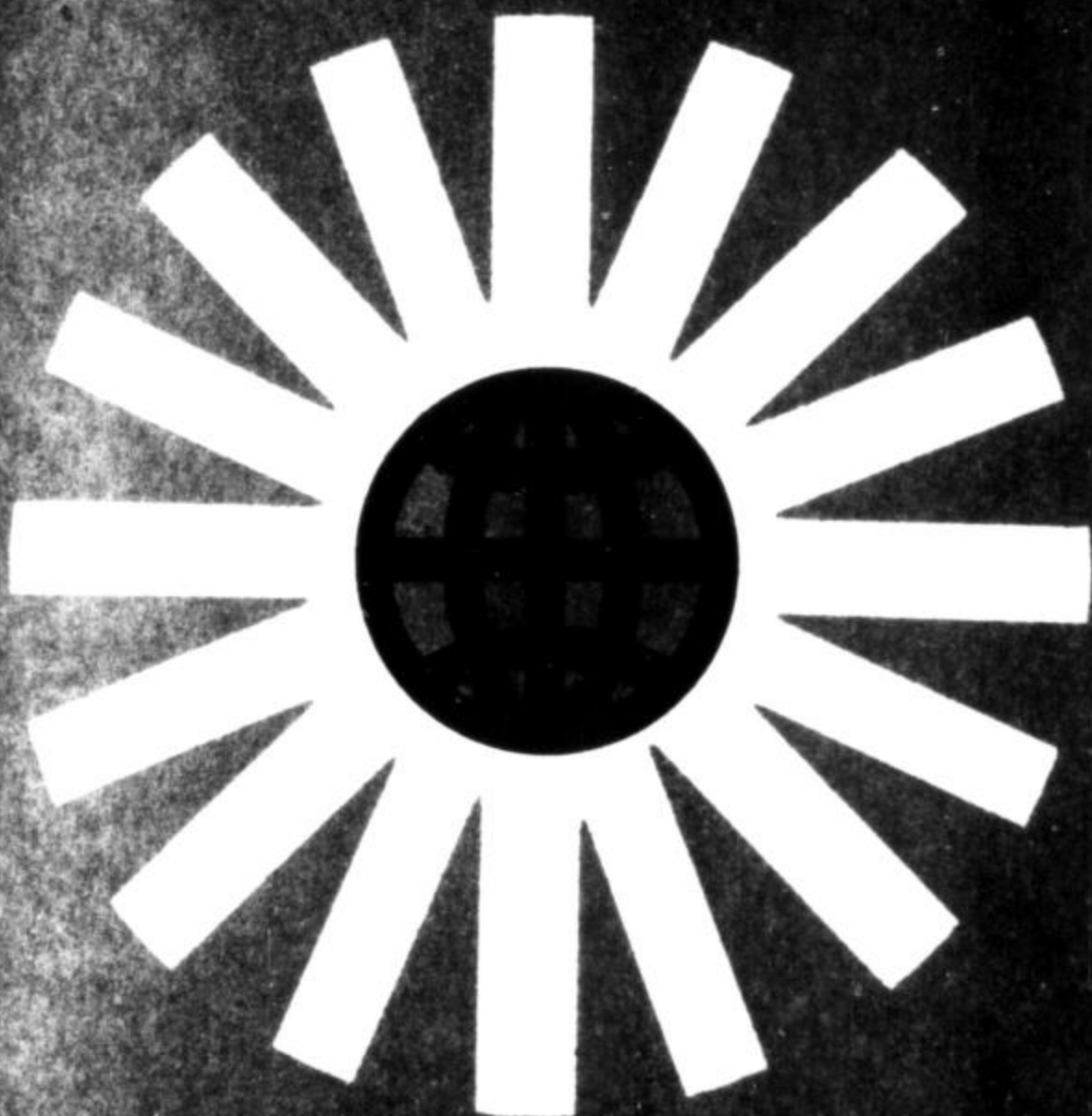


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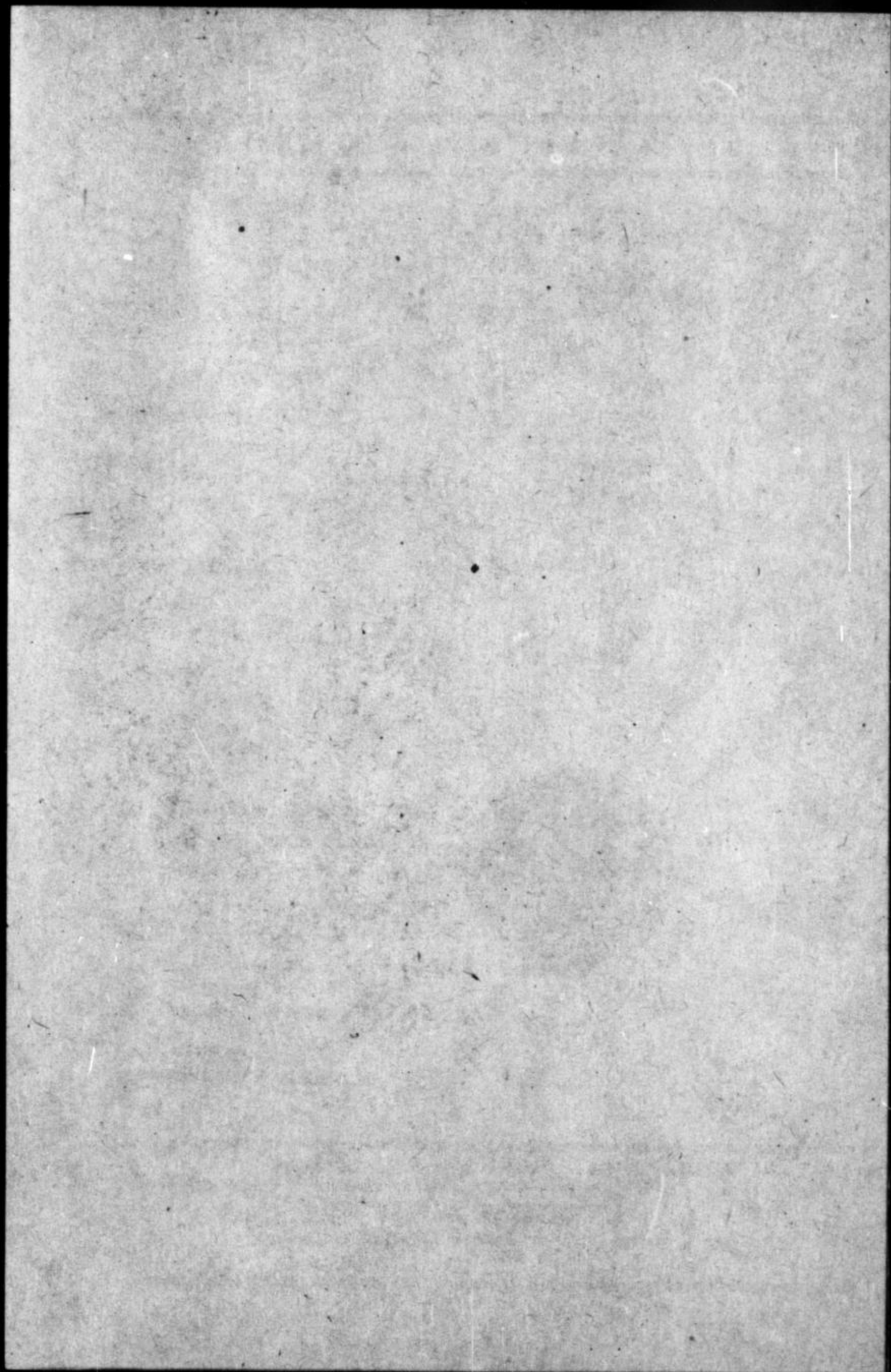
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10th CONGRESS
CP of CHINA

CP of CHINA
APPEAL TO
THE PEOPLE

INTERNATIONAL
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CONGRESSES

TENTH CONGRESS OF THE CP OF CHINA

On August 29, 1973 the Hsinhua news agency published a communique on the 10th Congress of the Communist Party of China (Peking, August 24-28).

The communique noted that Mao Tse-tung had directed the Congress.

Chou En-lai presented the political report of the Central Committee and Wang Hungwen, Deputy Chairman of the Revolutionary Committee and Secretary of the Party Committee of Shanghai, submitted a report on amendments to the CPC Rules.

The Congress approved the political report and the new Rules and elected the Party's leading bodies. The new CC CPC has 195 full and 124 alternate members.

The Congress passed a resolution expelling Lin Piao from the Party. It also expelled Chen Po-ta, member of the Political Bureau's Standing Committee, and relieved him of all Party and government posts as "the main member of the Lin Piao anti-Party group." The communique said that the congress had endorsed the steps taken by the CC in respect of other main members of the Lin group.

CC CPC PLENUM

On August 30, 1973, the CC elected at the 10th CPC Congress met in plenary session in Peking. It elected Mao Tse-tung Chairman of the CC and Chou En-lai, Wang Hung-wen, Kang Sheng, E Chien-ying and Li Te-sheng, Deputy Chairmen.

The CC Political Bureau members elected by the meeting are Mao Tse-tung, Wang Hung-wen, Wei Kuo-ching, E Chien-ying, Liu Pocheng, Chiang Ching, Chu Te, Hsu Shih-yu, Hua Kuo-feng, Chen Yungkui, Chen Hsi-lien, Li Hsien-nien, Li Te-sheng, Chang Chun-chiao, Chou En-lai, Yao Wen-yuan, Kang Sheng and Tung Pi-wu.

