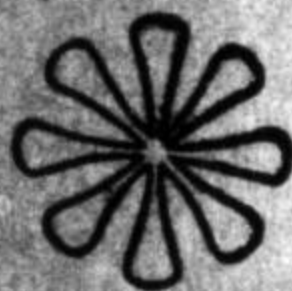


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**L. I. BREZHNEV
SPEECH TO
WORLD CONGRESS
OF PEACE FORCES**



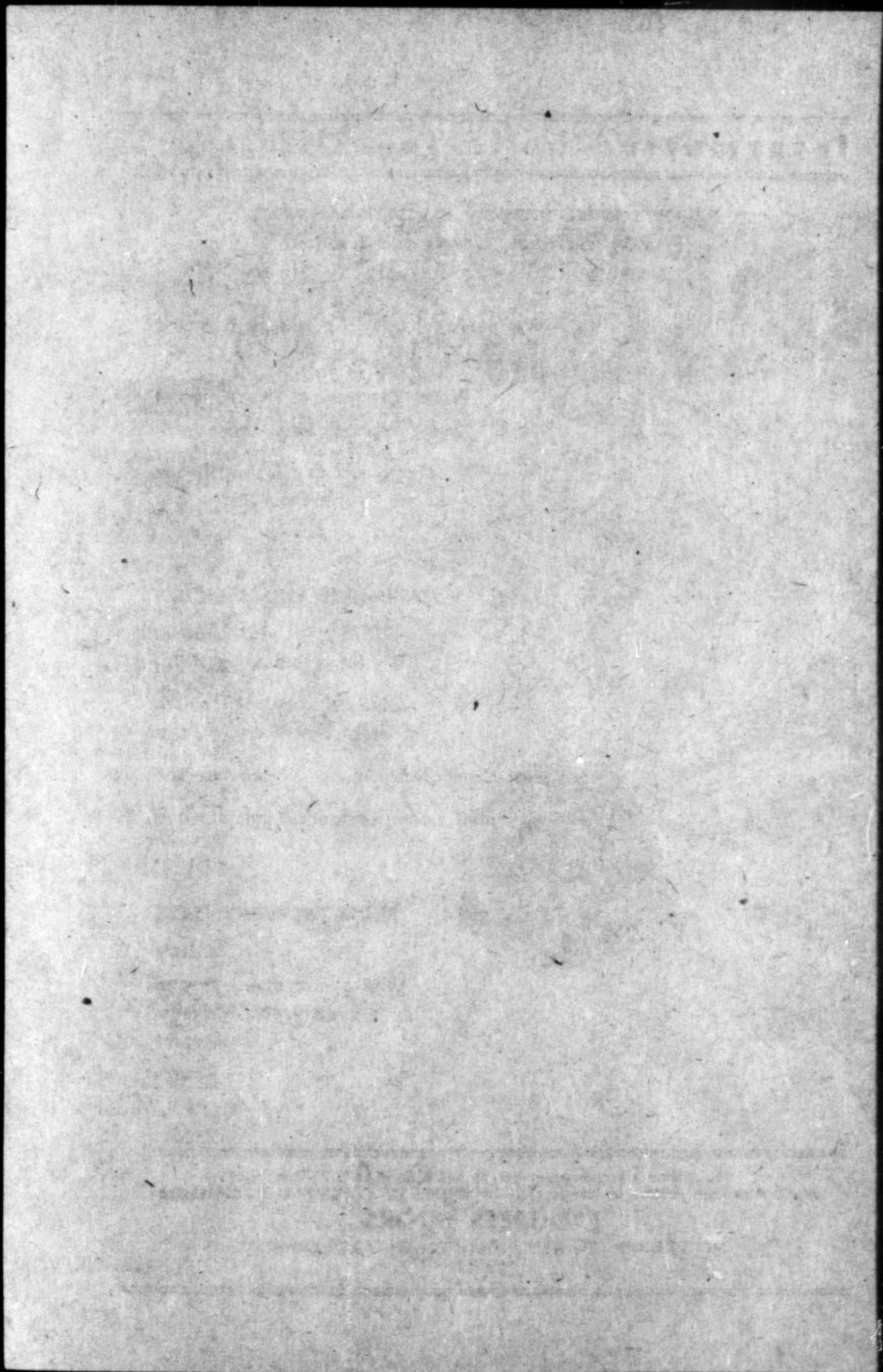
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ON PEACE IN
MIDDLE EAST**



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WORLD CONGRESS OF PEACE FORCES

The World Congress of Peace Forces, which convened in Moscow on October 25-31, 1973, was the broadest forum in the history of social movements, attracting representatives of 120 international and more than 1,100 national organizations and movements in 143 countries.

In their joint Communique, the delegates to the Congress said:

"Seven days of frank discussion in the spirit of a constructive dialogue, taking into account various attitudes, enabled us to make a comprehensive examination of urgent and difficult problems of the present day.

"The World Congress has been an important milestone in the development of the efforts of the peoples for the defense and the building of peace. It has made an invaluable contribution toward greater understanding and cooperation among organizations holding very different political and other views. This will give fresh impetus to common action.

"Together we have considered what can and must be done in this situation by the peace forces through the power of world opinion. We have come to the conclusion that it is necessary to take vigorous and concerted action, leaving aside all that divides us, to help foster the progress now under way toward peace and security. Drawing upon their fruitful work, the 14 Commissions of the Congress summed up the positive results of their discussions and conclusions and worked out a common approach to problems, whose successful solution, we are certain, will be the guarantee that the successes achieved in the 1970s will lead to a durable peace on our planet."

The Communique presents the Congress delegates' common approach to matters which they regard as cardinal, namely: peaceful coexistence and international security, Indochina, the Middle East, security and cooperation in Europe, peace and security in Asia, disarmament, the national liberation movement, the fight against colonialism and racism, development and economic independence, protection of the environment, cooperation in the field of education and culture, economic, scientific and technical cooperation, social progress and human rights, co-

operation between inter-governmental and non-governmental organizations, and solidarity with Chile.

In conclusion, the Communique said:

"We are convinced that our common approach can and should be a good and effective basis for fruitful and agreed action by all who not only want peace, but also intend to work for peace.

"Time does not wait. The efforts of governments alone are insufficient to create a system of international relations in which war would be impossible and all the peoples and states could enjoy to the fullest the benefits of peace and the fruits of modern civilization and the scientific and technical revolution. Everyone on earth has a stake in this.

"Time does not wait. We trust that the Congress will lay a sound foundation and give a powerful impetus to concerting the efforts of all peace forces for international security and disarmament, national independence, cooperation and peace.

"Time does not wait."

The delegates unanimously adopted an "Appeal of the World Congress of Peace Forces," a statement "For the Implementation of the Security Council Resolutions of October 22 and 23, 1973," and a resolution "Follow up Action."

The General Secretary of the CC CPSU, Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, addressed the World Congress of Peace Forces on October 26. The full text of his speech, published in *Pravda* on October 27, follows:

FOR A JUST, DEMOCRATIC PEACE, FOR THE SECURITY OF NATIONS AND INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION

SPEECH BY L. I. BREZHNEV

**General Secretary, CPSU Central Committee
at the World Congress of Peace Forces on October 26, 1973**

Dear friends, dear guests, comrades,

I am sincerely glad of this opportunity to extend heartfelt greetings to you, representatives of the world's peace forces, on behalf of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the whole Soviet people.

Yesterday our friend Romesh Chandra and delegates from a number of authoritative international organizations spoke from this rostrum warm and kindly words about our country and about its international policy, for which we are deeply grateful. The decision to choose Moscow, our capital, as the venue for the work of the Congress, will serve as a stimulus to all Soviet people further to strengthen the struggle for peace, the freedom and security of the nations.

The history of the public peace movement abounds in inspiring examples, but I should like to concur with the opinion already voiced here, that there has never yet been an international forum on such a scale, nor an assembly so representative as this World Congress of Peace Forces.

Gathered in this hall are delegations of peace fighters from the socialist countries, the capitalist countries and the developing countries.

In this hall are representatives of various political trends: Communists, our brothers in the struggle for a better future on the globe; Social Democrats; representatives of revolutionary-democratic parties and national-liberation movements. Also present here are leaders of political parties of other directions. Politically unaffiliated men and women deeply concerned for the future of their nations are also present. Atheists and religious people have gathered here together.

Among those present we find workers, farmers, scientists, artists, representatives of all sections of the intelligentsia, that is, men and women whose hands and brains, and whose creative inspiration produce all the material and spiritual values of the world. Peace

and labor have always been linked since time immemorial. Exploitation and oppression have bred wars, while the working man has always ultimately been the source of peace. Peace is what this man needs most of all, whether operating a machine tool or a smelting furnace, whether driving a tractor or erecting a building, whether lecturing in the university auditorium or doing research in the laboratory.

Among those taking part in the Congress there are also businessmen from the capitalist countries representing groups which stand for mutually advantageous economic cooperation by all the countries of the world. This provides fresh evidence of the broad base on which the lofty movement of the peace forces rests.

I should like to make special mention of a new and, in our opinion, welcome development, namely, the participation in the Congress of Peace Forces of representatives of the United Nations and also of its committees and specialized agencies. This, we hold, is a natural development, because the main purposes and tasks of the United Nations, as written into its Charter, are identical with the purposes and aspirations of this Congress: in every way to promote world peace and fruitful cooperation among states and nations.

Dear friends, for many centuries men — at least the wisest among them — never tired of condemning and cursing war. The peoples had visions of lasting peace, but almost every page in the history of mankind is marred by the sinister reflection of the flames of wars, big and small.

Neither the lessons of history, nor what would appear to be man's natural aversion to killing his like have ever prevented new bloodbaths, because the forces of war, the role of those who stood to gain from war, were too great.

In our epoch the state of affairs has changed fundamentally. Today, the struggle against war has a reliable basis in the might of the forces of peace, the forces of democracy, and the freedom and independence of nations.

Esteemed participants in the Congress, on behalf of the 250-million Soviet people, on behalf of its Communist Party and the Soviet Government, I assure you that it is one of the principal concerns of our state to consolidate peace.

"Peace to the peoples!" was one of the main slogans under which the working people of this country carried out the October Revolution at the height of the First World War 56 years ago. Indeed, the Decree on Peace, written by V. I. Lenin, was the first legislative act of the world's first socialist state.

Addressing that historic document not only to the governments, but also to the peoples of all countries, the worker-peasant govern-

ment of Soviet Russia expressed our country's unwavering aspiration to a just and democratic peace. I emphasize: to a peace that is just, a peace that is democratic, that is, a peace based on respect for the rights and interests of all peoples. And in the years since the Great October Revolution we have always steadily and consistently worked to bring about the triumph of just such a peace in the world.

The Soviet people, who lost over 20 million of their fellow-citizens in the fight against fascism, are well aware of what war is like and of the innumerable calamities it holds in store for the people. For us Soviet people the Great Patriotic War was not only a struggle for our country's freedom and independence. It was also a battle to save world civilization, a battle for a just peace in the future. Throughout the postwar period, the Soviet Union has tirelessly worked for lasting peace and the security of nations.

The consistently peaceable policy of the CPSU and the Soviet state is epitomized at the present stage by the Peace Program of the 24th Congress of our Communist Party. Putting forward this Program, we felt that it was our task to help eliminate the hotbeds of tension, to assist mankind in getting rid of the spectre of a thermonuclear holocaust, and to promote a relaxation of tension in every possible way. And we have been working and will continue ceaselessly to work for these lofty goals, for the benefit of the whole of laboring mankind.

I.

Dear friends, your Congress has met at a highly important and responsible time in history.

In the past few years, the peoples' long and persistent struggle against the outbreak of another world war, and for lasting peace and international security has yielded important successes.

To speak of the main point, the danger of worldwide nuclear-missile war, which first loomed over mankind back in the second half of the 1940s, has begun to recede, while the prospects for maintaining world peace are becoming better and more reliable than they were 10 or 12 years ago. That is something we can say quite confidently.

The principles of the peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems are winning ever broader recognition. They are being filled with ever more concrete content and are gradually turning into a generally accepted standard of international relations.

In particular, significant changes have come about of late in the relations of the socialist countries with the West European countries — with France, which was one of the first to adopt the course of constructive cooperation among states with different social sys-

tems, the Federal Republic of Germany, Italy, and some other countries. Among the most significant indications of the change for the better in international relations are the treaties concluded by the Soviet Union, Poland and the GDR with the Federal Republic of Germany. All of you know that these treaties are based on the recognition of the inviolability of the existing frontiers and contain commitments to refrain from the use of force in international issues.

All this has unquestionably improved the situation in Europe, the continent where both world wars broke out. And the European Conference is a concentrated expression of the positive changes. The fact that this Conference, for which the progressive forces of the continent worked for so long, is taking place, that practically all the European countries, the United States and Canada are taking part in it, and matters relating to European peace and security, and to peaceful cooperation are being jointly discussed, is in itself a considerable gain.

