takes pride in these developments.

It is becoming clearer with every passing day that the might and influence of the Soviet Union, the growing unity and cohesion of the whole of our socialist community of nations, was the main factor in resolving all the problems which had clouded the international situation for decades. These important results have been achieved jointly, in the first place thanks to the initiative and principled policy of the CC CPSU, which is persistently working to carry out the decisions of its 24th Party Congress. The CPSU's Peace Program has become an action program for the socialist community and the world Communist movement, it provides a basis for all those who are prepared to resolve the problems of ensuring peace for all peoples in the foreseeable future on a realistic basis.

We have fought and will continue to fight in this spirit for the consistent implementation of the foreign policy line of our GDR adopted by the Eighth Congress. We link this line with the efforts of all parties of the countries of our fraternal socialist alliance to achieve the great goal of making Europe—the starting ground of two world wars and, after 1945, the cold war—a continent of peace.

The friendly visit of CPSU General Secretary Comrade Leonid Brezhnev to the GDR was a vivid expression of these existing and continuously developing fraternal relations.* More than ever before, every person in our country was able to feel that friendship with the Soviet Union is the basis and guarantee of the socialism we are building, of its present and future. The development of even closer friendship with the Soviet Union and its further expansion is the task which we, following the behests of Thaelmann, pass on from one generation to another.

It is necessary to gain a clear understanding of the strategic line of our foreign policy, which is aimed at achieving peace, security and détente. Its objective is the creation of favorable external conditions for building socialism and communism. For many years socialism had to fight aggressors, spending huge sums on this. We had to make great efforts to overcome the consequences of the war.

*The communique on this visit was printed in the preceding issue of the Bulletin.—Ed.

The situation is now more favorable. The peace that has reigned in Europe for almost three decades has not only rid all the peoples of our continent of renewed suffering, it has also facilitated the expansion of the forces of socialism. The socialist policy of peace is, consequently, a revolutionary policy. It presents opportunities for the formation of a developed socialist society, enhancing socialism's influence on the workers' struggle in capitalist countries and the development of young national states and restricting imperialism's freedom of action.

A glance at the results of the preceding period offers an idea of the political, economic and moral strength socialism will acquire if our socialist community is to be able to carry out three or four more five-year plans in conditions of peace. This goes to show that the Leninist policy of peaceful coexistence lying at the root of the CPSU's Peace Program and the peaceful foreign policy of all the fraternal countries is of truly historical import for all mankind.

In the two years that have passed since the Ninth SUPG Congress many clouds which had once kept some from seeing the future have dispersed. We can state with satisfaction that we, too, have contributed to these positive changes. We have always approached the solution of burning issues from the positions of proletarian internationalism. We have shown solidarity and felt the solidarity of others.

RELATIONS BETWEEN THE GDR AND THE FRG

As you know, several weeks ago the FRG Bundestag approved the Treaty on Basic Principles of Relations between the GDR and FRG. Its ratification and going into effect opens up a new chapter in the relations between the two German states. It will have a most beneficial effect on the further warming of the political climate in Europe.

The Treaty—and I should like to re-emphasize this—is a normal treaty in international law concluded by two mutually independent, sovereign states with different social systems. It accords with the principles of peaceful coexistence and, proceeding wholly from this, we shall implement it in accordance with its spirit and letter. Any treaty, of course, involves two sides, and it is to be hoped that the other side will act similarly.

Undoubtedly, the thoughts of some people in the FRG, who, regardless of everything, still seek to establish a "special character" of relations between the GDR and FRG differing from the accepted norms of international law, are bred by wishes inherited from the past. The provisions of the Berlin Treaty on the Basic Principles of Relations between the GDR and FRG state clearly and unequivocally: the GDR is not a part of the FRG, just as the FRG is not

a part of the GDR. As a final international legal settlement of relations between two sovereign states, the Berlin Treaty is not a "modus vivendi" of any kind and, consequently, it follows from the logic of things that there is no "open German question." He who stubbornly insists otherwise is merely wasting his time.

Even before the Treaty's ratification we took important steps to vitalize it, and as anyone can see, they have helped the stabilization of peace in Europe and benefited people. In future it will become even more apparent that the normalization of relations between the GDR and the FRG is in the interests of peace and the citizens of both states.

Of course, we must reckon with the fact that Bonn ruling circles try to interpret the texts of treaties, notably the Treaty on Basic Principles of Relations between the FRG and the GDR, to their own advantage. The Western mass media, in the first place the FRG radio and television, which anyone in our country can switch on or off at will, make no secret of this. Simultaneously the carrot of economic benefits is extended, although it should be known to one and all that any attempt to restrict the GDR's sovereignty can only hinder the expansion of our economic relations with capitalist countries.

On the whole it can be said that the cold war policy to which the FRG had stubbornly clung for 25 years has failed once and for all and the policy of peaceful coexistence is gaining the upper hand. We are on the eve of new important political events which will be of historic importance.

Thanks to the constructive preliminary work of all participant countries, Europe is approaching a conference on security and cooperation at which practical steps to ensure our continent's peaceful future will be discussed and agreed. These steps are based on the inviolability of boundaries and their purpose is the development of relations imbued with the spirit of good-neighborliness and peaceful cooperation. We are for the earliest possible conclusion of the multilateral consultations in Helsinki, and we reaffirm our readiness to contribute in every way, together with the other Warsaw Treaty member-countries, to the success of the all-European conference. Also of major importance will be the talks on the reduction of armed forces and armaments, especially in Central Europe.

Comrade L. I. Brezhnev's visit to the FRG,* as well as his coming visit to the United States, will have a beneficial impact on world events and détente.

We welcome the fact that as a result of Comrade Brezhnev's visit to the FRG the principles of peaceful coexistence have been

*Materials on this visit were printed in the preceding issue of the Bulletin.—Ed.

reaffirmed as the fundamental element in good-neighborly relations between socialist and capitalist states.

The joint declaration, which we highly value, not only stresses the mutual concern for good bilateral relations between the USSR and the FRG but also outlines the way towards further détente in Europe and the emergence of a continent of a peaceful future, mutual trust and mutually beneficial cooperation.

This way is based on reason and realism, insofar as neither side seeks to obfuscate the insuperable ideological and social contradictions and, on the contrary, clearly takes them into account. There can be no doubt that the visit of the General Secretary of the CC CPSU will also beneficially influence the development of good-neighborly relations between the GDR and the FRG.

With feelings of great joy we watched our courageous class comrades from the German Communist Party in Bonn so convincingly demonstrate their fraternal solidarity with the Soviet Union and the policy of peaceful coexistence.

For some time now, it has been possible to draw the happy conclusion from talks with FRG citizens that many of them are beginning to alter their ideas of the GDR. Opinion polls conducted by several FRG institutes indicate that people in the Federal Republic, too, view the existence of the two German states with different social systems as the fact of life it has always been which they cannot nor want to ignore.

The Treaty on the Basic Principles of Relations draws the necessary conclusions from historical developments and the realities of our time. One of the positive aspects of the Brand-Scheel government is that it has begun to rid the Federal Republic's policy of unrealistic positions, of illusions.

That a new idea of the GDR is forming in the FRG and that this idea is acquiring ever clearer contours is a development of historical significance. It would, however, be sensible for us always to remember that the existence of the GDR as a socialist state of workers and peasants will always remain an eyesore for ruling circles in the FRG. They are racked by dual sentiments. They simply cannot accept that the GDR's international standing is growing stronger. The general trend of development is not to their taste. On the other hand, they do not shut their eyes to the fact that the establishment of good-neighborly relations between the GDR and the FRG presumes reciprocal respect and recognition of the two German states' sovereign rights in relations between them.

In view of the growing political self-consciousness of the citizens of the GDR, we too no longer regard so tragically efforts in the FRG to distort the newly forming ideas about the GDR with such absurd claims as that the SUPG is seeking to "run away from the

common history, language and culture." We have no intention of debating who is trying to run away from whom. Our notions of history and culture differ from those of the ruling circles in the FRG. We regard as politics of the highest order the fact that such great 20th century humanists as Thomas Mann and Heinrich Mann, Arnold Zweig, Lion Feuchtwanger, Bertolt Brecht, Johannes Becher and Anna Seghers hailed and supported the creation of our GDR as an historic beginning and unalterable indictment of the reactionary forces of the past, as a turn from which our people's life entered the channel of social progress and peaceful endeavor under the sign of freedom and human dignity. Not least of all, GDR citizens take pride in the realization that the struggle of the German anti-fascist resistance movement has been crowned by the creation of our state and that in a world still shaken by the shameful deeds of the brown plague the GDR regained respect and recognition for the German name.

The frontier between the GDR and the FRG has been drawn not by language or culture but by the different social systems. The GDR is a socialist country where there is no private ownership of the means of production. The FRG is a capitalist country in which private ownership of the means of production predominates and exploitation of man by man continues. On this point we, as is known, share the view of Herr Brandt, who has repeatedly stressed that as regards the social systems in the two German states there can be no intermingling.

The existence of a common tongue does not cancel this fact of life. Irrespective of this, such common features have long since ceased to be identifiable with common statehood, common nationhood. This is confirmed not only by the example of Great Britain, Australia and the United States, which share English as their native tongue, but by the example of Austria, where German as the native language is as self-evident as in the FRG and the GDR.

Nor are profound investigations needed to prove that the same goes for history and culture. German history, like that of all other peoples, has always been a history of class struggle.

If any one "runs away" from German history, it is the German big bourgeoisie which, after the victory of the Red Army and the anti-Hitler coalition over Hitler fascism, in mortal fear of revolutionary change, allied with other imperialist states to proclaim the Basic Law drawn up by the Parliamentary Council in May 1949 and founded the FRG in September of that year.

In assessing the historical process, the fact that two countries speak German and share cultural traditions in which citizens of both the GDR and FRG can take pride should not lead automatically to either a little-German or a great-German mentality.

This fact certainly doesn't imply that citizens of Austria, Switzerland, the GDR and FRG must necessarily be citizens of the same nation. As is known, the "nation" concept is used differently in different countries. This also applies, for example, to many countries of America, especially Latin America. The future will show in what forms the peoples of Europe will choose to live together when Western Europe, including the FRG, takes the road to socialism.

The GDR today embodies in statehood the best traditions of German history: the peasant revolts of the Middle Ages, the revolutionary democrats' struggle in 1848, the labor movement created by Marx and Engels, Bebel and Liebknecht, the exploits of the anti-fascist resistance movement. The socialist nation in the GDR is developing under the leadership of the working class. All earlier cultural riches live on and are blossoming anew in our republic's socialist national culture. We reject nothing in history, culture or language that is worthy of preserving and developing, that accords with humanitarian and revolutionary traditions.

We have done away with big capitalist power once and for all; in our country the power belongs to the working class in alliance with the cooperative farmers and other working strata.

In the FRG there continues to exist the social structure that caused two terrible world wars. The domination of capitalist concerns and monopolies, the steadily growing concentration of economic power in the hands of finance capital and the resultant political power are a source of exploitation and oppression of man by man, a constant threat to the "qualitative standard of life," and they nurture imperialist expansionist and aggressive aspirations in foreign policy. For more than two decades the FRG has been a committed component of NATO and it belongs to the West-European "community." Lately leading Bonn politicians have been stubbornly repeating that these ties must be preserved and expanded. They do not even preclude the possibility of an eventual joint West-European nuclear force.

Thus, today there are two German states that embody the fundamental contradiction of our time, the contradiction between capital and labor, between imperialism and socialism. In the interests of peace and European security we want them to settle their relations on the principles of peaceful coexistence, which the SUPG and government of the GDR have always advocated. These Leninist principles are steadily gaining ground in reality, for there is no alternative to coexistence between socialist and capitalist states, especially in the age of atomic weapons.

In a retrospective review of the bankrupt cold war policy it was declared recently in Bonn that parting with old illusions is a pain-

ful process. We fully understand this; it is useless and futile to replace old illusions with new ones. We are for seeing things as they are.

PRESENT-DAY CAPITALISM

As never before, present-day capitalism presents a picture characterized by accumulating contradictions and crisis phenomena. Every day gives new confirmation to Lenin's thesis that imperialism is parasitic and decaying capitalism. Of course, we do not make the mistake of underestimating the still considerable strength of the system of monopoly capitalism. However, the aggravation of the general crisis of capitalism is apparent. Even the monopoly bourgeoisie's advocates speak of the "sick society." The word "crisis" is commonly used in their statements, articles and books. They speak of the monetary crisis, the trade crisis, the economic crisis, the crisis of society, the crisis of education, the big city crisis, the environmental crisis, the crisis of morals and the list could be continued on and on.

Although bourgeois political economy has worked out a number of "theories" claiming that all of capitalism's economic and social problems can be resolved without changing the system, developments in the highly developed capitalist countries show that state-monopoly economic and financial policies face a profound, insurmountable dilemma. No governmental measures can alter the fact that capitalist economy develops in cycles. The anarchy of capitalist production, discovered as a law by Karl Marx, continues; unemployment has become a permanent problem.

Insecurity is the basic fact of life for working people under capitalism. Official data cites 10 million registered unemployed in the developed capitalist countries. Loss of job is a constant threat for millions of workers. Structural changes in the economies of capitalist countries make more and more workers and employees increasingly uncertain about the security of their jobs.

Exploitation of foreign workers in the FRG, France, Switzerland and other countries is a source of additional profits. In the United States, so long extolled as the standard of capitalism, social and racial discrimination of broad sections of the population is common.

Concentration and centralization of capital is rapidly increasing, breeding international monopolies whose tentacles are reaching out to wider and wider areas in the sphere of capitalist domination. But this new form of concentration of power has in no way alleviated the contradictions; on the contrary, it has aggravated them. This is seen vividly in the role these giant concerns played during the recent aggravation of the capitalist monetary crisis. This is also seen in the export of capital stemming from their urge to

expand. Behind the screen of so-called "aid" these concerns plunder the economically underdeveloped countries; as a result, mass poverty, far from disappearing, is increasing, together with the profits gained from exports of capital.

At a time when the achievements of the scientific-technical revolution provide greater and greater opportunities for raising the living standard of all people and developing their creative forces, the rule of capital leads to the humiliation of man, deprives life of all meaning and coerces the individual. The essence of capitalism is that profit, not man, is the pivotal consideration.

FOR FULL UTILIZATION OF THE ADVANTAGES OF SOCIALISM

The advantages of socialism, whose accomplishments have long since proved its superiority over the old exploiter system, and its clear perspectives, stand out starkly against the background of the contradictions and crises of the monopoly-capitalist social system whose shortcomings and lack of prospects fill the working man with uncertainty and fear of the future.

We are far from overestimating our achievements and falling into complacency. The achievements of socialism in a historically brief period give us the basis for confidently tackling new tasks. We have done away with exploitation of man by man and thus, for the first time in the history of mankind, have brought about genuine social justice. Whatever the working class, all working people, produce, belongs to them and contributes to their welfare. Based on the political power of the working class and socialist ownership of the means of production, the productive forces are developing in a planned manner and without crises.

Socialism can boast not only impressive statistics indicative of its great economic and technological achievements; more impressive still is the stability of the working people's position, job security, provision of a good education for all, women's equality, a comprehensive system of health services, ensuring the fundamental rights of the young generation, the development of relations worthy of man—all these are advantages which only socialism can give. Nor is this accidental; it is an expression of a law-governed process, for under socialism the man of labor is the pivotal point of all thoughts and deeds.

One of the main conditions for the fullest utilization of the advantages of socialism is socialist economic integration. Fraternal cooperation and solidarity have always been internationalist principles of the revolutionary labor movement. It was the case during the fight against capitalist exploitation and oppression, for overthrowing the rule of capital. It applies all the more in the condi-

tions of working-class political power and the building of socialism and communism. As was noted at our Eighth Party Congress, the socialist countries' cooperation means the realization of the slogan of Marx and Engels, "workers of all countries, unite!" at a higher level.

In socialist conditions the scientific-technological revolution creates the urgent necessity of cooperation, of a sensible division of labor and economic interconnection. It is appropriate to recall the truth that the whole is greater than the sum of its elements. In this sense socialist economic integration means more than the simple sum of its participants: it creates new qualitative prerequisites for rapid growth of our countries' economic potential and, thereby, for improving our peoples' living standard. At the same time, socialist economic integration is exceptionally important for strengthening socialism on the international arena, for further changing the balance of forces in the world in favor of peace and socialism. The advantages of socialist economic integration are obvious.

Our countries have attained a high rate of economic development. For example, the national income of the CMEA member-countries increased 4.8 times between 1951 and 1970, whereas that of the EEC member-states only tripled. In the same period, the CMEA countries increased their industrial output 6.8-fold, as against only 3.8-fold for the EEC. The community of CMEA countries is the most dynamic economic area in the world. The role of the Soviet Union in socialist economic integration is invaluable. Its experience in building socialism and communism, its present industrial and technological capabilities create a reliable foundation for the brother-countries' successful cooperation in all fields. This is best demonstrated by our own cooperation with the USSR.

An ever growing advantage of socialist economic integration is that it enables the GDR to harmonize its own interests with those of the community as a whole. Socialist economic integration does not lead to an autarchic closed "economic bloc": it takes into account the international division of labor and expansion of world economic links. Thus, the policy of peaceful coexistence is acquiring an ever more productive economic base. Business circles in capitalist countries can no longer ignore this fact, and today they are compelled to establish and develop economic ties with the CMEA countries, especially the Soviet Union.

ACHIEVEMENTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE OF THE GDR

The GDR's achievements over the past year are impressive confirmation of the correctness of the policy charted by the Eighth SUPG Congress.

In 1972, the national income was 11,000 million marks higher than in 1970, an increase of 10.5 per cent over two years. Industrial output in the same period increased by 20,000 million marks, or 12.3 per cent. Total output in the last two years reached 376,000 million marks, or as much as the total industrial output in the seven years from 1951 to 1957. The rise in labor productivity, which grew by 9.8 per cent in these two years, accounted for 80 per cent of the increase in industrial production. Investment of capital totalled 67,000 million marks, which corresponds to the total investments in the GDR's first decade of existence.

The population's net cash income last year was 7,700 million marks, or 9.7 per cent, above the 1970 level. The increment was wholly to the benefit of the working people and veterans of labor.

Retail trade increased by 6,500 million marks, or 10 per cent. The amount of industrial goods sold increased faster (by 13.9 per cent) than the amount of food, which grew by 7.1 per cent. Retail prices remained stable.

After the drop in production in 1971 due to unfavorable weather conditions, the GDR's agriculture took in a bumper crop last year. State procurements of slaughter cattle in 1972 were 12.2 per cent higher than in 1970, with milk increasing 7.5 per cent and eggs 3.8 per cent. The earnings of cooperative farmers increased correspondingly.

This positive development continued in the first quarter of the present year. The plans of industrial output were surpassed by 2.4 per cent. Production by the end of March went up 9.2 per cent compared with the same period of last year. In the first three months of this year net cash incomes of the population increased by 7 per cent. Retail trade grew by 5.8 per cent, with food sales rising 2.2 per cent and industrial goods, 10.3 per cent.

The program of the Eighth SUPG Congress is aimed at promoting the initiative of the overwhelming majority of the working class and all people of labor. Within the framework of this policy, the trade-union sponsored socialist emulation movement has improved in quality, relevance and scope. The working class' influence in all spheres of life has expanded, its cooperation with the cooperative farmers, socialist intellectuals and other working people has become closer and more fruitful.

The CC report to the Eighth Party Congress had set the task of ensuring the stability of a rapid growth rate, stability in the production rhythm, stability in supply, and stability in consumer prices. The long-term development of productivity in our economy must ensure the steady growth of the material and cultural standards of life.

Economic growth provides the basis for the purposeful imple-

mentation of the socio-political program endorsed by the Party congress. In the past years we have to a considerable degree sought to use economic achievements for further raising the material and cultural standards. We gave special attention to the tasks bearing most on the life of the overwhelming majority of our citizens, on the further development of social conditions in our republic.

In 1971-1972 and the first three months of this year a total of 227,800 flats were built or modernized. Some 60 per cent of the housing in new estates was provided for families of industrial workers. The minimum wage for 1.7 million workers has risen from 300 to 350 marks. Average annual bonuses in the centrally controlled industries increased 11 per cent in 1972. Following the Eighth SUPG Congress, the highest ever increase in pensions affecting 3.9 million pensioners was carried out. The working week was reduced to 40 hours for some 200,000 working mothers.

Last year 800 million marks were spent on the social program. Allocations in 1973 will exceed 2,500 million marks. State budget outlays for the social consumption fund, that is, moneys that do not figure directly in the wage fund but complement it, totalled 39,000 million marks in 1971-1972 and the first quarter of this year.

On several occasions the Central Committee's Politbureau discussed the task set by the Eighth Party Congress of formulating the long-term planning guidelines up to the year 1990. As a result of this work we were able recently to discuss at one of our meetings some of the problems and ideas that will enable us to formulate the general guidelines in some of the decisive areas for working out our basic development concept up to 1990.

DEVELOPMENT OF ART AND CULTURE

There has been a noticeable and tangible enlivening in spiritual and cultural development. Relations based on peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems require the GDR to be worthily represented by outstanding achievements of socialist culture and socialist art and compel us to be even more resolute in our struggle against all manifestations of the ideology and culture of imperialism.

In the past period we have witnessed a decided improvement in the internationalist content of art and culture.

Many works indicate that writers and artists seek to embrace our socialist reality in the whole diversity of human relations and changes and give it creative expression.