Alternate members of the Political Bureau: Wu Kui-hsien, Su Chen-kua, Ni Chich-fu and Saifuddin.

Members of the Political Bureau's Standing Committee: Mao Tse-tung, Wang Hung-wen, E Chien-ying, Chu Te, Li Te-sheng, Chang Chun-chiao, Chou En-lai, Kang Sheng and Tung Pi-wu.

COMMUNIST PARTY PRESS COMMENTS ON THE CPC CONGRESS

ON TENTH CONGRESS OF THE CP OF CHINA*

Maoist propaganda has latterly launched a campaign trying to present the recently held 10th Congress of the Communist Party of China as a "great victory of Mao Tse-tung's ideas."

The Hsinhua News Agency reports that the Congress, which was held in Peking on August 24-28, approved the political report made by Chou En-lai, Premier of the State Council of the People's Republic of China, heard a report on alterations to Party Rules delivered by Wang Hung-wen, adopted new Party Rules and elected a new CPC Central Committee. There are no indications that Mao Tse-tung spoke at the Congress, though it is stated that he "directed its work." It was the briefest and, in the judgment of many foreign observers, "the strangest" Congress in the history of the Communist Party of China.

The preparations for the 10th Congress proceeded in complete secrecy. The Hsinhua Agency says that the delegates were not elected but selected in Peking after "repeated exchanges of views and consultations." The Chinese press gave almost no coverage of the Congress. It did not even give the names of the speakers in the debate (if it took place at all). Considering that it was the Congress of the ruling party, evidently all this secrecy was needed to camouflage the dictatorship of the bureaucratic-military grouping of Mao Tse-tung and to conceal its political mechanism from the public eye. The secrecy of the Congress points also to the widening gap between the present-day Peking leadership and the popular masses and its distrust of the latter.

According to foreign news agencies, the intensity of the anti-Soviet campaign being fanned in China at the time was reminiscent of the anti-Sovietism prevalent during the Ninth CPC Congress in April 1969.

The significance of the Congress and its consequences for developments in China may be fully judged only from the political practice and deeds of the newly elected CPC leadership. At the same time the published documents (the communique of the Congress, the political report of the Central Committee, the report on the changes in the Party Rules, and the text of the CPC Rules approved by the Congress) are sufficient to arrive at some principled conclusions. The documents show, in particular, that the Chinese leadership has not introduced substantial changes to the

*Pravda, October 16, 1973.

line adopted at the Ninth Congress (1969) which meant a complete break with the general line of the Eighth CPC Congress (1956) for socialist development, for friendship with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, for joint struggle against the aggressive intrigues of imperialism.

The Congress materials and the atmosphere in which it was held show, above all, that the Peking leaders, discarding "ultra-revolutionary" ideology camouflage, are showing themselves all along the line to be a force hostile to the policy and interests of the socialist world, a force opposed to the positive processes going on in the world today. The Maoist grouping is becoming a direct ally of the most reactionary quarters of imperialism.

Thus, Mao Tse-tung and his retinue have preserved both the anti-Leninist essence of their domestic policy and the direction of this course in international affairs, which is hostile to world socialism and the world Communist and national-liberation movements.

The Congress failed to ensure unity in the Party and in the country's leadership, registering only a temporary compromise between the rival groupings fraught with new political cataclysms. This has left its imprint on the Congress documents which are obviously contradictory and contain vague and confused wordings and reservations.

The Congress appeared to be unable to work out a positive program for China's further development leaving the urgent problems of the country's economic and cultural progress unsolved. Indeed, a few phrases such as "all is going on well" and a repetition of the well-known slogans that "socialism must be built according to this principle: more, faster, better and more thriftily," "agriculture is the basis of national economy," "rely on your own forces," "walk on two feet," etc., cannot be regarded as a program at all.

Despite all the propaganda devices of Peking, the outcome of the 10th Congress of the Communist Party of China points to the deepening crisis of Maoism as a doctrine and a political regime.

II.

The character of the Congress was revealed most graphically in the attitude displayed towards the "cultural revolution."

The campaign known under that name kept the country at fever point over a period of several years. During its course the political structure built up in the PRC after the victory of the people's revolution was destroyed. Party, state and public organizations were smashed. Millions of people were subjected to persecution and reprisals and the national economy suffered incalculable harm.

Mao Tse-tung bears the main responsibility for all this for as Chou En-lai pointed out in his report: "Mao Tse-tung himself launched the cultural revolution and gave it his personal guidance."

What conclusions do we find in the documents of the 10th Congress of the CPC?