As we know, the past two years have seen positive changes in the relations between the Soviet Union and the United States of America. The agreements concluded during our meetings with the U.S. President in Moscow in May 1972 and in Washington last June have been a turning point in Soviet-American relations from confrontation to détente, normalization and mutually beneficial cooperation. We are deeply convinced that this conforms with the interests of the peoples of the Soviet Union and the USA, and of all the other countries, because it serves to fortify international security.

In recent years, much has changed in areas that are also important in terms of international security like South-East Asia and the Far East. The ending of the war in Vietnam was an event of worldwide significance. This was first and foremost a victory for the heroic people of Vietnam. It was also a victory for the socialist countries, which had rendered unfailing and effective aid to Vietnam in its just struggle. Furthermore, it was a victory for all the peace forces that had worked actively to end the imperialist aggression in Indochina. The public groups working for peace sincerely welcome the normalization of relations in South Asia, that is, the relations between such countries as India, Pakistan and Bangladesh. In many spheres, good relations are developing between the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, and Japan. One indication of this are the results of the Japanese Prime Minister's recent visit to Moscow.

The elimination of some hotbeds of war, the first steps to limit the arms race, the series of important international-law acts, and the continuous political consultations between states with different social systems are all fully visible features of the deep-going changes in international affairs. These changes are also highlighted by the

ever larger scale of international economic, scientific, technical, and cultural cooperation. In brief, the struggle for international security has many successes to its credit, and the peoples welcome this heartily.

To be sure, we are realists and cannot help seeing facts of a different order as well. We know all too well that wars and acute international crises are by no means over. There are still acts of aggression in the world, and not all the peoples by far can feel themselves secure. And we fully share the anxiety voiced here by outstanding representatives of the world public in this connection.

Never before have acts of aggression and violence generated such universal indignation, protests and active resistance as they do in our time. Never before have such powerful governmental and public forces come into motion in order to stop the aggressor, extinguish the flare-ups of war, and fortify the pillars of peace. And this, too, is a major achievement.

We are deeply convinced that the current reversal from cold war to détente, from military confrontation to more solid security, to peaceful cooperation is the main tendency in present-day international relations.

How has this become possible?

The main factor, we are certain, is the general change in the correlation of world forces — a change damaging to the exponents of cold war and the arms race and to those who fancy diverse military adventures, a change favorable to the forces of peace and progress.

It is hard to exaggerate the role played by the socialist forces, the socialist community, in the positive changes now under way. The Soviet Union is working for a better and more solid peace together with the other countries of the socialist community, its good friends and associates. The whole world knows how much Bulgaria, Hungary, the German Democratic Republic, Poland, Rumania, and Czechoslovakia have contributed to the consolidation of peace and the growth of international cooperation, and in particular to the consolidation of European security. Socialist Yugoslavia, too, is an active champion of peace.

The consistently peaceful policy of the Mongolian People's Republic is a substantial factor of peace and security in Asia. The Democratic Republic of Vietnam displayed supreme courage in combatting the armed intervention of U.S. imperialism and has made a notable contribution to the elimination of a dangerous seat of war in South-East Asia. The initiative of the People's Democratic Republic of Korea, designed to bring about the peaceful re-unification of Korea, has won extensive political acclaim throughout the world.

Revolutionary Cuba, the first socialist country in Latin America,

is doing much to establish in international relations the principles of peace, and the freedom and independence of peoples.

From the rostrum of this Congress I should like to express the heartfelt and deep respect of the Communists of the Soviet Union, of all Soviet people, for the fraternal socialist countries and for their principled and consistently peaceful foreign policy.

Numerous dialogues between the leaders of different states have been a typical feature of international relations in recent years. In our time, the statesman's true role and political weight depend largely on how well he appreciates the importance of safeguarding and consolidating peace, and on what he does in practice to resolve this most crucial problem of our time.

And in this sense we must give due credit to those Western statesmen who are striving to overcome the momentum of the cold war and embark on a new course, that of a peaceful dialogue with states belonging to a different social system. We are also aware of the struggle in the Western countries between the friends and foes of international détente, and of certain inconsistencies in the attitudes of some of the states on various issues. This means that considerable efforts are still required to assure further progress towards a more durable peace. Speaking for ourselves, we are prepared to make them.

In analyzing the mainsprings and reasons for the present turn in the world situation, it is necessary to underscore the big role in this process of the countries which have thrown off the colonial yoke and won national independence.

The entire course of postwar development has proved convincingly that colonialism and aggression, the policy of colonial tyranny and the policy of force are essentially two sides of one and the same medal. There is therefore every justification for the fact that in the very name of your Congress the struggle for peace is associated closely with the struggle for national liberation.

This connection is most visible from the example offered by the long years of the heroic Vietnamese people's struggle for their freedom. I think that we are all agreed that it is this success of the people of Vietnam in rebuffing aggression and their successful defense of their freedom and independence that create a basis for a just and lasting peace. We are convinced that only on the basis of respect for the freedom, independence and sovereignty of all nations in the area can peace and security in South-East Asia be finally established.

Is it not obvious that the struggle of the Arab peoples for the eradication of the consequences of the Israeli aggression is simultaneously a struggle for a lasting and just peace in the Middle East?

The flashpoint of tension in that region has erupted into war for

the fourth time. This month's hostilities reached unparalleled intensity, with heavy casualties on both sides, including loss of life among the civilian population, during barbaric bombing raids on peaceful towns and villages in Egypt and Syria. The latest developments have very strikingly shown the whole world the danger of the situation in the Middle East and the pressing need for changing it.

You are, of course, well informed of the actual course of events. I should therefore like to say a few words about the fundamental aspect of the issue. What are the basic causes of the military conflicts that periodically broke out in that region, including the present war? From our point of view, the answer is self-apparent: the seizure by Israel of Arab territories as a result of aggression, Tel Aviv's stubborn refusal to reckon with the legitimate rights of the Arab peoples and the support this policy of aggression is getting from forces of the capitalist world seeking to hinder the free and independent development of progressive Arab states.

In recent years the Soviet Union has time and again, and this I emphasize, warned that the situation in the Middle East is explosive. Our stand on this issue is clear and consistent from beginning to end. In keeping with the general principles of socialist foreign policy and in view of the fact that this region is in direct proximity to our frontiers; we are interested in seeing that a really durable and just peace is established in the Middle East and that the security of all the countries and peoples of that region and their right to build their life peacefully and in a manner of their own choosing are ensured. For that very reason the Soviet Union has always insisted that the territories seized by Israel should be returned to the Arab states and that justice should triumph in respect to the Palestinian people. This has been and will remain the policy of the Soviet Union.

From the moment hostilities resumed in the Middle East early this month the Soviet Union maintained close contact with friendly Arab states and took all the political steps in its power to help end the war and create the conditions under which peace in the Middle East would be really durable for all the countries of that region.

As everyone knows, acting on the initiative of the Soviet Union and the United States of America, the UN Security Council twice, on October 22 and 23, passed resolutions calling for an immediate cease-fire. On both occasions Israel, while proclaiming compliance with the Security Council resolutions, in fact violated them perfidiously, and continued its aggressive actions against Egypt. Capturing more and more of that country's territory, Israel completely ignored the Security Council demand that the troops be withdrawn to the positions they occupied on the evening of October 22.

It is difficult to understand what the Israeli rulers are counting on by following this adventurist course, flaunting the resolutions of the UN Security Council, and defying world opinion. Apparently, outside patronage has something to do with it. But the people of Israel are paying a heavy price for this policy of the Israeli government. Hopes of ensuring peace and security for one's own state through the forcible seizure and retention of the lands of others are wild hopes that are doomed to inevitable failure. Such a course will yield neither peace nor security for Israel. It will only result in Israel's still greater international isolation, arousing still greater hatred for it among the neighboring peoples. The Arab's courageous struggle and the growing solidarity of the Arab states show very well that they will never be reconciled with the Israeli aggression and will never give up their legitimate rights. The Soviet Union supports the Arab peoples' just demands firmly and consistently.

The collective will of those who demand the establishment of peace in the Middle East must prevail over the recklessness of those who violate the peace. The experience of the past few days compels us to be vigilant. Urgent and firm measures are required to assure implementation of the cease-fire and troop withdrawal resolutions.

President Sadat of Egypt addressed a request to the Soviet Union and the United States of America to send their representatives into the area of military operations in order to supervise the fulfilment of the Security Council cease-fire resolution. We expressed our readiness to meet Egypt's request and have already sent such representatives. We hope that the U.S. government will also act similarly. At the same time, we have been also considering other possible measures whose adoption the situation may require.

In view of the continuing violations of the cease-fire, the UN Security Council decided on October 25 forthwith to form a special United Nations force, which will be deployed to the area of the hostilities. We hold that this is a useful decision and hope that it will serve its purpose in normalizing the situation.

In the matter of normalizing the Middle East situation, the Soviet Union is prepared to cooperate with all the interested countries. But, surely, cooperation is not benefitted by such moves of the past few days by certain elements in the NATO countries as the artificial drumming up of sentiment with all kinds of fantastic rumors about the intentions of the Soviet Union in the Middle East. As we see it, a more responsible, honest, and constructive approach would be much more appropriate in the present situation.

I should like to stress that the Security Council's October 22 resolution envisages more than a mere cease-fire. It envisages important measures aimed at eliminating the very causes for war.

And this makes it especially valuable. The parties concerned are to begin immediately the practical fulfilment of all the provisions of the Middle East resolution adopted by the Security Council in November 22, 1967.

Let me remind you that this resolution stresses the "inadmissibility of the acquisition of territory by war." It provides for the withdrawal of the Israeli armed forces from territories occupied during the 1967 conflict. It demands respect for and recognition of the sovereignty, territorial integrity and political independence of each state in the region, and of their right to live in peace. It also speaks of the need for a fair settlement of the "refugee problem," that is, assurance of the legitimate rights of the Arab people of Palestine.

It will be easily seen that had all these provisions adopted in 1967 been translated into life there and then, a dependable peace would have already reigned in the Middle East for six years. However, this did not take place. It did not take place because of the same shortsighted and adventurist policy of Israel's ruling circles, encouraged by external forces.

In accordance with the letter and spirit of the resolution adopted by the Security Council on Monday, October 22, the parties concerned are to start immediately, under the appropriate auspices, negotiations aimed at establishing a just and lasting peace in the Middle East. It is impossible to overestimate the importance of such negotiations. A historical responsibility devolves on their participants. Let me say that the Soviet Union is prepared to make and will make a constructive contribution to this matter. Our firm stand is that all the states and peoples in the Middle East—I repeat, all of them—must be assured of peace, security and the inviolability of borders. The Soviet Union is prepared to take part in the relevant guarantees.

We feel that one of the most urgent tasks before all peace fighters and all peace forces in present-day conditions is to work for the immediate and full implementation of the Security Council resolution of October 22, 1973. This is necessary for the free and independent development of all states and peoples in the Middle East. This meets the interests of many states in Europe and Asia, Africa and America, for whom normalization of the political and economic life in this key area of the world is of considerable importance. Finally, the acute situation which has arisen in the Middle East over the last few days and the risk of an extension of the conflict quite clearly show how important it is to settle this problem also for the sake of stronger world peace.

Esteemed participants in the Congress, the peoples of countries that have thrown off the colonial yoke face gigantic economic and

social tasks. These can only be successfully performed on the basis of peace founded on reliable security and broad, mutually beneficial cooperation of all countries.

The example of a consistent policy of peace, and democratic solutions of internal problems, is given by the Republic of India. By urging a just and peaceful settlement of existing international issues, she creates a favorable situation for the solution of her own internal problems. And by gradually resolving internal socio-economic problems, the Indian people are substantially strengthening the foundations of their peace-loving foreign policy.

The decisions of the Non-Aligned Nations' Conference in Algiers, attended by the leaders of many countries, are of considerable international importance. The conference reaffirmed these countries' determination to fight purposefully against imperialism, war and aggression, and for peace and the independence and freedom of nations.

In sum, the active policy of the peace-loving states of Asia, Africa and Latin America is making a tangible and considerable contribution to the relaxation of international tension.

One of the key factors of the current international development is the active participation of the masses and their organizations and political parties in the settlement of the issues of war and peace. This is, of course, the result of the historical experience accumulated by mankind. The memory of the bitter lessons of the first and second world wars and knowledge of the terrible consequences that would ensue from the use of nuclear weapons imperatively demand that the people of our planet should take vigorous action to prevent a tragedy unprecedented in the annals of mankind.

In this nuclear age the peoples are showing a new and deeper sense of solidarity in the struggle for peace and, at the same time, a keener sense of their common responsibility for the future of the world. This sense is a powerful stimulus of the mounting struggle for the consolidation of peace, for reliable international security.