We encourage everything that contributes to the development of man under socialism, everything that reveals the essence of social phenomena of the past, present and future. Art and culture should promote the education of people standing on firm socialist

positions in the great international dispute between socialism and imperialism and in our society. From year to year we are increasingly expanding our cultural cooperation with the Soviet Union and other fraternal socialist states. We take as broad an approach to the popularization of progressive works of art and literature coming out of the young nations and the non-socialist part of the globe, including the FRG.

We have always rejected and continue to reject "realism without bounds," which sacrifices socialist ideology and trails in the wake of bourgeois mentality. To the extent that the working class and the bourgeoisie, socialism and imperialism, remain irreconcilable in essence, interests and goals, we are waging the struggle in this sphere too. We must oppose any attempts to obstruct our progress in culture and art by concessions to modernistic perversion of art.

Thanks to its initiative and achievements in building socialism, the youth occupies an exceptional place in our society. This finds expression in the successful activities of the Free German Youth League, the GDR's youth organization, which again and again shows itself to be the Party's active helper and militant reserve.

The preparations for the 10th World Festival, to be held in Berlin from July 28 to August 5, gave a powerful impetus to broad youth initiative in fulfilling the Party congress decisions. The 1.7 million members of the Free German Youth League have now launched an emulation movement, in the framework of preparations for the festival, for the best fulfilment of personal assignments. Many youth collectives are actively working to ensure fulfilment of the economic plan's targets. At the same time, the youth organization has expanded its international ties, especially its fraternal cooperation with the Lenin Komsomol and youth organizations in other socialist countries. At present the Free German Youth League maintains ties with more than 500 youth and student organizations in all continents.

RESOLUTION OF CC CP OF FINLAND ON INTERNATIONAL SITUATION

The session of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Finland, held June 2-4 in Helsinki, reviewed the internal and foreign political situation, discussed cooperation of workers' parties, exchange of Party membership cards and fulfilment of the 16th Party Congress decisions. Fulfilment of Congress decisions will be further discussed at the CC Meeting on June 18.

The Plenary session adopted a resolution on the international situation, which reads in part:

The results of the visit to the FRG by L. I. Brezhnev, General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, are vivid testimony to the growth of prerequisites for peaceful coexistence between states with differing social systems. The desire for relaxation of tensions has now become an inalienable trait in the development of the European political scene. This has been possible thanks to the consistent foreign policy of the Soviet Union and the socialist countries, which is aimed at ensuring peace and security, thanks to the important successes achieved in the prolonged struggle by the peace-loving and progressive forces on the continent.

The treaties signed by the USSR and Poland with the FRG, the four-power agreement on West Berlin and the Treaty on the Basic Principles of Relations between the GDR and the FRG have created favorable conditions for progress in resolving the problems of European security.

Accumulated experience has made it possible to disclose objective prerequisites for the creation of a collective security system in Europe, which would guarantee the independence of all states, the inviolability of their borders and would finalize renunciation of the use of force or of a threat to use force. Peaceful cooperation among states could be implemented within the framework of this system.

The CPF welcomes the decision to convene the first stage of the all-European conference at the end of June—beginning of July. It is extremely important for the European conference to achieve positive results.

The end of the war in Indochina was a historical victory for the people of Vietnam and the entire front of anti-imperialist struggle. This victory should now be consolidated by a powerful solidarity campaign for strict fulfilment of the agreements on ending the war. The CPF calls upon Communists, Party supporters and all the people of Finland to show initiative and take an active part in the campaign to send a "train of aid to Vietnam."

The CPF will continue to support the fighters against the dictatorships in Spain, Portugal and Greece.

The CPF will continue to develop fraternal relations with the world national-liberation movement and to render aid to it.

International developments show that positive results have been gained in the anti-imperialist struggle. The world congress of peace-loving forces for international security and disarmament, for national independence, cooperation and peace to be convened in Moscow is to play an important role in this struggle. The CPF supports its convocation.

The CC CPF appeals to all Communists to support preparations

for the 10th Youth and Students Festival in Berlin and wishes this significant action all success.

The present-day conditions call for joint action by all anti-imperialist forces. The activities of the Chinese People's Republic and the leadership of the CP of China are fundamentally contrary to this. The CPF resolutely denounces these activities which benefit the imperialists and the enemies of socialism.

The international Communist movement is the most influential political movement in the world. Its successes are incontestable. At the same time the prerequisites are increasing for a more decisive struggle against imperialism and reaction, for peace, freedom of the peoples, democracy and socialism.

CLOSING SPEECH AT CC FRENCH CP MEETING BY GEORGES MARCHAIS

Following, slightly abridged from L'Humanite of May 28, 1973, the closing speech at the latest CC FCP meeting (May 25-26) by Georges Marchais, General Secretary of the French Communist Party.

Dear Comrades,

We are nearing the end of our deliberations. I believe you will agree with me when I say that this has been a most important Central Committee meeting. In fact, it enabled us to hold an extensive and useful debate on all problems relating to the domestic and international situation and the tasks flowing from it.

I will not go back to the international situation or French foreign policy. The Central Committee has unanimously approved the report presented by Jean Kanapa on behalf of the Political Bureau, as well as the proposals contained in it for boldly using the new opportunities to fight for a working people's Europe, a democratic, peaceful and independent Europe, a Europe marching to socialism.

Our Central Committee and all our organizations are also unanimous on the home situation following the general election and on our Party's activity. All the comrades who spoke in the debate showed this, stressing that after the previous plenary meeting of our Central Committee the Party had started deep-going analysis and discussion.

This effort must, of course, be pressed forward to enable every organization to decide on its tasks with due regard to the post-election evolution of the situation.

1. WHAT IS OUR SITUATION?

To take proper stock of the present level of the political struggle and of our tasks, we need to see clearly in the new promising situation in which we go on fighting for democracy.

After the general election our Central Committee came to the conclusion that the outstanding result of the election was the support which 11 million voters gave to the Left parties united on the Common Program.

While the Left failed to win a majority in the National Assembly, it found itself at the threshold of winning the majority in the country. It is now stronger and more united on a sound basis.

The forces of the Right, on the other hand, see that their forces have dwindled and that its mass basis and room for maneuver have shrunk.

Thus, a new, more favourable situation has developed in which to carry on the fight for democracy.

The fact that the election was not won by the Left may occasionally have obscured the significance of the stage passed by the working-class and democratic forces.

National developments over the past two months have shown that while the moneyed classes have contrived to salvage their power, there is no lasting guarantee that they will retain it.

This is seen in the concern expressed by leaders of the majority parties and the reactionary press. It is also underlined by growing differences among the majority and by divergences in the UDR. M. Peyrefitte, for one, who is still General Secretary of the UDR, urged his party to beware of the future. "There are battles ahead," he said, admitting, however, that his organization is passing through "a period of doubt and reappraisal."

Indeed, the issue of a fundamental change of orientation is, more than ever, central to French politics. Everything today turns on whether the winner at the end of the new stage of a struggle which has already begun will be reaction or the forces of progress aligned behind the Common Program.

2. CRISIS OF SOCIETY AND POLICY OF THE REGIME

Throughout the election campaign we said that the regime was incapable of adopting a policy differing fundamentally from the policy it has always followed, that is, could not embark on a new policy meeting the people's important demands and the vital needs of the country. Why is this? Because this regime is a regime of the moneyed and because one cannot serve at the same time the feudal lords of industry and finance and those whom they exploit and oppress, that is, the immense majority of our people. The post-

election policy of the majority made up of UDR members, Giscardists and Centrists confirms this estimation. In every sphere of national life the regime under Pompidou proves unable to overcome the crisis affecting the system and becoming ever more acute, in both France and the capitalist world as a whole.

Indeed, the entire capitalist system is beset by economic and financial difficulties and is in crisis.

As Jean Kanapa pointed out, this crisis has lately been marked by a higher pace of inflation in all capitalist countries and a breakdown of the international monetary system. Trade imbalances are growing. Whole industries, such as power or aeronautics, wrestle with difficulties on an international scale. We are witnessing the beginning of a real economic war between capitalist countries.

It is clear that the monopolies, backed by the government, will go on trying to make the working people foot the bill of the crisis.

As we predicted before the election, the uptrend in prices, checked for electoral reasons, has recommenced with fresh impetus. The government has no intention of combating it — the increases it decides on and the "annual controlled programming of prices" it boasts of amount, in effect, to a deliberate policy of raising prices. At the same time the government would like to put pressure on wages and salaries on the plea of combating inflation.

This is why the regime and the employers are stepping up their resistance to the wage-earners' demands. Messmer rejects the GCL and FDCL demand for trilateral talks between the government, the employers and the unions on the inter-professional minimum wage, minimum old age pensions, pension age and the amount of pensions, social benefits, the fate of immigrants and trade union powers.

The regime made Renault lose 50,000 motor vehicles before meeting the working people's fundamental demands for social maintenance. It supports the refusal of the Union of Insurance Offices to sign an agreement on wages meeting the employees' demands.

The GCL and FDCL refused to sign an agreement with the National Railway Company of France on wages because these fell short of the demanded increase. For the same reason, most trade unions of the Nuclear Energy Commissariat refused to sign a pay agreement proposed by the management.

Family grants in 1971 and 1972 went up by less than two per cent on the average while prices have been rising, according to official statistics, by more than five or six per cent a year.

The regime declares that its chief concern is for economic growth. Yet experts put the number of people constantly looking for jobs at 700,000. Transport, housing and other public projects are deliberately sacrificed, which aggravates exploitation of the population. By the end of this year, only 49 per cent of the projects en-

visaged by the Sixth Plan will be financed, although plan provisions are known to fall short of needs. This percentage will have dropped to 35 in the case of social maintenance and to 38 in health by the time three-fifths of the charted road is left behind.

Labor intensification is on the rise and this makes the working people lay increasing emphasis on the problem of working conditions.

While the campaign for democratic taxation has compelled the government to make some concessions to the lowest-paid categories, the measures announced by it are inadequate. In view of mounting inflation, the tax burden will increase for most working people.

The credit policy is designed to channel the working people's savings more and more in favor of finance capital.

The talk about "industrialization" is aimed at camouflaging a policy of concentration at all costs. The talk about "prosperity" is intended to justify support for the export of capital. Everything is done to help big groups take over a still greater number of medium enterprises. In short, the regime wants to maintain its economic and social policies.

But an anti-social policy is necessarily accompanied by an anti-democratic policy.

In a statement released on May 18, the Political Bureau noted the regime's alarming evolution in this respect.

Ever since the general election the President of the Republic has accentuated the authoritarian and personal character of his power. Everything is concentrated in the hands of one man, who decides on everything and for everybody. Pompidou calls for firmness. Cabinet members, following suit, take it in turns to issue threats. Fontanet joins issue with lycé students while Druon tackles the intellectuals. The demand for a reform of military service is identified with assailing national security. Galley reviles the Left, youth and even the Church, which is wondering about the role assigned to the armed forces by the regime. The main task, as he sees it, is to defend the prevailing order.

Wiretapping is practised in violation of basic liberties. Steps to extend surveillance are being discussed again. Police trade unions denounce the backing which the Minister gives to fascist-like elements among their superiors. "Committees for the defense of the republic" are stirring back to activity. Radio and television are controlled more than ever.

In these circumstances, one wonders why Pompidou is in such a hurry to secure approval for his plan to reduce the President's term in office.

The employers, for their part, multiply their encroachments on

the right to strike and trade union freedoms, resorting to intimidation and dismissal here and there.

This orientation is no sign of strength. On the contrary, the reactionary coalition of Pompidou, Giscard d'Estaing and Messmer uses threats, bans and repression precisely because it has become weaker.

That, however, does not make their orientation less dangerous. This is why I again call from this rostrum on our Party, on all Frenchmen irrespective of their political convictions, to join efforts and make it clear to the regime that there is a limit beyond which it cannot go.

The Central Committee has entrusted the Political Bureau with taking in this respect whatever initiatives may be imposed by the situation. It is an urgent necessity to organize in unity an appropriate reply.

The discontent revealed by the election can by no means be ended by brandishing the big stick. The working people are determined to win improvements. Evidence of this is the struggles which in recent weeks have been going on in the most diverse sectors: auto (Renault, Peugeot and Saviem), iron and steel, clothing, the coal pits of Lorraine, iron ore mines, the dockers, merchant marine, educational personnel, postal, telegraph and telephone employees, civil servants, social insurance workers. This discontent also expressed itself in the struggles of lycée and university students, in the demonstrations which swept France on May Day, in the meeting of aged people at the Mutualité, in the peasants' meeting at Valenciennes, in women's and intellectuals' demonstrations.

These struggles, carried on mostly along unitary lines, differ in demands and action forms. Needless to say, the problem of pay and working conditions holds pride of place in them but they also bear increasingly on transport, schools and other major social needs.

The concessions wrested from the regime tend to become ever more limited. A discrepancy is developing between needs born of the progress of society and the extent to which they are met. This evolution concerns every stratum of the working population, if to varying degrees, except monopoly agents.

This is why the struggle is bound to develop and will do so in the months to come. We must join in it immediately, without awaiting a new election. Day-to-day struggles for the most diverse demands and for the freedoms will give rise to a powerful popular movement that will gain the upper hand over reaction.

3. THE STRUGGLE FOR GREATER UNITY

The situation therefore necessitates expanding united action by the parties of the Left to defeat the regime's anti-social and anti-

democratic policies and win more millions of Frenchmen for the solutions offered by the Common Program.

I would like to deal accordingly with some problems of unity with due regard to the comrades' contributions to the debate.

Some Left-wing quarters seem to be less concerned with offering the regime proper working-class resistance than with striking at our Party and hence at Left unity itself. The working people have a right to know this and it is our duty to warn them.

Everything must be clear. The alliance eliminates neither distinctions, nor differences over certain issues between Left-wing organizations. It is perfectly normal that there should be an ideological and political confrontation between diverse Left-wing trends within this alliance. We, for instance, will under no circumstances stop countering reformist ideas with our revolutionary concepts, for to free as many working people as possible from the fetters of reformist ideas and win their support for revolutionary policies is a requisite of abolishing big capital and its power, an absolute condition for advancing to a socialism that is real socialism and not merely a new label on an old commodity.

I wish to add that it is perfectly normal that there should be competition within the alliance, for to us the debate is not academic. In carrying it on, we strive to raise the efficiency of the working class against the regime and to arm the masses against it. Effective class struggle, a joint struggle against the policy and power of big capital, against the type of society it imposes, is the only concern motivating us when we criticize this or that attitude, this or that move of our partners. We do so in a constructive spirit, with a view to preserving unity and carrying it forward on a sound basis.

When we are criticized and we consider the criticism unfair we naturally react to it, especially if it is attack rather than criticism.

Let no one say, as Edmond Maire does, that this is a proof of our intolerance. Maire spends part of his time lecturing everyone and finding fault, and when we answer him he shrilly accuses us of being undemocratic. Let the working people and democrats judge for themselves: when Maire writes that our Party's strategy is to "rally the discontented in elections," and contends that we identify "peaceful way" with electoral methods, that in the period of transition to socialism we want to be the "dominant and determining party," that one of the reasons for our strategy is our "connection with the international strategy led by the Soviet Union," and when he talks about the "failure of Marxist socialisms" or when he claims that we regard the GCL as our "driving belt," must we say amen and withhold comment? We have never left bourgeois

slander like that unanswered, nor will we leave it unanswered when Maire draws on it.

When Edmond Maire holds forth about the "professional style, lengthy argument or didactical exposés and solemn pronouncements typical of Communists in positions of responsibility, which, far from making exchanges easier, results in scleroticizing rigidity and is hardly suitable for a dialogue on an equal footing between responsible organizations," is he really concerned with unity of the working-class forces in the struggle against capitalism?

To that we say that this kind of practice does not promote the struggle of workers and democrats and serves only the interests of the class enemy.

There is a need for earnest discussion—for instance, on "self-management."

We are told that one should choose between "democratic self-managing socialism" and the so-called "centralist and bureaucratic" current, which our Party is alleged to represent.

Yet we said years ago what we think self-management in the enterprises should be like. Our program "Change Course" emphasizes that imparting a new quality to life implies in decisive measure enabling everyone to "participate responsibly and effectively in making decisions that will shape his future and the future of the nation. The program adds that this participation will be one of the main aspects of the active democratic life that will develop in both the economic and the political sphere. Our program next reveals the significance of genuinely democratic enterprise management.

Is it a question of the working people's role in this management? "Effective participation of the working people in determining the goals, choosing ways and means and verifying execution is necessary if decision-making bodies at all levels are to define the collective interests on the strength of as exact a knowledge as possible of particular interests, and of the ways and means of satisfying them." This democratic management can only acquire real significance at a nationalized enterprise but today no one can squeeze this self-management into rigid moulds shackling the working people's creative initiative.

And what about relations between enterprise and state? The nationalized enterprise will enjoy management autonomy within the framework of the general provisions of the plans, which it will have taken part in drafting. It will itself shape its policy, program, budget and market, as well as its agreements with other enterprises, whether public or private. Consequently, we are far from what some call bureaucratic centralism.

All these ideas are stated in the Common Program. We will have

an opportunity to return to them during the forum we are going to hold on these problems in June.

It follows that we offer a clear-cut and genuinely democratic conception of the changes that must be effected in enterprise management to make it a job for the working people themselves. If this is what others call "self-management," or if it is, in more general terms, socialist democracy which makes steady progress and is perfected, advancing to more effective forms of management of all public affairs by all citizens, then we have said that we make no fetish of words.

If, however, self-management implies that the working people could participate effectively in the management of enterprises owned and hence controlled by private capital, then it is merely a new guise for old reformist illusions and has nothing in common with socialism.

If self-management implies that the working people of an enterprise must manage it in isolation and regard it as an island in the sea of the national economy, never bothering about the collective interest of the new society, and if self-management is counterposed therefore to democratic planning, then it means dooming and self-managing enterprise to failure and the national economy to dislocation. That is utopia and it has nothing to do with socialism, either.

If self-management implies that democratic enterprise management should be counterposed to the political power of the working people, then it means reviving the theses of anarcho-syndicalism, which has long since proved powerless.

To us, democratic management, collective ownership of the major means of production and exchange, democratic planning at national level, and the political power of the working people go together and none of these terms means anything without the others.

In a more general sense, democracy and socialism are inseparable to us. There can be no genuine democracy without socialism, any more than there can be any socialism without steadily developing and expanding democracy. To our way of thinking, there is no point at all in talking about democratic socialism. I would like to stress that we said so fairly long ago. In June 18, 1970, for example, I wrote in "Socialism and Democracy," an article published in *L'Humanité*, as follows:

"Our comrades from the Socialist Party, the FDCL and others say: 'We are for socialism, but a democratic socialism.' In other words, we Communists minimize the significance of democracy in our conception of socialism. Is this the case?' I stated our conception of socialism and wrote in conclusion: "This means that in our opinion the words "democratic socialism" are not sacrilege but a

simple axiom." Consequently, others should stop using this as a new pretext for joining the reactionary chorus of the anti-Communist campaign.

Here is another example of a problem placed on a false basis. Some people are attempting to make the principles which guide the internal life of Left parties, and, without a doubt, especially our Party, into preliminary conditions for the development of the union.

In an interview for the journal *Témoignage chrétien*, Michel Rocard, for instance, explains that "making excessive sacrifices in the name of reaching an accord with the Communist Party confirms the validity of the anti-Communist campaign of the Right forces." There is no doubt that we are not alone in believing that such concessions to the class anti-communism of the big bourgeoisie bespeak the most cowardly opportunism rather than revolutionary firmness. True, people change, and Rocard, after accusing our Party of reformism because it reached agreement on a common program with the Socialist Party, today claims that the United Socialist Party could well have joined the Socialist Party.

But Rocard does not stop here and goes on to explain that for Left forces to win in France, our Party should be made to "pay dearly for this." A strange revolutionary, indeed, that substitutes a minor war against the Communist Party for struggle against monopoly power.

He adds that in order to develop the union of the Left forces our Party should be "an example of a stronger internal democracy."

It could be argued, however, that the example of the United Socialist Party certainly cannot authorize Michel Rocard to lecture on matters of organization and effectiveness.

Saying this, we are not going to tell him that the life of our Party concerns only the Communists. And in this we are prepared to have confrontation and competition with anyone.

The Communist Party is a party born of our country's revolutionary workers' movement, a party that has taken over all its best traditions. It is a party that has clearly, once and for all, taken its place under all circumstances in defense of the interests of the working class. It is a party of the working class, of all working people, both by its composition, from the party cells to the Central Committee and by the irreconcilable struggle it is waging for the immediate interests of the working people and their socialist objective.

It is a party which unites many men and women from all walks of life, peasants, engineers, intelligentsia. It is a party with the largest percentage of women and young people, including also in the governing bodies.

What was it that brought these men and women to our Party? Their own experience convinced them that it is the Communist Party that has invariably and uncompromisingly been at the head of the struggle for their interests, the country's interests, in the van of the struggle for progress and socialism.

What has enabled it to assume the role of vanguard? Because it is guided by a vanguard, revolutionary theory of scientific socialism. Also, because it has an effective organization assuring its homogeneity that is indispensable in the struggle against the class enemy, and an intensive democratic life. For our Party is democratic in a dual sense. First of all, it is loyal to its engagements to the people and in respect to its allies, engagements which it has never broken. For instance, it has never unilaterally thrown doubt upon any joint document or part of such a document. Incidentally, as some comrades have pointed out, not all is clear here: some of our partners would like to rename the Common Government Program a common program of struggle. We would like to remind them that what we have is a common government program, that is, a program whose realization implies that Communists should occupy a fitting place in the government. And this is not a common engagement effective only during election. But if this concerns a struggle to realize all objectives of the Common Program that can already be forced upon the authorities and big capital, then we resolutely support this. It is precisely to this that we dedicate our greatest efforts, calling on the working people and the masses to act without delay. For years we have worked for a union based on a common program, which we justly called the "common program of struggle and government."