Viewed from the practical aspect, it can undoubtedly be seen that, yielding to the pressure of objective circumstances the Congress was forced tacitly (without admitting this in official statements) to depart from a number of fundamental directives of Mao Tse-tung, proclaimed in the course of the "cultural revolution." This was because they proved unsound, disrupted the functioning of the state mechanism and created serious economic difficulties. The Maoists no longer need some of the slogans (for instance, "bring fire to bear on the staffs," i.e., on the Party committees), because Mao's grouping is confronted with the problem of somehow stabilizing and consolidating power, and not of seizing it (it is already in their hands). That is why new slogans have appeared which follow the same old Maoist line that was pursued during the "cultural revolution" — i.e., the line for establishing the absolute power of Mao Tse-tung and his henchmen in the country.

The Congress approved the measures for the renewal — on a Maoist basis, of course — of the work of the trade unions and youth organizations, as well as the All-China Assembly of People's Representatives which has not met for nine years. The thesis about "the Party effecting guidance over all activities" was proclaimed. The rehabilitation of a part of the Party and state cadres who were subjected to repressions during the "cultural revolution" has in fact been approved. Some of these people (including Teng Hsiao-ping, former General Secretary of the CPC Central Committee, once referred to as the "second biggest personality in power in the Party, who is following the capitalist path," and some of the former Politbureau members) were present at the Congress and were even elected to the CPC Central Committee.

While avoiding mention of Mao Tse-tung's more objectionable political directives in the "cultural revolution," the authors of the reports tried at the same time to shift the blame for all the calamities and outrages connected with it (actually political crimes before the Party and the Chinese people) on to others. Lin Piao whom the Ninth Congress had proclaimed Mao Tse-tung's heir, and Chen Po-ta, Mao's closest ideological adviser who headed the group for the affairs of the "cultural revolution," were presented to the Congress as traitors and most rabid enemies of the Party.

All this is nothing but a tacit admission that the "cultural revolution" drove the country into a blind alley. This conclusion, prompted by the entire course of developments, is actually obvious from

the Congress materials which were published by the Chinese press. But, contrary to reality and elementary logic, the political report contains directly opposite assertions about the "soundness" of the course of the "cultural revolution."

This is due, firstly, to the desire to keep up the myth of Mao Tse-tung's infallibility. However, there is still another important reason impelling the Chinese leadership to praise the "cultural revolution" and, more than that, to proclaim it a "law" of socialist development. This reason is the instability of the Maoist regime which, in an effort to realize in practice the voluntarist conceptions of Mao, has sacrificed the interests of the working people for the sake of achieving its great-power aims and, therefore, cannot count on their full support. Thus the Maoist regime is compelled to resort to regular political purges, terror and social demagoguery.

Mao Tse-tung tries to justify the campaigns of reprisals and incessant struggle for power by the thesis about class struggle "between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat," "between the capitalist and the socialist roads." Addressing the Congress, Chou En-lai said that for this reason social upheavals of the type of the "cultural revolution," the struggle between the two lines would continue in the future, too, would be "repeated another dozen, twenty or even thirty times," and there would be "conspirators," "superspies" and "special agents" similar to Li Shao-chi and Lin Piao.

It is obvious to any Communist that after the proletariat has won political power the class struggle continues, at times it may even assume very acute forms. The reasons for this are well known. Among these are the hostile activity of the former exploiters and the intrigues of the external class enemy. However, in the course of fundamental revolutionary transformations and the abolition of the remnants of the exploiting classes inside the country the objective basis for social antagonism disappears. That is why the Maoist thesis about the struggle of two lines "till communism has been built" is unsound. The pseudo-theoretical reasoning of the Maoists about "irreconcilable class struggle" pursues a most unseemly political objective.

It is true that there are still remnants of the exploiting classes in the PRC and the question of class struggle is still an urgent one. However, the Maoist leadership is not concerned with fighting the bourgeoisie which has not been affected by the "cultural revolution." This campaign has been spearheaded against the cadres that fought in the Party ranks for the victory of the revolution and for the strengthening of people's power in the PRC. They were ruthlessly suppressed, as can now be seen, because they came out

against Maoist distortions of Marxism-Leninism both in theory and in practice. No wonder the Maoist theorists have been deliberately confusing the very conception of "bourgeoisie" replacing it by ambiguous designations which have no definite social nature, as, for instance, "persons advancing along the capitalist path" or "persons engaged in the restoration of capitalism." It is quite understandable that practically anybody can be included in this category and stigmatized as a "class enemy." Mao's disquisitions on the class struggle are intended "ideologically" to conceal arbitrary rule and reprisals rampant in the country.

2.

Another important question of principle arises from the results of the 10th CPC Congress, namely to what extent was it possible (and was it possible at all?) to overcome the struggle of different groups in the Party and its leadership. If we are to believe the commune and Chinese press commentaries, complete success and firm unity were achieved. One cannot, therefore, refrain from asking: why then plan campaigns for decades ahead similar to the "cultural revolution"?