One can say with confidence that the present changes in the world situation are largely the product of the activities of public forces, the result of hitherto unparalleled activity by the masses, who are displaying sharp intolerance of arbitrary rule and aggression and an unbending will for peace.

This is seen also in the results of the recent World Congress of Trade Unions in Bulgaria, which unequivocally expressed the will for peace of more than two hundred million organized factory and office workers and intellectuals.

Indeed, the convocation of your Congress, its breadth and representative character are convincing and striking evidence of the

power of world public opinion and of the role that it can play in the struggle for peace and security, and for the democratization of international relations.

II.

Dear friends, we can thus note with satisfaction that through the concerted efforts of all the peace forces the international climate has grown, on the whole, healthier in recent years, and the policy of peaceful coexistence, of peaceful cooperation between countries is yielding tangible results.

However, this is obviously only the beginning of the advance toward an objective, which, as I understand, unites all those present in this hall and all whom they represent, of the advance toward a reliably peaceful future for humanity. We are only building up the conditions for the attainment of that objective. Our common duty is to move tirelessly forward along the chosen path, to move steadily, perseveringly, along a wide front, resolutely breaking down the resistance of the adversaries of détente and the proponents of cold war. As we in the Soviet Union see it, the task is to turn the détente achieved in the decisive areas of international relations into a stable, durable, and, what is more, an irreversible factor.

And in this respect, of course, much can be done in Europe, in the first place. The peoples of that continent, more than of any other, have had their fill of wars, including the most terrible of all, the Second World War. On account of the present-day character of the productive forces, closed economic life in each of the "rooms" of the "European house" has become too crowded and uncomfortable. Besides, due to the modern means of mass destruction, the house has become an acute fire hazard. As a result, maintenance of peace in Europe has in substance become an imperative necessity, and the utmost development of diverse peaceful cooperation among the European states the only really sensible solution. A contributing factor is that an increasingly more active and important role in European life is played by the socialist countries, which are profoundly and sincerely devoted to the cause of peace and international cooperation, while in the Western part of the continent there is a growing appreciation of the political realities, and the circles favoring these goals are winning ever more influence.

That is why we have faith in the ultimate success and historic role of the European Conference, despite all the difficulties that are still to be overcome by the participants in that unique forum, which is now at a perhaps not very spectacular, but extremely important stage of its work.

What do we expect from that Conference and what are we hoping for? To put it in the most general terms, we want to see well-defined principles of relations between European states formulated unanimously, sincerely, with heart and soul, as they say, without "diplomatic" equivocations and misconstructions, approved by all the participants in the Conference and endorsed by all the peoples of the continent. I have in mind, for instance, such principles as the territorial integrity of all the European states, the inviolability of their frontiers, the renunciation of the use or threat of force in the relations between countries, non-interference in each other's internal affairs and the promotion, on that basis, of mutually beneficial cooperation in diverse fields.

We should like these principles to become sacred and indisputable in the day-to-day fabric of European affairs and of the psychology of the European people, and to be adopted by the governments and the peoples in order to become reality.

We should like to see a large all-European network of economic, scientific and cultural cooperation between states flourish on the basis of these principles.

Trade has linked peoples and countries from time immemorial. The same is true of our day. But today it is disadvantageous and unreasonable to confine economic cooperation solely to trade. Broad international division of labor is the only basis for keeping pace with the times and being abreast of the requirements and potentialities of the scientific and technological revolution. This, I should say, is axiomatic today. Hence the need for mutually beneficial, long-term and large-scale economic cooperation, both bilateral and multilateral. Of course, this applies not only to Europe, but also to all continents, to the entire system of present-day international economic relations. Another reason why we advocate such cooperation is that we regard it as a reliable means of materially consolidating peaceful relations among states.

We hope and believe that the political foundation worked out at the European Conference and the day-to-day peaceful cooperation will be supplemented and reinforced with measures aimed at achieving a military détente in the continent. This, as you know, will be the subject of the talks scheduled to open in Vienna in five days.

These talks are of considerable importance to Europe and to the entire world situation. The Soviet Union's attitude to them is serious, responsible, constructive and realistic. Our stand is clear and understandable. We hold that agreement must be reached on a reduction in the region of Central Europe already specified of both foreign and national land and air forces of the states party to the talks. The security of any of the sides must not be prejudiced

and none of them should gain any unilateral advantages. Moreover, it must evidently be recognized that the reduction should also apply to units equipped with nuclear weapons.

How exactly the cut-back is to be effected and what method is to be applied — whether it should be a reduction by equal percentages or by equal numbers — still remains to be settled by the participants in the talks. In our view, it is important that the future reduction should not upset the existing balance of strength in Central Europe and in the European continent generally. If attempts are made to violate the principle, the entire issue will only become an apple of discord and the subject of endless debate.

How soon the actual reduction of armed forces and armaments can be started also remains to be decided in Vienna. The Soviet Union would be prepared to take practical steps in this direction as early as 1975. A specific agreement on this score could be concluded in the immediate future. Such an agreement would unquestionably be a further major step improving the political situation in Europe and helping to instil in the continent an atmosphere of trust, goodwill and peaceful cooperation.

We have repeatedly stated that détente and interstate cooperation cannot be the privilege of any particular region of the world. Peace is truly indivisible. We believe that the norms of peaceful coexistence and peaceful cooperation must prevail in Europe and in Africa, and in South and North America. And for a number of historical reasons the matter is probably of special significance for Asia.

It is common knowledge that the Soviet Union is advocating the consolidation of peace in the Asian continent by collective effort. We conceive this as a progressive development in all respects of mutually beneficial and mutually enriching contacts and peaceful cooperation between all the Asian states, as the consolidation in these relations of the well-known principles of peaceful coexistence with the strict observance of the sovereignty and independence of each country, as proclaimed by the Asian states at Bandung. The peoples of Asia most certainly need lasting peace and constructive cooperation no less than, say, the peoples of Europe. It is probably safe to say that the people of Tokyo and Tashkent, of Hanoi and Teheran, Peking and Rangoon, Delhi and Colombo — all the hundreds of millions of inhabitants of the world's largest continent — have an equal stake in lasting peace and tranquil peaceful labor. I am convinced that all of them are interested in this.

It is often said that the idea of creating and ensuring security in Asia by collective effort is directed against China and even goes so far as to pursue the perfidious aim of "surrounding" or "isolating" China. But these contentions are either the product of morbid suspicion or a reluctance to face the facts.

And the facts are that the Soviet Union and the other states favoring collective efforts to ensure peace and security in Asia have always maintained that all the states of the Asian continent without exception would take part in this big and important undertaking if they so desire. Nobody has ever raised the question of China's non-participation or, much less, "isolation" (not to speak of the fact that it would be ludicrous to think of "isolating" such a big country). As for the Soviet Union, it would welcome the participation of the People's Republic of China in steps aimed at strengthening Asian security.

Dear friends,

Of course, we would be going against the facts if we pretended that China's present actions on the international scene are consonant with the task of strengthening peace and peaceful cooperation between countries. For reasons they alone know, China's leaders refuse to halt their attempts at poisoning the international climate and heightening international tension. They continue to make absurd territorial claims on the Soviet Union, which we, naturally, categorically reject. They doggedly repeat the time-worn inventions of anti-communist propaganda about a "Soviet threat," harp on a "threat from the north," and, while dismissing all reasonable proposals for a settlement and for a treaty of non-aggression, continue to keep their people in an artificially created hysterical atmosphere of war preparations. And all this is accompanied by the dissemination of preposterous slanderous accusations against the USSR and other countries, by brazen attempts to interfere in our — and, in fact, not only our — internal affairs.

What strikes the eye is the total lack of principles in the foreign policy of the Chinese leaders. They say that they are working for socialism and peaceful coexistence, but in fact they go out of their way to undermine the international positions of the socialist countries and encourage the vitalization of the aggressive military blocs and closed economic groups of capitalist states. They style themselves proponents of disarmament, but in fact try to block all the practical steps designed to restrict and slow down the arms race and, defying world opinion, continue to pollute the earth's atmosphere by testing nuclear weapons. They keep assuring the world that they support the just struggle of the Arabs for the return of the territories seized by the aggressor and for the establishment of a just peace in the Middle East, but at the same time are doing their utmost to discredit the real assistance rendered to the victims of aggression by their true friends, the Soviet Union and the other countries of the socialist community. They call themselves revolutionaries, but cordially shake the hand of a representative of the fascist junta of Chilean reactionaries, a hand stained with the blood of thousands of heroes of the revolution, the sons and

daughters of the working class, of the working people of Chile.

Of course, a policy of this kind does not help to strengthen peace and security. It injects an element of dangerous instability in international affairs. But the possibility of changing this policy depends wholly and entirely on the Chinese leaders. As regards the Soviet Union, we, I repeat, would welcome a constructive contribution by China to improving the international atmosphere and promoting true and equitable peaceful cooperation between states.

Esteemed delegates to the Congress, the development of relations between the Soviet Union and the United States of America can contribute in no small way to solving the problems of averting another world war and ensuring universal peace, which are vital to all the peoples of the earth.

In the past two years these relations have been marked by the conclusion of a number of important treaties and agreements, such as the Basic Principles of Relations Between the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the United States of America, the treaty and agreement on the limitation of anti-ballistic missile systems and of strategic offensive arms, and the agreement between the USSR and the USA on the prevention of nuclear war. We are faithfully fulfilling our obligations under these treaties and agreements and intend to continue to do so in future. Naturally, we expect the other side to do likewise.

In our view, the development of peaceful, mutually beneficial cooperation between the Soviet Union and the United States in various spheres has good prospects if, needless to say, this question is approached with a sense of responsibility and in good faith, and if the principles of mutual benefit and mutual respect are applied in practice and no attempt is made to distort them and interfere in the internal affairs of the other side and dictate one's own terms to it as, in spite of the official policy of their own government, some irresponsible politicians in the United States are trying to do.

As for the Soviet Union, we are convinced that the documents adopted in 1972 and 1973 have created a basis for mutually advantageous cooperation with undoubted benefit for peace.

It may be recalled that in 1974 the President of the United States is to pay an official visit to the Soviet Union. We should like it to be marked by fresh major steps in the development of peaceful relations between our two states and improvement of the international situation.

The successful completion of the new phase of negotiations between the USSR and the USA on the further limitation and possible reduction of strategic armaments can play an important part. You will appreciate that this is no simple task, but we have agreed to do our utmost to fulfill it.

All of us, dear friends, love peace, want lasting peace and work

to ensure it to the best of our abilities and opportunities. We are gladdened by the current relaxation of international tension and the growth of peaceful cooperation among states. But I should like to stress most emphatically that neither peace nor détente will descend on the world as some divine blessing. They can only be the result of persistent and tireless struggle by all the peace forces — the states, political parties and trends, public bodies and individuals — against everything resisting détente, imperilling peace and creating the danger of war.

We must not forget that wars still keep breaking out, people are still dying, and cities, factories and villages are being destroyed in various parts of the world. Cultural centers are being destroyed. These are what politicians have become accustomed to calling local wars, that is, wars confined to the relatively narrow boundaries of some geographical region. Past experience shows that, as a rule, in modern conditions these break out wherever and whenever imperialist and reactionary attempts are made to forcibly put down the liberation movement of the peoples, to obstruct the free and independent development of states that have opted for progressive internal development and the anti-imperialist line in foreign policy.

For millions of people on our planet peace has yet to set in; arms in hand, they are forced to fight against imperialist aggressors and their aides, against arbitrary acts by invaders, for their freedom and independence, and for the elementary right to be masters in their own house. And the fighters for peace cannot but draw their own conclusions from this.

Nor have we the right to forget that even in the atmosphere of a marked relaxation of tension, the process which constitutes a material preparation for world war is continuing and in fact growing.

The military budgets of the NATO countries are being increased by 2-3 billion dollars a year, and these are figures indicative of ever newer types of weapons of destruction; new and ever more destructive nuclear bombs and warheads, new and more powerful missiles, tanks and planes, warships and submarines. The qualitative improvement of weapons has assumed unprecedented proportions.

Attempts are being made to justify this by claiming that it could allegedly help secure success at the arms limitation talks by creating "bargaining counters." Quite obviously these "bargaining counters" will in fact yield nothing except an intensification of the arms race. As for the arms limitation talks, their success does not require any new military programs, but a sincere desire, backed by mutual restraint, to check the arms race.

Even today, almost three decades since the Second World War,

the farmer's plough and the builder's excavator frequently unearth shells and mines. These are a reminder of the war, jeopardizing human life again today, in time of peace. But is there not a thousand times greater danger in the vast stockpiles of means of mass annihilation unequalled in all human history, which stand primed on launching pads, are carried on broad patrolling planes and submarines, and fill to overflowing the underground soils at military bases all over the globe — today, at this very moment? Is it possible confidently to build a lasting and durable peace when these modern "powder magazines" remain beneath its foundation and can blow up the entire globe?