On the other hand, ours is a democratic party also as concerns its internal life which allows all members to contribute their thoughts and creative ideas to a collective elaboration of Party policy and its activities, in other words, all that makes for that incomparable dynamism we are credited with.

We do not, however, offer ourselves as a model. We do not claim hegemony over other Left parties and do not think that a merger of all the Left forces into a single and doubtlessly heterogeneous party would be beneficial. The working people of our country need their own revolutionary party, their own Communist party.

Nor do we set up our Party as a model of the organization of society which we want to build. The diversity of French reality and its reflection in the diversity of trends of thought among the French people is a durable factor which we take into account. We not only do not intend excluding this variety from the life of France but, on the contrary, we view it as a starting point when we propose unification, an alliance, cooperation among parties on the basis

of equal rights and duties in the struggle to change life, to change society and to build socialism in common tomorrow.

This is why, on the other hand, we reject the vain attempts to contest the working people's right to have a militant, revolutionary and democratic party as represented by the Communist party, which plays an indispensable role in the maturing, consolidation and development of the working-class and democratic forces. Understandably, the big bourgeoisie and the authorities would like us to relinquish our position or, at least, to retreat. But when this becomes the goal of Leftist individuals it is only natural to tell them that it would be better to aim their blows against the bourgeoisie and its power. I speak of this quite frankly because certain recent documents being discussed at the present time among the Leftist non-Communist forces display extreme discretion in relation to the regime and the necessity of fighting it.

Our principles have passed the test of time. We do not think it would have been in the interests of the working people if we had accepted the repeated calls for "changes," nor would that have made for the success of the Left forces. We do not dispute the right of anyone to act as he sees fit, but we have no intention of becoming an all-embracing party paralyzed by internal quarrels forcing it into incessant ambidextrous compromise.

What is most important for us is to fight against the power of big capital and involve more and more working people in this struggle. Our only criterion for judging of others is their participation in the struggle against the class enemy. That is why we fail to understand how the Left forces could postpone until 1978 the democratic transformation of the political life in France, as I have learned from the press, subordinating this transformation to the Socialist Party acquiring the status of the first party in France. This time-limit hardly accords with the needs and interests of the working people, and this method of arriving at decisions without the people can hardly be called democratic. This time-limit will be determined by the struggle of the working class and the popular masses.

Moreover, the Left forces do not stand to gain if the influence of our Party is reduced. On the contrary, a strong and influential Communist Party is the condition of all progress of the democratic struggle, of any advance of the Left forces. We say this not by way of bargaining but because this is graphically demonstrated by experience. Who was it, for instance, who essentially helped create conditions for the evolution of the Socialist Party which had for long been involved in class cooperation? Who was the principal architect of the union of the Left forces which had been rejected by the Socialist Party for decades? It was the Communist Party.

Obviously, we are not yet at the end of the road. The big bourgeoisie has not abandoned its attempts—if conditions are favorable for this—again to lead the Socialist Party off to the right, to the road of managing the affairs of big capital. This was announced quite calmly by Pompidou. And this is why the reactionaries want so much to weaken us and reduce our influence.

The hopes of the big bourgeoisie, it should be said, are nourished by the fact that the Socialist Party has not yet rid itself of all its ambiguities. Comrade Gustave Ansart, for example, was correct when he drew attention to the renewal of the Socialist-Center coalition in Lille under the leadership of Pierre Mauroy. It should also be stressed that the Socialist Party cooperates with the Rightists not only in Lille and Roubaix but also in many other municipalities. This gives cause for concern, which cannot be concealed and should be borne in mind, as Gaston Plissonnier pointed out during the cantonal elections. The question should be made absolutely clear: it is impossible to support the union of the Left "in general" while cooperating with the Rightists in the municipalities.

It is precisely this and not the spirit of party polemics which compels us to consider that a kind of hegemony over all the Left forces, to which the Socialist Party aspires, conceals the grave danger of allowing the big bourgeoisie to again "take over" the popular movement.

Actually, in spite of what is being claimed to justify such a demand, our country is not faced with the danger of arriving one day at socialism without democracy.

The only real danger is that there will be neither socialism nor democracy but the continuation of the authoritarian domination of big capital.

There is only one guarantee against this danger and that is the existence and the activity of a militant, consistent and democratic party such as ours, giving its all to the development of joint action, the popular alliance and the struggle for the success of the Common Government Program of the Left forces, the struggle for socialism.

4. TASKS OF THE PARTY

What was said at the last Central Committee Plenum about the present tasks of the Party is fully valid today.

In reply to the question of how we should advance. I recall we gave the following answer: by supporting and organizing the actions of all social categories who are victims of the policy of the present regime, joining these efforts with a campaign to explain and win support for the Common Program and our conception of France's advance to socialism, by developing unity.

An analysis of the regime's present policy shows this orientation to be correct.

The pivot of our activity is the development of the struggle in all spheres, which is the only way of making the big employers and the government satisfy pressing economic and social demands.

No less important are actions to obstruct measures and threats against democratic freedoms.

The Party has responded to the appeal for more energetic efforts in all spheres and to overcome certain shortcomings. This appeal has helped towards a better realization of the need to penetrate deeper into the mass movement and to be present wherever the people are struggling and avoid the double mistake of either deciding for them or following in their wake without fulfilling our role.

In this connection, some comrades have apparently become alarmed after the lycée student demonstration on March 22. Are we not aligning with the Leftists, they asked. This is absolutely wrong and it should be noted that the Leftist groups have lately grown rather reserved, preaching indifference to politics, attempting to divide the working people and the youth and to split the youth itself. And it was we who put them on the defensive.

We should realize well that the best way of forcing them to retreat is to link our denunciation of Leftist ideology and methods with the most resolute offensive in order to ensure an upsurge of the struggle around all questions of interest to the people.

This struggle for demands and for freedoms makes it possible to defend the daily interests of the masses and contributes also to the general struggle for political change.

And in the course of these actions the masses come to realize that the existing regime is an obstacle to progress and that it is necessary to follow a new policy envisaged by the Common Government Program.

This realization will not come of itself, automatically.

Therefore—and this is the second pivotal direction of our activity—Party organizations should help this process, explaining and winning support for our objectives of social progress, democracy and socialism.

It is necessary to explain the solutions proposed by the Common Program, with due consideration for the diversity of social strata and taking advantage of every concrete opportunity.

At the same time we must develop a broad campaign on fundamental questions of democracy and socialism.

At the last Central Committee Plenum we decided to resume nationwide assembly-discussions on these questions, and this campaign will continue during the summer meetings, at the *L'Humanité*

celebrations and we shall press on with it after the summer vacations.

The Political Bureau also decided to publish a popular pamphlet showing millions of men and women on the basis of the manifesto adopted at Champigny what the socialist society we intend building in France is going to be like.

The third pivot of our activity: the anti-social and anti-democratic policy of the UDR-Giscardist-Centrist majority makes imperative, more than ever before, the strengthening of the alliance between the Communist Party, the Socialist Party and the Left Radicals and its extension to embrace other democratic forces for joint struggle on all the problems.

Naturally, mass action should not be subordinated to an agreement with other Left organizations. Actually, the decisive factor is the development of unity at grass roots, organization of joint action by the masses and the creation of a broad and powerful popular alliance. We shall contribute all our efforts to this cause.

The future of this alliance and the democratic and socialist transformations which our country needs depend to a great extent on the consolidation of the Party.

We took note with satisfaction of the results achieved in this respect.

Yesterday, in his introductory remarks at the discussion, Roland Leroy summed up the results.

There are great opportunities of which we often are not aware for strengthening the Party. All our organizations must use them more boldly, especially with the view of establishing new cells at all enterprises, towns and villages, wherever possible.

At the same time we must see to it that each new Party member finds his place in the cell in the best possible conditions and that the consolidation of the Party is constantly accompanied by broad educational efforts.

With a view to improving the Party's ability to respond to all problems facing the country, the Political Bureau, as you know, is creating a flexible inter-federal consultation and action structure in the 21 regions of France.

As concerns Party propaganda, its subjects, influence and dissemination at large, medium and small enterprises and among different categories of the population, many federations have already considered this problem and this has helped to invigorate the research conducted by the Central Committee. It would be welcomed if other federations gave more thought to these problems.

On the other hand, the Central Committee will continue to assure unfailing application by all Party organizations of the decisions

of our 20th Congress and building up the circulation of *Humanité* and *Humanité Dimanche*.

In conclusion, I should like to stress that there also exist favorable conditions for developing the Communist Youth Movement.

The youth is striving for a generous society giving scope for the development of each individual.

Socialism is on the order of the day for the majority of the young people of our country.

The recent congress of the Communist Youth Movement was a big, dynamic and militant congress. This inspires us to render even greater aid to the younger generation.

Such are the essential conclusions to be drawn from this important session of the Central Committee.

PLENARY MEETING OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE, IRAQI COMMUNIST PARTY

In early April 1973, the CC of the Iraqi Communist Party had held a plenary meeting during which the international, Arab and domestic situation was fully discussed. We append below excerpts from the report released in the wake of this meeting. The report was published verbatim in party weekly "AL FIKR AL JADEED" dated May 5, 1973.

INTERNATIONAL COMMUNIST MOVEMENT

The International Communist movement has of late realized important and noticeable steps in closing its ranks, consolidating its unity and cementing militant ties with various detachments of the world revolutionary movement. In a way, this fact is entailed in the great interest shown in the preparations for the international congress of peace and national independence to be held in Moscow in October, 1973. The congress is surely going to be the largest gathering held by forces of peace and liberation in our time.

These successes in cementing the unity of the world communist movement and other detachments of the world revolution further increase the isolation of the adventurist "leftist" circles. They divulge their divisive stands in turning down all initiatives made for restoring the unity of the socialist camp, taking a united stand against imperialism and in opposing the principle of peaceful co-existence between states of different social systems.

President Nixon's visit to People's China and the diplomatic and

economic relations established between the two countries give the lie to the allegations and attacks made by the adventurist circles on the course pursued by world communist movement.

The forces of peace, national independence, democracy and socialism are growing in might and in the ability to foil imperialist designs, impose the principle of peaceful co-existence and settle the controversial issues through peaceful ways and in their interest.

CURRENT ARAB SITUATION

In the Arab world struggle is continuously intensifying between the forces of national liberation, social progress and socialism, on the one hand, and the forces of imperialism, Zionism and reaction, on the other. This part of the world has turned into a battlefield of acute struggle and confrontation between the forces of progress and imperialism — owing to the progressive social transformations that have taken place there, the deep progressive content of the Arab liberation movement, the strategic importance of the area, its rich oil resources and other minerals, and for the large market it affords for goods from the capitalist countries. Israel, as a tool for the implementation of imperialist designs and a watchdog of imperialist petroleum interests in the region, plays an effective role in this struggle.

Among the positive aspects of the Arab liberation movement is the move made by the progressive forces, on a pan-Arab level but especially in certain liberated Arab countries. This is expressed in the struggle for uniting the progressive parties and organizations, mobilizing and guiding their energies as per a joint social-political program and within the framework of a militant front of struggle against imperialism, Zionism and reaction, and against all sorts of imperialist designs and plans. All this was evident from the series of meetings held by the progressive forces in the Arab countries, culminating in the important popular conference held in Lebanon in November, 1972 in support of the Palestinian Revolution. The anti-imperialist policy is becoming ever deeper in a number of Arab countries.

On the other hand, the rightist forces within the Arab liberation movement have increased their activities and have come forward as an active party in the inhibition of progressive political and social transformations in an increasing number of Arab countries. And the course of the class struggle which has been elevated to a higher level in a number of liberated Arab countries, is, among other things, embodied in the mounting activity of the rightist forces against the trend of deepening progressive social transforma-

tions, attempts to keep the national economy tied to the international capitalist-monopolist economy, restricting economic development in the country to the path of capitalist development and rendering the public sector a failure through sabotage. As part of their activity in this connection, the rightist forces exert efforts against cooperation with the socialist countries, and against benefiting from the agreements and credits made available by those countries in accordance with a scientific and well-prepared program. On the other hand, these forces call for cooperation with the West under the worn-out slogan of "non-alignment."

The forces of Arab reaction, led by Saudi Arabia have, at this juncture, displayed rabid activity spearheaded against the revolutionary movement; progressive Arab countries, particularly Iraq and the Popular Democratic Republic of Yemen; Palestinian Resistance Movement; and Soviet-Arab friendship. This reactionary activity is carried out in close coordination and cooperation with imperialism, Israel and Persia.

The major issue facing the Arab liberation movement is the settlement of the problems consequent on the imperialist-Israeli aggression and the eviction of Israeli aggressors from the Arab territories they occupied in 1967. The settlement of this cardinal issue facing the Arab liberation movement can only be carried out through the path of resolute and comprehensive struggle: political, military, economic and cultural forms of struggle against imperialism, Israeli aggression, and Zionism, against Arab reaction, and supporting the just struggle waged by the detachments of Palestinian Resistance. It can be fulfilled through liquidating positions of the reactionary forces and waging resolute struggle against the plans championed by these forces that are relying on compromising with imperialism and making concessions to it and to Zionism.

Consolidating relations of friendship and cooperation with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries on the part of the liberated Arab countries to persevere in the face of imperialist intrigues. It will enable these Arab countries to turn down capitulation despite all the difficulties involved, and, therefore, constitutes an indispensable necessity for the liberation of the Arab lands still occupied by Israel.

The Soviet Union is not a temporary prop for Arab liberation movement; it is a constant ally and an undefatigable source of aid and support for this movement and for the progressive anti-imperialist Arab governments. The experiences of two whole decades have borne this out. It is no longer possible for the charlatans and suspect elements to realize their objective of driving a wedge between the Arabs and their national liberation movement, on the one hand,

and their sincere and constant ally, viz., the Soviet Union, on the other.

Iraq can, thanks to the immense material and political resources that it wields on the official as well as popular levels, play an active and effective role in the Arab liberation movement, and in the overall process of struggle against imperialism, Zionism and reaction in the entirety of the region. Preparing Iraq to actually play this effectively is very essential not only with a view to participating in Arab liberation movement and deepening its content, but also for further developing the patriotic movement and the process of social progress in Iraq itself.

There should be no doubt that Iraq can indeed play the active role expected of it, basically, through presenting a revolutionary example in connection with the alliance of patriotic parties and forces in a united front; deepening economic and social measures; establishing a democratic political regime; and completing the peaceful and democratic settlement of the Kurdish question.

Many objective tasks crop up before the Arab liberation movement and progressive Arab regimes. In the forefront of these come:

First. Forming an all-embracing Arab struggle front on official and popular levels to stand in the face of the alliance of imperialist, Zionist and Arab reactionary forces and foil their intrigues and provocations; to confront the Zionist imperialist domination still lingering in the Arab homeland. This objective is unlikely to be realized without the formation of a progressive front in every Arab country as per a common progressive program of struggle; among various bodies of Palestinian Resistance on basis of an all-binding program that clearly defines the tasks of the Palestinian Revolution at the present stage, and on basis of supporting the struggle waged by the Palestinian Arab people in the occupied territories.

Second. Deepening progressive social transformations in the liberated Arab countries; completing and consolidating economic independence and liberating oil resources; and safeguarding the gains made by the masses.

Third. Preserving and consolidating Soviet-Arab friendship and relations of cooperation between socialist countries and the Arab liberation movement in the interest of realizing its tasks and subsequent development and confronting the alliance of imperialism, Zionism and reaction.

THE INTERNAL SITUATION

The preceding plenary meeting of the CC was held in early November, 1971. The statement released in the wake of this meeting had summed up the internal conditions prevailing in the country prior to the meeting. The statement reaffirmed the correctness of

the conclusions that had been made by the second congress held by our Party that had once again discerned that the path of emerging from the difficulties faced by the country and of putting Iraq in its proper place inside the Arab liberation movement is that of: uniting the patriotic parties and forces in a united front; releasing democratic freedoms for the masses of the people; and installing a national coalition government.

IRAQ ON THE PATH OF PROGRESSIVE DEVELOPMENT

The period that has elapsed since the preceding plenary meeting and up till now has been characterized by a number of positive manifestations that, together, indicate that there was a noticeable breakthrough in the political situation as a whole, and in the sphere of relations among the patriotic forces. Important developments took place in the struggle against imperialism and in the domain of progressive social and economic transformations. The most outstanding of these positive manifestations were the draft national charter released by the Baath Party, and starting contacts aimed at forming the national front. Our Party appreciated the step taken in releasing the national charter; the draft earned our positive appraisal as entailing sound bases for national cooperation, especially if efforts to secure consensus on it are coupled with serious discussion aimed at reformulating it in a way acceptable to the parties that are invited to cooperate.

Prior to the publication of the national charter, some measures were taken meant to halt the negative course formerly practiced against our party and its members. A positive dialogue was likewise started between our party and the Baath party. Then relations of cooperation between the two parties expanded; a number of joint actions were taken which experience has corroborated to be efficacious and worthy of expansion and development. Our party appraised its participation in the government, alongside other patriotic parties and forces, and under the then prevailing conditions as a higher formula for cooperation. The party also viewed its participation as a task dictated by the patriotic and national interests with a view to reinforcing the progressive orientation and consequently to consolidate the positions of all the progressive forces in their struggle against the imperialist and reactionary intrigues; taking part in evolving proper solutions for the political and economic problems faced by the country; and bringing about a more prosperous life for workers, peasants and all manual and mental toilers.

Participation in the government has proved, through actual practice, to be of importance. Our party took part in consolidating the progressive march of the government and removing some obstacles

standing in its way; solving certain political and economic issues facing the country; and reinforcing the relations of Iraq with the socialist countries and the sisterly Arab states.

The Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation concluded between Iraq and the Soviet Union on 9 April, 1972 marked an important breakthrough in relations between the two countries and peoples. The conclusion of the Treaty was, however, associated with the long-term struggle waged by the Iraqi people and aimed at developing political, economic and cultural relations with the first socialist country. All that has been achieved in Iraq since, and in other countries earlier, clearly substantiates a big objective fact of immense importance, namely, an advanced alliance between the socialist camp and national liberation movement and their organic association in our present era initiated by the Great October Revolution.

The exchange of visits by Soviet and Iraqi leaders before and after the Treaty have all helped to consolidate mutual relations between the two countries — particularly the visit of President Ahmad Hassan al-Bakr to Moscow in September, 1972, and the two visits of Mr. Saddam Hussein together with the talks and agreements following in their wake.

The Iraqi people hailed the Soviet party-government delegation led by Alexei Kosygin with enthusiasm worthy of the esteem that friendship with the Soviet Union and CPSU enjoy amidst our people and toilers.

What gives the development of relations between Iraq and the Soviet Union great significance is the fact that it has come about at a time when efforts were escalated by the imperialists and reactionaries to impair Soviet-Arab friendship and sow suspicions about its necessity with a view to scuttling it. It came at a time when these efforts met with response in certain right-wing circles in the Arab liberation movement.

The consolidation of Iraqi relations with the Soviet Union and the rest of the socialist countries, and also with the progressive anti-imperialist states has enhanced the international prestige of Iraq. Besides, it is bound to leave its positive political, economic and cultural impact on the internal development. It is bound to enhance the capacity of Iraq in the struggle against imperialism and reaction, as well as the capacity of the Arab liberation movement in the struggle against the plots of imperialism and reactionaries and Israeli aggression.

The promulgation of law No. 69 of 1972 nationalizing the operation of the Iraqi Petroleum Company amounted to an important patriotic performance in full conformity with the aspiration of our people and their protracted struggle for the liberation of their plundered oil resources.

The masses of our people together with the patriotic parties warmly welcomed and supported the nationalization decree, which also met with moral and material support of the socialist countries and the progressive forces the world over. These expressed solidarity in diverse forms, including the international conference of solidarity with Iraq in oil nationalization held in August, 1972, and the scientific seminar held under the slogan "petroleum as a weapon in the struggle against imperialism and Israeli aggression, and a means for developing an independent national economy." These were convened on the initiative of the national council for peace and solidarity in Iraq in conjunction with the World Peace Council and Afro-Asian peoples' Solidarity Organization.

The nationalization of IPC was preceded by the national exploitation of the North Rumaila oilfield with the assistance of the Soviet Union and Hungary. This was one of the basic foundations that made it possible for Iraq to nationalize.

The nationalization decree, by virtue of its justice and legitimacy, the rally of the popular masses and the aid and support of friendly socialist countries and the solidarity of the progressive forces in the world — has scored a major victory for the Iraqi people. It compelled the oil monopolies to subscribe to its legality and come to terms in March, 1973 in connection with all the issues that had remained controversial before and after nationalization.

