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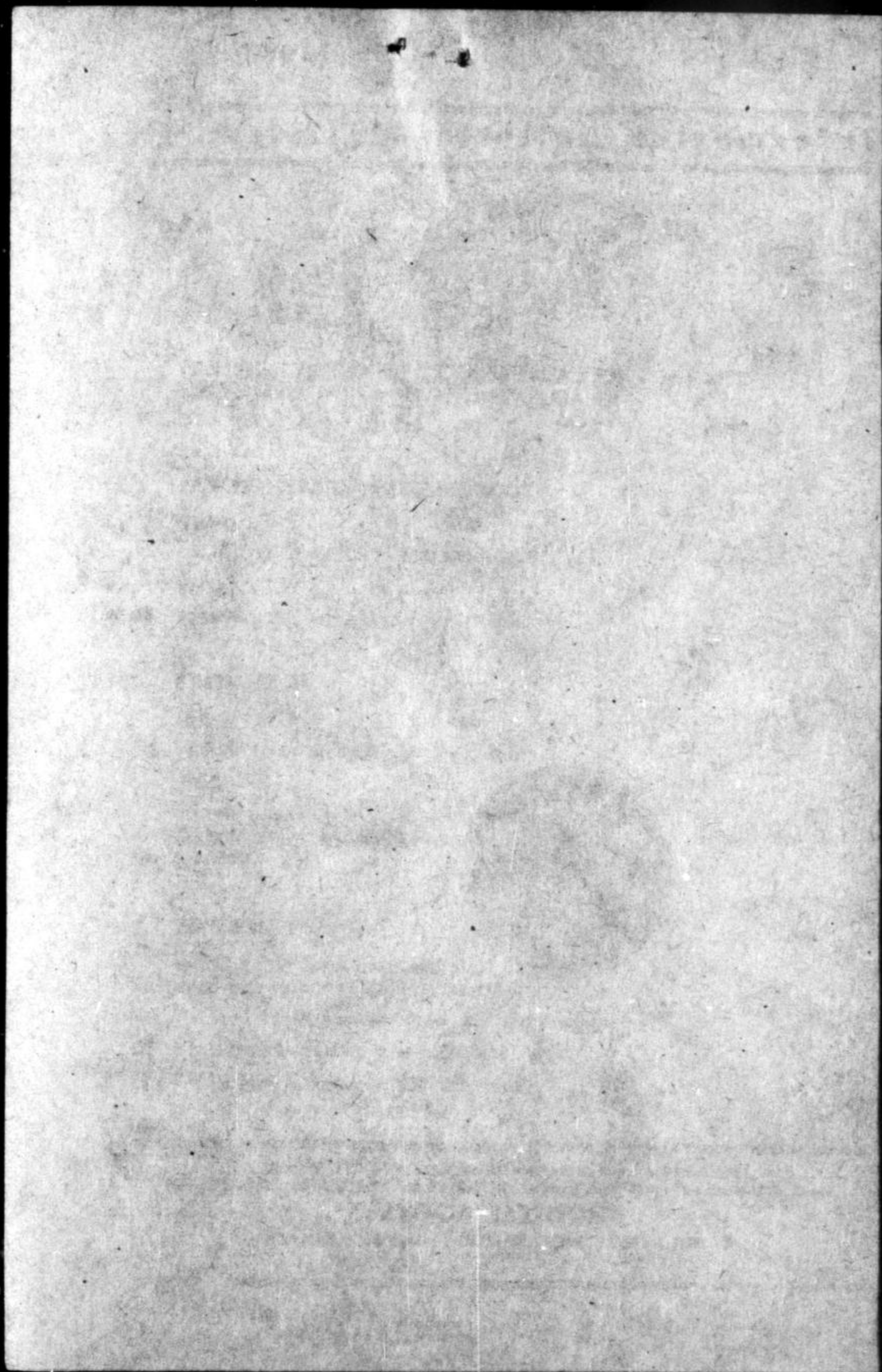
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OCTOBER
REVOLUTION
LIVES ON**

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CP of GB**

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THE CAUSE OF THE OCTOBER REVOLUTION LIVES IN THE ACHIEVEMENT OF THE PARTY AND THE PEOPLE

**REPORT BY A. P. KIRILENKO AT THE KREMLIN PALACE OF
CONGRESSES ON NOVEMBER 6, 1973**

Dear comrades,

Esteemed foreign guests,

We have assembled today to festively observe a great and radiant holiday, an occasion which is near and dear to the heart of Soviet man, the 25th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution.

Every post-revolutionary year becomes an important milestone in the implementation of the ideals of the first victorious proletarian revolution in history, revealing with increasing clarity its worldwide historic significance.

The October Revolution was a powerful accelerator of social progress. The building up of a developed socialist society in our country, the emergence and consolidation of the world system of socialism, the development of the international communist movement into the most influential political force of our time, the downfall of colonialism and the establishment of dozens of independent national states — these revolutionary events of the epoch opened up by the October Revolution have radically altered the social and political pattern of the world.

The Great October Revolution is not merely past history, it is the present-day, the throbbing destiny of generations of revolutionaries, the architects of the new world who are daringly paving the road to a better future. The Communist Parties, the international working class, the broad masses of working people are waging a persistent struggle for the lofty ideals and objectives proclaimed by Vladimir Ilyich Lenin — "To liberate nations from imperialism, to put an end to wars among nations, to overthrow capital and to win socialism." (V. I. Lenin, *Coll. Works*, V. 28, p. 167.) Therefore the anniversary of the October Revolution is observed by working men on all continents. They perceive in it the dawn of a new epoch, the beginning of the true history of mankind, which is advancing towards, and will without fail reach the coveted goal — communism.

Comrades, our country has a fine tradition — to observe the anniversary of the October Revolution not only as a great festival,

but as a day when Soviet people review another year of struggle and work, and mentally check their course against the reliable compass of Leninism. We can do this today with a feeling of legitimate pride. The 56th year of post-revolutionary advance has been marked by new victories for our policy of peace, great successes in all the main areas of communist construction, the further strengthening of the fraternal friendship of the USSR peoples, and the unbreakable unity of Soviet society around the Leninist Party.

Our heroic working class, collective-farm peasantry and people's intelligentsia regard the policy of the Party as their own cause. They are imbued with determination to fulfill the magnificent tasks set forth by the 24th Congress of the CPSU.

I. FROM THE DECREE ON PEACE TO THE PEACE PROGRAM

Comrades, the Great October Revolution, combining the ideas of socialism and peace, started off revolutionary changes throughout the whole system of international relations.

It is noteworthy that the first legislative act of Soviet power was the Decree on Peace, written by V. I. Lenin and adopted on the night of November 7-8, 1917. It gave expression to the principles of a fundamentally new, socialist foreign policy. The Decree declared the imperialist war "the greatest of crimes against humanity" (V. I. Lenin, *Coll. Works*, V. 26, p. 250) and proclaimed the principles of a just, democratic peace.

The subsequent international work of our Party and Soviet state has had, and continues to have, tremendous influence upon the entire world's development. The Land of Soviets was, and remains in the eyes of hundreds of millions of people, the standard bearer of the fight for peace and social progress.

More than half a century after the October Revolution, the Leninist principles of foreign policy, having splendidly stood the test of time and having been creatively developed to apply to the present conditions, have found expression in the decisions of the 24th Congress of the CPSU, and in the Peace Program it adopted. Presenting it to the Congress, Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the CPSU, stressed: "The Soviet Union has countered the aggressive policy of imperialism with its policy of active defense of peace and the strengthening of international security."

We note with profound satisfaction the great favorable changes in the international arena, achieved in the course of the implementation of the Peace Program, inseparably associated with the many-sided and purposeful work of the Party, the Central Committee of the CPSU, its Politbureau, and the General Secretary of

the Central Committee, Comrade L. I. Brezhnev. Leonid Ilyich, with his tremendous political experience, profound understanding of our times, and highly principled Party approach, has shown himself to be a Party and state leader of the Leninist type, an outstanding leader of the international Communist and working-class movement. His personal contribution to the elaboration and conduct of the foreign policy of our Party is a remarkable example of the creative application and development of Lenin's ideas, and the theory of international relations. The award to Leonid Ilyich Brezhnev of the Lenin Prize "For the Promotion of Peace Among Nations," and the large-scale response to this act, in our country and abroad, are justly regarded by our Party and Soviet people as a tribute of profound gratitude and respect to the General Secretary of the Central Committee of the CPSU for his noble work on behalf of socialism and world peace.

Comrades, the growth in strength and influence of world socialism — the main revolutionary force of our epoch — is of prime importance from the point of view of both the current and long-range tasks of the struggle for peace and social progress. The 56th year since the October Revolution has been marked by solid successes gained by the fraternal countries in the construction of a new life, and in the strengthening of socialism's international positions. This has found expression in the historic victory of the heroic Vietnamese people, in the liquidation of the political blockade of the German Democratic Republic, in further strengthening the unity of the socialist countries, and their Communist and Workers' Parties. The relations among them are becoming more and more profound, diversified and effective. The Crimea Meeting of the leaders of the fraternal Parties, held this summer, made a major contribution to the coordination of the foreign-policy efforts of the socialist countries, to the international cause of socialist and communist construction.

Today, when the countries of the socialist camp have reached a high level of economic development, and when they have a ramified system of relationships, particularly within the framework of CMEA, everything necessary is available to accelerate socialist economic integration, along the lines of the practical implementation of the jointly adopted Comprehensive Program.

The stronger and more united the community of socialist states and the greater its economic and defense potential, the stronger is its influence on the course of world developments, the more successful the peoples' liberation struggle, and the more reliable the great cause of peace for which all progressive mankind is fighting.

The peaceful offensive of the Soviet Union and the fraternal socialist countries, supported by the international communist and workers' movement and all progressive forces, has already yielded

highly substantial results. The events of the current year attest to the further development of the relations of peaceful coexistence between states with differing social systems, to the continuing switchover from the "cold war" to détente, and mutually advantageous cooperation.

The visits made by Comrade L. I. Brezhnev to the Federal Republic of Germany, to the United States of America and to France have played a large and generally recognized part in this. Comrade N. V. Podgorny, President of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, and Comrade A. N. Kosygin, Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR, also visited a number of countries. Well-known important documents were signed.

Major and most promising developments have taken place in the European political situation. The results of the war against fascism and of postwar developments have been secured. The agreements with the FRG concluded by the Soviet Union, Poland and the GDR proceed from the existing realities, including the inviolability of the present frontiers in Europe. The All-European Conference, whose very convocation was an outstanding result of many years' effort by the USSR and other socialist countries, has successfully begun. The peoples of Europe expect the early completion of the Conference, and that it will fulfil its tasks. It has been called upon to lay an even stronger foundation for the work of turning Europe into a zone of stable peace, good-neighborliness and cooperation. We consider that the talks on the reduction of armed forces and armaments in Central Europe, which have recently commenced in Vienna, can and should facilitate a deepening of the process of détente on the continent.

Our mutually beneficial relations with such European states as France, our traditional partner, the FRG, with which we are connected by the Treaty of 1970 and a number of other important agreements, Italy, Finland, our neighbor, the Scandinavian countries are developing successfully. To a certain extent, the atmosphere in relations between the USSR and Britain is improving.

We attribute great importance to our relations with the United States of America. During the past two years, against the stubborn opposition of some circles in the USA, Soviet-American relations took a turn towards détente, and prospects of mutually advantageous cooperation are opening up. Important joint documents were signed, and particular mention should be made of the Basic Principles of Relations between the USSR and the USA, the agreement, of unlimited duration, on the prevention of nuclear war, and initial agreements on the limitation of strategic offensive arms.

We shall strictly abide by the signed agreements, since we are confident that this meets the interests of both countries and the cause of world peace. Naturally, we proceed from the belief that

the American side will also act in keeping with the spirit and letter of the concluded agreements.

Broadening its mutually advantageous relations with capitalist countries, including the largest of them, the Soviet Union is motivated by the principle that cooperation between states cannot, and must not, damage the security and legitimate interests of other states.

The attempts at distorting the substance of the Soviet foreign policy, and among them concoctions regarding some "conspiracy of superpowers," give away their authors as enemies of an improvement in the international climate.

The role of the non-aligned states in the world arena has been growing over the past few years, and the anti-imperialist orientation of the policy pursued by the majority of these countries is becoming more pronounced.

It is gratifying that Asia is becoming involved more and more actively in the process of détente. We welcome the continued normalization between such two states on that continent as India and Pakistan. The international position of the young state of Bangladesh is growing stronger.

We are confident that this year will be marked by considerable new progress in our relations with India, whose friendship and cooperation Soviet people highly value. The traditional friendly relations between the USSR and Afghanistan are developing successfully. We maintain normal relations with Iran and Turkey. We are prepared to develop further our relations with these countries. There is definite progress in the development of good-neighborly relations with Japan. We stand for the development and deepening of these relations, and will do all we can towards this end.

I wish to note that a political détente favors the broadening of mutually advantageous economic, scientific and technical relations among states with differing social systems. These are beginning to acquire such scope and character that they may be expected to develop in future into an increasingly important material factor in peaceful relations among states.

All this gives grounds for saying that good conditions are being created for the attainment of the objective set by the April (1973) Plenary Meeting of the CPSU Central Committee — to make the favorable changes which are taking place in the world arena irreversible.

As to the concrete measures taken by the Soviet Union in this direction, they have been thoroughly described by Comrade L. I. Brezhnev in his brilliant and interesting speech at the World Congress of Peace Forces on October 26. The representatives of the progressive public of the world stress that this speech helps them understand the peculiarities of the present international

situation more deeply, provides them with an inspiring stimulus in their noble struggle, and instills in them confidence and optimism. According to statements made by Congress participants, L. I. Brezhnev's speech is "a dignified and encouraging appeal to the wisdom of mankind," and stimulates vigorous activity in defense of the peace and security of the peoples.

The recent Congress, which was attended by delegates from 143 countries, was the most representative forum in the entire history of the public movement for peace. Prepared and sponsored by hundreds of organizations, parties and groups, international and national, it has rightly been called the first general assembly of the peoples of the world. It provided a moving demonstration of the mounting activity and understanding of the peace-loving forces of the world. The ardent appeal of the Congress to peoples and states, and the documents it adopted attest to the preparedness of the peace forces to act in an even more organized and determined manner against imperialist dictates and violence in international affairs, and to struggle for the exclusion of wars from the life of society. The Congress has again illustrated how highly the world public appraises the part played by our country in the struggle for the vital interests and aspirations of mankind.