The military preparations of the capitalist states are compelling the socialist countries to allocate the necessary funds for defense, diverting these from civilian construction, to which we should like to dedicate all our efforts and all our material resources. Dozens of developing countries are also being drawn into the orbit of the arms race, which, of course, is prompted by the threat to their independence posed by imperialism, now in one part of the world, now in another.

It goes without saying that the further extension of the arms race by the aggressive circles of imperialism, on the one hand, and the relaxation of international tension that has set in on the other, are two processes running in opposite directions. The two cannot develop endlessly along what might be called parallel lines. If we want the détente and peace to be sound, the arms race must be stopped.

That is precisely the idea behind the numerous initiatives of the Soviet Union and other socialist states, aimed at implementing the UN-approved program of general and complete disarmament. The same purposes are served by the proposals for partial steps along this way, including the Soviet proposal, now up for consideration by the UN General Assembly, for a reduction by 10 per cent of the military budgets of the permanent members of the UN Security Council and for the use of a part of the funds so saved for assistance to developing countries.

I should like to draw your attention to yet another point. It is very good that states like the Soviet Union and the United States take definite agreed measures to limit what government documents describe as strategic arms. But we live in a world in which everything is closely interconnected. Clearly, the struggle to avert nuclear war cannot long be confined to the efforts of only two states, especially if in the meantime other states—nuclear powers, in the first place—continue to build up their armaments.

We believe that like the process of détente, the process of limiting and arresting the arms race should spread ever wider, involving new states and areas of the globe. Equally, there should be more

and more states acceding to existing international agreements, such as the convention on the prohibition of bacteriological weapons, and the treaties on the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons and the prohibition of nuclear weapons tests. It is the prime duty of all sincere peace fighters to demand that this should be so, to work for it vigorously.

Some tend to regard the arms race as something habitual or even fatalistically inevitable. This dangerous mental inertia must be broken, and the peace-loving public forces of the world have a big part to play in doing so.

It should be clearly seen that the threat to peace is posed by quite concrete social groups, organizations and individuals. Thus, even on the testimony of the top-ranking leaders in the major Western countries, the sinister alliance of career militarists and monopolies making fortunes on weapons of war, usually known as the military-industrial complex, has become something of a "state within the state" in these countries and has acquired self-sustaining power. Militarism cripples not only the society that has produced it. The exhaust gas emitted by the preparation-of-war machine poisons the political atmosphere of the world with fumes of hatred, fear and violence. To justify its existence, myths are created about a "Soviet menace" and the need to defend the so-called Western democracies. But the militaristic robot fosters as its cherished progeny the most reactionary, tyrannical and fascist regimes, and devours the democratic freedoms.

The speakers before me rightly spoke about the events in Chile. I, too, cannot bypass this issue. The monstrous and blatant profanation of the country's constitution, the gross contempt for the democratic traditions of a whole nation, the abuse of elementary legality, the shootings, the tortures and the barbarous terror, the bonfires of burning books — such is the junta's truly fascist snarl, the true face of reaction, domestic and external — which is prepared to commit any crime in order to regain its privileges in defiance of the clearly and freely expressed will of the people.

The tragedy of Chile has echoed with a pang in the hearts of millions of people, the most diverse sections of democratic opinion in all countries. We shall always cherish the memory of Salvadore Allende and of the other heroes of that country who gave their lives for freedom and peace. Allow me from the rostrum of this Congress to express our complete solidarity with Chile's democrats and patriots and our firm conviction that the just cause for which they have fought and are now fighting in such difficult conditions — the cause of independence, freedom, democracy and social progress — is invincible and indestructible! The defense of these lofty values, their realization in life, the struggle against those who

threaten them and seek to destroy them are closely connected with the struggle to ensure lasting peace throughout the world.

When it comes to the policy of peaceful coexistence and peaceful cooperation between states, regardless of their social systems, we Communists are frequently asked: is this policy compatible with the revolutionary outlook?

Let me remind you that Lenin, that greatest of revolutionaries, used to say: revolutions are not made to order or by compact. And we might add that neither can revolution, class struggle or the emancipation movements be abolished to order or by compact. No power on earth is capable of reversing the inexorable process of the renovation of social life. Wherever there is colonialism, there is bound to be struggle for national independence. Wherever there is exploitation, there is bound to be struggle for the emancipation of labor. Wherever there is aggression, there is bound to be resistance to it.

The people's masses are striving to change the world, and will change it. As for the Soviet Union, it will always side with the forces of social progress. We oppose "export of revolution." At the same time, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, our Government and the entire Soviet people openly and unequivocally express their solidarity with their class brothers fighting in other countries, their solidarity with the liberation and anti-imperialist movements. This attitude does not contradict the struggle for peace and for peaceful cooperation between states.

By promoting the principles of peaceful coexistence, we are working for that which billions of people all over the world cherish most of all: the right to life itself, its deliverance from the danger of destruction by the flames of war. Simultaneously, we thereby also work to ensure favorable international conditions for the social progress of all countries and peoples. This means recognition of each people's right to choose the social system it wants; it means simple and clear rules of intercourse between states. Breaches of these rules tend not only to undermine equality in relations between countries, but also to produce armed conflicts, because in our time the peoples refuse to tolerate any diktat. And they are perfectly within their rights in rebuffing aggression. With the world split into two systems, the only basis for international security is full and scrupulous observance of the principles of peaceful coexistence, and in particular non-interference in the internal affairs of states.

In this connection one cannot help noting that in the recent period some Western circles are in effect trying to circumvent these principles by proposing something like a new edition of the "cold" or, if you like, "psychological" war. I am referring to the cam-

campaign conducted under the hypocritical slogan of "defending human rights" in the socialist countries.

Some initiators of this campaign claim that détente is impossible unless some changes are effected in the internal order of the socialist countries. Others leave the impression of not actually opposing the détente, but declare with amazing frankness their intention to use the process of détente to weaken the socialist system, and, ultimately, to secure its destruction. For the public at large this tactic is presented as concern for human rights or for a so-called "liberalization" of our system.

Let us, dear friends, call a spade a spade. With all the talk of freedom and democracy and human rights, this whole strident campaign serves only one purpose: to cover up attempts to interfere in the internal affairs of the socialist countries, to cover up the imperialist aims of this policy. They talk of "liberalization," but what they mean is elimination of socialism's real gains and erosion of the socio-political rights of the peoples of the socialist countries.

We have no reason to shun any serious discussion of human rights. Our revolution, the victory of socialism in our country not only proclaimed, but have in effect secured the rights of the working man of any nationality, the rights of millions of working people, in a way capitalism has been unable to do in any country of the world.

From the bourgeois standpoint, such human rights as the right to work, education, social security, free medical aid, rest and leisure, and the like may be something secondary or even unacceptable. Just one figure: nearly a hundred million people are at present unemployed in the non-socialist countries. Many capitalist states infringe the rights of national minorities and foreign workers, and the right of women to equal pay for equal work. This is probably why many Western powers have not yet subscribed to international covenants establishing the social and political rights of man.

The staggering socio-economic changes in our country are the results of the far-flung and conscious political creativity of the masses, and also of their will to safeguard the system they themselves have created from every possible incursion. For this reason, Soviet people will not tolerate any encroachment on the sovereignty of our state, the protector of their socio-political gains. This sovereignty is no obstacle to contacts and exchanges; it is a dependable guarantee of the rights and freedoms so arduously won by the Soviet people.

Soviet laws afford our citizens broad political freedoms. At the same time, they protect our system and the interests of the Soviet people from anyone's attempts to abuse these freedoms. And this is in full conformity with the International Covenants on Human

Rights ratified by the Soviet Union, which say that the rights they enumerate "shall not be subject to any restrictions except those which are provided by law, are necessary to protect national security, public order, public health or morals or the rights and freedoms of others . . ." We shall affix our signature to this. About what freedoms do those who attack us speak?

For example, we have a law banning the propaganda of war in any form. There is legislation prohibiting the dissemination of the ideas of racial or national strife and hatred, and of those which degrade the national dignity of any people. There are laws combatting immoral behavior, laws against the moral corruption of society. Are we expected, perhaps, to invalidate these laws as well in the name of a free exchange of ideas and information? Or are we to be prevailed upon that this would serve the ends of détente and closer international ties?

We are being told: "Either change your way of life or face a cold war." But what if we should reciprocate? What if we should demand modification of bourgeois laws and usages that go against our ideas of justice and democracy as a condition for normal inter-state relations? Such a demand, I expect, would not improve the outlook for sound development in inter-state relations.

It is impossible to fight for peace while impinging on the sovereign rights of other peoples. It is impossible to champion human rights, while torpedoing the principles of peaceful coexistence.

Let us be blunt: no one is any longer able to subvert the socialist world, but regrettably it is still possible to subvert peace. For peace depends on multilateral efforts, and not least of all on mutual — and I stress mutual — respect for the principles of sovereignty and non-interference in internal affairs. As concerns the Soviet Union, plying across the ripples of propaganda campaigns hostile to socialism, our ship of state will continue on its course, seeking constructive solutions for the problems on the international order of the day.

III.

Dear friends, humanity is in need of a durable peace. But when it comes and what it is like, depends on how fully all the peace-loving forces use the already available opportunities.

I do not think that any of us would be satisfied with a peace based as before on a "balance of fear." That kind of peace would differ but little from the cold war. It would be a "cold peace" that could easily revert to a tense confrontation depressing the consciousness and life of the peoples, and fraught with the danger of worldwide conflict.

The peoples want a dependable and irreversible peace based, if one may say so, on a balance of security and mutual trust. It is a peace open for broad international cooperation for the sake of progress.

Peace is a precious thing. To live in the knowledge that blood is not being shed anywhere, to be sure that neither bombs nor shells will fall tomorrow on your roof, that children can grow up without the tragedy and suffering experienced by the elder generations — all this is the greatest of boons.

But peace is not only a matter of security. It is also the most important premise for solving the most crucial problems of modern civilization. And the very future of humanity depends on these. Indeed, the future of the entire world, which it is no longer possible to ignore when tackling the problems of the present day, no matter how complicated and difficult these may be. All of you, representing the varied public in all parts of the world, probably feel this most keenly.

Here it will suffice to name but a few of the problems that have begun causing concern for many even today: the supply of energy, environmental protection, elimination of such blights as mass hunger and dangerous diseases, and the development of the world ocean.

All this requires many-sided, sincere and meaningful cooperation among governments, organized economic and scientific forces, and, of course, the most diverse political, professional and cultural organizations. The peoples must know each other, and there must therefore be lively and varied communication between many of their representatives.

Clearly, peace is the prime condition for such cooperation. No substantial start in resolving the universal human problems of the future or in the many urgent tasks of the present is conceivable without a system of international relations based on peaceful coexistence.

The concrete directions of further advance towards the kind of peace all of us want are clear. I have mentioned them earlier. They are suggested by the existing international situation. And we are deeply convinced that the vital tasks now holding top priority in the struggle to consolidate peace can be realized by joint effort.

First and foremost, this means cooperation in settling the still existing armed conflicts on a fair basis.

This means creating a system of collective security in Europe, and then also in Asia, which would enable us gradually to eliminate the present division of the world into politico-military blocs.

This means ending the race of nuclear and other armaments through honest observance by the states of freely accepted commitments and — this is especially topical — involvement of all the

major countries in this process. This would lay the foundations for a gradual reduction of the material basis for a military confrontation.

This means the development of economic, scientific, technical and cultural cooperation based on complete equality, mutual advantage, without any discrimination and without attempts at interference in each other's internal affairs.

This is how we conceive the main objectives in the struggle for peace in present-day conditions. It stands to reason that it will take time to achieve some of these objectives, while others cry out for immediate and undelayed action now. However, persevering, energetic and active effort is required by states and political and broad public forces interested in consolidating peace to attain both these sets of objectives.

The long years of cold war have left an imprint on the minds not only of professional politicians: prejudice and suspicion, and poor knowledge — even a reluctance to acquire knowledge — of the real positions and possibilities of others. And, certainly, it is not easy to turn over a new leaf. But this has to be done, it is essential to learn to cooperate.

Our philosophy of peace is a philosophy of historical optimism. Though the present situation is complicated and contradictory, we are sure that the broad peace offensive now under way will be successful. What are the grounds for our optimism?

To begin with, the fact that there exists such a permanent, mighty and dynamic factor of peace as real socialism, whose peace-loving policy springs from the very nature of this social system. Our optimism rests on the identity of the views and actions of the majority of the socialist countries.