PROSPECTS AND COMING TASKS OF STRUGGLE

It is obvious that prerequisites have become available — particularly following the achievements of the last year — that can enable Iraq to continue its march along the path of progressive development in a manner likely to carry the country to more advanced revolutionary positions. The progressive measures taken in the political and economic spheres — including in the forefront consolidating relations of cooperation and friendship with the Soviet Union and the rest of the socialist countries; cooperation among the patriotic parties; and oil nationalization — marked very important steps in the progressive march forward and resulted in struggle becoming more acute between the patriotic forces on the one hand, and the front of imperialism and reaction, on the other. Persistence in this progressive course and its consolidation and deepening come in the forefront of the tasks devolving on our party. It is similarly a task for all the patriotic and progressive parties, and conditional on their pooled forces in the common struggle. This is because it is unlikely to bring about what was underlined by our party program, namely, "the Iraqi way to overcome its economic backwardness in the shortest possible time is not that of continuing the spontaneous capitalist way of development with all

the misery that goes with it for the working people. On the contrary, it is that of pursuing the path of progressive social development which is sure to bring about the material bases for transition to socialism."

On the other hand, this course and persistence in it was and continues to be confronted by mounted conspiratorial activities on the part of imperialism and its lackeys in the region, together with the reactionary classes whose interests were adversely affected, such as feudals, big bourgeoisie and certain groups of middle bourgeoisie. These went to the extent of using their influence and impact within economic, administrative and cultural organs.

The hostile activity assumes noticeable forms and is concentrated on certain domains. Special mention should be made of the attempts aimed at inhibiting the cooperation and alliance of the patriotic parties within a national front; nurturing alarm against cooperation with the Communist Party and sowing mutual suspicions and misgivings among the patriotic parties; and weakening and impairing relations of friendship and cooperation between Iraq, on the one hand, and the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, on the other. In this connection, the efforts of imperialism and the reactionary rightist forces, whose slogans openly aim at impairing Iraqi-Soviet friendship, coincide with the publicity and slogans of certain extreme left groupings who parted company with sense and fairness when indulging in vilifying the Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation with the Soviet Union, and the rest of the revolutionary measures carried out in the country.

In arousing suspicions about the efficacy of the Soviet-Iraqi friendship and cooperation, the imperialist and reactionary circles aim, among other things, at isolating Iraq from the socialist camp, preventing its emancipation from the world capitalist market to which they want Iraq securely tied with a view to achieving economic, political and cultural gains in their interest. Last but not least, they want to prompt Iraq to back down from the patriotic revolutionary course.

The imperialist and reactionary circles exert special efforts to and pin their hopes on aggravating the Kurdish question through obstructing its peaceful and democratic settlement, trying to renew the hostilities, or, to say the least, creating a situation of perpetual tension.

These circles are bent on availing themselves of the negative aspects that are there; they worm their way through the gaps with a view to realizing their objectives. All this is aimed at impairing the progressive situation in Iraq and pave the way to finish it up and rob the progressive gains of the people and restore the lost positions of the imperialists, oil monopolies and domestic reaction.

The progressive measures taken in the domain of industry, agriculture and trade were, similarly, bound to aggravate class struggle in the country — between the toiling classes who are interested in consolidating and deepening social transformations, and the remnants of feudalism, big bourgeoisie and certain groups of middle bourgeoisie. Moreover, there are certain exploiting groups in the countryside as well as in state organs and public sectors who want the measures to be applied within the limited scope of their narrow interests. Thus they want to get the greater part of the booty with which they hoped to improve their social status and take the place left by former exploiting classes whose interests were adversely affected.

Blocking the way to reactionary classes and forces hostile to progressive transformations is realized through sticking constantly to the path of carrying out and deepening social transformations; taking the stand of clear adoption and commitment to the interests of the toiling classes; and resorting to measures that will forestall the prevalence of the exploiting groups who brace themselves for reaping the fruit of revolutionary changes. In all this, the revolutionary movement in our country should avail itself of concrete experiences of scores of other countries that have suffered in the past from the deadly manifestations that were responsible for miscarrying the democratic-revolutionary orientation of many of these countries, or retarded it for a long time.

Unless resolute revolutionary measures are taken and all sensitive state organs are purged of reactionary and rightist elements inhibitive to revolutionary transformations, all revolutionary measures and decisions are liable to fail or be distorted.

The reactionary states in the region, notably Saudi Arabia and Iran, are trying in coordination with imperialist designs, to bring about reactionary fronts hostile to progressive Arab countries, Iraq included.

To safeguard national independence and progressive gains, reliance should be basically on the masses and their allied, revolutionary political vanguards and their mass organizations; unfettering their democratic freedoms and constantly enhancing their vigilance vis-à-vis the reactionary efforts aimed at side-tracking the progressive course, and the plots that are being hatched against it on the part of antagonistic forces. Failing this, the reactionary forces will find greater opportunity for carrying out their conspiratorial designs. This much is proved by the experience of our people as well as the experiences of scores of other countries who have either passed or are currently passing through conditions similar to ours.

Preserving and reinforcing the revolutionary gains and continuing the revolutionary march under the current conditions of our coun-

try, i.e., facing hostile activities and plots of imperialism and domestic reaction, presuppose that the patriotic parties be based on a coherent unity; remedying the defects and the gaps which can be exploited by the hostile forces; and firm orientation towards solving the tasks faced by the revolutionary movement in our country.

TASKS FOR ESTABLISHING THE PROGRESSIVE NATIONAL FRONT

The political report adopted by the second congress of our party held in September, 1970 pointed out that the only sure instrument for pooling the energies of all the patriotic classes and groups in the struggle against imperialism, reaction and Zionism is that of an alliance of their political vanguards i.e., all patriotic parties within a national front in which the workers and peasants alliance constitutes its main nucleus, and which adopts a common program standing for what represents the consensus of all these patriotic classes and groups.

Our Party called for the adoption of a program agreed upon by all patriotic parties and embracing all points of agreement among them, whereas differences should be left to be settled through democratic methods.

Struggle for the formation of this front has, in the past year, made considerable headway — whether in connection with realizing and developing concrete forms of practical cooperation, or the dialogue for crystallizing objectives and principles of the front that is to define relations among all the patriotic parties involved.

The task of the dialogue held in connection with formulating a program for the front is to arrive at a consensus about common patriotic and democratic objectives; and coordinate methods of struggle for realizing the same. This has required flexibility and necessary mutual concessions.

The cherished national front is to pool national energies and lead the popular masses to the realization of the objectives entailed in its program. Relations among all parties adherent to the front should be based on firm foundations which will ensure their respective activity and development; moreover, these relations should be based on mutual respect for the ideological, political and organizational independence of each party that is a member of the front.

Formulating the draft charter in a manner consistent with the common convictions of all patriotic parties will help greatly in establishing the national front on a really firm basis; it will make possible the utilization of all the objectively available capabilities for achieving the great targets jointly agreed upon. Progress of the front-led common struggle under democratic relations and militant

solidarity will constitute a sure guarantee for the furtherance of the program now agreed upon by the patriotic parties, for deepening its concepts and targets, and securing convergence and consensus on the new objectives and tasks as they crop up.

The policy of the Party concerning the national front will, as always, continue to be aimed at establishing a front embracing all the patriotic parties and forces, basically the three principal parties active in the political life of the country, namely, our Iraqi Communist Party, Arab Baath Socialist Party and the Democratic Party of Kurdistan. The efforts of our Party are concentrated on a coalition of the patriotic parties and their full-scale cooperation and advance for the establishment of the national front which is the way for preserving our national independence; developing our progressive gains; and steadfastly deepening the content of the national-democratic revolution to pave the way for transition to the socialist revolution.

In the course of joint struggle it is quite likely that the front will further expand to embrace new circles and masses. On the other hand, struggle for the solution of political and social tasks and for furthering class strife in the society will result in the front facing a new alignment of forces on more advanced and radical bases.

Establishing relations among all parties of the front on democratic bases and being constantly inspired by the interests of the toiling masses is a sure guarantee for its success and its contribution to directing consequent struggle in the interest of consolidating the democratic revolutionary development in the country.

FOR BROADENING DEMOCRATIC FREEDOMS AND ESTABLISHING A DEMOCRATIC REGIME

Releasing democratic freedoms for the patriotic parties and popular masses and achieving the democratic regime occupy the prime place in the program of our party. This preoccupation with democratic freedoms does not stem merely from the fact that the people have for long suffered from suppression and political terror to which they were subjected in varying degrees under all the past regimes; this is so, basically because unfettering democratic freedoms for the people is the sure way for consolidating national independence and realizing progressive social transformations.

Securing broad democratic freedoms for the masses and patriotic parties is bound to release the energies and initiatives of our people in the struggle for containing forces of imperialism and reaction and foiling their plots.

Certain measures taken in connection with publication and

granting our party the licence for a weekly, coupled with what was achieved of cooperation within certain organizations and our participation in the cabinet — all these constitute steps on the way to deepening political democracy.

The concrete necessary measures for reinforcing and broadening democratic freedoms and deepening the democratic regime are:

1. Legality of action for all the patriotic parties including our Iraqi Communist Party, and ending all issues and hangovers from the past through a general amnesty for all those condemned or hunted for political reasons.

2. Preparing the climate for the election of a national assembly through direct free secret suffrage. As a preliminary step in this direction a national assembly should be formed based on the coalition of the progressive parties and forces and entrusted with full constitutional prerogatives to act as an interim legislative body. Achieving this objective presupposes ending the abnormal conditions and dismantling all the laws and bodies restricting freedoms of the people.

3. Reconsidering the manner and tasks of the existing popular councils and reformulating them as local councils directly elected by the masses and on basis of the coalition of the patriotic political parties with a view to entrusting them with the authority of local administration in the province.

4. Achieving comprehensive cooperation among the political parties within social organizations, particularly such large mass organizations as trade union, peasant associations and federations and student, youth and womens organizations. This will require that these organizations, whether cross-country or in Kurdistan, be based on common programs of action associated with the problems and aspirations of their rank-and-file. Moreover, the organizations should be based on the free will of their adherents, and should promote an atmosphere of democracy and mutual confidence.

5. On the bases mentioned above, we hold that the participation and cooperation of the patriotic parties within the state power should assume the nature of a coalition government entrusted with the task of realizing the patriotic, national and democratic tasks embodied in the program of the national progressive front.

CONTINUING AND COMPLETING PEACEFUL AND DEMOCRATIC SOLUTION OF THE KURDISH QUESTION

As per its constant principled policy of struggle for the solution of the Kurdish question on a peaceful and democratic basis, our party has devoted great efforts and energies to the realization of such a settlement. First and foremost for ending the tension which

prevailed in the area and between the Arab Baath Socialist Party and the Democratic Party of Kurdistan during the last year.

Even though the implementation of the March Declaration has made considerable headway, nevertheless the events of the three years that have elapsed since 11 March, 1970 have proved that the alienation of the Iraqi Communist Party and the broad popular masses, who have a real stake in the application of this historic declaration cannot be of any service for the Kurdish cause or the peaceful and democratic settlement of the Kurdish question.

Of great importance in this connection is the formation of the tripartite committee embracing representatives from the three main political parties. This committee was formed in December last to remove the difficulties standing in the way of implementing the March Declaration. The committee was later expanded to embrace prominent democratic and nationalist public figures.

This orientation for the settlement of the Kurdish question as per the March Declaration and through this rather large patriotic college must help find a proper formula for the sovereignty of the central state by means of applying democracy in Iraq and establishing autonomy in Kurdistan. It must be capable of putting an end to the erroneous practices of the past, liquidating their adverse consequences and making good the injustices that were done to their victims, and remove all its consequences.

Reinforcing bonds of Kurdo-Arab fraternity demands a constant struggle against the attitudes and ideas that weaken the vigilance of the Kurdish people vis-à-vis the intrigues of domestic and external reactionary forces bent on distorting the democratic content of the just Kurdish cause.

The cooperation of the Iraqi Communist Party and the Democratic Party of Kurdistan in Kurdistan region as a part of the cooperation among all the patriotic parties and forces in Iraq, together with the struggle relations obtaining between them and formed as a result of joint struggle now for over quarter of a century — these assume great importance under the present conditions. They call for remedying the erroneous postulates and slogans detrimental to the unity of the patriotic forces and their struggle against imperialism, reaction and zionism.

Continuing the positive measures aimed at finding interim solutions for current problems is an urgent task essential for the creation of an atmosphere of confidence and eliminating possibilities conducive to a deterioration in the situation. Broad popular circles as well as the progressive forces abroad warmly welcomed the measures taken with this end in view. On the other hand, the same measures aroused the imperialist and the reactionary forces in the area; these indulged in casting aspersions on the positive

overtures, and in sowing intrigues and putting hurdles in their way.

The high interests of the Iraqi people, Arabs, Kurdish and national minorities, presuppose precaution and vigilance vis-à-vis these ill-intentioned efforts, as well as following the intervention of the reactionary forces from beyond the border, Iranian in particular, and rebuffing their attempts made for the obstruction of finalizing the peaceful and democratic settlement of the Kurdish question.

The efforts of the patriotic forces and parties *must be concentrated on pursuing a course relevant to the very essence of the Kurdish question*, that it, solving the Kurdish question in conjunction with the task of struggling against imperialism and its monopolies, and domestic reactionary forces; and establishing a regime in Iraq on a democratic basis to secure national rights for the Kurdish people, therein included the right to autonomy within the framework of the Iraqi Republic. The realization of social transformation through reliance on the broadest toiling masses, notably realizing the agrarian reform and eradicating feudal influence in Kurdistan assume increasing importance and should be irrevocably associated with resolving the national tasks.

There must be caution against concentration on differences relating to secondary issues of purely nationalistic postulates. Undue preoccupation with such issues results in nurturing the sentiments and tendencies likely to impair patriotic unity. Provisional satisfactory solutions for such issues can be found relying on the consensus of the patriotic parties and forces together with the representatives of both nations and all national minorities. Opportunities will arise in a later time for their settlement in a better way, on the basis of principles of patriotic cooperation and internationalist fraternity among the nations and national minorities, and with due respect to the will of local inhabitants, especially the toiling masses, and to the interests of regional and national development.

The experience of all the peoples that proceeded along the path of solving the national question, the socialist countries in the forefront, confirm that the solutions arrived at in connection with the national question were not realized in a few years or through mere decrees and legislation, neither without difficulties, problems and complications.

There should be preparedness for all this when tackling the problem of finalizing the settlement of the Kurdish question and issues relating to national minorities, in the frame of a persistent march relying on democratic methods and promoting the interests of the masses. Moreover, it is necessary to further deepen the consciousness of all the nations and national minorities comprising our people in a spirit of internationalist fraternity which is one of the most important weapons of our people with which to overcome the enemy and secure a prosperous life.

FOR REALIZING SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC PROGRESSIVE TASKS

Important steps were achieved in the recent years on the path of economic growth. Important progress was achieved in developing national industry and installing new industrial projects. Iraq is heading towards redressing the deficit in its trade balance through expanding trade exchange with the socialist countries, and through increasing exports and reducing imports. Certain measures were taken to reduce the role of the parasitic bourgeoisie in the domains of export, import and contracts. The greater part of industrialization and irrigation projects, and other important enterprises are carried out with the aid of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries. This development in the Iraqi economy, through cooperation with the socialist countries, results in expanding the public sector, and increasing the number and stature of the industrial working class which is the stake for the future. It also contributes to reducing the problem of unemployment.

Importance was similarly attached to developing agriculture, expanding cooperatives and starting a number of state farms with aid from the socialist countries.

Achieving socio-economic growth and raising the living standard of the working masses are two inter-related tasks which cannot be severed one from the other. With a view to realizing the independence of our national economy and economic prosperity, the program of our Party emphasized tasks which are valid and are awaiting solutions more than ever before. The positive economic and political developments that have taken place have brought about better objective conditions and atmosphere for seeking solutions for urgent problems of the masses and for realizing socio-economic development. In the forefront of these tasks come the following:

1. Recourse to methodology and scientific planning in drawing up and implementing a comprehensive socio-economic long-term plan from which should emanate annual and five-year plans.

2. Attaching great importance to the organs entrusted with the implementation of this plan. Conscious, sincere and conscientious elements should be charged with responsibility for the organs of the public sector and planning. The participation of workers and employees should be assured in running the public sector. There should be a comprehensive reorganization of administrative and economic state organs together with a reduction in the burden shouldered by the national income as a result of undue overgrowth in state organs. Relevant in this respect also is ending all manifestations of extravagance and using the criteria of efficiency and sincerity in naming government officials without and discrimination.

3. Attaching importance to industry mainly, particularly the petroleum and petrochemical industries, durable consumer goods, industries relying on local agricultural produce, and raising the percentage of exports from Iraqi industry.

4. Safeguarding the gain entailed in nationalizing the IPC (Iraqi Petroleum Company) operation and national exploitation of oil; and foiling the pressures and maneuvers of oil companies to bypass them, particularly in connection with their attempts to get hold of marketing Iraqi oil and binding Iraq with a participation agreement with a view to forestalling the nationalization of the Basrah Petroleum Company.

5. Expanding and consolidating the activity of the public sector, considering it the leading, dominant and guiding sector for the process of economic growth in all domains of the national economy. Reorganization of public sector organs on the basis of specificity and economic integration.

6. Taking measures that will guarantee rapid implementation of the Agrarian Reform Law of May, 1970 and further deepen its content. The implementation of this law is being obstructed owing to the resistance mounted by the landowners affected thereby, together with the bias of certain state organs in favor of the landlords.

Achieving development in the agricultural sector assumes special importance. This is because the sector is associated with the largest working groups in the country, and because it is the most backward sector both as regards its organization and the social conditions surrounding those engaged in it.

The eradication of the remnants of semi-feudal production relations in the countryside and abolishing the basis for the growth of capitalism there presuppose cooperatives and state farms established on a voluntary basis, and through convincing and attracting the peasants through force of example and facilities made available by the state for such cooperatives and state farms.

Moreover, the eradication of the said relations also requires the mobilization of poor and middle peasants who should be favored with credits with a view to rescuing them from the greed of exploiters, usurers and the well-to-do in the countryside. These should be alienated from leading positions in peasant societies, with full freedom to be allowed peasants to form their societies and elect their bodies.

7. Continued consolidation of the role the state plays in foreign trade and total control of it, together with reinforcing the role of the public sector in domestic commerce and developing a Government Central Purchasing Board and all its affiliates attached to the state. Concurrently, there should be reasonable utilization from the private sector and active rivalry with it in the interest of growth

and fixing prices in favor of the national economy and the consumers.

8. Continued transformation in the nature of Iraqi international economic relations, and the structure of its foreign trade, both as regards goods and geography, in a manner likely to help achieving national independence and accelerating the development process. This presupposes continuing the policy of expanding mutual co-operation with the socialist countries, and further deepening this orientation with a view to deriving utmost benefit from their experiences, technical achievements and unconditional economic aid, and putting an end to the attitude of the state organs and personnel that inhibit the development of economic, trade and cultural relations between Iraq and the socialist countries and threaten to abandon this orientation and bind Iraq fast to the world capitalist market.

9. Success in the process of socio-economic development presupposes preparing sincere cadres and talents through a scientific plan for training such cadres on various levels and domains; creating a large base for elementary education in the country and then preparing intermediate specialized cadres and talents; and firmly relating the whole policy of education with the process of the current phase of socio-economic development.

The success of processes of revolutionary changes in the society necessarily demands struggle against the prevalence of reactionary and bourgeois tendencies in higher education. It also demands multiplying the opportunities for acquiring higher education on the part of sons of the toilers from among the workers and peasants who will be responsible for the success of effecting revolutionary changes in the socio-economic structure.

10. Preparing comprehensive scientific studies for the distribution of national income, together with solutions aimed at a redistribution in favor of the toiling classes. Quite apart from completing agrarian reform in the countryside and further deepening its class content, this will demand:

—Reinforcing the role of the working class in leading production, expanding its social base, and checking unemployment which results in huge productive energies being frozen and the workers prey to hunger and despair. This can be done mainly through accelerating the tempo of industrialization in the public sector.

—Redistribution of social services in the interest of the toiling class, with special concentration on the backward areas, notably Kurdistan and the Iraqi countryside.

—Expanding the rights of the working class and trade unions through strict application of pension and social security laws which must be preserved in the face of attempts made to abandon

them. The validity of these laws should be broadened to encompass all workers and agricultural laborers.

—Raising the minimum wages of the unskilled laborers in a way commensurate with the rise in the cost of living is one of the important demands for which the working class has been struggling. This is apart from a constant policy in wage increases responding to the interests of the working class, securing an improvement in its living, sanitary and cultural standards, and in conformity with the nature of work and its productivity.

—Finding quick and effective solutions for the urgent problems that affect the living standard of the toiling classes, particularly housing and soaring prices.

There must be a state plan for making a sufficient number of houses available to the working people at low rent. Rents should be fixed, the phenomenon of soaring prices checked and a high state organ created for the control of prices.

—Preparing a study aimed at reducing the brunt of direct and indirect taxes on the toiling classes and low-income groups.

The realization of tasks of socio-economic development, implementing the progressive laws passed and still being passed in the interest of the masses, and further development of all these gains is firmly associated with the struggle waged by the working class, peasants, revolutionary intellectuals and the toiling masses; it is associated with their unity and with reinforcing national unity, deepening the alliance of the political parties and developing their activity as per a progressive common program; and mobilizing and organizing the broadest masses for realizing these tasks and tackling future tasks.

Serious and constant work for meeting the urgent demands of the toiling masses, taking steps that will raise the living standard of the people and ameliorate the economic distress besetting them — all this is sure to increase the coherence of the internal front and wrest from the enemies the weapons they usually employ in halting the wheel of development and social progress, and jeopardizing national independence.