There is profound significance in the fact that a congress of such great prestige was held in Moscow. The city has long since become a symbol of the unity of fighters for peace and social justice. All who have dedicated themselves to the service of the people, all whose activity is inspired by ideals of humanism and progress, turn their eyes with confidence and respect to Moscow, the Hero-City, the capital of the first country of socialism.

Comrades, international détente is not a straightforward process without obstacles. In some areas, owing to the aggressive policy of reactionary quarters, there are still seats of dangerous conflicts and, what is more, military clashes take place. Last month, through the fault of the Israeli aggressors who are impudently occupying Arab territories, war again broke out in the Middle East.

The development of the situation in that area, and specifically recent events, prove irrefutably the validity of the proposition upon which we have insisted all these years, and which we are also stressing now: lasting peace in the Middle East can be achieved only on the basis of the liberation of all territories occupied by Israel, and of ensuring the legitimate rights of the Arab people of Palestine. This is the core, the crux of the problem.

Now, after yet another military explosion in the Middle East, this should be understood, at long last, both by the leaders of Israel, and by those who support them. Then, and then only, will the road to the real solution of the problem be open.

Events have shown the firm determination of the Arab countries

to put a stop to the occupation of their territories. This determination has found reflection in the increased consolidation of the Arab World, and also in a much higher combat spirit among Arab armies.

Our country, true to the principles of solidarity with the struggle against aggression, for independence and the rights of nations, has rendered, and will continue to render, the necessary aid and support to the Arab states, victims of Israeli aggression in their righteous cause. Working in contact and concord with the friendly Arab states, the Soviet Union took an active part in diplomatic measures directed toward the earliest termination of the war and settlement of the conflict.

At present, when representatives of Egypt and Israel, with UN representatives in attendance, are meeting on the question of the reinstatement of the situation which existed on October 22, an urgent necessity, and the first step toward the settlement of the conflict as a whole, is the withdrawal of Israel's troops to the positions they occupied when the cease-fire according to the decision of the UN Security Council, came into force. It is common knowledge that Israel crassly and treacherously violated this decision of the Security Council as well, and continued hostilities. To tell the truth, this alone makes Israel deserving of the strictest sanctions provided for in such cases by the UN Charter.

Therefore, the prime and necessary step for the transition to a fundamental political settlement of the conflict should be the withdrawal of Israel's troops to the October 22 cease-fire line. Nobody can doubt the correctness of this approach, based on the Security Council's decisions, which have been supported by peace forces throughout the world.

While understanding the entire complexity of the situation in the Middle East, it may be noted nevertheless that the conditions for a just and lasting settlement of the crisis in that area are more favorable now than they have ever been before.

May I stress that in this case, just as always when the matter at issue is the strengthening of the foundation of a just peace, freedom and national independence, the Land of Soviets has been, and will be, on the side of the peoples who in the face of imperialist encroachments defend their sacred right to be masters in their own home, on their own land, and who strive for a new, better life.

Soviet foreign policy, which stems from the very nature of socialism, is a truly peace-loving policy. At the same time it has no illusions regarding imperialism. Our Party takes into consideration that influential reactionary circles, the rabid foes of peace and social progress, and the manufacturers of arms who derive thousands of millions in profit from the arms race, will go to any lengths in an attempt to reverse the course of history, to aggravate international tension. This is why we will continue, in future too, to

work tirelessly to maintain the defensive might of our country at the necessary standard, and to strengthen our gallant armed forces. Soviet soldiers live one and the same life with the people, and they are infinitely dedicated to the cause of the Leninist Party. All honor and glory to the heroic Soviet Army, which is reliably guarding the great achievements of the October Revolution, and the peaceful work of the builders of communism.

Speaking of the enemies of improving the world situation, mention has to be made also of the fact that the leaders of China still remain in the same camp with the protagonists of the "cold war." Peking's current policy is an aggressive policy. Merging with the most extreme reaction, it has turned into an instrument for undermining international détente; it is directed against world socialism and the national-liberation movement. This has been revealed again by the 10th Congress of the Communist Party of China, and by the subsequent actions of China's leaders, specifically in connection with the war in the Middle East and the counter-revolutionary coup in Chile.

Despite the known and persistent initiatives taken by us with the idea of normalizing Soviet-Chinese interstate relations, the leaders of the People's Republic of China, as formerly, continue to artificially fan up hostility in their country against the Soviet Union, engage in a rampant anti-Soviet slander campaign, raise a hue and cry about a make-believe "threat from the North," and about some Soviet wish to "isolate" China. It is therefore clear that a turn towards an improvement in Soviet-Chinese relations can take place only when this hostile activity against our Motherland and other socialist countries stops.

Comrades, the communist and workers' movements in capitalist countries play a considerable part in the current favorable developments in the international arena, and in the social renovation of the world. As a result of joint action by fraternal Parties, the political platform set forth by them at the 1969 Meeting has been fulfilled in considerable measure. Drawing on the great principles of Marxism-Leninism, and making effective use of such a reliable force of proletarian internationalism as collective constructive thought and agreement in action will enable Communists to successfully cope with the problems arising in the new stage of international development.

The achievements of the revolutionary forces are indubitable, but the tragic turn of events in Chile is a call to vigilance: the forces of imperialism and reaction miss no opportunity to launch a counter-attack. In Chile they have temporarily seized the upper hand. The fascist military, supported by external reactionary forces, have trampled underfoot the democratic freedoms and social gains of the working people. For almost two months a sanguinary terror

has been rampant in the country. Thousands of patriots have perished, thousands of others have been imprisoned and subjected to torture and humiliation. President Salvador Allende fell at his post. A deadly menace is threatening our comrade-in-arms Luis Corvalan, the tested leader of the Chilean Communists, whom we have more than once welcomed in this hall.

Together with the progressives of the world we resolutely demand: freedom for Luis Corvalan! Our Party, and all Soviet people express ardent fraternal solidarity with the Chilean people, the Communists, Socialists, and patriots of Chile. We are confident that the hangmen will not escape the popular wrath. The cause of freedom and democracy is inextinguishable, and it will triumph!

Whatever turn events may take in one or another area of the world, they cannot alter the general direction of mankind's advancement along the highway paved by the Great October Socialist Revolution. The Revolution's ideas, its principles of relations among states and peoples, are winning ever broader international recognition, and are becoming an increasingly weighty political factor.

As before, we shall continue to advance along the tested Leninist course! May the ideas of the Peace Program triumph!

II. DYNAMIC ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT: THE VERY BASIS OF OUR MOTHERLAND'S MIGHT

Comrades,

The solution of all the tasks Soviet society sets itself — be it improving the well-being of the people or strengthening peace, accelerating scientific and technological progress or influencing the world revolutionary process, above all, by force of example — depends, to a tremendous extent, on our successes in economic construction. Awareness by Soviet working people of the historic role of their daily work in factory shops and on construction sites, in collective-farm fields or in research laboratories is a powerful source of inspiration for them.

In exercising leadership of construction of the new society, the Communist Party is unswervingly following Lenin's instruction "to regard the all-out strengthening of the country's productive forces as the main and basic thing determining the entire economic policy of Soviet power" (V. I. Lenin, *Coll. Works*, Russ. ed., V. 38, p. 433.). A tangible result of this policy is the continuous advance of our national economy, the creation of an economy of developed socialism with its powerful production base and high scientific and technical potential which would make it possible to solve new great and complex socio-economic problems.

This year, the Soviet people celebrate the anniversary of the

October Revolution in an atmosphere of selfless struggle for the fulfilment of the decisions of the 24th CPSU Congress. Marked by many remarkable initiatives, the year 1973 will by right go down in the annals of the Ninth Five-Year Plan as a year of outstanding labor achievements of the working class, the collective-farm peasantry and the people's intelligentsia.

In response to the Party's call, there started an all-Union socialist competition, a truly nationwide movement for overfulfilling plan assignments, for enhancing the effectiveness of social production.

Every day the country learns of new records, of the exploits of working people in town and country. Thousands of the best production workers, who have fulfilled the plans and are already working on future plans, have been awarded orders and medals of the Soviet Union or the all-Union badge of "Winner of 1973 Socialist Competition."

The third, decisive year of the Five-Year Plan has become a year of shock work in all branches of the national economy!

The workers in industry have achieved high results — all Ministries and Union Republics have fulfilled the plan for ten months and produced more than six thousand million roubles' worth of output over and above the plan. As compared with the respective period of 1972, industrial production has grown 7.4 per cent, against the annual assignment of 5.8 per cent. The important thing is that four-fifths of that increment has been obtained through higher labor productivity. Such is the outcome of improved organization and of the creative enthusiasm of the participants in the nationwide socialist competition!

At a preliminary estimate, 915 thousand million kilowatt-hours of electricity will be generated, about 420 million tons of oil extracted, 131 million tons of steel smelted, 72 million tons of mineral fertilizer produced. Along with heavy industry, which forms the foundation of our economy, the light and food industries are making steady progress. This year, almost 130 thousand million roubles' worth of consumer goods will be produced.

These figures speak for themselves but for a fuller notion of their magnitude it would not be amiss to note that it would have taken our prewar industry, the industry of 1940, 15 years to produce the volume of output planned for the current year. In three years of the current Five-Year Plan, the volume of industrial production will grow 1.5 times, as compared with the corresponding period of the last Five-Year Plan, and our national income will rise approximately 1.4 times.

Our industry is undergoing profound qualitative changes. Its structure is improving, its production processes and organization are becoming more efficient, the output of modern machines, equipment, instruments and materials is growing. Since the be-

ginning of the Five-Year Plan, more than 9,000 new production items have been put into quantity production and more than three thousand progressive production processes have been introduced, thanks to cooperation between science and production. All this is much in excess of the figures in the last five-year period.

It is common knowledge that economic development largely depends on the scope of capital construction. For scope and amount of resources allotted for these purposes, the Soviet Union is unmatched. This year, a total of 90 thousand million roubles' worth of fixed assets will be put into operation. Figuratively, our country is a vast construction conveyer belt which turns out daily one large industrial enterprise, more than six thousand flats, hundreds of cultural and service establishments.

In unit power of equipment, in technical standards, in degree of mechanization and automation, our industrial projects differ in very principle from those built as recently as 10 years ago. Suffice it to name Europe's biggest Mogilyov synthetic fibre plant, the powerful mineral fertilizer complexes operating at the Nevinnomyssk and Cherkassy chemical plants, the giant automobile works now under construction on the Kama, the unique 5,000 cu. m. blast furnace being built in Krivoi Rog. We have a good many similar examples.

In fulfilling the main task of the Five-Year Plan, our state is investing tremendous sums in the construction of factories and plants producing merchandise for the population. This year alone more than 700 large enterprises and shops of the light and food industries will go into operation.

Today, on this great occasion, we pay due tribute to our heroic working class, to the front-rankers and innovators of production, scientists, designers, engineers and technicians, all workers in industry and construction! All people acknowledge appreciation and gratitude for their selfless labor!

The workers in agriculture mark the anniversary of the October Revolution with outstanding results. They have gathered in the highest gross yield of cereals in the history of Soviet agriculture—more than 215 million tons. All the Union Republics have fulfilled the national economic plan and their pledges on grain sales to the state. A record amount of grain has been stored in the country's granaries.

The land tillers of the Russian Federation have made a large contribution — they have sold more than three thousand million poods of grain to the state. The farmers of the Ukraine and Kazakhstan have also gathered in bumper crops: these Republics have each sold to the state more than one thousand million poods of grain.

This year, the great battle for grain has assumed a truly

nationwide scale. Taking an active part in this battle, along with collective farmers and state-farm workers, were industrial workers, Soviet Army men, envoys of the Leninist Komsomol, students, thousands upon thousands of city dwellers, men and women. The selfless work, initiative, skill and mutual support of all who participated in the harvesting campaign, often in difficult conditions, were crowned with tremendous success.

The cotton growers, above all of the Central Asian Republics and Kazakhstan, are fulfilling their pledges with honor. They have gathered in a record crop and will sell the state more than 7.5 million tons of raw cotton, about five million tons of which will come from the collective and state farms of Uzbekistan.

The potato, vegetable, sugar-beet and sunflower crops are much in excess of those in previous years.

Despite the complex conditions which obtained last winter, the farm workers did very good work. They did not only preserve, but increased the head of cattle and poultry and raised their productivity. The plans of livestock produce sales are being overfulfilled.

We have every ground to say that the current year is one of magnificent achievements of collective farmers, state-farm workers, machine operators, farm managers and specialists, workers of agricultural, procuring and transport organizations. Honor and glory to them for their great labor exploits!

Speaking of the results of the agricultural year, we cannot but recall the exclusive significance of the March 1965 Plenary Meeting of the CPSU Central Committee, the sweeping measures for the development of agriculture and especially for the strengthening of its material and technical base, which are being consistently carried out by the Party and Government, the farsightedness and persistence shown by our Party's Central Committee, its Politbureau and personally by Comrade L. I. Brezhnev.

All our accomplishments are a result of the heroic labor of the Soviet people, of the multifaceted organizational activities of the CPSU Central Committee, of the Soviet Government, of all Party, government, trade-union and Komsomol organizations. Every Soviet man, wherever he works, realizes with legitimate pride that there is a share of his labor in the tremendous creative effort. Therein lies the tremendous advantage and vital force of socialism, the power of October!

Comrades,

However great our successes in economic development we cannot pass over in silence, even on this red-letter day, our difficulties and unsolved problems. The country is by right proud of its front-rankers' achievements. However, much of their effort is spent, as it were, on making good, on compensating for the in-

adequate work done by laggards of whom we, unfortunately, have as yet quite a few. We note with satisfaction that on the whole we are doing better work today than we did yesterday. At the same time, it is obvious that life itself and the tasks facing the country call for much more, that we have not yet fully fulfilled the instruction of the 24th Congress to raise all work in the economy to a new higher level which would meet the requirements and the increased possibilities of our society.

It is especially important to keep this in mind on the eve of 1974, the last but one year of the Five-Year Plan. A new major step towards the fulfilment of the Directives of the 24th CPSU Congress has to be made in the coming year. Soon a draft national economic plan for the next year will be submitted to the USSR Supreme Soviet for consideration. Its realization will call for great efforts, perseverance and skill on the part of all workers in the national economy.