Real unity of a Communist Party—as witness the whole experience of the world Communist movement—can be achieved only on the basis of a positive program, in line with the ideas of Marxism-Leninism, the needs of socialist development, the interests of the working class and its allies and the interests of the popular masses. As has been noted, no such program was put forward by the Congress, while it passed over in silence the basic problems facing the nation.

Speaking at the Ninth CPC Congress four years ago (incidentally, it was also called a "Congress of Unity"), in the main report Lin Piao praised the "great victory" won over "traitor, provocateur and strikebreaker Liu Shao-chi." Now Chou En-lai proclaims a "great victory" over "bourgeois careerist, plotter, betrayer and traitor to the motherland, Lin Piao and his incorrigible collaborators."

The main report claims that "Lin Piao's anti-Party group was nothing but a handful of people, it was extremely isolated from the whole Party, the whole army and the people, the whole country, and could not influence the situation as a whole." If that was the case, why then is Lin's liquidation considered to be "the Party's major victory since the Ninth Congress," "a heavy blow at home and foreign enemies"? How do assertions about "an isolated handful" tally with the well-known fact that for many years Lin was officially regarded as the "close comrade-in-arms" of Mao Tse-tung?

No replies to these questions appear in the published Congress materials.

"Links with outside forces" were imputed to Lin Piao and Chen Po-ta. Chou En-lai's report accuses Lin of three attempts on Mao's life (known, but for some reason, tolerated), after which he allegedly tried to "desert to Soviet revisionists."

If the charge against Lin Piao is a characteristic Maoist method of settling scores with rivals in the struggle for power, the attempt at casting aspersions on the Soviet Union is nothing but a crude provocation.

In his report Chou En-lai portrayed a very unfavorable picture of the political morale and situation within the Peking hierarchy. He said that Mao's followers "always carry Chairman Mao's book of quotations," "praise him to his face and stab him in the back." It appears from all these harangues that there can be "special agents, renegades and traitors" among Mao's closest aides now and in the future, as in the past.

It is quite evident that there can be no real unity in an atmosphere of a constant struggle for power, suspicion and intrigue. The documents of the 10th Congress show that a compromise was reached between rival groups, with Mao Tse-tung wielding supreme power. In present-day China the governing body is not made up of a close-knit group of like-minded Communists, but it is formed on a clan, group basis. This can be a source of new outbreaks of the struggle for power.

3

As has been noted earlier, the 10th Congress of the Communist Party of China stated that the government bodies, the army, the trade unions and other public organizations "are obliged to subordinate to a single Party leadership."

The proclamation of the leading role of the Communist Party could only be welcomed, if this meant the restoration of the leading role of a party adhering to the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. But the whole point is that, in place of the smashed Communist Party of China, what is actually being created is a Maoist party, an instrument of political domination of a military-bureaucratic group. This, in particular, stems from the Rules of the Communist Party of China approved by the 10th Congress.

The new Rules say that the supreme organ of the Party is the national congress, and, between congresses, its elected Central Committee. But these highest organs are deprived in advance of their main right, that of determining the Party's political line. As Chou En-lai stated in the main report, "Chairman Mao Tse-tung has drawn up the main line and policy for our Party for the entire

historical stage of socialism and has defined the specific lines and political directives for practical work."

True, the cult attributes, in which the party Rules approved by the Ninth Congress abounded, have now been toned down somewhat. The Rules no longer indicate who personally should inherit the post of Party chairman, while Mao's name appears without the previous collection of epithets. These elements reflect Mao's forced tactical maneuver in order to create a semblance of "collective leadership" (and, hence, underline common responsibility), but, in actual fact, the Congress has left everything as it was before: the ideology and policy of the Party are dictated by the same leader, while its leading ideology remains the "ideas of Mao Tse-tung."

A new article has been introduced in the Rules about "boldly going against the current," but again to be used only in "defending Mao's ideas." It is known that Mao Tse-tung repeatedly resorted to this method, that on more than one occasion he opposed the majority in the Party leadership, despite the fact that that majority enjoyed the support of the masses. The report demands that each member of the Communist Party of China, in the event of a threat to "Mao's line," rise up to defend it, "not being afraid of expulsion from the Party, imprisonment, or loss of life." This statement shows how the provision about "democratic centralism," recorded in the Rules, is interpreted in practice.

4.

Bearing in mind the foreign policy of the leaders of the People's Republic of China in the last few years, it could have been expected that the latest Congress of the CPC would give a comprehensive analysis of many processes and events taking place on the international scene today. Such an analysis, however, is absent in the Congress documents.

It would be futile to look for any indication in the documents as to what contribution the Communist Party of China intends to make to the efforts aimed at strengthening peace and international security, to equitable cooperation of various countries and the consolidation of the positions of world socialism and the national-liberation movement.

The main report, delivered by Chou En-lai, contains the following assessment of the world situation: "The international situation at present is characterized by colossal disorder on earth. A heavy downpour is approaching in the mountains, and the wind blows freely throughout the whole house."