The incoming period is likely to witness aggravation of the strife against the forces of imperialism, Zionism and reaction that harbor ill-intentions towards the progressive regime in Iraq and for the achievements of Arab liberation movement. It will also witness mounting class struggle inside the country. This is because the reactionary forces are aiming at obstructing the progressive march through anticipating the completion of the national front; arousing misgivings among the political parties; inhibiting the settlement of the Kurdish question; and preventing the settlement of the

economic issues facing our country through reliance on the socialist camp refusing the path of capitalist development.

The aggravation of these struggles will place on the shoulders of our party organizations and members increasing tasks in the sphere of ideology with a view to deepening the comprehension of the developments and complexities of the situation which they must analyze from a scientific class viewpoint; and constantly raising the political and theoretical consciousness to correctly appraise the current transformations and evolve necessary solutions for the problems obstructing the forward march of our people.

15TH NATIONAL CONGRESS COMMUNIST PARTY OF CHILE SET FOR THIS YEAR

Below follows the full text of the theses for the 15th National Congress of the CP Chile approved by the Central Committee at a plenary meeting held at the end of last March and published in the newspaper *El Siglo* May 13th.

In accordance with the Party Rules, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Chile is calling its 15th National Congress, to be held in Santiago from November 25 to December 1, of this year.

The last congress, reflecting the people's desire for unity, set as its prime task the need to strengthen the unity of Socialists and Communists and, at the same time, to achieve understanding with other Left forces with the aim of winning a popular revolutionary government.

This goal has been achieved. It was facilitated by contributions from other parties, up to and including the creation of the Popular Unity Front on the basis of a common program. Today our Party shares the responsibilities of government. Thus a significant change has taken place in the situation in the country and the activity of Communists.

THE POPULAR GOVERNMENT: AN HISTORIC GAIN

The Popular Government headed by President Allende is an historic gain of the working class of Chile and the progressive forces aligning with it.

This government has in many ways rid the country of imperialist domination; it has conducted a foreign policy that is completely sovereign and independent, for the benefit of the nation, aimed

at friendship with all peoples and world peace. It has, on the whole, eradicated the latifundia which had dominated our countryside for four centuries. It has made the first steps towards restoring the Mapuche people's sense of dignity. The Government has dealt decisive blows against the parasitic monopoly and financial oligarchy. It has improved living conditions for the broad masses of the people and given them greater liberties and democratic rights.

These transformations signal a new stage in the country's development and are testimony that there is no revolutionary alternative to the Popular Unity program and Government headed by Comrade Salvador Allende.

THE PEOPLES' FIGHT AGAINST IMPERIALISM, FOR PEACE AND SOCIALISM

The September 4th victory and revolutionary changes that followed it have reverberated throughout Latin America and the whole world.

Our struggle is revolutionary and patriotic, national and international in character. Within the general world picture, it is part of the struggle waged by the peoples against imperialism, for peace, democracy and socialism.

Chile is the victim of various aggressive acts of imperialism. Most notable were the attempts of the International Telephone and Telegraph Company (ITT) to prevent Salvador Allende from taking office as President of the Republic and the maneuvers of Kennecott to create difficulties in copper sales. The people are fighting for final liberation from imperialist dependence, for complete national sovereignty, for the right to freely choose their way of life and system of government, for their country's progress and advance toward socialism.

The defense of our country, its territorial integrity and national security are linked with its economic development, the complete return of its wealth, the well-being of its people, the constant professional perfection and equipment of its Armed Forces, and the close ties between them and the people.

Lately, the cause of peace, upheld by all people on earth, has registered significant successes opening up the way to a new stage in international relations. An end has been put to the war in Vietnam, which is a historic victory over imperialism. A series of agreements promoting lasting peace and security in Europe have been concluded. The expansion of economic and commercial contacts between countries of the two systems promotes peaceful co-existence and creates favorable conditions for the people's cause and the consolidation of socialism.

Cuba, the country that threw open the doors to socialism in America, is building a new society. The Washington-inspired policy of blockade and isolation of Cuba is collapsing, and more and more Latin American countries are resuming relations with the revolutionary government headed by Fidel Castro.

The strong winds of revolution are blowing not only over the Caribbean but over the continent to the south, as well. Chile has become a nerve center of the anti-imperialist struggle.

In Peru and Panama important steps against imperialism and the oligarchy are being taken. In Argentina, Ecuador, Venezuela and other countries favorable conditions are developing for social change. The peoples' consciousness and feelings and their struggle against imperialism are influencing governments. The foundations and structure of the OAS are in the throes of a profound crisis. Economic relations of the great majority of Latin American countries with the socialist countries have expanded considerably, and many have extended them to the level of diplomatic relations and cultural, scientific and technological cooperation.

This is the national and international situation on the eve of the 15th Party Congress. Preparations for the Congress call for a broad democratic discussion at branch Party meetings and district and regional Party congresses.

The present document calls on the Party to centre the debate around the following questions:

Prevent Civil War

1. Imperialism and reaction have repeatedly attempted, are attempting and will continue to attempt to overthrow the government and push the country into Civil War. When their privileges are undermined, the reactionary classes defy the Constitution and law, they join hands with imperialism in promoting acts of aggression against the country, they are ready to go to any extreme to prevent the advance of the revolution.

Our primary duty is the defense of this government, at all costs, against all and any plans of imperialism and reaction aimed at overthrowing it or weakening its revolutionary activity. For this great efforts are needed to unite the majority of the nation against the threat of civil war and at the same time to expand and deepen the process of change.

The thesis regarding the possibility of advancing towards socialism by non-violent means remains valid. Its implementation is feasible because only a tiny minority, a section of the opposition, patently fascist-type groups are prepared to push events along anti-constitutional lines. It is the great patriotic task of all Chileans advocating deep change to ensure the revolutionary process'

development along the road it has followed to this day. If, despite all attempts along these lines, reaction takes to the path of revolt, the people must be prepared to suppress it swiftly and resolutely.

The working people clearly realize that if the reactionaries achieve their aims they will drown the country in blood, cause grave damage to the nation and attempt to reduce to naught all the gains won by struggles of generations of Chileans inspired by the ideals of progress and democratic advance.

Win Over the Majority for the Revolution

2. The real strength and potentialities of the classes and population groups favoring social change are very great. The Popular Government enjoys the resolute support of the great majority of the working class and peasants — the foremost forces of society irreplaceable in the production process. The government also enjoys the support of broad sections of the middle strata of the population.

Support for the Government and revolutionary change is growing among women. Fostering this tendency should be a subject of continued Party concern.

The majority of the youth support the revolution and make valuable, creative contributions to it by participation in voluntary work and moulding a new consciousness.

The proletariat possesses great reserves. It can and should draw the majority of the population into the struggle for the revolutionary transformation of society. For this it is necessary to step up political and ideological work among the workers, peasants and employees, especially where the bourgeois parties continue to exert some influence. Greater participation should be sought from the considerable contingent of independent men and women who favor change. At the same time, efforts should be made to strengthen and develop the worker-peasant alliance and greater attention and support should be given to artisans and small entrepreneurs in industry, agriculture and commerce.

People's actions are determined primarily by their class interests. However, the behavior of some sections of the people is commonly influenced by different ideologies, including bourgeois ideas. Hence the need to concentrate on a class policy that would bring together the majority of Chileans on the basis of their social standing. This has been to a large degree achieved, insofar as the popular movement has been joined by men, women and young people belonging to different parties, by people of Marxist outlook, rationalists and Christians. In the struggle for change it is necessary to work to expand understanding among all sections of the people, taking into account their social interests.

Winning over the majority of citizens will create better condi-

tions for defeating the enemy's plots, for swift implementation of the Program, gaining new positions of state power and ensuring a new popular, revolutionary government in 1976.

Solve National Problems Together with the Masses

3. The objectives mentioned before can be achieved through mounting support of the Government by the working class and popular masses, their participation in tackling urgent problems of work, housing, health, education, recreation, sports and culture.

The goals can be achieved only by waging a resolute struggle against traders and speculators who profiteer on the black market, for expanding the public and mixed sectors of the economy, improving the distribution of staple goods with the participation of the masses and retail traders, by fighting economic sabotage, the campaign of slander and distortion of the Popular Government's policy, bureaucracy and red tape.

The question is of a mass struggle and an offensive in the social, economic, political and ideological fields. The opponents of social change must be under constant pressure from the mobilized people, the fire of criticism should be constantly directed against the opposition parliamentary majority and the reactionary actions of the judiciary and the Comptroller General of the Republic. Militant mass action should, in the final analysis, result in changes which would enable the whole state machinery to serve the cause of social transformation.

The Solidarity of Peoples

4. The existence of the powerful socialist world system and its main bulwark, the Soviet Union, promotes the world revolutionary process and is a firm support of the peoples fighting for social progress. The help Chile has received from the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries has been and remains a factor of prime importance in resolving our economic problems and building a new society.

International solidarity is the decisive force in the success of any revolution. In the face of imperialist aggression and putschist attempts on the part of internal reaction, Chile enjoys the moral and political support of peoples and governments of Latin America, Europe and other continents.

We must continue to develop our ties with the socialist countries, the fraternal countries of Latin America and adhere to the principle of cooperation with all countries of the world, irrespective of their social system, on the basis of equality and mutual benefit.

The best contribution we Chileans can make to the struggle of other peoples is the success of our revolution.

Strengthen Unity

5. Unlike the opposition, the Popular Unity parties are united around a common program and platform. The magnitude of our tasks and responsibilities, as well as the enemy's sinister plans, dictate the need for greater political cohesion.

Without prejudice to the legitimate expression of different opinions of the specific features of each of these parties, we must strive to strengthen unity, promote common guidelines and strict fulfilment of decisions adopted jointly at all levels of government and Popular Unity.

The working class has vested the greatest responsibility for promoting the revolutionary process in the Communist and Socialist parties. Hence the imperative need to strengthen and expand understanding — on the national leadership level, at intermediate level and in local Party branches.

The Popular Unity and victory of September 1970 have been consolidated in open struggle against the class enemy and ultra-Leftist positions. Without this implacable struggle victory would have been impossible.

Today the earnest of success in our advance lies also in the sustained struggle against our main enemies and the ideological and political struggle against pseudo-revolutionaries who would set the Popular Unity parties against other parties and undermine the very basis of government in their attempts to establish a so-called popular power as an alternative to it.

Unified Economic Management

6. The greatest political cohesion of the Popular Unity and the Government should manifest itself first and foremost in unified, centralized direction of the economy.

Economic tasks are of primary importance. The enemy is concentrating his fire on this front, attempting to provoke economic and financial chaos, which would help him to carry out his putschist plans.

Unified economic management requires a clear, agreed policy with correct class orientation, planned production, strict fulfilment of instructions, subordination of lower to superior organizations, daily control over the implementation of tasks and strict accounting at every industrial enterprise.

The Battle for Production

7. The battle for production is increasingly growing into a battle for productivity, i.e., for better organization of the work of enterprises, for using machines and equipment to greater advantage,

for more efficient utilization of the land and water resources and raw materials. The profitable operation of enterprises should be ensured by raising productivity, lowering production costs and reducing superfluous and excessive expenditures. This would provide for financial accumulation yielding the funds required to effectively improve wages, make productive capital investments in the interests of society and eliminate one of the factors of excessive emission of securities and money, and also the budget deficit.

The battle for production confronts every production unit, every branch of economy. However, more important and decisive is the task of greatly expanding production in copper mining and in agriculture. The greatest reserves exist here, and here passes the main front of struggle against the imperialist blockade, internal sabotage and currency difficulties.

Effective Participation of Working People

8. A unified, planned direction of the economy, growth of production and productivity depend in the first place on the working people assuming greater responsibility. No one knows the potentialities of the instruments of labor better than the working people and technicians. Participation of the working people means above all their participation in drafting plans and their control over fulfilment of these plans. This is also the correct way to democratic management of production. Social production requires discipline. Under capitalism, discipline is based on hunger, the fear of being dismissed. That is why the need is for the emergence and consolidation of a new form of labor discipline. It must emerge from participation in the production process and be based on the knowledge of the affairs of the enterprise, on a combination of collective and individual responsibility, individual and social interests.

In any case, the trade unions have the fundamental role to play. The trade unions and trade union leaders, together with executive bodies, should fully assume direction of industrial enterprises. This will facilitate real advance in changing production relations, end the tendency towards economism, and form closer links between working people's interests and the development of the enterprise and its good operation.

Ten Simple Ideas for the Public Sector in the Economy

9. The best way of effectively stimulating the battle for production is to make practical use of several simple, clear and comprehensible ideas, which would immediately be accepted by all the people.

Here are some of these ideas:

- a) full, optimal use of equipment;

b) channeling capital investment primarily into those areas where they would contribute to the full utilization of available equipment;

c) daily contacts between executives, technicians and the working people to solve problems arising in production units;

d) careful consideration of working people's suggestions and responding to them without delay;

e) constant exchange of experience between the working people of various departments and factories;

f) moral and material incentives for the best workers;

g) putting enterprises on a self-supporting basis by lowering production costs and raising productivity;

h) relating wages increases to growth of production and productivity;

i) obligatory fulfilment of decisions and adoption of sanctions against violators;

j) obligatory management reports to higher bodies and to meetings of working people.

The State and the Role of Popular Organizations

10. The state apparatus is the main instrument of building a new society. The specific feature of our country is that the Popular Government, striving to carry out deep-going revolutionary transformation, is acting with the help of the bourgeois bureaucratic apparatus. This apparatus must be replaced. But this goal is not connected with the creation of new production relations, with the struggle against bureaucracy, and the work of various people's organizations that would inject vitality into different sections of the state apparatus or undertake tasks which this apparatus cannot accomplish.

The Party should support the supply and prices juntas, the peasant councils, communal committees, people's cultural centers and other mass organizations formed to solve concrete problems. Such organizations should find ways of coordinating their activities with the United Workers' Center, the housing juntas, maternity centers and other mass organizations created over a period of many years. The district industrial committees should be regarded and should act as primary organizations of the United Workers' Center and not as parallel organizations.

For a New Culture

11. As well as renovating Chilean society politically and economically, conditions must be created for a genuine cultural revolution, which would help mould a new mentality and make education, science, technology and art accessible to all people. This

process should fortify the new collective thinking, which would foster patriotic sentiments, exalt the best national traditions, promote manifestations of humanism and social responsibility, when man will be appraised primarily by his attitude to work, behavior in private life and attitude towards the life of the collective. This should also enhance such human values as brotherhood of the peoples, and exclude racism or chauvinism in any form.

The great efforts to make knowledge, art and culture available to the majority and not minority of people call for a profound reform in education, putting an end to the crisis in this field. This reform should be preceded by a broad democratic discussion that would help to collect the views and suggestions by the interested segments of the people.

The Party Program

12. The Party's strategic line as stated in the Program defines the Chilean revolution as an anti-imperialist, anti-oligarchic revolution with a socialist perspective. This continues to be the general line because important anti-imperialist, anti-oligarchic tasks remain unresolved and because the struggle for power is primarily a struggle against imperialism and the oligarchy — the main foes of the revolution.

At the same time the progress in transforming the economic structure opens the way to new production relations and raises the question of a transition to socialism, which will be possible if the working class plays the leading role in the life of the country.

The 15th Congress should determine the degree to which the objectives of the Party Program have been achieved and on which sections of the Program the accent should be placed in the new period.

For a Stronger Party

13. The preceding congress was held when the Party was in the opposition. The new Congress will be held when we share responsibility in the government. There are essential differences between the former and present situation. The Party has proved equal to the new conditions, selflessly and with dedication accomplishing its tasks in the government and among the masses.

The circumstances now require a bigger, stronger and efficient Party capable of rapidly recognizing new tasks and problems, and applying Marxism-Leninism as a party participating in the government.

At the present time we are building such a party. Preparations for the Congress and the Congress itself should help us take a big

step in this direction. Attention should also be focussed on developing the Communist Youth organization, already the strongest youth political organization.

Every branch and every guiding body of the Party should have a clear vision and stand firmly wherever the main struggles are unfolding, particularly in the field of economics.

Preparations for the Congress should take place in close contact with the mass struggle, realization of the political, economic and social tasks which would make it possible to bring our revolution to its final triumph.

ECUADOR

COMMUNIQUE OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE, COMMUNIST PARTY OF ECUADOR

On May 5, 1973, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ecuador met in plenary session to discuss the political situation in the country and the convening of the 9th Party congress.

Following a deep analysis of the situation in the country and international developments, the Central Committee unanimously approved a political resolution as a guideline for Party work in the coming period.

The Plenum resolved to hold the Ninth Party Congress on November 15-18, 1973, in Guayaquil, in line with the agenda, quotas of representation and the theses approved by the August 1972 plenum of which the Party has been informed.

The meeting also dealt with certain organizational problems; the CC Executive Committee was instructed to prepare and hold in the shortest possible time a plenum on organizational matters.

El Pueblo, May 12, 1973

COMMUNICATION ON CONVENING PARTY CONGRESS

The Communist Party of Ecuador will convene its Ninth Congress on November 15-18, 1973, in line with the following provisions of the communication on convening a Party congress released August 20, 1972:

1. The congress will be held in the city of Guayaquil.
2. The delegates to the Congress will be nominated at extraordinary conferences of provincial Party organizations.
3. The delegations will be elected on the basis of the following quotas — one delegate for every 15 Party members; provincial organizations should send no less than three delegates.

4. The Young Communist League of Ecuador will send a 20-man fraternal delegation to the congress with a deliberative vote.

5. The congress agenda will include:

1. Central Committee report.

2. For unity of anti-imperialist and democratic forces in Ecuador in the struggle for national and social liberation (theses).

3. Organizational resolution.

4. Elections of Central Committee.

El Pueblo, May 12, 1973

THE HOUR OF GREAT TRANSFORMATIONS HAS ARRIVED

Editorial from *El Pueblo* for May 12, 1973

Every day it is becoming more obvious that Ecuador is facing the need for deep revolutionary transformations which would speed social progress, lead to a radical improvement of the people's living standards, consolidate our sovereignty and independence and enable our country to occupy a worthy place. We fervently aspire to this.

The people of Ecuador demand that urgent and resolute measures be taken towards this end; we believe there exist opportunities today for carrying out transformations designed to meet the material and cultural needs of the oppressed and exploited majority.

In effect, Ecuador is experiencing not only quantitative changes in economic growth, but also changes testifying to qualitative transformations. Ecuador has become one of the world's largest producers of oil, second in Latin America only to Venezuela; this is a tremendous wealth which, if used properly, could ensure rapid development.

This wealth is unquestionable and we see it growing from day to day. It is augmenting the resources at the disposal of the government.

The question arises: In whose interests will this wealth be used? Will it enrich only the privileged minority or will it serve to change the peoples' lives?

We have had the experience of similar changes under different historical conditions, although they did not have the significance they are acquiring in the present situation. Suffice it to recall the increase in banana production which started in 1948 and became a powerful factor in the general economic upsurge. This banana boom, however, did not bring about any radical changes in our national life. The system of life and work remained unchanged while bananas enriched only a small group of landowners and traders and augmented the big profits of the imperialist monopolies plundering the country; at the same time the peasant masses, the

true producers, continued to live in poverty, the exploiter feudal latifundists remained, the workers were paid miserly wages as before and the country remained under imperialist domination, poverty stricken and backward.

This cannot and should not happen, particularly because living conditions of the people have become unbearable, the cost of living is intolerably high, while wages are not raised; the people are deprived of medical aid because it is too costly, housing conditions are deteriorating with every day and the housing problem is becoming more acute; education is in a deep crisis.

What should be done to find a way out of this situation, so that oil and other natural wealth of our country are used for the benefit of the majority?

What is needed is to destroy resolutely the old social, economic and political structures and build up a new Ecuador — free, sovereign and progressive and ensuring welfare to the people.

This implies advancing the national-liberation revolution, ending the country's domination by imperialism, carrying out a democratic agrarian reform, satisfying the people's sore needs, industrializing the country through priority development of the state sector in industry, democratizing national life and following an independent and sovereign foreign policy.

It cannot be denied that the present government of the armed forces is fulfilling some of the objectives set out in the government plan. This applies to the oil policy which we supported, to the defense of our sovereign right to 200 mile territorial waters and also the foreign policy.

It is also evident, however, that in other respects the position is different. The agrarian reform is not progressing, and this means retreating before the landowners. The people are defenseless against the speculation which mercilessly impoverishes them. The oligarchy and imperialism are insolent in their actions, creating problems, inciting reactionary sedition. All this plotting, which we have exposed many times, is not firmly denounced.

This creates feelings of discontent among the people as a result of growing impoverishment, making the situation extremely dangerous because the reactionaries and imperialists could take advantage of this to deprive us of our gains.

The alternative is obvious — either we advance or inevitably retreat. We cannot stand still.

In these circumstances the only road open to us is one of organized struggle by the people for our concrete objectives and for our country's great objectives.

The government must step up its efforts to recover our natural wealth, it must take the course of full nationalization of oil, con-

tinue its defense of the right to 200 mile territorial waters and develop and carry deeper Ecuador's foreign policy. We reaffirm our support for the efforts of the government of armed forces on these problems.

We must work to improve the people's living standards, to raise wages, to control prices, to root out speculation, improve housing conditions and give proper attention to health protection and education.

It is essential to institute a democratic agrarian reform that would destroy the latifundia, change social relations in agriculture and give impetus to the development of peasant cooperatives.

The urgent need is to block the maneuvers of the reactionaries and seditionists and remove the obstacles to democracy which emerge occasionally as a result of the actions of the authorities who either do not understand the situation or are interested in creating difficulties.