In the outgoing year not a bad foundation has been laid for the further improvement of work in all branches of the economy. The government, Party, trade-union and Komsomol organizations, economic managers and all working people of our country have accumulated no little experience in the struggle for the overfulfilment of planned assignments, for broad use of new forms of socialist competition. Relying on this experience, we should step up our organizational and political work in labor collectives, support in every way their initiative in adopting counter-plans for 1974 and in setting higher objectives of socialist competition.

There is no doubt that by developing and enriching our experience we shall be able to overfulfil the planned assignments considerably next year and reach the finishing stretch of the concluding year of the Five-Year Plan with good results.

In the course of our further work we should never lose sight of the key problems of economic development. Today it is especially important to achieve a regular and consistent improvement of qualitative production indices. This applies, in the first place, to labor productivity, to the technical level and quality of output, to the use of machines and equipment, raw stuffs and materials. It is essential that economic growth should be ensured, to an ever greater extent, by intensive factors, that they should determine ever more fully the content and results of the work of each enterprise, association, branch and the national economy as a whole.

Nowadays, in the age of the scientific and technical revolution, prompt and extensive use of the latest achievements of science and technology is the chief means of raising the effectiveness of social production. Although we have attained certain successes in this field, the most important thing is still ahead. We still have much to do so that the creative quests of research institutes,

designing bureaus, factories and plants, state farms and collective farms should be aimed at the solution of topical scientific, technical and production problems so as to open wide the road to the new ideas born in laboratories and institutes, conceived by innovators and inventors. Quick introduction of new technology should become law for all our economic staff, for all party organizations.

The state of affairs in capital construction has lately somewhat improved. But these are only the first steps in resolving the major problems connected with improvement of the overall level of work in this vital branch of the economy. Still more active effort is needed to reduce project construction schedules, cut their estimated cost, to improve the quality of designing and building work, ensure the commissioning of production capacities complete with housing, cultural and service establishments and institutions.

Special attention should be given to increasing production capacities through technical reconstruction of the operating enterprises, which assures a substantial saving as compared with new construction work. This has been proved convincingly on the experience of the front-ranking enterprises in the Moscow, Leningrad, Sverdlovsk, Ivanovo and a number of other regions.

Such an important matter as improvement of the utilization of public wealth, a thrifty attitude to everything created by the people's labor deserves special mention. This naturally depends on the thrifty attitude to public property on the part of each worker, each collective. In his address "To the Population" V. I. Lenin wrote literally on the very first days following the October Revolution: "Be watchful and guard like the apple of your eye your land, grain, factories, equipment, products, transport — all that from now onwards will be *entirely* your property, public property" (V. I. Lenin, *Coll. Works*, V. 26, p. 298). This behest by Lenin has lost none of its impact to the present day.

The importance of further improving methods of economic management is growing in the arsenal of means of struggle for raising the effectiveness of our economy. This is a complex task. It presupposes improved planning, a better organizational structure of economic management and economic stimulation of production. The heightening of the personnel's qualifications, the development of initiative and a creative approach to work is an inalienable part of this task.

Comrades,

The viability of the Party's ideas and of all our plans lies in their profound conformity to the interests of the people. Decades of joint, organized, planned labor, have brought Soviet people together into a single nationwide labor collective in which the success of all is the success of each, and the success of each is the success of all. Soviet people see from their own experience that the CPSU's

economic policy is aimed at making our socialist homeland — the home of the Great October Revolution — ever stronger and ever more beautiful from day to day.

III. SOCIETY FOR MAN, MAN FOR SOCIETY

Comrades,

The October Revolution was a revolution by the people and for the people. It was the first victorious revolution in history carried out for the sake of transforming social life in the interest of the broadest masses of working people who had been exploited by oppressors for centuries.

It was a people's revolution by its motive forces both at the stage of overthrowing the old system and at the subsequent stages of building a new society. The very character, scope and complexity of the tasks completed required the conscious, historic, creative effort of the masses, the labor and the political activity of millions. Lenin perceived the main content of the Party's leadership in opening up a broad vista for this activity, and for channelling it along the correct road.

Regarding the benefit to the people, the benefit to the individual as the supreme purpose of all its work, the Party, naturally, gives priority importance to improvement of the living standards of the Soviet people. The growing potentials of our national economy made it possible for the 24th CPSU Congress to adopt a broad socio-economic program which it is consistently implementing.

The share of the national income used directly for consumer needs has grown in the current five-year period. It comprises approximately three-quarters of the national income. Considerable funds were directed by the state towards increasing the wages and salaries of factory and office workers in industry, as well as those of teachers and doctors. A new, higher minimum wage is being gradually introduced according to sectors of the national economy and areas of the country, and the basic wages and salaries of working people in the medium pay categories are being raised. The wage for night shifts has also been increased.

Great funds are being set aside for further broadening public consumption funds. In particular, pension coverage for labor veterans has been improved, stipends for student youth have been increased, allocations have been made for the upkeep of schools and hospitals, and additional privileges were established for working mothers.

Overall measures related to wage increases during 1971-1973 applied to practically every third factory and office worker. Real per capita incomes during that period had increased by 13.5 per cent.

Under a planned socialist economy, an increase in incomes is invariably accompanied by a growth of public consumption. First of all, this is illustrated by the growth of retail sales which have increased by more than 20 per cent in the recent three years. There is not only increasingly fuller satisfaction of basic conventional requirements, but renovations and better quality.

Particularly characteristic is the rapid increase in the supply of consumer durables, including furniture, refrigerators and television sets. On the whole the sales of sports, recreation and household goods over these years have gone up 44 per cent while the overall volume will be practically the same as during the entire Eighth Five-Year Plan.

I would also like to mention the quality of our consumer goods. In recent years many of them have been improved and made more attractive. However, the selection and quality of consumer goods does not, by a long way, always meet consumer requirements and tastes. It is the obligation of all industrial workers engaged in the manufacture of these goods, the workers of the light and food industries primarily, to ensure the output of those goods and products which would completely satisfy the growing requirements of the Soviet people.

Better living conditions for Soviet people are regarded by the Party as one important direction of improving the people's welfare. The tremendous scope of housing construction in our country is common knowledge. In the current five-year period 3,000 million roubles of state capital investments in excess of the plan have been channelled into this area. More than 320 million sq. m. of overall floor space which will allow for an improvement in the living conditions of 34 million people will be built in three years.

It is very important that along with a broadening of the scope of housing construction there is coming about a gradual improvement in the quality and comfort of houses and flats. Thus, two-thirds of the housing fund in towns and one-third in rural areas will be equipped with gas by the end of the current year. The water supply for communities and the work of municipal transport are improving. The service industry which already has hundreds of thousands of workers is also expanding.

A tremendous contingent of medical workers are devoting their efforts to health protection for the people. Their noble work enjoys nationwide respect.

The growth of the people's welfare finds expression also in the gradual improvement of labor conditions for Soviet people. In our country more than 1,500 million roubles are spent annually on labor protection and improvement of safety means alone. Our country has one of the world's lowest rates of occupational injury.

Improving labor conditions means not only perfecting labor

protection, technology and the organization of production, but providing the workers with good canteens, rest rooms and all the necessary amenities. In future, too, no efforts or funds should be spared to imbue the atmosphere at every enterprise with the care for people inherent in the socialist system, and to make every person feel this care daily.

The importance of such a significant factor for the people's life as the conservation and improvement of the environment has increased sharply in our days and continues to grow. It is known that in the industrially developed capitalist countries this problem frequently takes the proportions of a crisis, primarily due to the spontaneous exploitation of natural riches on the basis of private ownership.

Our socialist system opens up broad opportunities to regard forests, water, air and ground in a sparing, truly masterly manner, and this finds expression in large-scale measures implemented in our country. These questions have been the subject of discussion for the USSR Supreme Soviet which has adopted a series of important legislative acts. State capital investments in specific undertakings designed to liquidate environmental pollution in 1971-1973 totalled approximately 2,000 million roubles, surpassing the same investment in the corresponding period of the Eighth Five-Year Plan by 65 per cent.

The working and living conditions of the Soviet people, increasingly fuller satisfaction of their material requirements are questions that have been and will continue to be in the focus of the Party's attention. At the same time we attribute tremendous importance to the satisfaction of man's growing intellectual requirements, everything facilitating man's all-round development.

The natural-technical sciences and the humanities blossomed greatly in the years of Soviet power. A big contribution to this has been made by the Academy of Sciences of the USSR whose 250th anniversary will soon be broadly observed in the country. The Party displays tireless care for improving the educational system and for broadening the network of cultural-educational establishments.

We fully appreciate the fact — of world-historical importance — that thanks to the October Revolution the working person has developed from an illiterate, rightless subject of the tsarist empire into a free, cultured and educated citizen of the first country of socialism, proud of his country's magnificence. Our system has greatly elevated the role of the woman in society, and opened up broad opportunities for her to display her talents and capabilities, thereby increasing the creative forces of the people. All these are great achievements!

The moulding of a new man is a remarkable result of our Party's

ideological and political work and its consistent efforts to develop socialist multinational Soviet literature and art; at the same time it is a result of the fruitful efforts of our workers in culture and education, the constructive work of our teachers, writers and artists, stage and cinema workers, and workers of the press, radio and television. On this great holiday the Party and the Soviet people address them with words of heartfelt gratitude!

A man needs many things to make his life full and happy — he should be free from want and fear of the morrow, confident of his children's future, and he must have the opportunity of satisfying his growing material and intellectual requirements. The superiority of socialism lies precisely in the fact that it turns all the strength and opportunities of society to these objectives, those seemingly simple and at the same time loftiest, imbued with care for the well-being and happiness of the people.

Comrades,

Our socialist society gives a person a great deal, but the source of what that society has to offer is nothing but the Soviet man himself, his work and his real contribution to the progress of the economy and to all public affairs. For precisely that reason the living conditions of every family, and the prosperity and development of the country depend entirely upon the extent to which Soviet people combine their great civic rights and responsibilities, and on how they fulfil one of the most important responsibilities — to work honestly and conscientiously for the benefit of society.

The great successes of our economy prove convincingly that the overwhelming majority of the working people fulfil this sacred duty in full measure. At the same time we know that these successes could be even more considerable if the potentialities, including those related to each person's observance of his labor duty, were implemented in full. The necessary prerequisite for this is the heightening of labor organization and discipline.

Closely related to labor discipline is another responsibility of the Soviet citizen: to observe the norms and rules of socialist behavior at work and in daily life. The struggle against the vestiges of the past is still highly important in this respect. Nobody has the right to forget that all kinds of relapses of the psychology of private ownership, bourgeois individualism and money-grubbing, as well as any manifestations of anti-social behavior, including drunkenness and hooliganism, are incompatible with the norms of the Soviet mode of life.

While fighting against that which hinders us, we must give all-out support to everything that corresponds to the nature of socialism and helps accelerate society's advancement to communism.

Comrades,

A striking feature of the Soviet mode of life is our socialist

democracy, real power of the people. The Party is doing everything for the further development of Soviet democracy. The functions and powers of the Soviets of Working People's Deputies are broadening and their activity is rising. Socialist legislation is being improved. In all this work no little credit is due to the Supreme Soviet of our country and its Presidium.

The content of trade-union work is being enriched, and greater powers have been given to standing production conferences at enterprises. The glorious Leninist Komsomol, the militant vanguard of the young builders of communism, our Party's reserve, is a remarkable school of labor and political activity for millions of young men and women. Participating in the diversified daily activities of these and other mass organizations, tens of millions of Soviet people are directly engaged in the management of public and state affairs.

Soviet society has been formed and is developing as a close union of workers in industry and agriculture, science and culture. This alliance with the working class as its leading force is growing ever stronger in communist construction, in the process of erasing substantial distinctions between town and countryside, mental and manual labor. Consistent revolutionary spirit and internationalism, a high degree of organization and discipline of the working class predetermine the working class's leading influence in all spheres of our public life.

The Communist Party plays an organizing and guiding role in the beneficial processes in our country. Its lofty ideals, revolutionary daring and realism, principled character and persistence in achieving set aims — these and other remarkable qualities make the Leninist Party the real brain and heart of socialist society, the tested political leader of the people.

Implementing the decisions of its 24th Congress, the Party acquired fresh, multifaceted experience in guiding communist construction. All its organizational and political work reached a higher level, and its contacts with the masses became broader and stronger. The Party is consistently perfecting the forms and methods of its work, enhancing the effectiveness of Party organizations and the activity and discipline of Communists. This is greatly facilitated by the current exchange of Party documents and the reports and elections now in progress in Party organizations.

In the course of these important organizational-political undertakings every Communist, figuratively speaking, checks his own heartbeat against that of the Party and the entire people, and feels more deeply his responsibility for the work entrusted to him and for the affairs of the entire country. Presenting high and ever greater demands on Party members and consolidating its ranks, the CPSU is fulfilling Lenin's instruction that each Party member is

responsible for the Party, and that the Party is responsible for each one of its members (V. I. Lenin, *Coll. Works*, V. 6, p. 503). This is a guarantee of the further steady growth of the influence of the Communist Party and of its leading role in Soviet society.

Contemporary conditions of our internal and international development present new, greater demands on the Party's ideological work as an exceptionally important means of stimulating the labor and political activity of the masses. It has greatly facilitated making the ideals of the October Revolution the personal ideals of all generations of Soviet people, and of further strengthening the socio-political and ideological unity of society, and consolidation of the friendship of peoples in our multinational land.

The prestige and influence of the revolutionary Marxist-Leninist teaching is determined first of all by its genuineness and creative character, and by the fact that it deeply reflects the laws of social development and social changes, and sets correct milestones in all our work.

The Party, its Central Committee, drawing support from the classical heritage of K. Marx, F. Engels, V. I. Lenin, and the achievements of science and practice are tirelessly working on the topical theoretical problems of communist construction and the world revolutionary process. The documents of Party congresses, the decisions of the Central Committee of the CPSU, the speeches of the leaders of the Party and Soviet state contain a theoretical generalization of our experience in internal and international activities which replenish the treasure house of Marxism-Leninism, and heighten its effectiveness and practical value.

The persistent and purposeful work of the Party organizations and ideological institutions is necessary in order to transform the ideas of scientific communism into firm convictions of all Soviet people and to turn these ideas into an increasingly powerful instrument of communist construction. In its forms, methods and content this work must be in accord with the demands of the times and with the growing intellectual requirements of the working people. It must facilitate the solution of the grandiose tasks of building a new society and attainment of the victory of socialism in the historical struggle of the two world systems.