Our optimism is based on the profound interest in a just and democratic peace of many of the Asian, African and Latin American states and peoples, including the non-aligned countries.

Our optimism is based on the successes already achieved by the peaceful coexistence policy, on the fact that the ruling groups in some of the capitalist countries have a growing appreciation of the real correlation of world forces and an understanding that war is unacceptable as a means for solving international problems.

Our conviction that the cause of peace is invincible is based on our profound belief in the great life-affirming love of peace of the laboring masses — the workers, peasants and the intelligentsia. And they comprise the vast and overwhelming majority of people on our planet.

Last but not least, we associate our optimism in matters of peace with the activity of all the public movements working for peace so broadly represented here, at this worldwide forum, and

with the further growth of joint action by Communists, Socialists, Social Democrats and Christians.

All this is a source of hope and confidence.

However, the achievements on the way to peace must be tirelessly developed. Further progress will not be easy. We shall have to surmount many an obstacle, and repulse many a counter-attack by the foes of peace. The complexity of the struggle also stems from the new conditions, the new phase in international relations that we have already entered. As before, it will require not only a great degree of consistency, firmness and energy, but also better forms of work, new methods, timely and precise formulation of concrete initiatives preventing the appearance of seats of tension, and relapses in the process of détente. Much still remains to be done to vitalize each of the peace-loving streams and, at the same time, to direct them along a common channel. The imperative demand of the present moment in history or, if you like, the demand of the epoch is to unite all the peace-loving forces of the world and secure the peaceful development of all countries, all peoples.

Dear friends, millions of people throughout the world expect so much of the World Congress of Peace Forces. They expect answers to burning questions that are troubling the broad masses, and guidelines for a worldwide public movement aimed at helping to solve one of the cardinal problems of the 20th century — the problem of ensuring lasting peace. This is a great responsibility but, as I see it, it is also a big and inspiring incentive.

Allow me to assure you that in your activity to consolidate peace you will have the keenest and most effective support of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the Soviet Government, all Soviet people.

The internal life of the Soviet Union, the affairs and aspirations of the Soviet people, our Party and Government, are imbued with a striving for peace. Those who have been here before, and those who are on their first visit to Moscow — all can see the Soviet people's elan of peaceful constructive labor.

At present, our people are completing the third year of our Ninth Five-Year Plan. And judging by the preliminary results of the first three years, we can safely say that the main socio-economic targets set by the 24th Congress of the CPSU will be fulfilled. This is borne out, first and foremost, by the steady growth of the country's national income, which will have grown by 16.4 per cent by the end of these three years.

Conspicuous advances have been made in all fields of the economy. With the plan for 1973 envisaging an accretion of 5.8 per cent in industrial output, the actual growth in the first nine months of this year, over the same period last year, has been all of 7.3 per cent.

By virtue of the constant concern shown by the Party and the

Soviet state, and the dedicated efforts of the farmers, we have had a record harvest this year. It seems likely that we shall bring in more than 215 million tons of grain, or more than 13,000 million poods, to express it in our traditional Russian measure. The annual grain purchasing plan has already been exceeded. This year's figure for the state procurement of raw cotton will be in excess of 7.5 million tons, and for sugar beet more than 82 million tons. These are also big successes.

Nearly seven million new apartments will be built in towns and villages of the Soviet Union in just the first three years of the current Five-Year Plan.

These successes cause joy among Soviet people, and are also acclaimed by our friends across the world. They know that our achievements contribute to the consolidation of world peace.

You can depend on the Soviet people, who have always stood — in the early years after their great revolution, and when building socialism, in the battle against fascism, in the postwar decades — still stand, and will continue to stand in the front line of the struggle for the interests of humanity.

I wish in conclusion to thank the organizers of the Congress and all of you, dear friends, for the opportunity accorded to speak from this high rostrum.

Esteemed participants in this Congress, allow me, in conclusion, to wish you every success in your fruitful joint effort that will, I am sure, evoke a response in the hearts of people on all the continents of the globe.

(L. I. Brezhnev's speech was heard with great attention and punctuated with stormy, prolonged applause.)

FOR A JUST AND LASTING PEACE IN THE MIDDLE EAST

ISRAEL

Below follow excerpts from documents issued by the Communist Party of Israel illustrating its struggle for a just and lasting peace in the Middle East.

A resolution of the eighth session of the Central Committee published September 16, states in part:

The Central Committee notes with apprehension that the policy of the Golda Meir-Dayan government aims at frustrating international efforts to find a political solution of the crisis in the region, a solution which would establish a just and lasting peace conforming with the rights of all states and peoples of the Middle East, including Israel and the Arab people of Palestine.

The government is intensifying its aggressive actions against the Arab countries and accelerating and expanding the colonization of the occupied territories. This policy can lead to a resumption of war in our region and endanger world peace.

The Israeli Air Force operation of September 12 in Syrian air space is a link in the chain of aggressive government-inspired actions. The government is carrying out actions planned in advance.

The plan of military escalation was set forth earlier in the semi-official newspaper *Davar* (August 24, 1973), which wrote that Israel should step up its military threat and strike fiercely not only against terrorist organizations, but against Arab armies as well. The hour, according to the paper, had struck.

The Central Committee condemned the so-called "Galili Document" (the ruling party's election program named after its author, Israel Galili, state minister and Golda Meir's chief adviser) adopted by the government coalition as a plan for the coming four years. It is a provocation plan directed against the Arab peoples. It is a plan of accelerated colonization of the occupied territories and expropriation of their Arab inhabitants providing for the take-over of their lands, which forces them to abandon their homes, a plan for the liquidation of refugee camps. It is a racist plan for the liquidation of the Arab people of Palestine as a nation. It is a plan that runs contrary to Israel's genuine interests of peace and security.

The Central Committee of the CPI calls upon all peace-loving forces to oppose this militarist and racist plan, warning that the

government's policy could lead to a new war, bloodshed and tears for thousands of families.

On October 6, 1973, the Political Bureau of the Communist Party of Israel issued a statement declaring:

"Again, hostilities have broken out between Israel, on the one hand, and Syria and Egypt, on the other. Again, Jewish and Arab blood is being spilled.

"We, Communists, have warned over and over again, that the continued occupation of Arab territories, seized in 1967, and the Israeli government's rejection of peace without annexations, could precipitate renewed hostilities and bloodshed.

"Now war has broken out anew. The occupation does not achieve security, on the contrary, it causes permanent insecurity and ceaseless bloodshed.

"The Israeli government, with the backing of the rulers of Washington, undermined all peace initiatives by the United Nations Organization and other international quarters, in order to perpetuate the occupation of Arab territories in accordance with the "Galili document."

"The cabinet ministers Dayan and Eban have repeatedly stated that the Arab countries are ready for peace with Israel, if Israel consents to peace without annexations. It is the government which rejects such peace offers.

"Therefore, we blame the Israeli government that peace and security are absent as well as of responsibility for the situation of deterioration into war.

"In the face of the grave situation and renewed bloodshed we acclaim to the people: There exists a possibility for peace, and peace alone gives security.

"We call upon citizens to give a hand to peace by the full implementation of the Security Council Resolution No. 242, including withdrawal from the territories seized in 1967, guarantee the right of sovereign existence of the State of Israel and the legitimate rights of the Palestine Arab people.

On October 22, 1973, the Political Bureau of the CPI published a statement hailing the Security Council resolution calling for a ceasefire in the Middle East and the establishment of a just and lasting peace on the basis of Security Council Resolution No. 242.

The CPI called upon the Israeli government to adhere strictly to the ceasefire and act to promote the strict implementation of Security Council Resolution No. 242. A just and lasting peace can be established only on the basis of withdrawal of Israeli troops from all Arab territories seized in 1967 and recognition of the sovereign rights of all states and peoples of the region, including the legiti-

mate rights of the Palestine Arab people.

The CPI warned against the conditions with which the Israeli government links its agreement to the ceasefire and implementation of Resolution No. 242, noting that the government misinterprets the resolution and continues to insist on territorial annexations.

The statement stresses that such a policy can create a new threat to the prospects of peace and lead to a resumption of hostilities.

The CPI highly assesses the Soviet Union's decisive contribution aimed at putting an end to the bloodshed in the Middle East and opening the way to peace and security for the people of Israel and the Arab peoples. The statement appeals to the youth, the workers and the people of Israel to give every effort to the struggle to turn the ceasefire into a just and lasting peace.

On October 24, 1973, the Central Committee of the CPI issued the following statement:

Several members of the Knesset for the GAHAL bloc and other reactionary forces charged the rostrum while CPI General Secretary Meir Vilner was addressing the chamber and tried to push him off and tear up the text of his speech.

The fascists' aim is to discredit the Knesset and open the way to a dictatorship. If the violence used by Right-wing extremists in the Knesset against peace-loving forces is not nipped in the bud, it will open the way to fascist terror and military dictatorship. Most ominous, the chairman of the session in effect supported the rampaging members, surrendered to their brazen demands and denied Vilner his right as member of the Knesset to continue his address.

It is not accidental that this violent outburst by representatives of the GAHAL group and its supporters took place in the Knesset at this time. Events in the world, the Middle East and Israel itself are running against their policy. The bloody war of the last few weeks has served to undermine the confidence of broad public circles in the policies advocated by the extreme Right and government "hawks."

The mounting mass demands for an end to the aggressive policies are causing growing alarm among the extreme Right and the "hawks." That is just why they were so enraged when M. Vilner showed in the Knesset that the new war could have been averted and peace with the Arab countries established if the government and extreme Right ceased to seek territorial aggrandizement and to reject all peace efforts.

The CPI calls upon all democratic forces and peace champions to raise their voice against the fascist outrage in the Knesset and rally to bar the way to fascism in Israel.

IRAQ

An extraordinary plenum of the CP Central Committee held October 18 sent messages of greetings to the CPSU, the presidents of Iraq, Egypt and Syria and the chairman of the Palestine Liberation Organization and adopted a statement on the Middle East situation. Published October 21, the statement stresses that in the current struggle against Israeli aggression and imperialist forces the Soviet Union remains true to its internationalist duty in providing the Arab people with political, economic, and military assistance. The Arab people know from experience the great importance of cooperation with the socialist camp and the Soviet Union.

Iraq has chosen the road of friendship and cooperation with the USSR and adheres to it faithfully. The Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation between Iraq and the USSR has demonstrated its historical significance in the current battle against Israeli aggression.

The statement sharply denounces reactionary circles attempting to undermine Arab-Soviet friendship. In spite of reactionary attacks, it says, the Soviet Union continues to strengthen the Arab countries' defense capabilities. It does so by virtue of its principled position of support for the just Arab cause. It does so in the name of proletarian internationalism and Arab-Soviet friendship.

The statement characterizes the war with Israel as a just national-liberation war of all Arabs against Israeli aggression and imperialism. Its purpose is the liberation of all occupied Arab territories, the return of the Arab people to Palestine and assuring their legitimate right to determine their own destiny.

The statement calls for stepping up the struggle of progressive forces with Communists at the head, including within Israel itself, against the policy of the aggressive Israeli military and for the isolation of Arab reaction.

The ICP sees its task in continuing to promote the role of Iraq in the struggle against Israeli aggression, calls for the revitalization of the progressive National-Patriotic Front within the country and appeals to the Democratic Party of Kurdistan to step up its solidarity with the struggle of the Arab people.

LEBANON

On October 23, the Political Bureau of the Lebanese Communist Party issued a statement on the Security Council's Mideast ceasefire resolution.

While endorsing this resolution, the Political Bureau points out that a detailed defining of positions regarding the important events that have taken place requires more data and facts and consultations with progressive Lebanese and Arab forces.

The Political Bureau calls for the mounting of popular action in

all Arab countries to ensure the complete withdrawal of Israeli troops from occupied Arab territories and in defense of the national rights of the Arab people of Palestine. It also calls for vigilance regarding the maneuvers of Israel, notorious for its perfidy in relation to UN decisions, and warns against any manifestation of weakness with regard to the enemy which could encourage him to commit new acts of aggression.

The Political Bureau expresses gratitude to the Soviet Union for its military, economic and political support of the Arab peoples' struggle. The Lebanese Communist Party stresses the need to oppose all attempts of imperialism and Arab reaction to cast doubt on the Soviet Union's stand or to damage Arab-Soviet friendship and the militant solidarity of the peoples of the Soviet Union and the Arab countries.

"Unity of progressive forces in Arab countries and all over the world," the statement concludes, "is the fundamental guarantee of the continued all-round struggle for the complete liberation of occupied Arab territories and ensuring the legitimate rights of the Arab people of Palestine."

SYRIA

On November 1, the newspaper *Rude Pravo*, organ of the CC CP Czechoslovakia, carried an interview of its Beirut correspondent with Khaled Bagdash, General Secretary of the Syrian Communist Party.