What lies behind these words and how can they be related to the general assertions in the report that a "most favorable situation" has shaped up abroad? Here it should be recalled that more

than 10 years ago Mao Tse-tung talked of "colossal disorder," linking it with prospects of a world war and the building of a new, "thousand times more beautiful civilization" on the shambles of the modern world. At any rate, it is perfectly clear from the report that "colossal disorder" is counterposed to international détente. "Détente is a temporary and superficial phenomenon," the report says, "while colossal disorder will continue to exist. Such colossal disorder is a good, and not a bad, thing for the people."

The Peking leadership puts its policy of whipping up tensions in opposition to the trend for détente, and peaceful and mutually beneficial cooperation, developing in international relations.

In Europe, Peking is trying at all costs to oppose an improvement of the atmosphere and block the work of the Conference on Security and Cooperation. It seeks to prevent the Common Market countries from developing cooperation with the socialist states. The Peking leaders are playing the role of apologists of the aggressive NATO bloc. They are in favor of preserving the U.S. military presence in Asia, Europe and other regions of the world. In questions of disarmament, they actually hold the same positions as the so-called military-industrial complex in a number of Western countries.

Speakers at the Congress repeated the slanderous inventions about a "collusion of two superpowers," the USSR and the USA, in a bid for "world hegemony." The Soviet-American negotiations and agreements, which signify the most essential progress in the postwar period towards averting a nuclear world war, and exert a favorable influence on the whole international situation, have met with unconcealed hostility in Peking.

Frankly revealing their displeasure with the positive advances taking place on the world scene, the Peking leaders hypocritically describe as "nonsense" the statement that their policy is directed against an improvement of the international climate. But the official document of the 10th CPC Congress, too, in fact, expresses a negative attitude towards the consolidation of peace.

Actually in all the fundamental issues of present-day revolutionary development, the 10th Congress of the CPC has preserved the old Maoist line.

The Congress materials make no mention of the international Communist movement. But their call for rallying (of course, around Peking) "genuine Marxist-Leninist Parties" leaves no doubt that the Chinese leadership has not given up its hegemonistic aspirations and intends to continue its line of political struggle against the world Communist movement, of attempts at splitting it, and of pitting Maoist groups acting on orders from Peking against fraternal Parties.

There was likewise no mention of the socialist world system.

But the statement on the "further strengthening of revolutionary friendship with fraternal socialist countries," if viewed in relation to the present hostile policy of Peking towards the USSR and other socialist countries, clearly indicates an intention to continue trying to drive wedges between fraternal socialist countries, and above all to set them against the Soviet Union.

The 10th Congress has demonstrated Peking's total indifference to the interests of the national-liberation movement. There are no formulations in its materials which would make it clear how the CPC appraises the situation in this movement and how its leaders are going to build their relations with it. But there is a statement in the political report which permits of a definite judgment on this score, too. It seems that "the Third World grows stronger and rallies together in the struggle against the two superpowers." It is easy to see in this statement the same old claim of Peking to the leadership of the Third World, the same old line of pitting the national-liberation movement against its reliable allies—the USSR and the socialist community. It is from this standpoint that the report's authors view the situation in Southeast Asia, the Middle East, Africa and Latin America.

Following on the 10th Congress the Peking leaders have again revealed the real essence of their course in regard to the anti-imperialist liberation struggle of the peoples, when, contrary to their pledges to support the revolutionary-democratic changes in Chile, they struck a deal with the executioners of the Chilean people.

Now, when the war has again broken out in the Middle East, the Peking leaders have launched a frantic slander campaign against Soviet-Arab friendship, trying to undermine it, and thereby objectively assisting the expansionist aspirations of the Israeli aggressors and their imperialist backers.

The Maoists direct all their subversive activity against the Soviet Union, but true Communists and fighters for national liberation and democracy are well aware of the fact that this anti-Soviet activity of Peking is, in the final analysis, against the interests of world socialism and the national-liberation movement as a whole. The Chinese leadership hypocritically tries to present matters as if there were some "national" differences between the USSR and the PRC. But in actual fact the Maoists are waging a struggle from the positions of social-chauvinism against the principles of Marxism-Leninism, against the program of struggle against imperialism, for peace, democracy and socialism, collectively worked out at the international conferences of the Communists in 1957, 1960 and 1969.

At a time when the Soviet Union and other socialist countries

are selflessly fighting the historic battle for the relaxation of tension, for stable peace and international security, the 10th Congress of the CPC has demonstrated a course for increasing tensions, for preparations for war. A spirit of bellicose great-power chauvinism imbues the entire activity of the present Peking leadership. It runs counter to the genuine interests of the Chinese people and indeed of all peoples of our planet.