Recently a propaganda campaign has been launched with new strength in the West with the idea of forcing the Soviet Union in one way or another to retreat from the principles emanating from the substance of our system. Politicians and ideologists who comfort themselves with futile dreams of the degeneration of socialism under the influence of growing international relations still exist abroad and it will most likely take some time before they peter out. It may be said in this connection: naturally, changes take

place in socialist society, but in one and only one direction — changes leading to communism.

Comrades,

The Great October marked a radical turn in the destinies of our country, one that determined the communist orientation of its contemporary development. The broad program of constructive work adopted by the 24th CPSU Congress and implemented by the efforts of the working class, collective-farm peasantry and the people's intelligentsia represents a new link in the historic chain connecting the storming of the Winter Palace and the forthcoming victory of communism.

Soviet people, the working people of all social sections and trades, all nationalities and ages, understand their duty to be selfless work and tireless creative exploration to accelerate the advancement to this coveted goal and to honor the tasks set by the Party. In this general surge forward lies the life-giving fountainhead of the strength of socialism, the foundation of our unshakeable confidence in the communist future.

Long live the heroic Soviet people, the builders of communism!

May our great Motherland, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, grow stronger and prosper!

Long live the great Leninist Party, the inspirer and organizer of all our victories!

Long live the all-conquering banner of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, the banner of October!

CONGRESSES AND CONFERENCES

THIRTY-THIRD CONGRESS OF CP OF GREAT BRITAIN

The British Communist Party held its 33rd Congress on November 10-12, 1973. The Congress was attended by 450 delegates representing about 30,000 members of the Party and also by delegations and representatives from Chile, Greece, Ireland, Portugal, Spain and North and South Vietnam.

The Congress received messages of greeting from many fraternal Communist and Workers' Parties, including the CPSU Central Committee.

The Congress was opened by Party Chairman Irene Swan. Following the election of working bodies and approval of the Executive report, General Secretary John Gollan delivered a political report. He substantiated and submitted for approval the main resolution "For Left Advance." The delegates also heard and discussed reports "Youth and the Struggle for 'Socialism'" and "The Fight Against Racism in Britain." Forty delegates spoke in the debate.

The Congress adopted a number of resolutions, elected a new Executive Committee of 42 members (including eight new members) and a seven-man Appeals Committee.

Below we publish some materials of the Congress printed in the *Morning Star* on November 12 and 13.

PRESS THE OFFENSIVE—WIN BREAKTHROUGH FOR LEFT

EXCERPTS FROM JOHN GOLLAN'S REPORT* TO THE CONGRESS

Since our last congress our strategy and policies have been vindicated. The two years have been a period of acute class struggles, mass movements, and further advances to the Left. In all this our prestige has grown.

Above all, our thanks to you for winning an increased membership of the Party and circulation of the *Star*. Let us resolve: this is only the start — we're going to make this Party go.

**Morning Star*, November 12, 1973.

WORLD BACKGROUND

The bankruptcy of the cold war is due to the growth of the socialist countries, the spread of national liberation and the struggle of the working class and progressive forces — in other words, internationalism in action.

Let us here pay tribute to the peace policy of the Soviet Union and the CPSU without which these successes would never have been won. Anti-Sovietism is the main weapon of the Tories in opposing international understanding. It is poison for the British people and should be resolutely rebuffed.

In the presence of our Vietnamese friends here, we salute their historic victory over U.S. imperialism as a major contribution to world peace.

I cannot understand the Chinese comrades who equate the Soviet Union and the U.S. as two super-powers out for domination — as the policy of one is socialist, and the other imperialist.

The socialist achievements of People's China are great; she must have her rightful place in world affairs. But when her anti-Soviet stance leads to objective justification of NATO and the Common Market, this we cannot accept.

Let China join with her friends, the socialist world and the international Communist movement, solving problems between them. This would be the greatest blow imperialism could suffer.

The growing importance of the Soviet Union and the socialist world is the decisive historical factor today, in sharp contrast to the economic, political and moral crisis of capitalism.

The inherent superiority of socialism is shown in the planned developed economy, the basis of its strength and rising standards. Of course there are problems. More attention is being paid to the development of socialist democracy, indispensable for further advance.

Within this there is the problem of handling dissent. Our position is well known. It should be handled by political means, not by administrative action.

Then we have the growth of the international Communist movement, both in numbers and influence. Its very diversity brings differences, but we're more mature in our methods of solving them. There is no contradiction between the increasing national stature of the parties and internationalism, which is more necessary than ever.

It is a cardinal principle that differences are handled and solved in such a way as to promote our essential international unity. What unites us is infinitely more important than what divides us.

This battle for international progress is neither easy nor straightforward. Imperialism never gives up; it can still do heavy damage.

Chile shows this, for it was not only internal reaction, but U.S. imperialism which created the conditions for the coup, and which is analyzed in our pamphlet. Chile has become a fascist state, with brutal murder and oppression. But the people of Chile will never succumb. They will fight till the junta is swept away.

We pledge to Comrade Teitelboim the greatest movement of solidarity for the release of Luis Corvalan and all political prisoners.

The conflict in the Middle East to reverse Israeli conquest shows that festering problems, the solution of which has been blocked by imperialism, result in new wars which can threaten world peace and the process of détente.

Wasn't this shown by Nixon's mad nuclear alert which put us in the front line too? We should shut every U.S. base and send the Yanks home.

From this congress we call for a renewed effort to compel peaceful coexistence of countries with different social systems:

—Solidarity with Chilean democracy. Withdraw recognition. Boycott the junta. Stop British aid.

—A Middle East settlement in accordance with the UN resolutions.

—To win a European Security system and all-European economic and technical cooperation.

—The mutual dissolution of NATO and the Warsaw Treaty and the withdrawal of all foreign troops from Europe.

—The next Labor government should take Britain out of NATO, withdraw British troops from Germany and make drastic cuts in the arms bill.

—A complete ban on all nuclear weapons, and as a first step, to end the British nuclear weapons program and close all U.S. bases.

—The full implementation of the Vietnam and Laos Peace Agreements, the release of all political prisoners, and total U.S. withdrawal from South-East Asia.

The TUC decided on total opposition to the Common Market, the Labor Party for re-negotiation of terms. There are no suitable terms. We demand that a Labor government takes Britain out of the Common Market unconditionally.

We call for renewed international solidarity with the peoples of Spain, Portugal, Greece and Turkey, and all peoples fighting against fascism and oppression.

We salute the peoples of southern African fighting apartheid, and send our greetings to all those imprisoned, including our own Sean Hosey, who showed us internationalism in deeds. Still greater support for African liberation is a sacred duty.

And to the representatives of the Irish Communist Party we say the emergency resolution on Northern Ireland is the symbol of our support in our joint cause.

We welcome the growing Socialist-Communist unity in Western Europe and elsewhere. The new-found trade union unity in Western Europe is an important step.

Looking at the trend of world events, despite all setbacks and difficulties, we are confident that the forces of peace and progress can win.

CLEAR OUT THE TORIES

The crisis of British capitalism gets worse, growth is slowing down, the pound sags, and there is a record balance of payments deficit.

Tory support is visibly declining. On this, our last congress before the general election, our call is—sweep this government away; win a Labor government compelled to carry out Left policies.

The immediate central issue is to take up the Tory challenge and defeat the government on Phase 3.

The movement challenged and defied the Industrial Relations Act, and here we congratulate the engineers for their magnificent strike last Monday. It should now challenge and defy Phase 3. The TUC has declared its opposition. Turn words into deeds. Call an emergency conference of the TUC to concert action now.

We need an all-out wages offensive. The miners have decided on an overtime ban: the engineers and others have tabled big demands. Someone has got to break the ice.

It should be a united wages offensive. Why let the government fight each section one by one? There is the utmost need for solidarity.

One of the most heartening things at the TUC was the resolution on increased old age pensions and the pledge of industrial action to win them. The sooner this is done the better.

The fight of the tenants against increased rents, for the non-implementation of the Housing Finance Act and its repeal, should be stepped up.

The growing women's movement on equal rights, pay, against discrimination, and for emancipation, brings a tremendous extra force to the progressive struggle.

We congratulate our students for the part they have played in the mass student movement. Youth is so important that we have our special resolution. We have to draw more young people into action, develop socialist consciousness and build the Young Communist League.

A program to solve Britain's crisis is required. The Communists propose:

—Higher wages now.

—Impose strict price controls; introduce food subsidies.

—End land speculation; nationalize the land. Cut interest charges. No rent increases.

—End all military expenditure abroad; halt the export of capital.

—Seek an advance in trade with all countries, East and West.

—Nationalize the great firms, including all the multinationals, that dominate economic life.

Nationalization of the great monopolies is the critical point. While public ownership was the dominant issue of the Labor Party conference, Wilson's limited nationalization proposals, in sharp contrast to the overwhelming mood of the conference, would leave the great firms untouched.

There should be the utmost pressure to compel the shadow cabinet and the Labor Party national executive to include this demand in the election manifesto.

Winning these policies would begin to change the balance of economic and class power and open up the way to socialism, a key point in our British Road to Socialism strategy.

From this congress the Communist Party proposes to the Labor Party, the TUC and the Cooperative movement — let us unite in a powerful campaign of meetings and demonstrations for all or any of these demands.

A most sinister aspect of Tory policy is the drive to authoritarianism. The brutal use of the police in industrial disputes, the attack on picketing, the Industrial Relations Act and statutory wage control, the role of the army in Northern Ireland, the theories of Brig. Kitson and Gen. Calvert on the use of the army against the civil population are all danger signals.

Yet the significance of the struggle to bring about democratic change on these issues was largely ignored at the Labor Party conference. One of the main differences between Communists and social democracy concerns the state. The state is not neutral—it is capitalist.

It is essential that we make the defense and extension of democracy a great national issue. This requires not only the defeat of the Industrial Relations Act and all authoritarian measures. We need to campaign now, before we have a socialist government, for democratic advances regarding the state, outlined in "The British Road to Socialism."

We demand that members of the armed forces, the police and civil service be allowed full political rights, to be permitted to take part in political activities, attend political parties and trade unions.

The next Labor government must grant full political rights to serving soldiers so that they can be won away from capitalist ideas for socialist ideas.

Racism is one of the main weapons of reaction, and its use by Powell, the National Front and others shows the extreme danger.

That is why we have made this a key question at our congress.

In the united campaign we propose, the labor movement should also appeal to the middle sections, professional people, small shopkeepers and farmers.

If the working class does not win these sections, reaction will. This is not only one of the many lessons of Chile; it is a central point in the British political situation.

While the Tories are losing support, the Liberals have gained most. We can speculate whether this is transient, but it is a warning. The Liberals are not a middle force in politics, but supporters of capitalism.

That is why we call for a change to make a significant break in the present British political situation.

Our central slogan is for a Labor government committed by the power of the mass movement to Left policies.

This is a slogan of struggle. Everything depends on the outcome. First to defeat the Tories and to compel the adoption of the Left program. To make that program the center of the election; and even more, when the government is elected the struggle to ensure the program is carried out.

We have to be in the thick of the general election campaign. To date we have adopted around 32 candidates. Our candidates and our campaigns in these constituencies must be to the forefront of our work while raising the issues of electoral unity.

Time is vital. During the last two years our Party has made a growing impact on events. That impact must grow now and during the election, which will be a critical point in the mass struggle.

There is no contradiction between this and the mass struggle. The best preparation for the election is the mass struggle.

The winning of the biggest Communist vote, to make a breakthrough in the fight for Communist MPs, is one of the most important aspects of the battle to see that a Labor government is compelled to carry out Left policies. How can we talk about Left advance without going all out to win electoral progress for the Communist Party as part of that advance?

THE NEXT STEPS

To win progressive policies is essential. But in themselves they don't constitute a coherent socialist strategy. To end the grip of reformism over the British working class, to win it for socialist consciousness, means to transform the very purpose of our labor movement. This is our aim.

At this year's TUC, this progress to the Left, a feature of the last seven years, was taken a step forward. Left unity was consolidated and extended.

Some more progress was made regarding the composition of the TUC general council. In turn, this was reflected in the political field and in the Labor Party.

It is generally conceded that these Left advances are having a big effect on British politics. Much more requires to be done. We pay tribute to everyone on the Left who has brought all this about.

The Left in the labor movement is not a homogeneous or static grouping.

This diverse nature is the strongest argument for the Communist Party and the *Morning Star*. There can be no denying that we, as part of the Left, have played a leading part in this broad process.

This is because, distinct from other actions of the Left, we are an organized political party with a consistent socialist theory and strategy, able to give leadership in action; the unifying force operating across the boundaries of the separate unions and in association with all Left sections.

The Right grip remains very strong, with its domination of the Parliamentary Labor Party, its powerful position on the TUC general council, its leadership of important unions, and the general hold of reformist ideas. It is trying to mount a counter-offensive.

What are the next steps?

To aim in the not-too-distant future for a majority of unions with Left policies and progressive leadership. It is a big job, but it can be done. Left advance won't be secure until it is done. This requires continuous rank and file activities.

At the same time, we put as a central issue now facing the movement to change the composition of the still predominantly Right-wing general council. A progressive, Left general council must be a culminating point for the strategy of the Left.

The Left developments in the unions are having big repercussions in the Labor Party.

The movement has now got to work for a predominantly Left executive in the Labor Party, just as it works for a Left general council. This, along with further Left advances both in the TUC and the Labor Party conference, would challenge the Right-wing domination of the Parliamentary Labor Party.

This is the bold objective now opening up. It is the necessary stage in the development of the working-class movement, essential for any realistic strategy of socialist advance in Britain.

The time is more ripe now for united action than ever before. This is what is happening in many unions, with local Labor parties, with Labor MPs in joint campaigning committees. The removal of the banned list aids this. Even on a national scale there have been united platforms. We will do everything possible to assist.

All this has been done not only in contest with the Right, but

in principled struggle against the ultra-Left with their pseudo-revolutionary slogans.

These ultra-Left forces, while attracting some sections of young people impatient for advance, are a disruptive factor in the mass movement. They see the main enemy in the genuine Left forces not the capitalist class. They are virulently anti-Soviet and anti-Communist.

We reiterate a vital proposal which we made at our last congress. Unions should be allowed to send whom they will to the Labor Party conferences from those paying the political levy.

PARTY AND "STAR"

Party growth and increased *Star* circulation caused serious concern at our last congress. We were faced with a small but steady decline.