Syria's people and armed forces, Kh. Bagdash said, are grateful to the Soviet Union and other socialist countries for their military and political help to the Arab countries prior to, during, and after, the hostilities.

The hostilities revealed increased Arab solidarity, Arab unity in the struggle against imperialism and Zionism. Israel was not able to destroy either the Syrian army or the progressive regime in Syria. On the contrary, Israel itself is in the grip of an acute political, social and psychological crisis.

Kh. Bagdash noted that the United States' Mideast policy has resulted in its isolation. The isolation of Israel has reached catastrophic dimensions. The Arab countries are supported by the socialist states headed by the Soviet Union, non-aligned countries, many capitalist countries, all progressives around the world.

In conclusion Kh. Bagdash noted the activity of Syrian Communists. It is seen, he said, in all spheres. Syrian Communists are defending their country at the front and in the rear. The Communist Party cooperates with all progressive parties and forces in strengthening the progressive national front of the Syrian Arab Republic and is tackling all the difficult problems raised by the war together with them.

STATEMENTS AND SPEECHES

INFORMATION ON SITUATION IN BRAZIL*

The reactionary military coup in April 1964 forced on the Brazilian people a new political regime, which at once savagely attacked the patriotic and democratic movement generally and the working-class and peasant movement in particular. Quite naturally, it directed its fiercest attacks at the Communist Party, the main leader and principal force that had mobilized the people in support of the positive aspects of the policy pursued by the Government of President Goulart.

Headed by generals, who maintained close ties with the Pentagon and drew their inspiration from U.S. imperialism, which gave them every support, the most reactionary internal elements — the landowners and big capitalists linked with the U.S. monopolies — overthrew President Juan Goulart and slowed down the democratic process that had been developing in the country since 1945. They thus managed to put a temporary halt to the revolutionary solution of Brazilian society's deep-seated structural crisis.

At the time of the coup the structural crisis was accompanied by the cyclical crisis expressed in a substantial reduction of industrial output and of the gross product, and also in a considerable growth of unemployment and in inflation, which during the first months of 1964 ran at the annual rate of 80 per cent.

THE TRUTH ABOUT THE "BRAZILIAN MIRACLE"

The economic depression which began in 1962 lasted until 1967. Brazil's economic restoration, characterized by a relatively high rate of growth of the gross national product — averaging 9 per cent annually during the three-year period of 1968-1970 and registering 11 per cent in 1971 and 10.4 per cent in 1972 — commenced only in the last four months of that year.

In their efforts to conceal the considerable number of negative aspects of the present growth for the country's genuine socio-economic advancement and obscure its high social costs, the dictatorship's propagandists assert that this growth benefits the entire nation. They laud this growth, calling it a remarkable achievement of the "March revolution" (the name they give to the 1964 military

*Circulated last October by the Communist group of the Brazilian delegation at the World Peace Congress.

coup), and in this they are echoed throughout the continent by the press subservient to imperialism, which characterizes this growth as a "Brazilian miracle," as an example worthy of emulation.

The social costs of this capitalist development are extraordinarily high, being expressed in a sharp decline of real wages, growing unemployment in the towns, a steady reduction of the number of new jobs, an increasingly more unjust distribution of the national income, a rapid growth of the country's external debt, an uninterrupted devaluation of the national currency and the stepped-up de-nationalization of the Brazilian economy.

The dictatorship's wages policy, founded on the provisions of the International Monetary Fund, led to a 40 per cent drop in real wages in the period 1964-1968. The wage increases paid out beginning in 1968 were invariably lower than the inflation rate, in other words, they were never able to come level with the soaring cost of living. A survey conducted by the Inter-Trade Union Department of Statistics and Socio-Economic Research has shown that if the minimum food ration envisaged by the law on the minimum wage is taken as the basis, in December 1971 the worker had to work 113 hours and 21 minutes a month in order only to provide himself with food, while in 1965 the same quantity of food could be acquired after working 87 hours and 20 minutes.

The distribution of the national income is becoming more and more unjust. In the period 1960 through 1970 20 per cent of the population — the section with the highest incomes — received from 54.4 to 64.1 per cent of the national income, while the share of the remaining 80 per cent of the population correspondingly dwindled. This concentration of the income becomes even more clear-cut when we learn that one per cent of the population, i.e., the richest section of the population, today receives over 17 per cent of the national income, while 50 per cent of the population, i.e., the poorest section, gets only 13.7 per cent. It may thus be said that the personal incomes of half of Brazil's population are so miserable that this half is virtually unable to take part in the organized national market.

The tax policy is one of the decisive factors of the rising cost of living and the growing exploitation of the working people. This policy is founded mainly on indirect taxes, which are growing continuously, and on the establishment of various financial funds through which the state deprives the working people of a large portion of their incomes. Moreover, in order to guarantee the external marketing of national products, whose costs are steadily rising, the dictatorship has begun to have recourse to the so-called "flexible exchange rate" aimed at further devaluating the cruzeiro. The dollar, which in 1964 was equal to 800 old cruzeiros, was in 1972 worth about 7 new cruzeiros, i.e., 7,000 old cruzeiros, or

almost nine times more. Although in the period from 1964 to 1968 the annual inflation rate dropped from 80 to 20 per cent, it has not dropped below the latter level virtually to this day. The promise given by the dictator in 1972 to reduce the rising cost of living rate from 20 to 14 per cent cannot be trusted at all because it is very far removed from the actual situation prevailing in Brazil.

The spreading de-nationalization of the Brazilian economy is yet another horrible consequence of the dictatorship's policies. The key positions in the country's economy have come under the control of the big foreign monopolies either simply through the purchase of national enterprises or through the formation of so-called mixed enterprises. In the State of Sao Paulo, economically the most developed in the country, 81.8 per cent of the industrial output of privately-run enterprises is in the hands of foreign, chiefly U.S., monopolies.

These are only some of the features of the exaggerated "Brazilian miracle," the most marked consequence of which is, along with the growing impoverishment of the working people, the colossal deterioration of the health of the population. According to official figures, in 1970 in a population of 95 million, 47 million people suffered from helminthiasis, with eight million affected by shistamiasis, the worst form of helminthiasis. As a result of malnutrition—an inadequate quantity of calories and protein — 40 per cent of the 21 million children under the age of six, i.e., over eight million, are susceptible to mental diseases.

THE "MIRACLE" AND BRAZIL'S FASCISTIZATION

The Brazilian dictatorship is pursuing the line of fascistizing the country and seeks to ensure the type of capitalist development selected by it. It has abolished all democratic freedoms, all the rights won by the working people, and enacted legislation prejudicial to the interest of the working people. In Brazil today it is a crime to stage a strike. Any opposition or resistance to the government is regarded as "Communist subversion" and may entail many years of imprisonment. An apparatus of repression that in every way resembles the nazi Gestapo, has been set up in the armed forces. Arbitrary rule and terror have become methods of administration. The people who have been arrested and sentenced for political motives — there are now several tens of thousands of such prisoners — are systematically tortured; many are killed in the prisons or directly in the streets. For the first time since the republic was proclaimed political crimes are punishable by death. A censorship that is being tightened with every passing day has been imposed on the press, books and every form of communica-

tion. Fearing the mounting opposition of the people, the military-fascist dictatorship is going to all lengths to remove the people from participation in political life. For this purpose it has abolished the direct elections of state governors that were scheduled for 1974 and replaced them with indirect elections conducted by local legislative assemblies, whose deputies may, by decision of the dictator, be deprived of their mandates at any time. The ruling military-fascist group has already groomed another notorious gorilla to take the place of the present dictator, whose term of office expires on March 15, 1974.

EXPANSIONIST POLICY OF MILITARY-FASCIST DICTATORSHIP AS A THREAT TO STRUGGLE OF LATIN AMERICAN PEOPLES

The dictatorship's anti-national and anti-workers' policy has developed into a menace not only to the existence of the Brazilian people but also to the democratic and progressive development of the neighboring fraternal peoples of Latin America.

The Brazilian dictatorship draws its strength primarily from the support it receives from U.S. imperialism. If we consider Brazil's huge territory and its population, which today tops 100 million, if to this we add its natural resources, its relatively high level of industrial development and, in particular, its geographical location in the southern part of the Atlantic Ocean (Brazil's coast is the closest point to Africa on the American continent), which is of immense strategic importance to the Pentagon, if, we repeat, all this is taken into consideration, we shall understand the reasons motivating U.S. imperialism to regard Brazil as a base vital to the strengthening of its domination throughout the whole of Latin America, as a base vital for the realization of its plans of aggression and a world war.

"Brazil is of vast importance to the security of the USA," declared Mr. William Rowntree, former U.S. Ambassador in Brazil, at a sitting of the U.S. Senate.

As U.S. imperialism fortifies its positions in Brazil, it looks for ways and means of turning that country into the policeman of Latin America, into the principal vehicle of its aggressive policy, of its policy of struggle against the national-liberation movement and against all truly popular and sovereign governments. Acting on the Nixon Doctrine, the U.S. imperialists are trying to turn the Brazilian people into cannon fodder for their military gambles in Latin America. The Brazilian people have always fought for peace. In 1951, when they still enjoyed some freedom, they did not let the government send troops to Korea. But in 1965, under conditions of the repressions by the fascist dictatorship, they had to bear the

humiliation of seeing their sons take part in the U.S. aggression against the fraternal people of the Dominican Republic.

The Brazilian dictatorship is thus a threat to the security of neighboring peoples. It has become a center of tension and war. It has made several attempts at military intervention in the affairs of neighboring states. In recent years it has on a number of occasions demonstratively concentrated its troops on the frontier with Uruguay. Similar maneuvers were undertaken on Brazil's frontiers with Bolivia on the eve of the downfall of General Torres' Government, which was in effect deposed in August 1971 by a military coup with the support and decisive participation of the Brazilian gorillas. The Brazilian dictatorship rendered similar assistance to Bordaberry during the coup in Uruguay in June 1973.

Totally subordinated to the overriding economic and political might of the U.S. monopolies, the Brazilian dictatorship plans to play the role of a privileged agent implementing U.S. policies in Latin America. The fascists aspiring to hegemony in South America are fostering in the Brazilian people a sense of exclusive, narrow and egotistical nationalism. At the same time they are adopting an expansionist and interventionist attitude toward the Latin American countries in which they are trying to bolster the resistance of the most reactionary and pro-imperialist circles, guaranteeing them credits for the purchase of Brazilian goods. Considerable sums of money are spent on projects in frontier areas, where they are building motor roads, bridges, airports, cantonments and so on. If we take the low level of development in these areas we shall find no justification for these projects. All these measures are being supplemented by the reorganization and rearmament of the Brazilian armed forces and, in particular, by the reinforcement of the units on the frontiers.

On the spurious pretext of protecting the South Atlantic from an imaginary enemy the Brazilian dictatorship is pursuing a policy of alliance with fascist Portugal and the racist government of South Africa. Further, it is striving to build up its navy, building new warships in Britain and in Brazil itself. Moreover, large sums of money are spent on the purchase of supersonic aircraft (Mirage and others) and on the building of new costly air bases. Lastly, according to data provided by the Pentagon itself, the Brazilian government is currently making its largest allocations for armaments and preparations for war in Latin America, including the expansion of the Brazilian war industry, which manufactures tanks, aircraft and warships.

All the peace forces in the world must be mobilized against the Brazilian dictatorship, which is increasingly turning into a dangerous center of war. Movements of solidarity with political prisoners in Brazil have been organized in many countries. These

movements are causing the dictatorship great anxiety. But this solidarity can and must become broader. It must mirror the interests not only of the Brazilian people, who are oppressed by the military-fascist dictatorship, but also of all the other countries threatened by that dictatorship.

TORTURE AND REPRESSIONS — FOUNDATION OF THE MILITARY-FASCIST DICTATORSHIP IN BRAZIL

Much has been written and said about the tortures and repressions under the present fascist regime in Brazil.

Here we shall mention only the official character acquired by the repressions and tortures in Brazil. There is no justification for them. They are needed only as a means of preserving the dictatorial regime. The most serious aspect of the tortures in Brazil is that, in view of their widespread use by the present regime, one cannot hope that the authorities will in any way respect the most elementary human rights.

Torture and repressions are a manifestation and the logical outcome of the establishment of the military-fascist regime in Brazil. They therefore have a definite socio-economic significance for the political struggle currently being waged in Brazil.

Independent repression agencies that are free of juridical control, for instance OBAN in Sao Paulo and CODI in Rio de Janeiro, have been set up on the basis of Institutional Act No. 5. These organizations operate by means of organized secret terror. In addition to the activities of the official police, these independent groups seize suspects, torture and very frequently kill them. After the abolition of the right of habeas corpus nothing can be done to help those who have been arrested or seized.