The funds accruing from oil must be utilized to implement all these transformations and to develop the state sector in industry.

The people of Ecuador must redouble their efforts to achieve these grand objectives, the objectives of transforming the country.

We repeat what has been said in the preceding editorial:

"The present government must act on the basis of a clear understanding of the fact that the working people represent the sole force capable of serving as a support for the revolutionary and national transformations and that these transformations can be carried through only by relying on the people, realizing their great aspirations and assigning them their proper role in the front-line of the great historical battle."

It is only in this way uniting all democratic and patriotic forces in struggle that we shall be able to carry out the pressing demands of the moment, bring about the revolutionary transformation of Ecuador and successfully resolve the problems placed before us by the historical stage we are going through.

In this great struggle for the future of the people and our country we Communists shall act decisively, with a clear realization of our objectives, we shall always remain firm in the struggle for progress, freedom and prosperity.

PREPARATIONS FOR THE HAMBURG CONGRESS OF THE GERMAN COMMUNIST PARTY

Below are extracts from the resolution of the 8th Plenum of the Executive of the German Communist Party published in supplement No. 20 of *Unsere Zeit* on May 18, 1973.

The Eighth Plenum of the GCP has agreed to hold the next Party Congress in Hamburg, November 2-4, 1973. Its slogans are to be:

"With the Working Class and the Youth for Peace, Democracy and Socialism! Everything for the Working Man! Our Country needs a Strong Communist Party!"

Since the Duesseldorf Congress our Party has proved that it is a mobilizing force in the political and social fight and in democratic and other anti-imperialist movements. In the focus of its struggle are the present and future interests of the working people of the Federal Republic. The GCP is a party of the workers and young people, of class struggle and opposition to the power of the monopolies. It is the party of socialism in the Federal Republic.

Our policy of defending the interests of the working people outlined in the program of the Essen Congress and the Duesseldorf theses* has proved to be correct. They remain fully valid wherever we have tackled the real demands and needs of the workers and employees, trade unionists, young people and women; wherever we have replied constructively to the real problems of the working man and organized support for his demands, there we have made headway.

At present when preparations are under way for the Hamburg Congress, we must continue, even more consistently and energetically, to apply the Duesseldorf theses in the light of the existing situation in the Federal Republic. This means the following:

In our pre-Congress preparations and at the Congress itself, the Party will evaluate the results and set new guidelines. Our aim is to tackle the concerns and needs of the working man more effectively and redouble support of immediate social and political interests of the workers. We intend to show more clearly and convincingly the relationship between actions for immediate demands and the struggle for anti-monopoly reconstruction, the battle for our socialist aim. Our actions will show that we are a force working for and with the masses for the remoulding of society, for democratic progress and socialism.

*See Information Bulletin, No. 1-2, 1972.—Ed.

All our efforts are concentrated on extending our influence among the masses, recruiting new members, winning new readers for *Unsere Zeit*. We shall strengthen our ideological and organizational unity, and shall critically and self-critically show and overcome all the difficulties that prevent more effective work among the masses. It is thus that the Hamburg Congress will usher in more intensive mass work and lead to the all-round strengthening of the GCP.

In preparation for the Congress, all Party members and functionaries, all factory, residential and higher school groups, and all Party committees have launched broad exchanges of experience for the improvement of their activity. We call on Party organizations and conferences of Party delegates to discuss the improvement of our mass work, to frame appropriate proposals to the Congress, and so participate in the elaboration of effective mass initiatives and forms of struggle.

Since the Duesseldorf Congress, the class contradictions in our country have become more acute. The concentration of capital continues. Exploitation in the factories is increasing. The unscrupulous price increases are making people more distinctly aware that Big Business is stepping up its attacks on the standard of living. The consequences of the fierce competition between the main imperialist groupings — the U.S., Japan and the EEC — are shifted inexorably onto the workers.

The desire for social change among sections of the working population, and especially the younger generation, is stimulated by ever more obvious contradictions within the capitalist system, the attraction of socialism, and the influence of our Party and other democratic forces. A social and political debate is under way. Workers and employees are more alert in defending their social rights. Their readiness to take strike action has grown. The working and studying youth, the farmers and intellectuals, are raising social and democratic demands with greater insistence. There is the increasing desire for participation in the running of enterprises and society, for democratic reforms of rent and land laws, of taxes and education, and for the socialization of the key industries.

All the parties in the Bundestag are aware of this. Of late, the CDU/CSU has been trying to take on a "modern look"; but its real objective is to consolidate the domination of big capital by strengthening its influence on the working class through social and national demagoguery. The Social-Democratic Party leadership advocates a reformist policy that stabilizes the latter-day capitalist system, and prates about "democratic socialism" while defending ownership of the means of production by the magnates of big capital. The FDP, too, talks about reforms, by which it implies consolidation of the industrialists' "masters in our own house"

standpoint. The policies of all these parties are in sharp contradiction to the hopes and needs of the working people.

Strikes, demonstrations of apprentices, the large demonstration against the ban on Communists and progressives in the civil service, the Vietnam solidarity campaigns and united actions by Communists, Social-Democrats, Young Socialists, Christians and others in support of community interests, have struck fear into the reactionaries and impelled them to a stronger anti-communism, directed against our Party.

The workers' desire for an immediate improvement of their condition, for reforms, has received new impulse. And we Communists must show that we are the most consistent champions of any step that lightens the working man's burden under capitalism. For us the drive for reforms is a drive for improvements in the workers' situation and in the conditions of the struggle, and also a significant factor in arousing the working class for the struggle for a socialist system in the Federal Republic. We are resolved to show that the partial gains won through reforms will not be lasting, unless they are used as a stepping-stone to fundamental changes.

We defend the democratic rights and freedoms of the Constitution. We demand the lifting of the unconstitutional ban on the Communist Party of Germany, maintained as a means of pressure against all democratic and socialist forces. We are for extending the democratic rights and freedoms.

It is our task to achieve working-class action unity and to build up broad democratic movements in support of the demands of the working people and the youth. This is consonant with the character of our Party as the party of the working class. And the more effectively the Party fights for the interests of the laboring population, the sooner the workers and employees, apprentices and pupils, women and students, will understand the importance of a strong GCP.

In preparation for the Hamburg Congress, the whole Party and in particular its basic units, must orientate their mass work on solving the main problems. The Party groups and committees will devote all their energy to the tasks set at the Sixth and Seventh Plenums of the Party, namely, recruitment of new members, and winning new readers for the daily and weekly *Unsere Zeit*.

And they will cope with these tasks all the more successfully, the more purposefully the basic units, the district committees, and all members and functionaries of the Party follow the following four major guidelines:

1. WORK IN FACTORIES AND TRADE UNIONS

The German Communist Party is the party of the working class. This means that it must strengthen its influence in the enterprises

in the interests of the workers and employees. Members of the GCP must be active trade unionists, must fight for strong unions guided at all times by the interests of the workers. Every Communist must show himself to be an active fighter for the social and democratic interests of his fellow-workers. Every Communist must rebuff the attacks of employers' associations and their political henchmen on the independence of the trade unions, and resist attempts by the Right-wing Social-Democratic leaders to integrate the unions in the latter-day capitalist system as a "factor of peace and order," just as he must oppose all sectarian ultra-"Left" attempts to divide the trade union movement. The strengthening of Party groups in the factories and forming new ones, improving our factory press, recruiting workers and employees, distributing *Unsere Zeit* in large enterprises, improving the ideological work of our factory groups — these are all essential prerequisites for building a stronger Party and raising its fighting capacity.

The factories are the decisive field of battle in the fight between capital and labor; it is here that the question, who will the workers follow, is decided. Will they succumb to the opportunism of the Right-wing leaders of the Social-Democratic Party and the leaders of the trade unions, will they be seduced by the social demagoguery of the CDU/CSU, or will they follow the German Communist Party and take a class stand to defend their own interests now and in the future?

The attempts of the CDU/CSU to set up its own organizations in the factories, the endeavors of employers' associations to influence industrial workers through their extensively distributed literature, the Federal Government decision to include its own material in such publications — all this shows the factory is becoming the main battlefield in the political confrontation, and that it is also the basis for united action by Communists and Social-Democrats. New tasks face our Party in the factories, and they can only be performed if our work at shop level is greatly improved and if Communists prove themselves to be active trade unionists.

In the coming weeks and months factory and residential groups must solidify their ties with the fight of workers and employees and their unions for higher wages and salaries, for a high-cost-of-living allowance, against surtaxes and new tax burdens on the working people, and for new wage and rate agreements with the employers. This is necessary because the accent in the class confrontation is shifting to the struggle for higher wages and salaries as the surest way to counter the fleecing of the people by the monopolies and the regime through price increases.

2. WORK WITH AND AROUND THE YOUTH

The GCP is a party of the youth. This means that we must take

up the problems and interests of the youth, win the youth to our side and make the Party the political home of the youth. The Party's youth policy should be part of the political activity of every Party group and every GCP committee. Our main demands are for a progressive system of professional training, better youth labor protection laws, equal pay for equal work, lowering the majority age to 18, protection of rights against dismissal and broader rights for spokesmen of factory youth, an end to the disastrous situation in school and college education, protection and broadening of the rights of soldiers and individuals evading conscription.

The youth is highly critical of the capitalist system. Young people are troubled by the future and are particularly attracted to the socialist goal and our Party's active policy. The youth of our country is receptive to all the aspects of anti-imperialist solidarity.

This sets us new tasks in all areas of our work: the entire Party must support the Socialist Working Youth movement. A new approach is required in our public relations and educational work, in our newspaper, *Unsere Zeit*, and our factory and local papers. Attention must be centered entirely on the youth. Every issue of our factory and local papers must raise and respond to the problems of the working and student youth.

It is now the duty of our Party organizations to make their activities more attractive to the youth. They must organize interesting Marxist studies. They must set the youth interesting tasks. But above all, they must place the problems of apprentices, the working youth and the students at the center of their activities.

All parties have begun a drive to win the youth. But ours is the only party that can give the youth the contemporary anti-monopoly alternative and socialist perspective. This requires, however, that our Party's youth policy should occupy a place of priority in all Party organizations, in all leading bodies and in the work of every activist.

In the coming weeks and months we must win young workers and apprentices, school and university students for our Party. At debates, forums and other functions, our Party members must explain GCP policy to young people. This will contribute to the 10th World Youth and Students Festival in Berlin and to the effective preparation of the GCP young workers' congress.

3. PARTY POLICY IN COMMUNITY MATTERS

The GCP represents the interests of the working people. This means that it must be effective in all areas of concern to the people. Apart from the factories, this implies towns and communities. Towns and communities are concerned with such problems as land-ownership law, house rents, taxes, curtailment of democratic rights

through the planned regionalization reform, environmental pollution, social insurance, public health and education, the need for more kindergartens and playgrounds, problems of leisure and sports. These questions are all part of the important field of community policy. Hence, the Party must work more effectively and consistently than before. It will win the confidence of the people if it implements a community policy that advocates the interests of the people, if the members of the GCP play an active role in all the actions, initiatives and movements of the population.

That is also a practical way to broaden or win parliamentary positions. Community policy is the basis for GCP success in elections. This means that factory and residential Party groups, regional and territorial committees of the GCP and the Central GCP Executive must deal systematically with problems of community policy.

It is not enough to hold community campaigns before elections. Community policy should be a constant concern of the Party. We must develop the comrades who are active in community matters into the same kind of Communist personalities as was done by the Party in the case of factory councils. In the coming weeks and months, concrete community policy, support and initiative in broad movements for the solution of community problems, will prepare us for the numerous community and Landtag elections set in 1974.

4. OUR WORK WHERE THE MASSES ARE ORGANIZED

The GCP is the party that represents the interests of the laboring masses in our country. This means that we must work where the masses are organized. Apart from the trade unions, there are a great many such organizations as sports clubs, social clubs, tenants associations and war victims organizations, cultural societies, and recreation clubs. In this area, we Communists should work selflessly for the just demands and interests of the working people. Opportunities are present here for cooperation between Communists, Social-Democrats, Christians and non-partisans.

Contacts maintained with the Social-Democrats, the youth, trade union colleagues and neighbors are the measure of the political activity of every member of our Party.

The realization of our goal — all-round consolidation of the Party by recruiting new members and winning new readers for *Unsere Zeit* — depends on how each Party member follows the guidelines in preparation for the Hamburg Party Congress. The key problem is to improve our public relations work, our work with the masses. And this encompasses all the Party's political, ideological and organizational activities, and the improvement of leadership. Each Com-

munist is required to review his activities critically, to do away with shortcomings and surmount difficulties.

We have a clearly formulated program, confirmed by the facts of reality, a program based on the teaching of Marx, Engels and Lenin — the Theses of our Duesseldorf Congress. We are part of the mightiest world-transforming force — the international Communist movement. We are the successors of Karl Liebknecht, Rosa Luxemburg and Ernst Thaelmann. We continue the traditions of the battle-tested German workers' movement in conditions of the Federal Republic. How soon the balance of forces changes in favor of the working people, depends on our struggle, our strength, our proletarian spirit and our ties with the working people and the youth.

To strengthen the GCP means to develop strong Party groups at enterprises. To strengthen the GCP means winning the workers and the youth to the side of the Party. To strengthen the GCP means winning strong positions for the Party in towns and communities. To strengthen the GCP means increasing Party influence among the working class and youth. To strengthen the GCP means to recruit new comrades and new readers for *Unsere Zeit*.

All our energy to our German Communist Party!

SIXTH PLENARY SESSION OF CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF COMMUNIST PARTY OF ISRAEL

On May 18, 1973, the Sixth Plenary Session of the Central Committee of the Communist Party convened, with participation of the members of the Central Control Commission.

Comrade Meir Vilner, the General Secretary, lectured on the subject, "The Political Situation and the Preparations for the Elections to the Histadrut Congress, the Knesset and the Local Councils."

Comrade Tawfig Toubi, member Political Bureau and Coordinator of the Secretariat of the Central Committee, lectured on the Conference for Peace and Justice in the Middle East, which took place in Bologna, and reported on the work of the Political Bureau and the Secretariat.

Comrade David (Sasha) Khenin, member Political Bureau and Secretary of the Central Committee, reported on the meeting of a delegation of the Liaison Bureau with the World Federation of

Trade Unions—with the Secretariat of the Federation, which took place in Prague.

In its resolution "Détente in International Tension and Peace Policy of the Soviet Union" the CPI Central Committee noted the positive changes that have occurred of late on the international arena due to the policy of peace followed by the Soviet Union in pursuance of the decisions of the 24th CPSU Congress.

Below we publish the full text of the resolution on a peaceful settlement in the Middle East, which was published along with other resolutions, in a special issue of the *Information Bulletin* of the CPI.

2. FOR A JUST AND STABLE PEACE IN THE MIDDLE EAST

The Central Committee expresses its concern at the peril of a war conflagration in our region, in view of the continued occupation of the Arab territories for six years now. The Israeli government does everything in order to prevent the implementation of the Security Council Resolution 242, intensifies settlement and the creation of faits accomplis in the occupied areas, in order to prepare them for annexation; it continues acts of oppression, eviction, expropriation of lands and aggressive actions against the rights and against the very national existence of the Palestinian Arab people and against the neighboring Arab states. This policy is expressed by the barbaric bombing of refugee camps in Lebanon and the murder of the three Palestinian leaders in Beyruth.

The reiterated declarations of the prime minister, Golda Meir, negating the legitimate national rights of the Palestinian Arab people and even its very existence, express this policy of the Israeli government, which foils peace and aggravates the crisis. This aggressive and racist policy contradicts the true national interests of the Israeli people. Out of concern for the true national interest of Israel, the Central Committee condemns the Israeli government's policy which sabotages peace.

The Central Committee categorically denounces the provocative extreme declarations of the war minister M. Dayan, who calls for the annexation of the occupied areas and for extensive settlement therein. M. Dayan has designated for the Israeli people to live by the sword. The policy of the Israeli government, which leans on the support and backing of American imperialists, removes peace from the Israeli people, isolates Israel among the peoples of the world and also imperils Israel's future.

The positive developments in the international situation aroused confusion in the ruling circles. Internal polemics within the government intensified. But, the opponents of the extreme adventurist positions of Dayan, within the government, are also drawing up

annexationist plans of their own, and oppose the legitimate national rights of the Palestinian Arab people. Therefore, all bear responsibility for preventing the achievement of peace and for the danger of a renewal of war.

- The Central Committee warns against the severe dangers stemming from the continuation of the Israeli government's refusal to respond to the repeatedly reiterated peace proposals of the government of Egypt, which is ready to sign a peace accord with the State of Israel on the basis of full implementation of the Security Council Resolution 242, on the basis of the border lines of June 4, 1967, the ensurance of the national rights of the Israeli and Palestinian Arab peoples alike. The full responsibility for the deterioration of the situation and for the danger of a new conflagration rests on the Israeli government and on the American imperialists, who obstinately attempt to foil every effort for a just and stable peace settlement.

The Communist Party of Israel calls upon all champions of peace in Israel to rally still more strongly their forces to intensify the struggle for changing the official policy, against occupation and for peace.

PLENUM OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE, RUMANIAN COMMUNIST PARTY

The Central Committee of the Rumanian Communist Party met in plenary session on June 18 and 19, 1973. The meeting was chaired by Nicolae Ceausescu, General Secretary of the RCP.

The meeting was also attended by invited persons who are not members of the CC RCP: first secretaries of district committees of the RCP, members of government, leaders of mass and other non-governmental organizations, and chief editors of national newspapers and periodicals.

The meeting unanimously approved the following agenda:

1. Steps to carry forward and perfect education in Rumania.
2. The role of women in the country's political, economic and social life.
3. Resumption of the construction of the Danube-Black Sea shipping system, and construction of a new seaport.
4. Information on progress in the execution of measures to perfect the organization of social and economic activity approved by the CC RCP Plenum in February-March 1973.

5. Composition, numerical strength and organizational structure of the Party.

6. Information on personnel policy.

7. Some organizational measures.

Following is the text of the communique on the plenum released by the Agerpres News Agency on June 19.

1. The plenum discussed and approved a report by the CC RCP Executive Committee on steps to carry forward and perfect education in Rumania.

N. Ceausescu spoke in conclusion of the debate on this item of the agenda.

The plenum unanimously approved the conclusions and tasks set out in the speech of the General Secretary of the RCP.

The Central Committee resolved that the decision to perfect education according to the requirements of the social and economic development of socialist society should be completed in line with the proposals of the Executive Committee, the General Secretary's conclusions and the recommendations of speakers in the debate. The decision will be published. It also resolved that information on progress in implementing the approved measures should be submitted to the Central Committee at the close of every academic year.

2. The plenum analyzed execution of the decisions of the RCP and the state on the role of women in the political, economic and social life of the country. It commended the contribution made by millions of women to the progress of the country, the prosperity of Socialist Rumania, and the formation of a healthy younger generation inspired by the ideals of socialism and communism.

N. Ceausescu took the floor in conclusion of the debate on this item.

The plenum unanimously approved the conclusions of the General Secretary. In view of the complexity of the tasks set by the program for building a comprehensively developed socialist society, it decided on new steps to encourage more active participation of women in the country's social and political life and to improve their living and working conditions. The decision will be published.

3. The plenum approved the plan to build a hydropower and transport complex by resuming construction of the Danube-Black Sea canal, a new seaport in Constanta South and a hydro-electric power station in Cernavoda. The decision will be published.

4. Unanimously approving the information on progress in the execution of measures to perfect the organization of social and economic activity approved by the CC RCP plenum in February-March 1973, the CC RCP resolved that Party and government bodies should persevere in carrying out the measures in question, ensuring better use of labor power, assigning specialists to the

sphere of material production and perfecting and strengthening the executive apparatus.

5. The plenum unanimously approved the information on the composition, numerical strength and organizational structure of the RCP. It resolved that further steps should be taken to assert the Party's leading role throughout the country's political, economic and social life, heighten the socialist awareness of the masses in the spirit of the ideals of Rumanian society, socialist ethics and justice, and mobilize all working people — Rumanians, Hungarians, Germans and members of other nationalities — more extensively for high-standard execution of the current five-year plan ahead of schedule.

The plenum unanimously approved the information on personnel policy. The Central Committee set all Party, government and public bodies the task of continuing their manifold activities towards training and promoting personnel, fostering people's capacity for political organization and leadership and their ethical and moral qualities, so that they may put their abilities in the service of Party and government policy.

7. On a motion of General Secretary N. Ceausescu, the plenum unanimously resolved to constitute a congress of deputies to district people's councils. The congress shall be convened every five years to discuss important problems of Rumania's development, in particular plans for social and economic advancement and other measures. The congress will be an agency enabling representatives of the citizens to participate extensively in government. It will encompass all the deputies to district people's councils and the Bucharest Municipality.

The constitution of this body provides directly and democratically for real verification of the correctness of Party and government policy and for the enhancement of the citizens' sense of responsibility for all their activities in the sphere of government.

The Central Committee also resolved to hold a nationwide conference of the chairmen of communal and city people's councils every four years and district conferences of the chairmen of communal and city people's councils, every two years.

The plenum resolved to submit these measures to the Grand National Assembly for approval.

8. On the last item of the agenda, the plenum adopted a number of organizational decisions.

As a result of steps to distribute personnel more effectively and strengthen the leadership of a number of district committees of the RCP, Iosif Banc and Ion Dinca were transferred to the posts of first secretary of the RCP committees of the Mures and Arges districts, respectively. In view of this, the plenum unanimously re-

solved to relieve them of the duties of secretaries of the CC RCP.