From the entire context of the documents of the 10th Congress it can be seen that the Maoists depart from their internationalist duty actively to oppose the aggressive actions of imperialism. The Ninth Congress of the CPC declared the need to wage a struggle against the "two superpowers," so to speak, "on a basis of equality," whereas now the emphasis has been placed on the struggle against the Soviet Union as the "main enemy." The Maoists did not even hesitate to drop the statement of the previous Congress that "U.S. imperialism still occupies the Chinese territory of Taiwan."

Several abusive phrases against imperialism are to be found in the Congress materials. This is because Peking's line for a linkup with imperialist reaction has met with just condemnation among the revolutionary forces and the progressive world public at large, and has undermined China's prestige in the Third World, whose leadership the Maoists claim. The actual non-acceptance of their foreign policy concepts was unambiguously revealed at the recent conference of non-aligned countries in Algiers. All this to a certain extent limits the Peking leaders' possibilities for flirting with imperialism and compels them from time to time to utter anti-imperialist slogans.

It should also be borne in mind that the maneuvers of a certain section of the Chinese leadership, aimed at forming an unprincipled bloc with imperialism, are bound to meet with resistance from the Chinese Communists and working people who remember the disasters imperialist rule brought to China. It is possible that it is precisely this that gives rise to the contradictoriness of the Congress formulations concerning the attitude to imperialism.

5.

The Peking leaders are obviously following the logic of the Chinese emperors who held that the Chinese people unite more closely when there is a foreign enemy and that if there is no such enemy he must be invented. Having conjured up the bogey of the "Soviet menace," the Maoists are seeking, by fanning war psychosis in the country, to divert public attention from domestic problems, facilitate the conduct of their policy of militarization, and prove the need for the dictatorship of the Mao group.

In the conditions of world détente, the perverted character of Peking's anti-Soviet course becomes more evident. The Soviet Union has consistently made concrete proposals for normalizing relations with the People's Republic of China and is taking practical steps in this direction. Normalization of relations with China was proclaimed by the 24th Party Congress as an objective of Soviet foreign policy.

The Soviet Union's constructive policy reveals more clearly the harm done by the Maoist course to the national interests of the Chinese people and the interests of building socialist society. The authors of the political report to the 10th Congress of the CPC could advance no arguments to substantiate the anti-Soviet line, and attempted to hide the lack of arguments behind a spate of bombastic words, insinuations and vituperation.

One of the main allegations made at the 10th Congress of the CPC was the threat of a "surprise attack" on China by the Soviet Union. Some facts should be recalled in this connection.

For many years now the Chinese leaders have been making a great deal of noise about the "threat from the North," by referring to the "concentration of Soviet troops along the Soviet-Chinese border." Yet, it was the Chinese leadership who, in the early 60s, ordered troops and "people's volunteer units" to be deployed along the whole frontier with the USSR. Since then, local inhabitants from among the national minorities have been resettled to the hinterland of China, military settlements have been established along the border, and the construction of strategic roads, communication lines and airfields has been conducted on a wide scale. The Chinese leaders have deliberately made the Soviet-Chinese frontier—the frontier of friendship and brotherhood of the two great peoples in the past — an area in which they staged thousands of small and large provocations and even armed conflicts. This is the position in reality. And after all that Peking shouts about the "threat from the north"!

Imperialist propagandists and anti-Communists of various colors have readily seized on Peking's inventions, spreading rumors about the imminent "preventive nuclear strike by the USSR against China."

The anti-Sovietism whipped up by Peking is made use of by certain reactionary imperialist circles who would like to benefit from the present abnormal state of Soviet-Chinese relations. These circles are overtly or covertly prodding the Maoist leaders to whip up anti-Sovietism still more, nurturing illusory hopes among them, and stirring up passions. Activities of this kind are obviously of a provocative character and in no way reflect foresight by those who conduct them. These people should remember how easily the Mao-

ist pragmatists juggle with the words "friends" and "enemies." Exacerbation of tension between the Soviet Union and China and conflicts between them would also be detrimental to the interests of other countries.

Peking has been carried away by its lies to such an extent that, contrary to the true interests of China and common sense, it rejects all Soviet proposals for restoring trust and good-neighborly relations. Apparently relying on the complete ignorance of the facts by his audience, Chou En-lai asked at the 10th Congress: "Should China cede to the Soviet revisionists all its territory north of the Great Wall only to demonstrate its approval of world détente and its readiness to improve Sino-Soviet relations?" But the lie has short legs. It is well known by all, and, first and foremost, by those who ask such questions, that nobody in the Soviet Union has ever advanced any territorial claims on the People's Republic of China. There have been official statements on this question by the Soviet Government.

If the Peking leaders are really concerned about the security of their country and want to establish good-neighborly relations with the USSR, why turn down proposals for holding a summit meeting, for reaffirming the Treaty of Friendship, Alliance and Mutual Assistance signed in 1950, for concluding a treaty banning the use of force, including conventional and nuclear missile weapons, and a number of other similar proposals?