People who have been in the hands of the Brazilian repression organs have given documentary evidence of all the terrible tortures to which political prisoners are being subjected: pau-de-arara, electric stick, the dragon's chair, the Chinese bath, the hydraulic press, and so on.

By and large it may be said that in Brazil tortures are not a reflection of some temporary crisis or something abnormal or out of the ordinary. In effect they are an inalienable attribute of the political regime that was set up after the 1964 coup and affect ever larger sections of the population.

The reports published by the International Organization for Amnesty, the International Association of Democratic Lawyers and many Brazilian emigre organizations bear out and illustrate with facts what has been said here.

JOINT STATEMENT OF COMMUNIST PARTIES OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND

Michael O'Riordan, General Secretary of the Communist Party of Ireland, and its assistant secretary, James Stewart, visited London for talks with Gordon McLennan, Bert Ramelson and Jack Woddis of the British Party's Political Committee. Below we publish the text of the Statement published in the *Morning Star* October 25, 1973.

The situation in Northern Ireland continues to be extremely grave and the fundamental problems that gave rise to the crisis remain unresolved.

Since the Unionist pogrom of August 1969 there have been close on 900 deaths—and nearly 90 per cent of these have occurred since the Heath government.

The number of internees has now reached 1,000 — including 12 young women and four schoolboys — a total greater than there was before direct rule.

The new Emergency Provisions (Northern Ireland) Act contains all the worst features of the hated Special Powers Act.

The 26,000 British troops continue their brutal harassment of Catholics and Republicans, and now not even the Protestant working people are free from this kind of harassment.

At the same time, British secret service agencies and right wing terrorist groups continue their sectarian assassinations, which are openly incited by right wing Unionist spokesmen and publications.

As a result of the widespread discrimination and intimidation, 32,000 people have been forced to flee their homes, and 60,000 have reported to relief agencies.

One in every nine people in the Belfast area have moved home in the past four years of Northern Ireland's crisis. One in every 15 of the total population has become a victim of intimidation. In this situation all sections of the working people suffer.

The root cause of the crisis is the partition of Ireland by British imperialism over 50 years ago and the continued control of Northern Ireland by Britain, thus thwarting the aspirations of the Irish people to reunite their country.

For over 50 years British imperialism ruled Ireland through the agency of the reactionary Unionist Party, backed by the most repressive legislation and a system of sectarian discrimination which divided the working class and safeguarded the rule of the landed aristocracy and industrialists, propped up by British political, economic and military might.

The demands for civil rights and an end to the repression and discrimination were met by violence against the people and eventually, in face of the rising opposition to the Unionists, the British government imposed direct British rule under which discrimination continued, and repression was increased.

Measures have now been introduced to set up an elected assembly, and moves are afoot to create an executive on the sham basis of alleged "power sharing," which do not change fundamentally this situation.

The elections for the assembly took place under conditions of repression and harassment.

As for the proposed executive, it will have no real power to share since decisive power on all key matters in Northern Ireland rests with London and the British government.

A major purpose of the British government in establishing this new form of its control over Northern Ireland was to facilitate the entry of both Britain and Ireland into the European Common Market.

In this situation it is urgently necessary for the British people to exert maximum pressure in order to compel a decisive change in British government policy. Above all, the British trade union and labor movement must speak out forcibly.

There should be a joint meeting of the general councils of the British and Irish TUCs in order to discuss the best ways that can be devised for involving the trade unions of both countries in contributing to a solution of the problems of Northern Ireland.

Tory reaction still dominates Northern Ireland under conditions in which the brutal use of British troops against the people and the employment of harsh anti-democratic laws provide an experience and a pattern for the British ruling class which is a menace to the British people too, as recent experiences have shown.

The leaders of the British Labor Party must be forced to abandon their disastrous bi-partisan policy, as is being increasingly demanded within the Labor Party itself.

The objective of the British and Irish peoples must be political solution to the crisis and the total withdrawal of British troops.

The total withdrawal of British troops and of other British administrative bodies from Northern Ireland would clearly have to be a phased operation, linked with the successful implementation of the proposals for a settlement set out below and in accordance with the demands of the representative organizations of the Irish people.

As immediate steps to this end, the British trade union and labor movement and all democrats should campaign for the following:

- (1) Release of all internees;
- (2) Repeal of all repressive legislation, including the new Emergency Provisions (Northern Ireland) Act;
- (3) A Bill of Rights, as demanded by the 1971 annual conference of the British TUC to guarantee democratic freedoms and an end to discrimination;
- (4) Withdrawal of British troops to barracks forthwith, pending their complete withdrawal. Their behavior has become a scandal, which must be immediately ended;
- (5) Replacement of the Royal Ulster Constabulary by a non-sectarian police force under democratic control.

These initial steps, which in themselves would represent a radical break with the present policies of both the Tory government and the right wing Labor Party leaders, would help to create new conditions in Northern Ireland and make possible progress toward a solution of the basic problems of Ireland as a whole.

The British government must be forced to declare that it will allow no obstacles to be placed in the way of a united independent Ireland.

The solution of the crisis in Northern Ireland is an urgent matter requiring the joint efforts of the British and Irish peoples and their respective labor movements; and our two parties will continue to work together to achieve the aims set out in this joint statement.

JOINT CZECHOSLOVAK-YUGOSLAV COMMUNIQUE

At the invitation of Josip Broz Tito, President of the Socialist Federative Republic of Yugoslavia and Chairman of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia, Gustav Husak, General Secretary of the CC, Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, was on an official friendly visit to Yugoslavia from October 23-26, 1973.

The joint communique on the visit published in *Rude Pravo* on October 27 reads in part as follows:

Gustav Husak, General Secretary of the CC CPC, and Josip Broz Tito, President of the SFRY, Chairman of the LCY, examined the progress of relations and the possibilities of extending and deepening cooperation between the two countries and between the CPC and LCY, and exchanged views on current international issues and problems of the international working-class and Communist movement. They also informed each other of the socialist develop-

ment of the CSSR and SFRY and the activities of the CPC and LCY.

Both sides noted with satisfaction that relations between the two countries have been making good progress and that cooperation between the two Parties has likewise been expanding steadily. As both sides see it, this was due primarily to the contacts and negotiations which the two countries and Parties have had over the past two years.

Both sides expressed readiness to continue extending their bilateral cooperation in depth and breadth. They put it on record that this cooperation is based on respect for the principles of independence, equality, sovereignty and non-interference and is developing in a spirit of friendship and mutual trust, with due regard to the distinctive aspects of the internal development and international situation of both countries. This provides a solid and dependable basis for extensive and long-term cooperation in every sphere.

The General Secretary of the CC CPC and the Chairman of the LCY consider that fruitful cooperation on an equal footing between the two Parties, which are the leading political forces in the CSSR and the SFRY, is of special importance to Czechoslovak-Yugoslav relations. Proceeding from the teachings of Marx, Engels and Lenin, both sides stressed their readiness to continue their effort to ensure that cooperation between the two Parties continuously develops, using new forms and acquiring a new content. They also stressed the usefulness and need for extending cooperation and contacts between non-governmental political organizations, the parliaments, cities, enterprises and mass media of the two countries.

Gustav Husak and Josep Broz Tito devoted special attention to economic cooperation, an important area of Czechoslovak-Yugoslav relations. They stated with satisfaction that this cooperation has been steadily growing, particularly over the past two years, due to respect for the principles of mutual benefit and for the economic interests of both countries.

The two sides stressed that there exist all objective conditions for economic cooperation between the two countries to develop more rapidly and comprehensively. They agreed that this cooperation should reflect the standard of economic development achieved in either country.

Emphasis was laid in this connection on the significance and the interest which both sides have in the development of new and higher forms of economic cooperation, in the still more successful development of industrial cooperation, and in cooperation in ferrous and non-ferrous metallurgy, the power industry, agriculture and other fields, which would make it possible to create a lasting

and even broader basis for economic relations. The two sides stressed their reciprocal interest in the early development of specific forms of cooperation in the construction and use of the Adriatic pipeline, as well as in work on other long-term projects.

The two sides agreed to make joint efforts towards mutually beneficial progress in tourism, transit haulage and construction. They put on record the need to continue promoting scientific and technological cooperation, especially direct cooperation between research institutions.

Both sides took a positive view of the progress made in implementing the program for cooperation in education, culture and science and expressed the desire to work for more extensive exchanges in these fields.

G. Husak and J. Broz Tito exchanged views on topical international issues.

Both sides consider that the peoples' fight for political and economic relations based on equal rights, for independence and consistent application of the principles of peaceful coexistence and the fight against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism are inseparable from the struggle for world peace and universal progress. This fight is closely linked with the growing influence of the working class and other progressive forces, the peace policy of socialist countries and the readiness of numerous other countries to contribute to lasting peace and to progress in international cooperation based on equal rights.

Both sides spoke highly of the results of the recent Fourth Conference of the heads of state and government of non-aligned countries in Algiers and stressed its great international significance.

Both sides condemned Israel most emphatically for blatantly ignoring and brazenly flouting the UN decision and for trying to impose solutions running counter to the vital interests of Arab countries, the UN Charter and world peace.

Both sides most resolutely support the Arab peoples' right to fight for the liberation of their territories, against Israeli aggression. They consider that Israeli aggression in the Middle East must be curbed, that Israel must immediately withdraw from all occupied Arab territories and that it is necessary to implement the national rights of the Arab people of Palestine and safeguard the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of the countries of this region.

Both sides consider that the events in Chile are a component of more far-reaching plans of aggression by imperialism and international reaction. They emphatically condemn the overthrow of Chile's lawful government and the assassination of President Salvador Allende.

G. Husak and J. Broz Tito stress the historic significance of the heroic Vietnamese people's victory and reaffirm their resolute support for the peoples of Indochina and their fight for complete independence and the right to shape their destiny freely and without foreign interference, in keeping with their interests. Both sides extend all-round support to the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Vietnam. They welcome the signing of the Paris agreement on Vietnam, as well as the agreements establishing peace and national concord in Laos and the attached protocol, and insist that these agreements be consistently and strictly implemented. They condemn continuing imperialist interference in the internal affairs of Cambodia and signify their full support for the liberation struggle of that country's people.

Both sides support the Korean people's fight for realization of the proposal put forward by the government of the Korean People's Democratic Republic to unify the country by peaceful means.

Both sides are deeply convinced that peace and international security are inseparable in present-day conditions and should encompass all regions and countries of the world. The CSSR and SFRY and the CPC and LCY are of the opinion that peace and international security neither are nor can be a matter for a narrow circle of countries and that the effort to preserve peace and security is a right and duty of every country.

Stressing the importance of détente in Europe and of cooperation between all European countries on the basis of equality, the two sides stressed the necessity for these processes to extend to every part of the European continent.

They confirmed their readiness to continue their efforts in common with other European countries towards safeguarding lasting peace, security and cooperation in Europe on the basis of equality. The meeting on European security and cooperation should go a considerable way to attain these goals.

Both sides stress that the signing of an agreement on mutual relations between the CSSR and FRG would constitute a notable step towards eliminating the severe effects of the Second World War and would be very important to promoting confidence and consolidating positive changes in Europe.

The CSSR and SFRY especially point out the significance of the United Nations and the role which it must play in promoting peace and encouraging international cooperation on an equal basis and in solving international problems by peaceful means.

G. Husak and J. Broz Tito put it on record with satisfaction that an interesting and useful exchange of views had taken place during the visit. At the same time they expressed confidence that the talks held would make for even closer friendly relations and all-

round cooperation between the two countries as well as between the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia and the League of Communists of Yugoslavia.

Gustav Husak, General Secretary of the CC CPC, invited Josip Broz Tito, President of the SFRY, Chairman of the LCY, to pay an official friendly visit to the CSSR. The invitation was accepted with satisfaction.

JOINT KOREAN-BULGARIAN COMMUNIQUE

Abridged text of a joint communique issued in Pyongyang November 1, 1973, on a visit to the Korean People's Democratic Republic of a Party-Government delegation of the People's Republic of Bulgaria headed by Todor Zhivkov, First Secretary, CC BCP, Chairman of the State Council of PRB.

The delegations informed one another about the situation in their countries and discussed relations between the KPDR and the PRB and a number of international questions of mutual concern.

Both sides expressed satisfaction that the relations of friendship and cooperation between the Parties, governments and peoples of the KPDR and the PRB are continuously progressing and developing on the basis of the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, in the interests of the cohesion of the socialist countries and the international Communist movement.

Both sides stressed the great importance of studying each other's experience of socialist construction and agreed to exchange information and strengthen ties and contacts between the two Parties and countries.

The Bulgarian side denounced the imperialists and their lackeys for their plan of simultaneous admission of the two Koreas to the United Nations and their attempts to perpetuate the split of Korea, demanding the withdrawal of American troops from South Korea and the immediate dissolution of the "UN Commission for Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea."