In view of the appointment of Aurel Duc to the post of ambassador, the plenum unanimously resolved to relieve him of the duties of alternate member of the CC RCP Executive Committee.

The plenum resolved to complement the CC RCP membership; with this end in view, it unanimously approved the promotion of Magdalena Filipas, alternate member of the CC RCP, chairman of the Federation of Light Industry Trade Unions, to full membership of the CC RCP.

The plenum unanimously resolved to increase the membership of the CC RCP Executive Committee from 21 to 23.

In line with the plenum resolution on the growing role of women in the country's political, economic and social life and on promoting them to leading posts, and on a motion of Emil Bodnaras, member of the Executive Committee, Standing Presidium of the CC RCP, the Central Committee unanimously elected Elena Ceausescu, General Director of the Central Chemical Research Institute, and Lina Cioban, First Secretary, Party Committee of the Second Bucharest Sector, to be members of the CC RCP Executive Committee.

The plenum unanimously elected Magdalena Filipas and Aurelia Danila, Chairman, Cluj District Committee of Women, to be alternate members of the CC RCP Executive Committee.

STATEMENTS

COMMUNIST PARTY STATEMENT (BANGLADESH)

Following is the slightly abridged text of a statement by the Central Secretariat of the Communist Party of Bangladesh published in Dacca, early June 1973.

To provoke a counter-revolutionary rebellion in Bangladesh, the U.S. imperialists, Maoist China, Pakistani agents and various extremist groups are campaigning for a "Moslem Bangladesh." Bhashani (leader of the National People's Party.—Ed.) and others talk openly of hoisting a different flag. Threats are used to incite rebellion, plunder and arson. The imperialists, Maoist China and Pakistani agents are pushing the country towards civil war because the rise of independent Bangladesh was a strong blow to the U.S. imperialists, Maoist China and the monopolies of Pakistan.

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The emergence of an independent Bangladesh brought about a revolutionary change which resulted in the overthrow of a government backed by the U.S. imperialists and Maoist China, and Bangladesh was able to withdraw from the U.S. imperialists' military blocs. The birth of Bangladesh, an independent and sovereign state, dealt a tremendous blow to the interests of the U.S. imperialists, Maoist China and Pakistan's monopolies.

After the winning of independence the government set out to effect a land reform and to nationalize the banks, insurance and industry. Its nationalization policy paved the way for revolutionary changes in our economy and embarked the country on non-capitalist development. Besides, in the course of the struggle for independence there developed alliance and friendship in the course of the (the country's democratic and patriotic.—Ed.) forces. Bangladesh adopted an independent foreign policy on the basis of neutrality. Friendship between India, the Soviet Union and Bangladesh and an independent foreign policy are the two pillars of the independent progress of Bangladesh.

The government's progressive policy strongly affected the interests of the imperialists, Maoist China and Pakistan's monopolies, and friendship between Bangladesh, India and the Soviet Union greatly reduced imperialist influence on the sub-continent.

That is why, ever since Bangladesh came into being, the imperialists and other reactionary forces have been plotting against the independence of Bangladesh, trying to disrupt friendship between India, the Soviet Union and Bangladesh. Maoist China, prompted by its narrow, selfish interests, engaged in this plotting for its part and stepped up anti-Soviet propaganda.

The war ravaged Bangladesh's economy and the food shortages of the early period are considerably worse now. Due to stagnation in transport, great difficulties have developed over deliveries of foodstuffs and other necessities. With the economy dislocated by the war, foodstuffs are in short supply and the situation is also critical in other sectors. The imperialists and other reactionaries threatening the independence of Bangladesh are resolved to make this crisis even more acute.

It is no easy task for the government to follow an effective policy for progress and national rehabilitation. If this policy is to succeed, all patriotic forces and the people as a whole must join efforts, and revolutionary changes must be effected in the structure of government and administration. Instead, corruption, nepotism, the infiltration of the civil service by anti-national elements, and shortcomings in management have aggravated the crisis. Corruption and abuses are common. As a result, those who carry on propaganda against the state, smugglers and hoarders have a new opportunity to continue their practices. Furthermore, the U.S.

imperialists and pro-Pakistani agents, collaborating with a section of our propertied class which has opposed the policy of nationalization from the first, systematically block production in the nationalized industries to aggravate the economic crisis. Taking advantage of the crisis, the imperialists, Maoist China and Pakistani agents in common with the National People's Party led by Bhashani and the Jatiya Samajtantrik Dal (National Socialist Party.—Ed.) are conducting an anti-Indian, anti-Soviet and religious communalist propaganda campaign to upset relations between India, the Soviet Union and Bangladesh so as to pave the way for the penetration of imperialist and Maoist influence.

Ever since the general election, religious communalist parties like Jamaate Islam or the Moslem League, and Pakistani agents like Al Badr have been campaigning under the protection of Bhashani and the NSP for a "Moslem Bangladesh," against India, openly threatening to stage religious communalist risings.

The U.S. imperialists, Maoist agents and Pakistani agents are hatching secret plans to provoke chaos, unrest and, if possible, civil war. The activity of Bhashani's NPP and the NSP plays into the hands of these agents.

The propaganda media of the state are proving unequal to the task of conducting propaganda against enemies of the state. This suggests that enemies have wormed their way into the civil service. We maintain that both must be rid of imperialist, Maoist and Pakistani agents.

The enemies of independence are carrying on their activities undisguised and yet the government takes no measures against them.

To ensure that independence, won at the cost of millions of lives, is preserved and that enemies are defeated, we call on all patriotic parties and organizations and on the people as a whole to launch a counter-offensive.

At the same time it is necessary to step up production and see to the proper distribution of output. To do this, the government needs the help of all patriotic forces and the people. With a view to defeating the imperialists, Maoists and Pakistani agents and overcoming the economic crisis, we call on the People's League, the National People's Party (of Muzaffar Ahmad.—Ed.) and other patriotic forces to evolve a common action plan.

We appeal in particular to the workers, peasants and other working people to foil all conspiracies against independence and increase output in every industry.

The Communist Party will use all its energies to defeat the U.S. imperialists, Maoists and Pakistani agents and frustrate attempts at spreading discord between religious communities. It urges all its organizations, supporters and members to proceed accordingly. Spe-

cial emphasis should be laid, therefore, on the use of conscious, patriotic elements and public opinion.

We call for meetings and demonstrations throughout the country to unmask the people's enemies.

Let us act in common to defeat the enemies of the state. Let us demand government action against them. Let us at the same time work together to overcome the economic crisis, expand the movement and implement concrete programs to achieve this goal.

MEMORANDUM OF CENTRAL COMMITTEE PATRIOTIC FRONT OF LAOS

Released in Hanoi on June 1 at a Press Conference by the Front's Legation in the DRV. Abridged text.

Strict fulfilment of the agreement on restoring peace and achieving national accord in Laos which was signed in Vientiane on February 21, 1973, is the duty of the signatories and the urgent demand of all segments of the multinational population of Laos and the desire of nations the world over who cherish peace and justice. The agreement states clearly that the United States and Thailand must respect the basic national rights of the Laotian people. This means that the United States and Thai authorities must abide by the provisions that concern them.

One hundred days have elapsed since the agreement was signed in Vientiane. Fully aware of its responsibility, the Patriotic Front of Laos — one of the signatories — immediately after the signing of the agreement scrupulously effected a ceasefire and ordered all troops under its command to observe the ceasefire. This order is being strictly implemented throughout the entire country.

In order to create favorable conditions for the fulfilment of the agreement and also complying with the request of the United States, the PFL handed over to the American side all the military personnel and civilians captured in Laos during the war. This transfer was completed long before the date set by Article 5 of the Vientiane agreement.

In accordance with Article 13 of the agreement which stipulates clearly that "the government of Vientiane and the patriotic forces pledge to fulfil this agreement and continue the negotiations for the fulfilment of all the articles on which agreement has been reached, and in order to settle the outstanding problems concerning both sides, in a spirit of equality and mutual understanding," the delegation of the patriotic forces immediately entered into talks with

a delegation of the Vientiane government on the concrete political and military problems referred to in the agreement. In order to facilitate the solution of these problems the Patriotic Front of Laos sent a representative of Prince Souphanouvong to Vientiane where he established contact and negotiated with Prince Souvauna Phouma and his spokesman and proposed a draft protocol to the agreement containing just and reasonable proposals concerning these concrete political and military problems.

All this shows that the patriotic forces have always strictly observed and fulfilled the Vientiane agreement and constantly worked for a rapid solution of unresolved problems to strengthen peace and achieve national accord. This correct stand of the patriotic forces has won the sympathy and approval of public opinion in the country and abroad.

In contrast to the correct stand of the patriotic forces, the United States and the Vientiane government are not fulfilling their obligations. From the very start they did not strictly and seriously abide by the Vientiane agreement. It is necessary to bring to the knowledge of public opinion in the country and abroad the fallacious position of the United States and the Vientiane government concerning fulfilment of the Vientiane agreement, particularly their grave responsibility for the present situation in Laos, and again to demonstrate the firm stand of the Laotian Patriotic forces.

The United States and the Vientiane government systematically violate the agreement and attempt to delay and impede the settlement of concrete political and military problems.

1. The United State continues its bombings and military interference in Laos.

By the middle of May 1973, according to incomplete data, various types of American planes carried out 5,200 reconnaissance and bombing missions over almost all regions controlled by the patriotic forces. American circles themselves reported that during the past month the United States spent approximately 100 million dollars on the tens of thousands of tons of bombs dropped over Laos.

Not only does the United States continue to bomb Laotian territory, it shows no intention of stopping its intervention and military interference in Laos, as provided for by the Vientiane agreement. Article 4 of this agreement sets the date for the complete withdrawal from Laos of all military personnel, of regular and irregular troops of foreign states. On April 9, however, the United States ordered its military advisors in various military organs of the Vientiane government to remain in Laos for an indefinite period of time. In the middle of March, the United States started "handing over" to the Vientiane government the personnel and equipment of Air America — a disguised American semi-military organization which directly helped the United States in waging a "special war"

in Laos. . . . Such is the irrefutable proof of the continuing presence of American military personnel and persistent U.S. military interference in Laos.

2. Acting under the protection of the United States, the troops of the Vientiane government, in cooperation with "special forces" and regular Thai troops, continue their military operations gravely violating the ceasefire agreement. The Vientiane government has not yet ordered a ceasefire and has not instituted proper measures to carry out an effective ceasefire. On the contrary, it orders its armed forces to continue carrying out earlier tasks. While the American planes continue their bombings, the Vientiane armed forces, together with regular Thai troops and the "special forces" built up and armed by the United States and under their command, systematically, from the north to the south of Laos, invade areas under the control of the patriotic forces and attack them. Prior to the middle of May, the Vientiane government, besides sending hundreds of "commando" units and spies into the liberated areas for subversion, violated the ceasefire agreement more than 300 times.

During these operations the patriotic armed forces captured many Thai officers and soldiers. These irrefutable facts show that the United States continues to use regular Thai troops as an important force in the military operations against areas controlled by the patriotic forces in violation of Article 2(b) of the Vientiane agreement which stipulates that "the armed forces of foreign states completely and finally stop all military operations in Laos."

There are no signs that the United States has withdrawn from Laos all regular Thai troops comprising almost 30 infantry and artillery battalions, as stipulated by Article 4 of the Vientiane agreement. . . . The operations cost the United States twenty six million dollars a year. At the present time the United States and Vientiane government are planning to include part of the regular Thai troops in the Vientiane army and continue recruiting new troops to beef up the Thai troops already in Laos. . . . The United States is also planning a gradual transfer of the military bases and installations of the "special forces" to the Vientiane government in order to avoid fulfilling Article 4 of the Vientiane agreement which states that the "special forces" organized, armed and trained by foreigners and under the command of foreigners, should be disbanded and all the bases, installations and positions of these forces be dismantled.

Besides the operations of invading territory, the Vientiane government, a signatory to the agreement, has stepped up its "pacification" activities in the regions under its control. To put this broad program into effect the Vientiane government has launched several mopping-up operations, particularly in the provinces along the

Laotian-Thai border. It resorts to numerous acts of terror, repression and reprisals against the population, gravely violating Article 1 (d) and Article 3 (c) of the agreement which provides that "all mopping-up operations, terror, repressions and encroachments on the lives and property of the population and all reprisals and acts of discrimination against those who cooperated with the other side during the war, are absolutely banned." The United States and the ultra-reactionaries have launched a program of suppression that is of strategic importance. For this purpose many top officials of the Vientiane administration are sent to South Vietnam to study the methods of repression against the population used by Nguyen Van Thieu's administration, and on returning they are sent to various regions to supervise the armed units as they carry out their "pacification" operations.

The bombings, invasion and pacification operations carried out by the United States and Vientiane government during the past three months have cost the lives of hundreds of civilians and inflicted heavy material damage on the population of both zones.

3. Under the pressure of the United States and the ultra-reactionaries, the Vientiane government is exerting great efforts to delay and impede the solution of the concrete political and military problems and change the spirit and letter of the Vientiane agreement. . . .

The delegation of the Vientiane government makes truly absurd demands. The majority of its proposals, with the exception of a few, which are a repetition of proposals made by the delegation of the patriotic forces, are meant to change the spirit and principles of the February 21, 1973 agreement in its main points. Consider the following:

(a) POLITICAL PROBLEMS

The National Alliance Provisional Government: the Vientiane government is trying to delay the settlement of this question by constantly changing its view on the composition of the government. First it suggests merging certain ministries, next it proposes dividing other ministries, and does not abide by any acceptable principles. With no valid argument against the principle of dividing the ministries equally between the two sides, it has tried, through repeated proposals and counter-proposals, to change the allocation of ministerial posts in a way that would give it most of the key posts in total disregard of the principle of equality of the two sides. In an obvious attempt to assure itself the posts of Premier and Vice-Premier in the National Alliance Provisional Government, it has rejected the fair and logical proposal of the patriotic forces delegation that if one side holds the post of Premier, the other side should have the Vice-Premiership. While demanding the Premiership, it has flatly refused to allow the patriotic forces the Vice-

Premiership, though the Vientiane agreement does in no case provide that the Premiership shall go to the Vientiane government. Its absurd demands are meant not only to gain an advantageous position, but also to revise the provisions agreed upon by the two sides on February 21, 1973.

With regard to the National Alliance Political Council the Vientiane government has made numerous proposals, all of them designed to limit the Council's functions, duties and activities, so as to denigrate its role and status, which are set out in the Vientiane agreement.

Concerning neutralization of the Royal capital Luang Prabang and the administrative capital Vientiane, the Vientiane government persistently rejects the patriotic forces' proposal that the sides should have an equal armed force to defend and guarantee the absolute security of the two cities and create favorable conditions for effective operation of the National Alliance Provisional Government in the interests of durable peace and national accord. The Vientiane government has consistently opposed this fair and logical proposal and the agreed principle that the security and defense of both cities should be the joint responsibility of the two sides. It has also rejected the essential condition for the effective neutrality of the two cities envisaged in the Vientiane agreement.

Concerning aid to refugees compelled to leave their villages during the war and their return, the Vientiane government is using every conceivable excuse to avoid a settlement. It has put forward many spurious arguments to conceal the fact that U.S. bombing and Vientiane terror forced hundreds of thousands of our citizens to leave their villages. They are now living in appalling conditions in the so-called "refugee camps" in areas controlled by the Vientiane government and are denied all economic and political rights.

(b) MILITARY PROBLEMS

The ceasefire is a crucial military problem. The Vientiane government refuses to carry out the essential ceasefire measures proposed by the patriotic forces, including delineation of disputed areas to prevent fresh conflict, on the basis of respect for areas controlled and administered by each side, as provided for in the Vientiane agreement. Delineation of these areas is essential for an effective ceasefire and effective control and prevention of violation, or threat of violation, of the ceasefire agreement.

(c) INTERNATIONAL SUPERVISORY AND CONTROL COMMISSION

Though the Vientiane agreement provides that "responsibility for fulfilment of this agreement shall lie mainly with the two Laotian sides," and that the "International Supervisory and Control Com-

mission set up under 1962 Geneva Agreements on Laos shall continue to operate in accordance with the tasks, authority and methods set out in the protocol to the above-mentioned Geneva agreements," the Vientiane government wants this commission to have functions, aims and powers that are incompatible with Laotian sovereignty and transcend the functions, aims and powers defined in the protocol to the 1962 Geneva agreement. The Vientiane government insists on enlarging the Commission to several times the size defined in the 1962 Geneva Agreement. The purpose behind these proposals is to convert the Commission into a mechanism that would curtail Laotian sovereignty. That, too, was the U.S. plan foiled by the 1961-62 Geneva Agreement on Laos. It should be perfectly clear that the Vientiane government's proposals are designed to undermine the letter and spirit not only of the Vientiane agreement, but also of the Geneva Agreement of 1962.

The ultra-reactionaries, egged on by the United States, want to exploit the so-called "national assembly" of the Vientiane side to undermine the political and juridical foundations of the Vientiane agreement. They are bringing pressure to bear on Prince Souvanna Phouma to make the agreement subject to ratification by the "national assembly." But everyone knows that the question of re-establishing peace and achieving national accord and all related questions must be settled by the two sides in Laos. The "national assembly" has no relation whatever to the agreement signed by the two sides and has no authority over that agreement.

Developments over the past 100 days show that the U.S. and the Vientiane government are grossly violating the agreement on peace and national accord.

Systematically sabotaging operation of the Vientiane agreement and the Paris agreement on Vietnam, and continuing its aggressive war in Cambodia, the United States is clinging to its plan of interfering in the internal affairs of Laos, Vietnam and Cambodia in an attempt to keep neo-colonialism alive in these countries.

This sabotage by the U.S. and the Vientiane government is preventing stability in Laos: peace has not been reestablished, national accord has not been achieved, the provisions agreed upon by the two sides on February 21, 1973 are not being carried out. The United States and the Vientiane government must bear full responsibility for the present state of affairs in Laos and for the procrastination and obstruction in carrying out the agreement on the re-establishment of peace and the achievement of national accord in Laos. They must bear responsibility for all the consequences of their sabotage.

POSITION OF PATRIOTIC FORCES UNCHANGED

The Central Committee of the Patriotic Front has time and again

set out the unchanged position of the patriotic forces, namely: strict adherence to and scrupulous fulfilment of the agreement on re-establishing peace and achieving national accord in Laos, coupled with the resolute demand that the United States and the Vientiane government do the same.

The patriotic forces demand that the United States fully end its bomb attacks and all other air-force operations, stop the military intervention in Laos and fully respect the basic national rights of the Laotian people, as provided for by the Vientiane agreement. The patriotic forces demand that the United States and the Vientiane government scrupulously observe the ceasefire, end all military attacks and operations by the Vientiane army and the Thai regular troops and "special" forces against areas controlled by the patriotic forces.

The patriotic forces call on the Vientiane government to get free from pressure by the U.S. and the ultra-reactionaries, desist from its attempts to hold back adjustment of concrete military and political problems, resume serious negotiations for an early agreement with the patriotic forces on a protocol to the Vientiane agreement in order immediately to form a National Alliance Provisional Government and a National Coalition Political Council, and thus prepare the ground for settlement of all other outstanding questions.

The patriotic forces will exert every effort for early fulfilment, in accordance with the Vientiane agreement, of agreed measures to bring peace to Laos, Indochina and the whole of Southeast Asia.

The Central Committee of the Patriotic Front is firmly convinced that all sections of the Laotian people will cement their unity and redouble their efforts in defense of peace and for national accord, will thwart all acts of sabotage of the Vientiane agreement by the U.S. and the ultra-reactionaries.

The Central Committee of the Patriotic Front hopes the peoples and governments that stand for peace and justice will be more insistent in demanding stringent observance and scrupulous fulfilment of the Vientiane agreement by the United States and the Vientiane government, and will continue to support the Laotian people in their fight for peace and national accord.

STATEMENT OF NATIONAL FRONT, PEOPLE'S DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF YEMEN

On June 10-16, the Central Committee of the National Front held

its fourth plenum to discuss problems of home and foreign policy, organizational and other activities of the National Front.

The following is a summary of a statement for the press made in Aden on June 18 by Abdel Fattah Ismail, General Secretary of the NF Central Committee.

The Central Committee gave much attention to the present situation of Democratic Yemen in the light of the "new events in this region."

The plenum discussed in detail the reports submitted by the Political Bureau on organizational, political, economic, military and social problems and also on questions concerning the "present and future of the people of Yemen." On the political plane, the Central Committee expressed its satisfaction with the development of relations between the National Front and other democratic forces in the country. It was stressed that unity of the national democratic groups becomes particularly important because the "dangers and intrigues confronting the Yemeni people in both parts can be countered only by stepping up our people's struggle and redoubling efforts in realizing the agreement on unity."

The Central Committee pointed to the growing activity of the imperialist powers, the "puppet regimes in the Arabian Peninsula and Iran" to protect their oil interests by "broadening the zone of foreign military bases and establishing control over the Indian Ocean and main sea routes."

The Central Committee confirmed its "resolute and constant support for the struggle of the people of Oman and the Persian Gulf, waged under the leadership of the People's Front for the Liberation of Oman and the Persian Gulf." It was stressed that all national forces in the gulf zone must realize the necessity for unity so as to "be able to mobilize all their energy and step up the struggle against mounting imperialist activity."