We argued, among other things, that the biggest single factor regarding our growth was insufficient understanding of the role of the Communist Party in the labor movement.

"A correct and vigorous battle on this," we said, "and we could get growth now."

Far be it from me to assert that the net growth we have won of 1,140 in the Party since our last congress, and some 1,700 in the *Star* circulation this year is enough. But it proves two things. Our general argument was correct. And although we took conscious organized effort to win new members and readers, we're not satisfied. This is only the start.

Why have we ended the decline and grown at all?

Because we have been even more involved in the mass movement. Certainly let us criticize our weaknesses. But let us also recall with pride our role in the UCS struggle, the Pentonville Five, the struggle against the Industrial Relations Act, the miners' strike, on Vietnam, and the other great issues.

At the same time we had the greatest Party public campaigning putting the case for the Party. We did more ideological work battling for our position. We did dozens of lectures on the theme that militancy was not enough; we published "Time to Change Course."

Can we turn this beginning into substantial advances? This is the challenge facing us all.

It is no accident that this advance has taken place on the background of the enormous contribution made by the *Morning Star*. We can't get a growing party unless *Star* circulation is increasing.

We congratulate the paper for its brilliant and uncompromising class leadership in the struggle. It has won a deserved and unique place not only as the spokesman of the Party and the Left, but

increasingly as the daily paper of the whole labor and trade union movement.

That accounts for the extraordinary scope of the tributes paid by the movement to the paper and the magnificent £51,000 won in its financial appeal. We've got to translate that support into readers.

What are the next steps for the Party?

—A drive to form new factory branches.

—To establish the Party in the many towns where we have no organizations; and extend it where we are still too small.

—To promote young people in the Party, speeding up what is taking place now.

—Great emphasis on steps to improve our branch work, utilizing the many examples now developing.

The more boldly we recruit, the more we must increase our ideological work. The class struggle is posing ever more sharply in the British labor movement the need for the socialist development of our class, for socialist revolution, for the strategy for that revolution outlined in "The British Road to Socialism."

Be proud of your class! Be proud of your Party!

TAKE COMMUNIST AIMS BOLDLY TO YOUNG PEOPLE

(EXCERPTS FROM MR. GORDON McLENNAN'S SPEECH*
INTRODUCING RESOLUTION ON "YOUNG PEOPLE AND THE
STRUGGLE FOR SOCIALISM")

The ruling class conducts a ceaseless, wide-ranging battle of ideas to confuse young people, divert them from positive action to end capitalism, and move them to the side of reaction.

But if the labor movement really fights to convince youth of the socialist alternative to capitalist ideas and policies it can win them to its side in ever greater numbers and into the mass struggle.

We are of the view that the labor movement should adopt a Youth Charter along the following lines:

—End youth unemployment.

—Expand apprenticeship and training for skilled occupations with equal opportunities for young women.

—Adult rate of pay at 18 and improved student grants.

—Day release for further education up to 18.

—Fully comprehensive education for all school students.

—Special consideration for young people within an expanded housing program.

*Morning Star, November 12, 1973.

—Expand recreational, cultural, sports and social facilities for young people.

—End all forms of discrimination.

—Extend democratic rights for all young people.

The National Trade Union Youth Conference should be convened — it would be first-class if it became an annual event.

Some individual unions already have annual youth conferences and forms of youth organization, but many don't. It would help enormously to bring youth into the trade union movement and the mass struggle, if all unions could find the way to give their younger members greater encouragement and possibilities for participation in the life of the unions.

The Labor movement should also further strengthen its bonds with the student movement. The mutual solidarity that has developed between them in recent struggles is an expression of their common aims and interests, both immediate and long-term.

The National Union of Students has changed greatly and now actively fights to maintain and advance the interests of its 600,000 members. It has also taken a progressive position on most major political issues.

Communist students have made a big contribution to this. We now have the highest ever number of Party student members and Party student branches.

A principled fight against ultra-Left activities and ideas among students is related to this advance. Ultra-Left sectarian, anti-Communist policies, are disruptive, impede the growth of united action and eventually reinforce the attempts of the ruling class and Right-wing reformists to weaken the mass struggle.

Last year the NUS helped to form the National Union of School Students. This is a positive development in accord with our general fight for the extension of democratic rights.

The 29th Congress of the YCL in April this year resolved to "win young people for the ideas of socialism and communism," and agreed that two key sections of youth that the league must work among are young workers and school students.

In line with that approach, the YCL and its members have been active in the mass industrial struggles, in the work for a TUC Youth Conference and in establishing and building the NUSS. The league also has a proud record in fighting racism and apartheid.

Above all, the young comrades have done a tremendous amount to support the heroic people of Vietnam, including the campaign which raised £3,000 for the Van Troi hospital.

This is an expression of the league's internationalism, which has also been seen in the Chile Solidarity Campaign; in the wide participation of YCLers in the World Youth Festival; in defense of the Pretoria Six; in the campaign to free Angela Davis; for civil rights

in Northern Ireland, and in the many fraternal exchanges between the league and other Communist youth movements throughout the world, including the visits to Britain in 1971 and again in 1973 of delegations of the Komsomol organization of the Soviet Union.

Challenge has continued to play an important role in the league's work. Still faced with considerable problems and with some way to go to becoming the kind of paper that we and the league comrades want, the paper has been improved, the number of pages increased, and it is being used more in the league's public campaigns.

So there have been advances in some areas of the YCL's work, including an expansion of Marxist education.

Despite this, however, the membership of the league in July this year was 2,890 compared with 3,200 at the same date two years ago, which was in turn below the membership figure reached in the late 1960s.

The Party now, and above all for its future, needs a vigorous, growing YCL. The labor movement and the socialist future of Britain need the massive and militant participation of young people.

After proposing that every Communist Party branch should actively help the YCL and Challenge, with the executive committee helping to set up new branches and all Party organizations helping in the Marxist education of YCL members, the report concluded:

Let's take our aims boldly to young people, ask them to join the YCL and fight alongside us for the realization of these aims.

The main resolution and report to our congress spoke of a new and challenging situation with great possibilities.

There is no greater challenge, nor greater possibilities among any section of the community, than among young people.

DISCRIMINATION—ENEMY OF UNITY OF LEFT

EXCEPTS FROM ASQUITH GIBBES' REPORT* ON "THE FIGHT AGAINST RACISM IN BRITAIN"

The defeat of racism and discrimination is fundamental to the fight for left unity, to the liberation of the whole of the working class, to the winning of a Socialist Britain which will abolish the basis of exploitation and class society from which the ideology of racism springs.

This is one of the most corrupting weapons in the whole armory of rotten imperialist ideology. The ruling class uses it to try to set aside a section of workers whom they aim to super-exploit, who are to be denied full civil rights, socially excluded from the rest of the population, and denied equality even of the limited opportunities of British society today.

*Morning Star, November 13, 1973.

Racism is part of monopoly capitalism's offensive against the whole of the working class, part of its attempt to confuse, to divide and rule. That offensive must be defeated. That is what this congress is about.

The 1,500,000 black people in Britain today are here, not to take over British society, but to work, to try to make a decent life for themselves and their families.

The ruling class hope that immigrant workers could be used to undermine working conditions. Though often unfamiliar with trade unionism or British methods, black workers have taken their place in the struggles of the organized working class. In the recent strikes of building workers, post office and hospital workers, black men and women were to the fore.

There is an especially high proportion of black workers in engineering, textiles and clothing. Laborers contribute 11.4 per cent of all black workers compared with only 5.19 per cent of the general working population.

In 1972 the Race Relations Board received 845 complaints of discrimination in employment compared with 813 in 1971. It takes young black workers twice as long to get apprenticeships as white workers.

Overcrowding, relegation to the cheaper housing of the twilight areas, the consequent trend of children attending poor run-down schools, inadequate social services — these are the characteristic lot of the black people.

The high proportion of West Indian children being sent to schools for the educationally subnormal is not, as the IQ apologists try to convince us, related to a racially determined level of intelligence.

It is related to teacher shortages, lack of accommodation, ignorance of cultures and social customs, acute social and economic problems created for the black community by discrimination and prejudices.

Black people, too, like the picket on the picket lines, are coming up against the harshness of police investigations, assumption of guilt, intimidation in the police stations.

In this situation, fascist propaganda is finding a growing response among some sections of our people. We must take most serious warning from the support expressed in votes for fascist candidates at elections and the growth of racist propaganda and activities.

It emphasizes the need for extensive local activity against racism and resistance to fascist activities. It is necessary, too, to put pressure on the government for the strengthening of the Race Relations Act to make it more effective.

Only a persistent and widespread call for this will force changes, as it is perfectly clear that even the present limited provisions of

the Act are not put into operation by the government, which allows lying and inflammatory propaganda to go by without prosecutions.

In winning the white workers to reject racism, black workers have a vital part to play. Their future is here in Britain and that is why their organizations must increasingly reflect their class composition and seek to win their members for full participation in the general organizations of the working class, especially the unions.

Some black organizations subscribe to the view that all white people are inherently racist. This is both untrue, politically unrealistic and dangerous because it plays into the hands of reactionary splitters.

Our own black comrades have an important political job in combating these separatist tendencies and the white working-class movement must demonstrate in practice how wrong these theories are.

Since 1962 respective governments have capitulated to racist pressures to restrict black immigration. Labor and Tory legislation has now culminated in the Immigration Act.

We warmly welcome the resolution passed at the TUC which condemns the Act and calls on the government to withdraw the retrospective clauses. This Act is the reverse side of the Industrial Relations Act coin.

We call for special efforts to recruit black workers to the trade unions. We call for the setting up of a special department in the TUC and similar measures at district and local levels.

Joint struggle in the actions against racism, as well as on common class demands, are among the necessary preconditions for the clearing up of misunderstandings and for cementing black and white working-class unity.

The forthcoming Midlands Regional Trade Union Conference to combat Racial Discrimination sponsored by 26 leading trade union officials is a very encouraging development.

We shall not build local activity on the ultra-left theory that the only way to fight racism is to generate direct confrontation between extreme right-wing groups and the committed left; this leads to isolation and a refusal to work for a broad-based movement involving wide sections of the local population, and especially the labor movement.

We have the right to ask black people to join us; we ask them to come in to fight for our policy and program and to help to deepen and enrich the contribution our party can make to our immediate struggles and to the longer-term fight for Socialism.

We must now ask that the extension of activity, and responsibility, for implementing this resolution is taken up on an ever-increasing scale.

We have the policies, now we must strengthen our organization of the work.

CONGRESS RESOLUTIONS

At its concluding session the Congress adopted three main resolutions as follows: Left Advance—carried with 5 against, 11 abstentions; Youth—carried with 4 against, 11 abstentions; Racism—carried unanimously.

The main points of the resolutions are contained in the earlier published excerpts from reports to the Congress. Their full text will appear in the journal *Comment*.

The Congress also adopted a number of resolutions on different problems of the international and domestic situation.

An emergency resolution on the *Middle East Situation* said that the renewed war in the Middle East was basically a consequence of Israel's refusal to withdraw from the Arab territories which it seized by military aggression in 1967 and had since taken steps to colonize. It continued: "The Arab peoples are completely justified in taking action to liberate their occupied territory, and we fully support their just national liberation struggles." The resolution demands that there should be a full and strict implementation of a ceasefire on the lines held by the opposing armies on October 22, that Israeli forces be withdrawn from all the territories occupied in the 1967 war, that the rights of the Palestinian people be recognized, and that Israel be assured its right to existence and security.

In an emergency resolution on *Vietnam* the Congress hailed the historic victory of the Vietnamese people over U.S. imperialism, noting at the same time that the full implementation of the Paris agreements remained a vital task. The resolution calls for activities around the following demands: an end to violations of the ceasefire, release of all political prisoners, all villagers must be allowed to return to their homes, an end to repression in South Vietnam, British government recognition for the Provisional Revolutionary Government, and a great extension of economic and medical aid to Vietnam.

The Congress was addressed by Volodia Teitelboim, member of the Political Commission of the Communist Party of Chile. Following his speech the delegates unanimously passed an emergency resolution on *solidarity with the fighting people of Chile* proposed by the Executive. The resolution greets all those fighting back against the fascist terror. It welcomes the speedy condemnation of the coup by the Labor Party conference, the General Council of the TUC and many other sections of democratic opinion.

It also welcomed proposals for a trade boycott and for industrial action to deprive the junta of British-made weapons. It called for

a powerful nationwide campaign of solidarity with Chilean Popular Unity.

The delegates warmly greeted the speech of James Stewart, Assistant General Secretary of the Communist Party of Ireland, who conveyed greetings to the Congress. In an emergency resolution on the *situation in Northern Ireland*, the British Communists expressed protest against continuing repressions in Ulster. The Congress voted overwhelmingly for a campaign to achieve:

1. The release of all detainees.
2. The repeal of all repressive legislation.
3. A Bill of Rights to guarantee democratic freedoms.
4. The withdrawal of British troops to barracks pending their complete withdrawal.
5. The replacement of the Royal Ulster Constabulary by a non-sectarian police force under democratic control.

The resolution on *mass information media* exposes the myth about the "independence" and "objectivity" of the capitalist press and stresses the need to step up the fight against anti-communism and anti-Sovietism in the mass media.

The resolution on *nationalization* (carried unanimously) welcomed the growing fight by the labor movement for a new and expanding type of nationalization. It called for measures aimed at involving the trade unions and workers in industries and plants in the process of discussion and consultation prior to public ownership.

The resolution also spoke of the need to publicize the tremendous and positive contribution made by the present nationalized industries, despite the burdens of capitalist policies.

Unanimously the Congress carried a composite resolution calling on the Party to intensify *the struggle for women's equal rights and liberation* in all spheres of life.

"A vital part of this struggle is the need to recognize the open and subtle conditioning of both sexes through the mass media, education and all institutions of our society, and to take action which will begin to change traditional ideas and attitudes about women's place," said the resolution.

The struggle for equal pay, training and job opportunity, with paid maternity leave, must become an integral part of the battle for better wages and conditions and the defeat of the Tory Industrial Relations Act and wage-restraint policies, it added.

As an urgent priority it called for rejection of the government's proposals for anti-discrimination legislation which would erode existing protective laws, exclude vast areas of discrimination, and encourage traditional thinking which regards women as dependent on a male wage-earner.

A message from the Congress to *Britain's miners* said: "We

pledge from this Congress the full support of the Communist Party and the **Morning Star** for your struggle, for your just demands, and against the government's vicious policy of interfering in collective bargaining and wage restraint.