The Bulgarian side also denounced the repressions and acts of terror of the puppet clique of Park Chung Hee against the people fighting for freedom and democracy in South Korea and for the unification of the country.

The Korean side supported the peace-loving and constructive policy of the PRB aimed at establishing good-neighborly relations

on the Balkan Peninsula and strengthening peace and security in Europe and the world as a whole.

The Bulgarian side expressed its gratitude to the Korean Party of Labor, the government of the KPDR and the Korean people for their support of socialist construction in Bulgaria and the peaceful foreign policy of the PRB.

The sides noted that, as a result of the active struggle of the socialist countries, the international Communist and workers' movement, the national-liberation movement, progressive and democratic forces, the international situation is changing in favor of peace, national independence, social progress, democracy and socialism.

The socialist countries play an important part in the easing of international tensions.

The sides stressed the need for firmer unity of all anti-imperialist forces for the struggle against the imperialist policies of aggression and war.

The sides expressed their resolve to strive for the unity, cohesion and cooperation of the socialist countries and Communist and Workers' Parties on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism and actively support the peoples' national-liberation struggle.

Both sides supported the persistent efforts of the European peoples, in particular the peoples of the socialist countries, in the struggle to ensure peace and security in Europe. The Bulgarian side informed the Korean side about the work of the all-European conference in defense of peace in Europe and around the world.

The sides denounced the new aggressive acts of Israel, supported by American imperialism and Zionism, against the Arab peoples and voiced their solidarity with the struggle of Egypt, Syria and other Arab countries for the return of Arab territories occupied by Israel, ensuring the legitimate rights of the Palestine people and the establishment of a firm and just peace in the Middle East.

The sides resolutely denounced the actions of Chilean reaction which, supported by imperialist forces, engineered a fascist military coup, overthrew the Popular Unity government and killed the legal President, Salvador Allende, and resolutely demanded the release of the arrested leaders of the Communist and Socialist Parties and other patriots and an end to the bloody repressions of the reactionary Chilean military.

On behalf of the CC BCP, the State Council and Council of Ministers of the PRB, Todor Zhivkov invited a Party-Government delegation of the KPDR headed by Kim Il-Sung, General Secretary of the CC KPL, President of the KPDR, to come to the People's Republic of Bulgaria on an official friendly visit. The invitation was gratefully accepted.

FROM THE PARTY PRESS

THE DEMOCRATIC WAY AND REACTIONARY VIOLENCE

Second article on the events in Chile* by Enrico Berlinguer, General Secretary of the Italian Communist Party, in *Rinascita* on October 5.

We should always bear in mind the basic reasons why we adopted and carried out the political strategy which Togliatti described as "Italy's progress towards socialism in democratic and peaceful conditions." It is common knowledge that we were moved by the ideas and work of Antonio Gramsci and his leading associates who followed his instructions and behests. The 1926 Lyons Congress of the ICP was a victory in the struggle against extremism and sectarianism, characteristic of the Party's work in its initial stage and which Lenin subjected to sharp criticism and urged the ICP to overcome. The Lyons Congress produced the Communist analysis of the history of structure of Italian society later elaborated by Gramsci in his "Prison Notebooks" and likewise in the orientation and activity of the leading group headed by Togliatti, which guided the Party during the fascist years and enabled it to carry on its political work.

But the decisive factor in the life of the Party and the country, the factor asserting and consolidating the historical and political option which has influenced all our activity, was our course towards unity followed during the anti-fascist war of liberation and after the Salerno events, which became a turning point.

After liberation, when the democratic rights had been won, Italy was a country occupied by the armies of capitalist powers (United States and Great Britain). It was impermissible to underestimate this situation then just as later, and even today (as we have already noted) we should not underestimate Italy's participation in a definite military-political bloc. In such countries as Greece, for instance, where in 1945 all aspects of this international condition were not properly considered, the workers' and Communist movement took an adventurist path, suffered a tragic defeat and was flung back to those underground conditions from which it had barely emerged.

*See first article in the preceding issue of the Bulletin.—Ed.

But this was not the sole factor determining our choice of strategy and tactics. The greatest change lay in the Communist Party's need and determination to consider the history of Italy and, therefore, all of the historical forces (Socialist, Catholic and other democratic forces) that were active in the country and which together with us fought for democracy, independence and unity. The new factor was that the unity built up during the war of liberation between these forces embraced the proletariat, peasants, broad segments of the petty bourgeoisie, including some groups of the progressive middle bourgeoisie, a large part of the massive Catholic movement and also soldiers and officers of the armed forces.

"We were in the front ranks among the initiators, organizers and leaders of this unity, which had its own program for renovating the life of the country, a program only partly set down on paper, but one which aimed at establishing a progressive political democratic regime, at introducing economic and social reforms and bringing to power a new bloc of progressive forces. It was our policy to openly and consistently work for this because it means democratic development and social renewal in the direction of socialism.

"Consequently we were not forced to choose between an uprising fraught with the possibility of defeat, and the road of tranquil evolution with no critical situations or risks. We were faced with only one possible path dictated by objective conditions, our victories in the struggle, unity and the programs that emerged in the course of struggle. Striving to overcome all the obstacles and opposition, it was necessary to assume leadership over the mass movement which had successfully overcome the ordeals of civil war. This was the most revolutionary task of that period, on which we concentrated all our efforts." Such was Togliatti's brief analysis of our policy in his report to the 10th Party Congress.

We are well aware that the splitting policy used against the unity of the popular and anti-fascist forces by home and international conservative and reactionary groups and the Christian-Democratic Party (a policy for which the country paid dearly) interrupted the process of renovation initiated by the Resistance Movement. However, it failed to destroy that process. In spite of all attempts to engineer a split, strong and lasting ties were preserved in the country and in the people's consciousness and in recent years these ties have started expanding and becoming stronger socially and politically though obviously in new forms but with participation of the same historical forces which had joined together during the Resistance.

Consequently, our main task (a quite feasible one) is to broaden the unity, consolidate the majority of the people on the basis of the program for democratic improvement and renovation of society and the state, and see to it that there should be a bloc of political

forces consonant with this program and this majority, and capable of carrying out the program. This and only this course can isolate and defeat the conservative and reactionary groups, make democracy strong and invincible, and help transform society. At the same time this is the only possible means of creating conditions for the building of a socialist society and a socialist state, which would assure the full use and flowering of all the freedoms.

We have always known that the ruling social groups and their state apparatus will resist the advance of the working classes and democracy by all possible means. And we have also always known that — as the tragic events in Chile showed again — anti-democratic reaction is especially violent and brutal when popular forces take over the main levers of power in the state and in society. But what conclusion must we draw? Perhaps the conclusion offered by the wretches who suggest renouncing democracy and unity, and opting for a strategy built on empty talk, which can well be predicted to quickly and inevitably isolate and cause the defeat of the vanguard? No, we hold that if the ruling social groups set out to murder democracy, divide the country and unleash reactionary violence, this should redouble our determination to defend freedom and democratic progress, to strive to prevent a vertical division of the country, to work still more assiduously, still more cleverly and patiently for the isolation of the reactionary groups, and seek understanding and agreement among all the popular forces.

True, even this course, no matter how consistently applied by the revolutionary vanguard, does not rule out an open reactionary offensive. But will anyone deny that it would make the offensive more difficult and, in any case, provide more favorable conditions for nipping it in the bud?

In sum, the chance of reactionary violence "should not create," as Comrade Longo said, "a duality of perspective or practical preparation." And in reply to those who ask, particularly in connection with the events in Chile, how to rally and accumulate strength in order to frustrate the offensive of reaction, we cite the words of Comrade Longo: "By improving organization, mobilization and the combat preparedness of the people, by fortifying and expanding the militant alliance of the working class and the popular masses each day, and by thereby exercising our leading class role in the course of the struggle." Consequently, the point revolves round the "degree of this mobilization and this combat preparedness" of the working class and the majority of the nation.

It was firmness and consistency in following these principles and methods of political struggle that enabled us to overthrow the fascist tyranny, restore the democratic regime and frustrate the assaults of conservative and reactionary forces (from Scelba to Andreotti) on the free institutions and the labor and popular move-

ment. This is what happened after 1947-1948 in the battle against discrimination and persecution, and countering the encroachments on freedom by the centrist governments. This is what happened in 1953, when the attempt to distort the results of elections and representation in parliament in an anti-democratic spirit by means of a fraudulent election law, was frustrated. This is what happened in 1960 when the authoritarian ambitions of the Tambroni government were also thwarted. This happened in 1964 in combating the anti-democratic maneuvers and plans for a reactionary coup d'etat, whose authors tried to use a section of the armed forces and state security units against the republic. And it likewise happened in 1969 in countering a series of provocative actions and attempts at a reactionary and fascist mutiny inspired and backed by imperialist elements in other countries, with whose assistance attempts were made to create a situation of extreme tension and political and economic turmoil that would pave the way to anti-constitutional authoritarian decisions or, at least, a definitive shift to the Right.

In all these cases, we always responded by defending freedom and democracy and rallying the working and popular masses to the struggle, often a highly acute struggle, seeking the broadest possible agreement, the broadest possible unity of all forces committed to the principles of the anti-fascist constitution.

This experience of the working class, the Italian people and our Party, reveals the somewhat abstract nature of the theses that schematically reduce the choice of operative strategy of the movement towards socialism to the dilemma between the peaceful and non-peaceful way. The recent social and political developments in Italy were peaceful in the sense that there was no civil war. But, certainly, they were not tranquil or bloodless: they always involved bitter struggle, acute crises and collisions, and more or less deep-going splits or threats of splits. To opt for the democratic way does not mean to nourish futile hopes of a smooth and uncontested evolution of society from capitalism to socialism.

We have also always held that it is wrong to regard the democratic way as simply a parliamentary way. Unlike some people who suffer from anti-parliamentary cretinism, we are not in the least afflicted with parliamentary cretinism. For us parliament is an important institution in Italy's political life. And this it is not only today, but also will be during the transition to, and building of, socialism. Our approach is doubly true, because the revival and renewal of the parliamentary institution is in Italy's case first and foremost an achievement of the working class and the laboring masses. Consequently, parliament should not be regarded or used—as was the case in Lenin's time and as may happen in other countries—merely as a medium for exposing the failings of capi-

talism and of bourgeois governments, and for propagating socialism. In Italy's case, parliament is also, and above all, an institution in which representatives of the working-class movement exercise their political and legislative prerogatives, in concrete forms, striving to influence national policy and consolidate their guiding role. But parliament cannot fulfil its purpose unless, as Togliatti put it, it is ever more a "mirror of the country" and unless the parliamentary activity of the working-class party is linked with the mass struggle and accompanied by growing democratic strength in society and by a consolidation of democratic and constitutional principles in all fields and organs.

This concrete orientation was the basis for the many battles we have fought in defense of the republic and the constitution, so that, by winning women's suffrage, there should be truly general elections, so that there should be truly proportional representation to countervail the attempts to eliminate it, so that the prerogatives of parliament should be securely guaranteed to countervail all the attempts of the executive power and other centers of economic, political and administrative power to curtail or emasculate them, and so that the principle and practice of free dialectics should prevail among all the democratic forces represented in parliament, ending any and all discrimination. And this has been the orientation in our struggle for a system of regional self-government, the struggle to assure respect for the autonomy and powers of the local bodies of government.

But there is another, highly important aspect to our democratic strategy. The working-class movement's determination to fight within the framework of democratic legality does not mean that we have succumbed to legalitarian illusions and are blind to our important obligation—that of acting tirelessly (both when we are in the government, and when in opposition) for a sweeping democratic renewal of the laws, regulations, structure and apparatus of the state.

Our own experience, even more than that of other countries, brings home the necessity to combine the struggle for economic and social change with the struggle for the renewal of all the organs of state. And this struggle must be fought in two directions: on the one hand, all institutions of the state, and all those who work in them, should be ever more deeply imbued with principles based on conscious fidelity and loyalty to the constitution and close affinity to the working people, and, on the other, there should be actions to promote democratization of organization and the entire life of the judiciary, the armed forces, and the entire state apparatus. Such activity could prevent the process of democratic change from being one-sided, upsetting the balance between the

various affected sectors and sectors left out of the process or sectors occupying hostile positions. This is a risky thing, a serious risk that may well become fatal.

In the final analysis, the success of the democratic way to socialism depends on the ability of the working-class movement to make its options and appraise its actions not only in relation to the international situation, but also in relation to the concrete balance of strength in each situation and at every point in time. It depends on the labor movement's skill weighing each reaction and counter-reaction to its reconstructive activity in society—the economy, the structure and apparatus of the state, the behavior and orientation of the different social and political forces, and their mutual relations.

In sum, we are again faced with the problem of the criteria of the relation of strength, the policy of alliances, the connection between social changes and economic development, and the problems of political blocs.