On organizational matters, the Central Committee emphasized the need to strengthen the political organization of the National Front by creating and developing its branches in the provinces, regions and localities, and likewise the necessity of exerting greater effort in fulfilling resolutions and other documents of the Fifth National Front Congress and resolutions of the third CC plenary meeting on organizational questions.

The Central Committee reviewed the trade union movement in the country, which, according to the statement, "is not following the proper course of ensuring activity of the Yemeni working class, its unity and role of leader of the Yemeni revolution at the present stage." With consideration for this, the Central Committee approved decisions providing for the "creation of a better democratic atmosphere in the top organs of the trade union movement in order to give the working class an opportunity to elevate its position, help-

ing it to play an active part in leading the struggle for realization of the tasks of the national-democratic revolution."

In the economic field, the Central Committee called on the National Front, leading party and state functionaries and the people to mobilize their energy, material and human resources to increase production and develop the national economy. It was stressed that the ruling National Front plays a guiding role in creating a healthy national economy and improving the people's living standards. The Central Committee believes it vital to ensure all the required conditions for the fulfilment of the next five-year economic development plan being drafted at present with the friendly aid of Soviet economists.

In the military sphere, the Central Committee discussed the Politbureau report on the setting up of a people's militia. A decision was approved on the basic principles for the establishment of people's militia units at all industrial enterprises, state corporations and offices in the republic.

The Central Committee also discussed the country's security in view of the "present events and the mounting imperialist and reactionary plots against Democratic Yemen," stressing the "need to mobilize the people's efforts, prepare and organize the people in order to be able to oppose any plots against the revolution."

MEETINGS

JOINT COMMUNIQUE* OF FRENCH COMMUNIST PARTY AND COMMUNIST PARTY OF BELGIUM

The French Communist Party and Communist Party of Belgium had a meeting in Brussels on June 7 and 8, 1973.

The FCP delegation was composed of Guy Besse, member of the Political Bureau, Léon Lesschaeve, member of the Central Committee, and Guy Pelachaud and Roger Trugnan, staff members of the Central Committee.

The CPB delegation was composed of Louis Van Geyt, Chairman, Jean Debrouwère, Augustin Duchateau and Marcel Levaux, members of the Political Bureau, and Jacques Nagels, member of the Central Committee.

A deep-going exchange of views, held in an atmosphere of warm

*L'Humanité, June 13, 1973.

brotherhood, revealed the community of interests of the working class and the peoples of the two countries. The general crisis of capitalism affects the whole system and its consequences are becoming ever more unbearable for the working people in terms of living and working conditions. In Belgium and France as in all other capitalist countries of Europe, the monopoly integration of the EEC, the formation of multinational companies, inflation, job insecurity and repercussions of the international monetary crisis aggravate the difficulties of the working population. Class struggles are gaining in scope in both countries. The present situation is characterized by growing unity and a will for joint action.

These struggles are bound to intensify, all the more since progress in détente creates a more favorable climate for the action of the working class, its organizations and the democratic forces. While imperialism has had to effect a decisive retreat and is compelled to admit that peaceful coexistence is the basis for relations between states, the Nixon plan for a new Atlantic Charter is aimed at immobilizing the world within inviolable blocs. Accordingly, U.S. imperialism wants to establish its economic, political and military domination over Western Europe. This is also the meaning of projects advanced by the ruling quarters of Belgium and France, which are out to make more inroads into the sovereignty of nations through greater political integration in the EEC.

Both parties' joint action is directed against big capital, which shifts the effects of the crisis onto the shoulders of the working people by exploiting them still more and by restricting democracy and the peoples' economic and political independence. All the working people of the capitalist countries of Europe, all Communists, Socialists and Democrats, have a big stake in fighting for a working people's democratic Europe, a Europe of security and cooperation. The Communist Party of Belgium and the French Communist Party, for their part, declare that they are ready to engage firmly in a search for and the implementation of joint initiatives by the Communist and Socialist parties, as well as by forces representing the Christian masses.

The two parties decided to take appropriate steps to strengthen their cooperation and fraternal relations, so as to promote joint action by the working men and women and the peoples on the level of their respective countries and of Europe.

Brussels, June 8, 1973.

MEETINGS WITH BRITISH LABOR PARTY DELEGATION

At the invitation of the Soviet Academy of Sciences Institute of World Economy and International Relations, a delegation of the British Labor Party Executive visited the Soviet Union from June 4 to 11, 1973. The delegation was composed of William Simpson, Labor Party Chairman (delegation leader); Ron Hayward, General Secretary; Edward Short, deputy leader of the Labor Party, MP; Ian Mikardo, Chairman, International Committee of the Labor Party, MP; John Chalmers, Chairman, Organizing Committee of the Executive; Joan Lestor, member of the Executive, MP; and Tom McNally, Secretary, International Committee of the Executive.

The delegation had a meeting at the CC CPSU with M. A. Suslov, member of the Political Bureau and Secretary of the CC CPSU, Chairman, Foreign Affairs Commission, Soviet of the Union, Supreme Soviet of the USSR; B. N. Ponomarev, alternate member of the Political Bureau and Secretary of the CC CPSU, Chairman, Foreign Affairs Commission, Soviet of Nationalities, Supreme Soviet of the USSR; Academician N. N. Inozemtsev, alternate member, CC CPSU, Director, Institute of World Economy and International Relations, Academy of Sciences of the USSR; A. S. Chernayev, deputy head, International Department of the CC CPSU.

The Labor Party delegation had a meeting at the Soviet Ministry of Foreign Affairs with A. A. Gromyko, member, Political Bureau of the CC CPSU, Minister for Foreign Affairs of the USSR. They discussed problems of European security and British-Soviet relations.

Interparliamentary relations which make for an atmosphere of understanding and cooperation between countries, were the theme of a conversation which the delegation had with A. P. Shitikov, member of the CC CPSU, Chairman, Soviet of the Union, Supreme Soviet of the USSR.

The role of the Party and government press was discussed in a conversation with M. V. Zimyanin, Chief Editor of *Pravda*, member of the CC CPSU, and members of the *Pravda* editorial board.

The delegation visited the Soviet Academy of Sciences Institute of World Economy and International Relations, where detailed and extensive discussions took place on a number of topical international problems and on Soviet-British relations.

At the Ministry of Foreign Trade and the State Committee of the Council of Ministers of the USSR for Science and Technology, the delegation had a detailed discussion of the state of British-Soviet

trade. Both sides voiced confidence that the time has come for new efforts to study the possibilities of mutual cooperation.

During the conversations at the CC CPSU and the Soviet Foreign Ministry, both sides stressed that the achievement of a lasting peace presupposed renunciation of the use or the threat of force, cessation of the arms race and the adoption of practical disarmament measures, including a ban on nuclear weapons for all time and that the mutual reduction of armed forces and armaments in Europe, without infringing the security of interested states, would be of great importance for peace.

The Labor Party delegation said that the British Labor Party was in favor of the calling of the All-European Conference on Security and Cooperation this summer, and the idea of setting up at the conference a standing body on security and cooperation in Europe. It acclaimed the treaties between the FRG and the USSR, Poland and GDR. The delegation, which thinks highly of the results of L. I. Brezhnev's visit to the FRG, expressed the view that the coming visit of the General Secretary of the CC CPSU to the USA will greatly benefit international relations.

The delegation emphasized the high priority the Labor Party attached to a successful outcome of talks on force reductions.

Both sides expressed their deep satisfaction over the ending of the war in Vietnam and declared their readiness to contribute in every way to the achievement of a lasting peace in Indochina. The statement said that it was the common concern of all progressive forces that an early settlement of the situation in the Middle East should be achieved on the basis of the November 1967 Security Council resolution.

The delegation had conversations at the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions, Ministry of Education of the Russian Federation and Economic Research Institute of the State Planning Committee of the USSR on Soviet methods of economic planning and management, the activity of Soviet trade unions, and the training and education of youth.

In the course of the discussions, a point of view was expressed that there were considerable possibilities for cooperation in the sphere of culture and exchange of ideas, for an increase in the flow of information, and contacts among nations, if this was done in the spirit of mutual respect and non-interference in each other's affairs. The conversations and exchange of opinions showed, the statement said, that there were real possibilities for improving British-Soviet relations in the interests of peace and a détente, in the interests of extending the traditions of friendship between the working people of Great Britain and the Soviet Union. The Labor Party delegation voiced its readiness to facilitate in every

way the development of political, economic, scientific, technical and cultural cooperation between the two countries, which would promote a stabilization of the situation in Europe and the development of positive tendencies in international affairs.

All the talks were conducted in a frank and friendly atmosphere, the statement said. At the same time, on a number of questions, the CPSU and the British Labor Party hold different views which reflect the differences in their ideological positions.

The delegation made a trip to Leningrad. It acquainted itself with objects of culture and art and had informal talks with local Party and trade union leaders. On behalf of the Labor Party, Party Chairman William Simpson laid a wreath at the Mother Country memorial as a tribute to the memory of those who gave their lives defending Leningrad during World War II.

Both sides declared for continuing contacts. With this aim in view, the British Labor Party delegation invited a Soviet delegation to pay a return visit to Britain in 1974.

Pravda, June 12, 1973.

AT THE CPSU CENTRAL COMMITTEE*

On June 14, M. A. Suslov, member of the Political Bureau and Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, B. N. Ponomarev, candidate member of the Political Bureau and Secretary of the CC CPSU, and E. I. Kuskov, member of the Central Auditing Commission and First Deputy Head of the International Department of the CPSU Central Committee met at the CPSU Central Committee with a delegation from the Communist Party of Colombia, which included G. Vieira, General Secretary of the Party, J. Villegas, member of the Executive Committee and Party Secretary, and Central Committee member Herrera.

During the talks which were held in a sincere and friendly atmosphere, the guests described the activities of the progressive forces in Colombia and the struggle of the Communists for the vital needs of the working people, their democratic rights, for the country's national interests and for closer friendship and cooperation between the people of Colombia and the Soviet Union. They noted the growing unity of the Latin American peoples in protecting their independence and defending the national wealth from plunder by foreign monopolies, in solidarity actions with revolutionary Cuba, the peoples of Chile, Peru and other Latin American countries following the road of progress and social transformations.

The representatives of the CPSU dwelt on the Soviet people's

**Pravda*, June 16, 1973.

devoted effort in fulfilling the historic decisions of the 24th CPSU Congress, CPSU activities in implementing the Peace Program, and the results of the April Plenum of the CC CPSU which discussed the international activities of the CC CPSU. It was stressed that the CPSU was unswervingly adhering to Leninist principles in foreign policy. The Soviet Union would continue developing friendship and cooperation with the Latin American peoples.

The representatives of the CP of Colombia highly praised the Soviet Union's foreign policy, which facilitates positive changes in the international situation, a relaxation of world tensions and which is in the interests of world socialism and the peace-loving forces. They stressed that the creative labor of the Soviet people advancing to communism evokes the admiration of working people the world over, inspires the progressive and democratic forces to work for peace and social progress.

The delegations of the CPSU and the CP of Colombia noted the great harm to peace and socialism caused by the anti-Soviet, splitting activities of the Peking leadership and underscored the need to further consolidate the unity of the international Communist movement on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, and pointed to the importance of the struggle against manifestations of opportunism in any form.

Both sides declared in favor of further strengthening of the friendly ties between the CPSU and the Communist Party of Colombia and between the peoples of the two countries.

COMMUNIQUE ON VISIT OF DELEGATION FROM THE CP OF AUSTRIA TO THE GDR

At the invitation of the CC of the SUPG a delegation of the CC of the CP of Austria, headed by its Chairman, Franz Muhri, visited the GDR. A joint communique on the results of the visit appeared in *Neues Deutschland* and *Volksstimme* of the 17th June. It reads in part:

During its stay in the GDR, the Austrian delegation met the First Secretary of the CC SUPG, Erich Honecker. There was also a wide-ranging exchange of views with the delegation of the CC SUPG, headed by Hermann Axen, member of the Political Bureau and Secretary of the CC SUPG. In the course of the discussions agreements were reached on steps for further cooperation between the two parties.

The delegation learned from H. Axen how the decisions of the Eighth SUPG Congress were being implemented in various spheres of social life on the basis of the decisions of the Ninth Plenum of

the SUPG Central Committee. The Austrian delegation paid high tribute to the achievements of the working people of the GDR in building a developed socialist society, and noted the growing influence of socialism on the struggle of the working people in capitalist countries.

F. Muhri dwelt in detail on the politico-ideological and organizational activities of the CPA, whose purpose is to strengthen still further the Party's capacity for struggle and to unite the ranks of the Communists on the basis of the Leninist principles of democratic centralism. The fulfillment of this task is closely linked with the fight against all reactionary forces and against the policy and ideology of "social partnership" propagated by the Right leaders of the Austrian Socialist Party which plays a decisive role in buttressing the government of state-monopoly. The CPA takes the view that a stronger Marxist-Leninist party is the most reliable factor for creating unity in action of the Austrian working class in its efforts to defend its standard of living, and to consolidate the permanent neutrality and independence of Austria, for peace, democracy and socialism.

Both delegations expressed satisfaction at the establishment of diplomatic relations between their countries, emphasizing the need for expanding political, economic, cultural and other relations by the conclusion of appropriate agreements. The Austrian delegation emphasized that the recognition of the realities of the European situation, particularly the peace-loving, socialist GDR, is of tremendous significance in maintaining Austrian neutrality. The delegations also called for the immediate admission of the GDR to the United Nations.

Both delegations expressed the highest approval of the recent successes registered in the international field which were based on the principles of peaceful coexistence and the Peace Program of the 24th Congress of the CPSU.

The results of the Helsinki multilateral consultations on preparations for an all-European Conference on security and cooperation were also seen as positive achievements and the delegations expressed the hope that the all-European Conference due to open on 3rd July would establish a sound basis for lasting peace in Europe.

The Parties both continue to be vigilant insofar as reactionary and revanchist circles are concerned, and will work jointly for consolidating the progress already achieved and the fundamental change for peace and international security that is taking place.

Both parties were of the opinion that the successes won in the struggle for peace, democracy and socialism confirmed the statement of the International Meeting of Communist and Workers'

Parties held in June 1969 that the immediate task was to raise the unity of the international Communist movement to a higher stage.

They reiterated their determination to continue to work for the unity and cohesion of the Communist movement on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. Both Parties regard unshakeable friendship with the CPSU and the country of Lenin as the touchstone of loyalty to proletarian internationalism.

The Parties will help each other in more aggressive Marxist-Leninist propaganda and explanation of the historical achievements of the existing socialism. They decisively condemn the great-power, chauvinist and anti-Soviet policy of the Chinese leadership directed against the interests of all socialist countries, and the entire world Communist movement and all peoples.

The victory of the Vietnamese people over American imperialism was seen as further evidence of the superiority of the forces of socialism and peace over the forces of reaction and war. The delegations called for action by all progressive forces to demand the implementation of the Paris agreements by the U.S. and Thieu regimes, and to insist that there be an end to imperialist aggression in Laos and Cambodia. They reaffirmed their support of the Arab peoples and expressed solidarity with all peoples fighting for national and social liberation.

COMMUNIQUE* ON VISIT OF A CPSU DELEGATION TO BELGIUM

A delegation of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union visited Belgium at the invitation of the Belgian Socialist Party, from June 12 to 19, 1973. The visit was in the furtherance of the contacts started last November during the visit to the USSR by a BSP delegation headed by the Party Chairman.

While in Belgium, the CPSU delegation visited Brussels, Antwerp, Liege and Bruges, where it was afforded the opportunity of acquainting itself with the organizations and work of the BSP and the various aspects of Belgian social and economic life. The representatives of the CPSU were pleased to note that all the meetings were held in a cordial atmosphere.

The CPSU delegation was received at the BSP Bureau. During the talks held in a friendly and sincere atmosphere the two sides exchanged views on problems of mutual interest. The CPSU was represented at the talks by M. V. Zimyanin, member of the CPSU Central Committee and Editor-in-Chief of the newspaper *Pravda*,

**Pravda*, June 20, 1973.

who headed the delegation; Academician N. N. Inozemtsev, CC CPSU alternate member; I. M. Vladychenko, CC CPSU alternate member and Secretary of the Central Council of Trade Unions, V. V. Zagladin, member of the CPSU Central Auditing Commission and Deputy Head of the International Department of the CC CPSU, Y. N. Pankov, Head of a sector at the International Department. The BSP delegation included BSP Chairman J. Van Eynde and A. Cools, BSP Bureau member V. Larock, BSP National Secretary J. Lyuten, and other high-ranking functionaries.

Both delegations agreed that of late the forces of peace had achieved new and significant successes in various parts of the world and particularly in Europe. The top level talks and treaties and agreements signed in 1970 permit the hope that today there are opportunities to turn Europe into a continent of peace.

The delegations of the CPSU and BSP state their agreement with the principles of peace and cooperation which were recorded during the preliminary multilateral consultations in Helsinki. They believe that the first stage of the conference on European security and cooperation should be followed without any undue delay by others, making it possible to bring the conference to a successful conclusion.

Both delegations also voiced their satisfaction with the consultations being held in recent months in Vienna to prepare the ground for negotiations on a mutual and controlled reduction of armed forces and armaments in Central Europe, a reduction which should not be detrimental to the security of the states concerned.

Both delegations note with satisfaction that it is possible for countries with differing political systems to create conditions and find ways of consolidating a relaxation of tensions. In these new conditions many opportunities emerge for cooperation in the field of culture and for an exchange of ideas and for extending the flow of information, for contacts between peoples on the basis of mutual respect for the laws and traditions of each country and the principle of non-interference in each other's affairs.

Both delegations express the certainty that further development of relations between the USSR and Belgium, particularly their economic cooperation, fully meets the interests of both nations. They therefore hail the development of exchanges between the two countries within the framework of the trade treaty between the USSR and Belgium and with due consideration for the new opportunities existing in this area. The delegations believe it useful to study methods that could promote the development of economic ties among European countries on a bilateral or multilateral basis.

In confirmation of the positions expressed during the visit to the USSR by a BSP delegation in November 1972, both delegations

believe it possible and necessary to reach joint agreements in the course of future contacts on measures to strengthen peace and social progress. Both delegations hold that recent events have confirmed the correctness of their constructive actions and vigilance for the good of peace. They reaffirm the joint communique released in November 1972 and note the need for joint action by democratic and progressive forces.

The CPSU delegation invited a BSP delegation to visit the USSR. The invitation was accepted.

FROM THE PARTY PRESS

TO COMBAT THE SECRET PLAN

A statement* by Henry Winston, Chairman, and Gus Hall, General Secretary, said: "The 1970 Plan for extending illegal surveillance reveals how Nixon was using and continues to use the attack against the Communist Party to launch a police state takeover of the entire government, to destroy the liberties of all the American people.

"It further reveals the full mobilization by Nixon of a whole series of agencies to impose his fascist-like program against the American people by first starting out against the Communist Party.

"The character of the documents thus far makes it urgent that the people demand a full disclosure and that action be taken against all those responsible for this and the whole Watergate conspiracy."

The secret 1970 plan for the Interagency Group on Domestic Intelligence and Internal Security provides for establishment of a totalitarian general staff in the White House under the direction of President Nixon.

The plan programs an offensive against anti-war and Black liberation groups, against students and men in the armed forces, against the Communist Party USA.

The plan provides explicitly for the initiation and expansion of admittedly illegal actions, in violation of the Bill of Rights and of federal law.

The "target," the creation of a national police-state general staff, was "established" by the President.

The plan is to prepare action against the people "in the cities or on the campuses or within the military establishment," the latter a clear reference to the anti-Vietnam-war sentiment in the U.S. Army.

The plan lays the foundation for a putschist takeover of the

*Daily World, June 8, 1973.

United States government.

The protection of the nation demands, therefore, an immediate and all-out counterattack by the American people, by all Constitutional bodies against the would-be putschists.

Under the 1970 plan the inter-agency organization is to include the "civilian" agencies, that is, the Federal Bureau of Investigation, the Central Intelligence Agency and the National Security Agency, as well as the military organizations of the Defense Intelligence Agency.

The inclusion of the military intelligence agencies means creating new ties between the White House and the military establishment for not only police-state operations but for possible use of the Pentagon's military power in a take-over attempt.

The manpower of these institutions is to be expanded. The "number of campus sources" of espionage is to be increased, including the recruitment of stool pigeons and agents provocateurs "below 21 years of age."

The program directs the "intelligence community . . . to intensify coverage of individuals and groups in the United States" on the grounds that they "pose a major threat to the internal security." The targets are specified as the Communist Party USA, the Black Panthers, the campus "protest movement"; also cited are "campus and student-related groups" and "American students 'and others' travelling or living abroad."

The secret memorandum spells out the determination of the Nixon administration to rely for support on the police-state and military intelligence agencies, against even the civilian "bureaucracy."

The secret plan, allegedly addressed to the "security of the country," is a plan for violating the Bill of Rights, subverting the Constitution, abolishing democratic processes, and establishing a police-state.

The "existence and purposes" of the police-state group were to be kept secret from the American people. Operations of, and the papers originating with, the group "are to be classified 'Top secret'."

The revelation of part of the contents of the secret White House plan for a top police-state agency in the White House confirms the urgency of creating at once a coalition of people's leaders to coordinate the struggle for the defense of democracy, of the Bill of Rights, and for the Constitutional government structure.

The exposure of the secret plan and the numerous Watergate inquiries now under way are no guarantee that Nixon has abandoned his program for what is virtually a putschist takeover of the government through the intelligence agencies and the military. At stake is literally the fate of our country. That demands the maximum of effort by the rank and file of labor, of all working people.