"A victory for the miners will be a victory for the whole working class."

The message noted the wide-scale attack on the miners launched by the Tory press, and warned that these attacks would grow in intensity.

Continued the message: "This Congress believes that there should be an immediate recall of the TUC to mobilize the entire trade union movement in solidarity with the miners in their fight to smash through the Tory anti-working class wage restraint policies. We pledge to work for that victory."

Two resolutions passed overwhelmingly by Congress were those calling for pensions of £10 for a single person and £16 for a married couple, and the other for an end to the Maplin airport plan.

On pensions, all forms of struggle, including industrial action, were called for. And another resolution passed called for more involvement by Communists in the Cooperative movement.

FIRST ALL-POLAND PUWP CONFERENCE

The First all-Poland Conference of the Polish United Workers' Party (PUWP) was held in Warsaw October 22-23, 1973.

The Central Committee report "For Consistent Implementation of the Decisions of the Sixth PUWP Congress, for More Efficient Economic Management," delivered by First Secretary Edward Gierek and the report "For a High Rate of Polish Socio-Economic Development in 1974-1975," delivered by Chairman of the Council of Ministers P. Jaroszewicz, were followed by a debate in which more than 30 persons took part. In addition, some 900 delegates took part in discussing various questions or submitted proposals in writing at sittings of the ten commissions set up by the conference.

The business-like atmosphere and comradely Party spirit in which the conference took place provided convincing proof that all Party organizations, all Polish Communists endorse and support the Party's domestic and external policies.

The conference unanimously passed a resolution on the Party's achievements and tasks in implementing the program drawn up by its sixth congress and the resolution on the exchange of Party cards. It also adopted a declaration on the role and tasks of people's councils in Poland's socio-political system.

Speaking at the conclusion of the conference, Edward Gierek pointed out that its results and collectively drawn up decisions would play an important part in the successful implementation of the program of Poland's socio-economic development along the socialist road.

ACHIEVEMENTS AND TASKS OF PARTY IN IMPLEMENTING PROGRAM OF ITS SIXTH CONGRESS

Recapitulation of a resolution of the First All-Poland Conference of the PUWP, published in *Trybuna Ludu*, October 31, 1973.

After an extensive, detailed discussion, the First All-Poland Conference, convened by the CC PUWP in accordance with a decision of the Sixth Congress, notes that the CC report presented by First Secretary Edward Gierek contains a comprehensive, correct assessment of the fulfilment of the decisions of the Sixth Congress and that the tasks it outlines are in line with the need for the further rapid socio-economic development of the Polish People's Republic and promote the strengthening of our Party's leading role in the process of socialist construction. The Conference regards the report as a directive binding on all Party action and the work of government bodies.

The Conference notes that the basic socio-economic tasks of development of the PPR outlined in the Sixth Congress' decisions are being successfully fulfilled and overfulfilled. Thanks to the Party's creative, active Marxist-Leninist policy, which is wholly in line with the aspirations of the working class and all working people, our country has entered a period of rapid development.

The Conference expresses its gratitude to the Central Committee, its Political Bureau, First Secretary Edward Gierek personally, and the government of the PPR, for consistent, creative work in implementation of the decisions of the Sixth Congress in accordance with the interests of the popular state, the working class and the people as a whole, in the name of the further all-round development of socialist construction in Poland.

The Conference fully endorses the activity of the CC in the sphere of creating the conditions needed to promote the country's socio-economic development in line with the general policy of socio-economic development formulated by the Sixth Congress, thanks to which living conditions of the working people have improved considerably, all young people are ensured jobs, capital investment has been increasing over and above the plan, and the rate of economic development has accelerated.

The Conference notes that, in implementing the Sixth Congress' decisions, our Party, guided by Leninist principles, has cemented

its ranks even more, strengthened its ties with the working class and the people, and consolidated its leading role in the country's social and political life. Our Party's strength, its ability to put forward and implement initiatives of major social, political and economic significance has increased. The people's confidence in the Party and its policy has strengthened, and this is an essential condition of dynamic development of the nation.

The Conference notes with satisfaction that in the course of the implementation of the decisions of the Sixth Congress the Party's cooperation with the United Peasants' Party and the Democratic Party has increased.

The Conference fully endorses the foreign policy of the PPR government, which is pursued under the leadership of the PUWP Central Committee. This policy promotes and enriches Poland's alliance and friendship with the Soviet Union and the countries of the socialist community, it consolidates Poland's positions on the international arena and enhances its contributions to détente, international security and peaceful cooperation.

Our Party is linked by fraternal bonds with the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, we actively support the initiatives and activity of the CPSU on the international scene. Our Party's cooperation with the fraternal parties of the socialist community has strengthened. We are in solidarity with the struggle of Communist and Workers' Parties in capitalist countries and with the national-liberation movements against the forces of imperialism and reaction, for social and national liberation, for security and world peace.

The Conference positively assesses the achievements of Poland's foreign policy and stresses the importance, and necessity, of continuing to promote actions contributing to the consolidation of the socialist community, expansion of socialist integration in the CMEA framework, and strengthening of the Warsaw Treaty, its defensive might and all-round cooperation within its framework.

The Conference notes that the basic goal of Poland's foreign policy is to ensure a lasting peace.

The Conference hails with satisfaction the recent successes of the Soviet Union and the socialist community in carrying forward the policy of international détente, especially in Europe, and in promoting the Leninist principles of peaceful coexistence in relations between countries with different social systems. Poland will actively contribute to the pursuance of this policy through both bilateral contacts and international meetings and agencies.

The Conference hails the World Congress of Peace Forces in Moscow as an important forum of mass public movements, political organizations and broad public opinion for world peace and security.

The Conference expresses the conviction that realization of the ceasefire agreement in the Middle East on the basis of the Security Council resolutions will help bring about a political settlement of the Mideast conflict, Israel's withdrawal from the occupied Arab territories and guarantee the legitimate rights, peace and security of all the peoples of the area. The cause of détente and peace also requires the final liquidation of the remnants of colonialism and neo-colonialism, imperialist exploitation and oppression.

The forcible overthrow of the constitutional government of President Allende of Chile, the bloody terror and interference of foreign monopolies in the internal affairs of the Chilean people, contravene the basic norms of peaceful coexistence.

The Conference denounces those reactionary and adventuristic forces who advocate the cold war and are trying to stop the détente. The anti-Marxist chauvinist-nationalistic policy of the Maoist leadership of the CP China is playing a harmful role.

The Conference voices the deep conviction of the Polish people that the just cause of peace and socialism throughout the world will be ultimately victorious.

The Conference states that the tasks set in the reports by Edward Gierek and Piotr Jaroszewicz conform to the general line of The Sixth Congress, emerge from its successful implementation and are a directive for us in the 1974-75 period. Our achievements and possibilities for development dictate the need to maintain and promote the current development tendencies during the two last years of our five-year plan.

We say to the people that our Party is consistently implementing the decisions of the Sixth Congress. Our country's progress in the last few years is measurable by the tangible improvements in the living and working conditions of broad segments of our people. We are well aware of the fact, however, that successful fulfillment of new, difficult and important tasks in the country's rapid economic and social development depends in large measure on liquidating the deficiencies and shortcomings still manifest in our socio-economic life.

Our Party will work to establish conditions favorable to a constant perfection of the socialist state, tapping reserves of socio-economic development and awakening the creative initiative of the broad masses. This will also be the goal of further improving management and organization of labor in the national economy, introducing changes in the system of people's Councils and improving the administrative apparatus.

The Conference appeals to all working people in town and country to maintain the country's rapid socio-economic development. The Conference expresses the Party's deep conviction that the

achievements in carrying out the program of the Sixth Congress will be multiplied by fresh successes in all fields of endeavor as a result of greater efforts by the Party, government bodies and all sections of the Popular Unity Front.

The experience of People's Poland bears out that our Party, its program, work and methods of discharging its guiding role are a decisive factor furthering our country's prosperity.

The Conference, therefore, appeals to the Party, all its member organizations and bodies to mobilize efforts for further consistent realization of the Sixth Congress program.

It is necessary first of all:

—To develop active ideological work in popularizing the ideas of Marxism-Leninism and to step up political activities to ensure that all people know, understand and fully support the program of the Party and the tasks advanced by it;

—Build up the strength of the Party, deepen its ties with the working class and show a close concern for the problem of collectives at industrial enterprises, of all workers of town and country;

—Achieve greater efficiency in all spheres of endeavor, exploit every reserve in our economy to maintain the country's high rate of socio-economic development;

—Improve the cadres policy, heighten the ideological standards of cadres and promote the improvement of their qualifications;

—Conduct more systematic education and training of the younger generation, make thorough preparations for school reform, create conditions for greater activity by youth organizations allied in the Federation of Polish Youth Socialist Leagues;

—Continue development of socialist democracy in the framework of the people's state—the system of People's Councils, trade unions, public and cooperative organizations and all forms of self-government. Strengthen public discipline, accord and social order.

The delegates to the First All-Poland PUWP Conference voice their conviction that working people of our country will exert maximum efforts to fully realize the tasks of the country's socio-economic development.

RESOLUTION* ON EXCHANGE OF PARTY CARDS

The First All-Poland PUWP Conference positively assesses the activity of the Central Committee in strengthening the Party ideologically, politically and organizationally and consolidating its cadres. In line with the decisions of the Sixth Congress it is necessary to continue strengthening Party unity and cohesion, raising the

*Trybuna Ludu, November 3, 1973.

ideological level of Party members and improving methods of work in conformity with Leninist principles.

The First All-Poland Conference shares the opinion expressed by Edward Gierek in his report on the expediency and principles of exchanging Party documents prior to the Seventh PUWP Congress.

Effective Party work and perfecting methods of discharging its guiding role are factors which in large measure determine the consistent realization of the Sixth Congress program and the success of long-term plans for building socialism in our country.

The higher stage of Poland's socialist development requires still more effective work of all sections of the Party and constant improvement of their ideological standards by all Party full and candidate members. It requires that they remain in the forefront of professional and public activities.

Life has proved correct the strict demands made on Party members and the requirement to consistently abide by the Party Rules. This is the road we must continue following. The position of every Party member conforming to Marxist-Leninist ideology and the Party Rules is an essential condition for the successful socialist development of Poland.

A PUWP Party membership card is a testimonial of dedicated service to the socialist homeland and the people and readiness to actively carry out the Party program and policy. Being a member of the Party entails definite obligations but it is also an honor.

The right to be a Party member must be daily backed by one's political position, consistent observance of the ideological principles and standards of the Party and the unity of words and deeds. A criterion of this will be participation by every member and candidate member of the Party in fulfilling the Party program.

Exchanging Party cards prior to the Seventh Party Congress will help strengthen Party ranks and increase the activity of all Party members.

A Party card should signify not only organizational membership in the PUWP, it should also serve as a document showing the choice made by a Party member and as a proof of his activity and devoted service to socialism.

The First All-Poland PUWP Conference agrees with the CC proposal to change the method of registering the length of Party membership. The ideological and political unity of members of our Marxist-Leninist Party, the high level of activity in fulfilling the present tasks gives us grounds to enter in the Party card the date of joining parties that were predecessors of the PUWP or Communist Parties abroad.

Acceptance of this principle will be an expression of deep grati-

tude and respect for veterans of the workers' movement, representatives of the generations who, under the most difficult conditions, paved the road to a socialist Poland.

The First All-Poland PUWP Conference voices the certainty that the exchange of Party membership cards will become a factor mobilizing Party members to serve their socialist homeland still better.

STATEMENTS

CP CANADA CENTRAL EXECUTIVE PRESS RELEASE

ON THE SO-CALLED "WORLD CONGRESS OF FREE UKRAINIANS"

"It is nothing short of disgraceful that the government is hosting a Conference whose express purpose is to place propaganda roadblocks to the policy of détente that is bringing the hope of stable peace to our people and to all humanity," said the Communist Party of Canada Central Executive Committee in a press release issued on October 25.

"That is the expressed and main purpose of the so-called 'World Congress of Free Ukrainians'," scheduled to open on November 1. The communique issued by the organizers of this "Congress" rakes up old wornout cold war charges, about "Russification," trials of "dissidents" and so on, and demands that the Soviet Union and the Republics of the USSR, the Soviet Ukraine in the first place, open its doors to anti-Soviet, anti-socialist propaganda and subversion as a price for peaceful coexistence.

"It is not surprising that political emigres, mainly those who left their native land during the retreat of the Hitler armies, some of whom were part of that army, and many of whom have criminal records, should still try to change the course of history, to return to the cold war and to advocate an anti-Soviet war. What is surprising and ominous is that these gentry boast that they have received government grants for their anti-Canadian, sinister purposes and that their affair is to be addressed by Ministers of the government as well as by John Diefenbaker, one-time Conservative leader.

"The cold war has caused people across the world great losses. Canada and Canadians have also suffered. Our government's steps towards détente have been acclaimed by peace-loving Canadians.

To now lend any aid and comfort to groups and actions that are aimed at undermining those good beginnings is to engage in double dealing that not only is disgraceful but dangerous.

"The Communist Party of Canada calls on the Federal, Ontario and Metro (Metropolitan Toronto government) governments to dissociate themselves from this cold war 'Congress' and not lend Canada's name to such a hostile, warmongering affair.

"Instead, governments at all levels should make unmistakably clear that Canada's best interests lie in strengthening good-neighboring relations with the USSR, on the basis of peaceful coexistence, détente and no interference in each other's internal affairs, on the maximum development of trade, scientific and cultural exchanges on a mutually satisfactory basis.

"This is where our real Canadian interests lie including our independence as a sovereign state.

"We should support those who advance the cause of peace and friendship between people and reject those who advocate hatred and war."

The Canadian Tribune, October 31, 1973

INTERNATIONAL SOLIDARITY IS DECISIVE REQUISITE FOR SAVING LIVES OF THOUSANDS OF DEMOCRATS

Following is the full text of a statement by the Political Commission of the Socialist Party of Chile entitled "To the Chilean People and World Public Opinion." It was published in *l'Humanité* on November 24, 1973.

In these hours of massive and criminal repression by the fascist dictatorship tyrannizing over our people, popular organizations firmly raise their voice again and again to tell the truth about what goes on in Chile, realizing that the truth is a valuable weapon in resisting the dictatorship.

The Political Commission of the Socialist Party of Chile denounces the criminal repression unleashed with a view to smashing and destroying the Party and all democratic organizations. This effort of the dictatorship has failed and will continue to fail. The Socialist Party makes common cause with the fraternal Communist Party and other democratic organizations in carrying high the banner of struggle and in directing the Chilean people's efforts towards closer unity of action as they resist fascism and fight to

establish democracy in Chile. But there is repression and thousands of people's fighters have been assassinated, tortured or imprisoned all over the country. Courageous and fine comrades trained by the popular movement over years of struggle for socialism have died the death of heroes at their posts, loyal to their revolutionary pledge to the working class and the people.

The Socialist Party of Chile pays homage to the memory of all the comrades assassinated by fascism, in particular these leading Party comrades:

—Arnoldo Camu Veloso, aged 33, lawyer, member of the Political Commission of the SPC. Shot down in the street by the political police on September 25 last.

—Eduardo Paredes Barrientos, 33, doctor, former director of the Investigation Service and President of Chile Films, member of the CC SPC, and

—Arsenio Poupin, 35, lawyer, Under-Secretary of State, former director of the Investigation Service, member of the CC SCP. Shot in the Tacna barracks on September 13 with all the survivors of the bombing raid and assault on La Moneda palace.

—Hector Martinez Molina, 33, peasant leader, member of the CC SCP. Arrested by troops in mid-October. Shot without trial.

—Luis Norambuena Fermandois, 34, CUT leader, municipal councillor of Puerto de San Antonio, member of the CC SCP. Arrested in San Antonio after the coup and shot with other members of the Santiago Litoral Regional Committee on the false pretext of "attempted escape."

—Ricardo Pereira (Maximo), 29, doctor, in charge of security matters on the Party leadership. Shot in the Tacna barracks on September 13, after 48 hours of tortures.

—Manuel Donoso D., 26, teacher, leader of the Arica Regional Committee. Shot on October 22.

—Marcelo Guzman, Noberto Canas, Freddy Taberna, Rodolfo Fuenzalida, Jorge Sampson, all members of the Iquique Regional Party Committee. Shot in mid-October.

—Luis Carocca, 20, student, Iquique Regional Secretary of Socialist Youth; Hector Ruz, Socialist municipal councillor, of Iquique. Shot like the preceding comrades.

—Pedro Cerda Albarracin, 34, doctor, regional leader. Shot in an Antofagasta square in September.

—Arnoldo Cabrera, doctor, head of the Chuquicamata hospital, regional leader of El Loa. Shot in mid-October with 21 other regional leaders.

—Washington Munoz, 26, employee, regional leader of Antofagasta. Shot in mid-October with 25 popular leaders of the region.

—Leonelo Vicenti, regional Party secretary of Copiapo. Shot

without trial in mid-October with other regional leaders.

—Ricardo Garcia, engineer, manager of the El Salvador copper mine. Shot in Copiapo in mid-October.

—Patricio Alarcon, 23, regional leader of Nuble. Tortured to death at police headquarters.

—Francisco Gutierrez and Miguel Venegas, regional Socialist Youth leaders of Nuble.

—Ricardo Lagos Reyes, mayor of Chillan. Assassinated with his whole family on September 16 in his home on the false pretext of "attempted resistance."

—Manuel Mariscal, regional leader of Talca. Shot in September.

—German Castro Rojas, regional leader and superintendent of Talca. Shot after a sham trial.

This very incomplete list, made by the Party's intermediate leadership, shows very clearly the dictatorship's aim, which is to chain the people by liquidating their organizations through the physical destruction of their leaders.

The SCP stresses the decisive importance of the international solidarity with the Chilean people and condemnation of the usurper dictatorship vigorously expressed by all organizations, governments and popular and democratic leaders throughout the world.

The Chilean people need this solidarity. It is decisive for saving the lives and securing the release of thousands of compatriots locked up in barracks, prisons and the prison camps set up in southern islands and in the northern desert.

The primary objective of this battle is to save the life and obtain the release of our dear comrade, Luis Corvalan Leppe, General Secretary of the Communist Party of Chile, who is seriously threatened by the fascists, and with him, all the political leaders and high-ranking officials of the popular government, who are tortured physically and morally and threatened with death.

Specifically, the Socialist Party calls attention to the serious danger threatening the following comrades:

—Erick Schnacke Sil, Senator, lawyer, member Political Commission of the SPC, charged with "inciting servicemen to insubordination."

—Clodomiro Almeyda Medina, former Vice-President of the Republic and ex-Minister for Foreign Affairs and Defense, member of the CC SCP. Banished to the island of Dawson.

—Edmundo Serani Pradenas, official of the National Congress, member of the CC SCP in charge of international relations.

—Guarani Pereda Da Rosa, councillor of the Presidency of the Republic, former director of the SPC daily, member of the CC. Tortured at the national stadium.

—Uldaricio Figuerda, regional secretary of Valdivia, CC member.

Threatened with shooting at any moment on the charge of organizing guerrillas in the Valdivia area.

—Adolfo Lara Bustamante, Higgins regional secretary, CC member.

—Eduardo Mella, employee of the copper corporation, CC member. Jailed in the town of Rancagua.

—Jose Madariaga, governor of Santa Cruz Department, Chairman of the Federation of Peasants, Colchagua Province, CC member.

—Andres Garcia Treyisanys, leader of the Santiago Cordilleras Region, CC member.

—Jose Toha, former Vice-President of the Republic, Minister of the Interior and Defense, journalist. Banished to Dawson.

—Aniceto Rodriguez Arenas, Senator and former General Secretary of the Party. Exiled to Dawson.

—Luis Aguilera Baez, Senator. Imprisoned in Coquimbo.

—Armando Barrietos, MP. Imprisoned in Valparaiso.

—Andres Sepulveda, regional secretary and MP, Valparaiso.

—Sergio Anfossi, MP from Ayen, member of the technical commission of the Party leadership.

—Luis Villalobos, regional leader and MP, Linares.

—Guillermo Munoz, former superintendent and MP, Talca, where he is in jail.

—Sergio Roubillar, governor of Arica. In jail in Arica.

—Ernesto Burgos, superintendent of Tarapaca Province. Sentenced to 15 years imprisonment in Iquique.

—Sandro Arancibia, superintendent and regional leader of Valdivia, where he is imprisoned.

—Mario Silva, regional secretary. Imprisoned in Antofagasta.

—Alfonso Guerra, regional secretary of the Party, Santiago Cordilleras.

—Reinaldo Pocek, lawyer, regional secretary of Nuble. Imprisoned on charges which imply that his life is in danger.

—Sergio Arancibia Valenzuela, economist, Vice-President of INDAP. Held since the day of the coup, place of detention unknown.

The campaign for the lives and freedom of these comrades and all the political prisoners of the dictatorship is an important part of the difficult struggle which the Chilean people have launched in unity to overthrow fascism, restore democratic liberties and rights and return onto the road taken by the popular government under Comrade Salvador Allende.

Fighting in unity against fascism, for democracy, the people will win.

The blood of the dead shall not have been shed in vain.

Political Commission,
Socialist Party of Chile

number 22, 1973 51

JOINT STATEMENT OF CONFERENCE OF REPRESENTATIVES OF CP OF JORDAN, IRAQ, LEBANON AND SYRIA

Representatives of the Communist Parties of Jordan, Iraq, Lebanon and Syria met in the middle of November to discuss the situation in the Middle East resulting from the latest Arab-Israeli war, and also the tasks of Arab Communists and other progressive forces and organizations at the present stage. The communique released in Beirut on November 17, says further: "During the exchange of opinions and appraisal of the situation the unanimity of the four Parties was registered concerning the existing situation and the tasks facing Communists in the Arab countries. The four Parties agreed to maintain permanent contacts in order to follow political developments."

The conference adopted a political statement and expressed its solidarity with the Iraqi Communist Party in view of the complications in Kurdistan.

The following is a summary of the joint statement which was published in the *An-Nida* on November 18.

"The war that started on October 6, 1973," the statement says, "was a just war of national liberation." The statement notes the "important, positive results" of the war but points out that the "positive results could have been greater if the energy of the masses were put to better use, if there were closer coordination between the progressive Arab countries and a more decisive course towards cooperation and cohesion with the USSR."

The document particularly stresses the significance of Arab-Soviet friendship and the Soviet Union's role in supporting the Arab countries.

"It has been forcefully and clearly confirmed that Soviet-Arab friendship is the mainstay of the Arab national-liberation movement in the face of imperialist and Zionist threats, the mainstay in countering aggression and in the struggle to restore the lawful rights of the Arab peoples. The great Soviet Union has come forward as a reliable and true ally in our peoples' struggle. It supplies all the required military aid to ensure the success of the struggle and uses all its political possibilities to support our just cause.

"All this disproves the insinuations concerning the principled

policy of the USSR, a policy of peaceful coexistence and international détente and confirms that this policy furthers the liberation cause and that the USSR considers it its prime duty to support the struggle of the peoples for freedom and sovereignty. One result of this policy has been further growth of the Soviet Union's prestige in the eyes of the Arab peoples and the failure of the campaign launched by the reactionaries, Rightist forces and Maoist propaganda to throw doubt on Soviet-Arab friendship."

The statement pays high tribute to the fighting capacity of Arab soldiers in the recent battles and notes that "the soldiers' and officers' faith in their strength and weaponry has grown. Soviet armaments proved to be powerful and effective."

The Communist Parties of Jordan, Iraq, Lebanon and Syria believe that a political solution of the conflict on the basis of UN and Security Council resolutions, in the interests of the national-liberation movement, is possible.

"The Arab peoples hope," the statement continues, "that the coming Arab conference of heads of state will conform with the will and struggle of the peoples for the complete withdrawal of Israeli troops from occupied territories, will not permit the annexation of any part of Arab territory, will reaffirm the lawful rights of the Palestinian people and will not yield to imperialist and Zionist pressure."

The statement stresses that in working for a peaceful solution and political settlement, the four Communist parties are motivated by the interests of the revolutionary struggle and its further development.

"Our Communist parties hold," the statement concludes, "that realization of the main task—liberation of all Arab lands and restoration of the lawful rights of the Arab people of Palestine — requires:

- urgent measures to strengthen cooperation and joint action, close coordination of the efforts of all the national and progressive forces, particularly by Egypt, Syria, Iraq, Algeria, Democratic Yemen, the Palestine Liberation Movement (PLM) and the Communist parties of the Arab countries in the struggle against imperialism and Zionism;

- raising to top preparedness the fighting capacity of the Arab armies in Egypt, Syria, Iraq and the other countries in order to be able to counter every possible aggression;

- solidarity with the PLM, more effective efforts to fortify the unity and coordination of its detachments so that they should be able to fulfil their role in battles; support for the Palestinian National Front in the occupied areas and confirmation of the fact that

the organization for the Liberation of Palestine is the sole lawful representative of the Arab people of Palestine;

—mobilizing the energy of the masses to preserve and strengthen the friendship with the Soviet Union, ally and main supporter of the Arab national liberation movement and of its victories in the present battle for the liberation of occupied territories and the restoration of the rights of the people of Palestine;

—strong action to counter any attempts to capitulate or reach a separatist solution or to accept an imperialist, particularly U.S. imperialist, solution;

—broadening the people's campaign to abolish U.S. interests in Arab countries, particularly the U.S. oil interests, withdrawing Arab deposits from U.S. banks, breaking off diplomatic and economic relations with the United States and using the Arab economy and finances to strengthen the combat capacity of the Arab countries;

—consolidating national progressive organizations and speeding up economic and social progressive measures, and broadening the state sector—all of which are a reliable basis for further struggle against imperialism, Zionism and reaction;

—forming and fortifying national fronts and winning support for them in the Arab countries, granting democratic rights to the people and national progressive forces, especially the right of political and organizational activities."

MEETING BETWEEN L. I. BREZHNEV AND A. MOHAMMED

On November 8, the General Secretary CC CPSU, L. I. Brezhnev, met with Aziz Mohammed, First Secretary of the Iraqi Communist Party who is in Moscow at the invitation of the CC CPSU. Present during the talks was B. N. Ponomaryov, alternate member of the Political Bureau and Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee.

During the warm and comradely talks questions of developing friendly ties between the CPSU and the Iraqi Communist Party were discussed. Viewpoints were also exchanged concerning the international situation. Particular attention was paid to the situation in the Middle East where the Israeli aggressor again started an armed conflict in October.

On behalf of the Iraqi Communists, Aziz Mohammed expressed deep gratitude to the CC CPSU and the Soviet government for the consistent policy of supporting the efforts of the Arab countries

to ensure their national independence and sovereignty and establish a just and stable peace in the Middle East.

The Soviet side stressed that the CPSU and the Soviet government uphold the just struggle of the Arab peoples for a solution of the Middle East conflict on the basis of the Israeli withdrawal from Arab territory occupied in 1967 and securing the lawful rights of all states and peoples of that region, including the Arab people of Palestine.

L. I. Brezhnev commended Iraq's contribution in support of the Arab states subjected to Israeli aggression, and its use of oil resources in the interests of achieving independent development and making the Arab struggle against aggression and foreign monopolies more effective.

The General Secretary of the CC CPSU, L. I. Brezhnev, stressed the Soviet Union's unalterable course in helping the Iraqi people consolidate their independence, develop friendship and cooperation between the two countries in line with the Soviet-Iraq Treaty on Friendship and Cooperation.

Both sides declared for developing fraternal friendship between the CPSU and the Iraqi Communist Party.

JOINT SOVIET-YUGOSLAV COMMUNIQUE*

Josip Broz Tito, President of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and Chairman of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia, paid a friendly visit to the Soviet Union from November 12 to 15, 1973, at the invitation of the CPSU Central Committee. During the visit, talks were held in Kiev between Leonid Brezhnev, General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and Josip Broz Tito. The following took part in the talks, which were held in a friendly atmosphere and a spirit of mutual understanding and confidence:

On the Soviet side—Member of the Political Bureau of the CPSU Central Committee and Minister of Foreign Affairs of the USSR, Andrei Gromyko; Member of the Political Bureau of the CPSU Central Committee and First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Ukraine, Vladimir Shcherbitsky; Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee Konstantin Katushev; Member of the CPSU Central Committee and Assistant to the General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, Konstantin Rusa-

*Pravda, November 16, 1973.

kov; Member of the CPSU Central Committee and Ambassador of the USSR to the SFRY, Vladimir Stepanov;

On the Yugoslav side—Secretary of the Executive Bureau of the Presidium of the LCY, Stane Dolanc; Vice-President of the Federal Executive Council and Federal Secretary for Foreign Affairs of the SFRY, Milos Minic; Chairman of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Serbia, Tihomir Vlaskalic; Ambassador of the SFRY to the USSR, Milorad Pesic; Chief of the office of the SFRY President, A. Sokorac; Head of the International Relations and Contacts Department of the Presidium of the LCY Vlado Obradovic; Foreign Political Adviser of the SFRY, President Milos Melovski; and Chief of a division of the Federal Secretariat for Foreign Affairs of the SFRY, T. Lipkovski.

Leonid Brezhnev and Josip Broz Tito exchanged information about the progress of socialist and communist construction, and views on the development of cooperation between the CPSU and the LCY, the USSR and the SFRY and the prospects for strengthening Soviet-Yugoslav relations. They also discussed topical international problems and questions of the world Communist and working-class movement.

Satisfaction was expressed with the successful development of Soviet-Yugoslav cooperation in the political, economic, scientific, technical and cultural spheres and the significant efforts exerted by both sides in realizing the provisions of earlier adopted joint documents were emphasized. The General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and the Chairman of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia highly appreciated the results of the cooperation between the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the League of Communists of Yugoslavia. It was their opinion that the level reached in Soviet-Yugoslav relations guaranteed the further development of all-round cooperation.

Both sides emphasized that improvement in Party and state contacts and enrichment of Soviet-Yugoslav cooperation was in the interests of building socialism and communism. They declared for expansion of long-term cooperation in policy and economy, in culture, education, science, information, tourism and other spheres. They considered that participation of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia in the activity of CMEA on the basis of the treaty existing between the SFRY and CMEA helps to strengthen economic cooperation between the Soviet Union and Yugoslavia.

They noted the great significance of the established practice of frequent meetings and contacts, exchange of opinion and information at various levels on foreign-policy and other topical questions. All this makes for better knowledge of each other, strengthens confidence and cooperation between the CPSU and the League of

Communists of Yugoslavia, the USSR and the SFRY in the interests of the peoples of the two countries. It also helps to consolidate the cause of peace, security and social progress and develop all-round international cooperation.

In the discussion of international problems, Leonid Brezhnev and Josip Broz Tito particularly stressed questions related to the strengthening and deepening of relaxation of tension, active resistance to attempts by reactionary and aggressive forces to prevent an improvement in the political climate in the world.

The USSR and the SFRY consider that one of the most important tasks is to extinguish the hotbed of war in the Middle East, eliminate the consequences of Israeli aggression, fully restore the lawful rights of the Arab peoples on the basis of immediate implementation of Security Council resolution No. 242 of November 22, 1967, in all its parts. Sharply condemning Israel's aggressive actions against the Arab countries, its flagrant flouting of the Security Council resolutions on a ceasefire and end to military operations and return of the troops to the positions they held on October 22, 1973, the sides point to the dangerous consequences of Israel's adventuristic actions. The Israeli forces must be withdrawn from all the occupied Arab territories; the rights of the Arab peoples must be fully safeguarded; the lawful national rights of the Arab people of Palestine must also be implemented. The USSR and the SFRY consider that it is only on the basis of respect for the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of all Middle East states that a just and firm political settlement of this conflict can be reached. The Soviet Union and Yugoslavia express their readiness to continue working for the establishment of peace in the Middle East and for ensuring guaranteed security of all states and peoples of that region.

Leonid Brezhnev and Josip Broz Tito emphasized the historic significance of the victory of the heroic Vietnamese people, reaffirmed the resolve of the USSR and the SFRY to continue helping the Democratic Republic of Vietnam in the rehabilitation of its economy and the building of socialism, and also effectively supporting the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Vietnam. Noting gross violations of the Paris Agreement by the Saigon regime, both sides declared for undeviating observance of the agreement by the parties concerned, for strict respect for the sovereignty and legitimate rights of the peoples of Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia, for the establishment of a just and lasting peace in the whole of Indochina.

Leonid Brezhnev and Josip Broz Tito unequivocally condemned the actions of Chilean reaction and its imperialist patrons, actions which had led to the overthrow of the lawful government of Popu-

lar Unity, to the establishment of a military dictatorship and mass terror against the country's patriotic and progressive forces. They declared their solidarity with the courageous struggle of the people of Chile for independence and social progress.

They exchanged views on the situation in Europe, and reaffirmed their readiness to make a constructive contribution to a successful completion of the All-European Conference on Security and Cooperation. The Soviet Union and Yugoslavia consider that the holding of the final stage of the All-European Conference at summit level would meet the interests of all countries participating in the conference. The sides stand for practical steps being taken to reduce armaments and armed forces in Europe, and emphasize that they attach much importance to supplementing the political détente with a military one.

The two states emphasized their resolve to consistently press for the détente to spread to all parts of the world. The Soviet Union and Yugoslavia proceed from an understanding that the cessation of the arms race, a general and complete disarmament covering both nuclear and conventional armaments under strict and effective control would be of paramount importance for a radical improvement of the international situation. They are for speeding preparations for holding a World Disarmament Conference. Both countries support the demand of the Fourth Conference of Non-Aligned countries in Algiers that military budgets be gradually reduced. This would enable part of the means thus saved to be used for the economic advance of developing countries. The Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia supports the idea contained in the proposal made at the United Nations by the Soviet Union on a ten per cent reduction of the military budgets of the permanent member-states of the UN Security Council.

Leonid Brezhnev and Josip Broz Tito stated that the favorable changes internationally create opportunities for all countries, irrespective of the size of their territory and population, to participate on an equal footing in solving the basic problems of our times.

The Soviet Union and Yugoslavia note the great importance of the results of the Fourth Conference of Non-Aligned States in Algiers for the struggle against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism. This was shown clearly in their unanimous support for the liberation struggle of the Arab peoples and countries against Israel aggression.

Both sides welcome the efforts which are being made by socialist, non-aligned and other countries, by all peace, democratic and progressive forces to bring about a further relaxation of tensions and create conditions for lasting and equal international cooperation on the principles of peaceful coexistence.

The USSR and the SFRY emphasize that the United Nations Organization is a major factor in the maintenance of peace and security and solving international problems.

They stressed that in present-day conditions, parallel with vigorous government action, it is important to secure the mobilization of the broadest sections of the world public in order to consolidate the positive tendencies in international relations and make the détente irreversible. In this connection the World Congress of Peace Forces in Moscow was considered of great importance, since its ideas and appeals would help to attract new broad sections of the peace movement.

Conviction was expressed that the friendly visit to the Soviet Union by the President of the SFRY, Chairman of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia, Josip Broz Tito, and the wide and fruitful exchange of views which had ensued, would promote the further strengthening of friendship and cooperation between the CPSU and the League of Communists of Yugoslavia, between the USSR and the SFRY in the interests of the peoples of the Soviet Union and Yugoslavia, for the good of socialism and peace.

President of the SFRY, Chairman of the LCY Josip Broz Tito invited Leonid Brezhnev, General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, to pay a friendly visit to Yugoslavia. The invitation was accepted with pleasure.

JOINT COMMUNIQUE* ON VISIT OF FRENCH CP DELEGATION TO THE DRV

A delegation of the French Communist Party led by General Secretary Georges Marchais was in Vietnam on a friendly visit from November 10 to 17, 1973, at the invitation of the Central Committee of the Working People's Party of Vietnam.

The delegation was received by President Ton Duc Thang who had cordial talks with it.

The delegation laid a wreath at the monument to fallen fighters in Hanoi and attended a mass meeting held in its honor.

The delegation visited enterprises, cultural establishments, war-ravaged areas in Hanoi and Haiphong, the province of Quang Binh and in Vinh Linh area. It met with representatives of all strata of the people who are working diligently to heal the war wounds and

*Vietnam Information Agency release of November 19, published in *l'Humanite* on November 20, 1973.

rehabilitate the country. The delegation was given a warm and cordial welcome everywhere, which was a vivid demonstration of the fraternal friendship closely linking the two Parties and the two nations.

The delegation visited the Special Representation of the Republic of South Vietnam in Hanoi and had sincere talks there.

The WPPV and FCP delegations discussed the present stage of the two peoples' revolutionary struggle, the relations of fraternal friendship between the two Parties and other questions of mutual interest.

The WPPV was represented at the talks by:

- Le Duan, First Secretary of the WPPV, head of the delegation;
- Truong Tinh, member of the WPPV Political Bureau;
- Le Duc Tho, member of the WPPV Political Bureau;
- Xuan Thuy, Party Secretary and head of the Foreign Relations Department;
- Tran Quang Huy, alternate member of the Party CC.

On the French side, the participants included:

- Georges Marchais, FCP General Secretary, head of the delegation;
- Claude Poperen, Political Bureau member;
- Jean Kanapa, CC member, head of the Foreign Relations Department;
- Theo Ronco, functionary of the CC.

The talks passed in a cordial atmosphere imbued with the spirit of long-standing militant solidarity and fraternal friendship between the two Parties.

Both Parties paid high tribute to each other's activity and struggle. In their talks they reached agreement on the following main questions.

In their struggle against U.S. aggression the people of Vietnam have scored a historic victory of international importance. The victory is a new success in the people's struggle against imperialism, notably U.S. imperialism. It reflects a deep change in the world balance of forces in favor of socialism, national independence, democracy and peace.

For the first time in more than 100 years there are no foreign troops on Vietnam soil. The Paris agreement creates favorable conditions for the restoration of stable peace, for further building of socialism in the North, for winning national independence, achieving democracy in the South and for the ultimate peaceful unification of Vietnam.

The facts show that U.S. imperialism and the Saigon authorities are systematically violating a number of important provisions of the Paris Agreement.

U.S. imperialism, persisting in its neo-colonialist designs against South Vietnam, continues its military involvement, leaving behind a large contingent of disguised military advisers and illegally gun-running new weapons. With U.S. support the Saigon authorities are continually violating the ceasefire, carrying out attacks and air raids against the zones controlled by the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Vietnam.

They are stamping underfoot all democratic freedoms in the zone under their control, intensifying repressions and fascist measures and refusing to release the 200,000 political prisoners held in inhuman conditions. They have blocked consultations in Paris between the two sides in South Vietnam and the work of the joint bilateral commission in Saigon.

At the same time the United States has been making slanderous statements against the DRV and is committing serious provocations against it (flights of spy planes, naval maneuvers, etc.).

While the DRV and the PRG of the RSV respect and strictly abide by the Paris Agreement, the U.S. imperialists and Saigon authorities have by their actions caused tension preventing national reconciliation and restoration of peace.

They are fully responsible for the existing situation and the possible consequences.

The United States and the Saigon authorities should fully and strictly observe the Paris Agreement and show respect for the South Vietnamese people's right to self-determination.

Just as before, during the war, it is necessary to show even greater international solidarity with the people of Vietnam who are working for strict fulfilment of the Paris Agreement, to repair the serious damage caused by the American aggression, stimulate socialist building in the North, bringing independence and democracy to the South and start the peaceful reunification of Vietnam.

In this spirit the French Communist Party will continue to strengthen solidarity and extend ever growing material aid to the Vietnamese people and calls on all French democratic and peace forces to intensify and join efforts for this just cause.

The FCP will exert maximum effort to prevail on France, a participant of the international Paris conference on Vietnam, to immediately recognize the PRG of the RSV, urge the United States and the Saigon authorities to respect and observe all provisions of the Paris Agreement on Vietnam, and to develop relations of loyal cooperation between France and the DRV.

The Working People's Party of Vietnam and all Vietnamese people highly appreciate the FCP's dedicated support and untiring aid in their just struggle and express their sincere and deep gratitude. They regard this as a brilliant manifestation of the lofty prole-

tarian internationalism of the French Communists, working class and people.

The signing of the Vientiane Agreement on restoring peace and achieving national accord in Laos and the signing of a protocol accompanying the agreement are an important victory for the Laotian people in their struggle against the American aggressor, for national salvation. The WPPV and the FCP decisively support the efforts of the people of Laos led by the Laotian Patriotic Front to build a peaceful, independent, democratic, united and prospering Laos.

The people of Cambodia are scoring glorious victories over U.S. imperialism and its accomplices under the guidance of the United National Front of Cambodia and the Royal National Unity Government of Cambodia. The WPPV and FCP fully support this struggle. The United States should put a stop to all acts of aggression and intervention against Cambodia and the people of Cambodia should be given the opportunity to decide their own affairs without foreign interference.

The world balance of forces is tipping in favor of the people's revolutionary cause. It is becoming increasingly difficult for imperialism which has suffered serious setbacks, to count on destroying socialism and turning back the clock of history.

In these conditions the struggle of the working class and peoples for national independence, democracy, socialism and peace can develop with new force, winning further victories. It can force imperialism to accept peaceful coexistence of states with differing political and social systems, which by no means signifies preservation of the political and social status quo or an end of the class struggle.

The facts show that imperialism has not changed its character and that it is stubbornly attempting to win back lost positions and nurturing its neo-colonialist designs. Wherever big capital still holds sway it brutally exploits the workers and the overwhelming majority of the population and pursues an ever more anti-democratic policy.

However, maintaining their vigilance, strengthening their solidarity and resolutely fighting to thwart the designs of imperialism, particularly American imperialism, and crush the power of big capital, the peoples will be able to bring their cause to a triumphant end.

In these conditions it is therefore especially important to strengthen and develop unity, solidarity and cooperation between the Communist and Workers' Parties and among the socialist countries on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. The WPPV and the FCP will bend every effort to promote this

unity, this solidarity and this cooperation. They will likewise do their utmost to achieve unity and cooperation between the various trends which today comprise the world revolutionary movement.

The WPPV and the FCP decisively uphold the struggle of the Chilean people against the reactionary military who carried out a coup on the orders of American imperialism. They decisively support the struggle of the Arab peoples against the aggression launched by Israel with the aid of American imperialism and demand that Israel immediately withdraw from Arab territories unlawfully occupied by it and show respect for the legitimate national rights of the Arab people of Palestine.

Noting with satisfaction the growing militant solidarity and fraternity between them, the two Parties expressed their determination to continue strengthening these bonds of friendship and solidarity.

They will continue doing all in their power to strengthen and further develop friendship and cooperation between the two peoples and between the DRV and France.

On behalf of the FCP Comrade Georges Marchais invited Comrade Le Duan to visit France at a convenient time. The invitation was accepted with gratitude.

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