Lastly, why did they not deign to reply to the important Soviet initiative in mid-June for concluding a non-aggression treaty under which the USSR and China would pledge to refrain from attacking each other, with the use of any weapons, on land, on sea and in the air, and not to threaten with such an attack?

The speeches made by Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, in Alma-Ata and Tashkent contain an appeal to the Chinese leaders for taking a sober look at the state of Soviet-Chinese relations.

These speeches reaffirm the CPSU's invariable principled policy defined at its 24th Congress, a policy combining a vigorous struggle against the theory and practice of Maoism as a trend hostile to Leninism, with readiness to normalize inter-state relations with the PRC and moreover to restore Soviet-Chinese friendship, which, in our deep conviction, would be in the interests of both the Soviet and Chinese peoples and the broader interests of the cause of peace, socialism and progress throughout the world. In his speech at Tashkent on September 24, 1973, Comrade L. I. Brezhnev emphasized:

"The Soviet Union has absolutely no territorial claims on the PRC and bases its relations on principles of respect for sovereignty, equality, and non-interference in internal affairs.

"We have already stated that we are prepared today to develop our relations with the People's Republic of China on the basis of the principles of peaceful coexistence, if Peking does not consider it possible to go farther in relations with a socialist state. The Soviet Union not only proclaims this preparedness, but also translates it into the language of concrete and constructive proposals . . ."

If the PRC leaders are really prepared to act on the statement contained in the political report of the CPC Central Committee to the 10th Congress to the effect that the differences between China and the Soviet Union "should not interfere with the normalization of relations between the two countries on the basis of the five principles of peaceful coexistence, that border issues between China and the Soviet Union should be peacefully settled through negotiation in conditions precluding any threat," then this will meet with the understanding and willingness of the Soviet side. But will the leaders of China be realistic and farsighted enough—that is the question.

As has already been pointed out, the 10th CPC Congress does not give grounds for a conclusion concerning some fundamental changes in the political course of the Chinese leadership. The need for such changes, however, is prompted by the objective interests of the cause of socialism, by the interests of the working people of the People's Republic of China, the interests of its economic and cultural development. There is no doubt that this objective necessity will ultimately hew a way for itself. There is no need to prove that any progress in this direction would meet with a positive response from the international Communist and entire revolutionary movement.

Following are extracts from and summaries of some articles published in the press of fraternal Communist Parties, September and October 1973.

BRITAIN

The *Morning Star* on September 18 and 19 carried two articles by Jack Woddis, head of the International Department of the CPGB, analyzing the documents of the 10th CPC Congress. His comments read in part as follows:

On August 29, one day after the conclusion of the 10th Congress of the Communist Party of China, an official communique was issued in Peking.

Subsequently the Hsinhua news agency released the texts of the two main reports, one by Chou En-lai being the political report of

the Central Committee, and the other, by Wang Hung-wen, being a report on revision of the Party constitution.

A further short press release gave the text of the Party constitution. The communique of August 29 provides some brief information on the composition of the delegates, the size of the Party membership (28 million), and the names of the 195 full members and 124 alternate members of the new Central Committee.

The above documents constitute the sole available materials of the 10th Congress. There is no information concerning any other speeches delivered at the Congress, nor whether any other such interventions were made, either by other Party leaders or by rank-and-file delegates, although the communique refers to "serious and lively discussion" which took place after the political report had been presented.

It is reported that Mao Tse-tung presided over the Congress, but there is no indication as to whether he made any statements, even by way of a short opening or closing of the congress.

To add to the difficulty of understanding the proceedings and significance of the Congress, the two published main reports are themselves not only comparatively short, but contain surprisingly little factual information as to China's achievements, the problems remaining, and the tasks that confront the Party and the people.

There were 1,249 delegates to the Congress. Their class composition is not revealed, since all we are told is that "workers, peasant and soldier Party members accounted for 67 per cent of the total number."

By lumping all three categories together, mixing soldiers (an occupation) with workers and peasants (social classes), and then not separating workers from peasants, the report makes it impossible to see whether the Communist Party of China has been able to overcome one of its previous problems, the relatively small percentage of workers within its ranks.

The period between the Ninth and Tenth Congresses was one of considerable chaos and confusion in China. During the cultural revolution Communist Party headquarters throughout the country were "bombarded," most Party leaders at all levels removed or heavily attacked, Party organizations destroyed. A similar fate overtook the Young Communist League, the trade unions, women's federation and other mass social organizations.

To what extent the Party organizations have now been re-established, leaders democratically elected or reinstated, and normal Party processes operating, is not clear.

How far other organizations have been restored is also not known, although reports indicate this is now being done.

Chou En-lai's political report contains an apparent contradiction.

It places enormous emphasis on the defeat of Lin Piao, yet it asserts that "the line of the Party's Ninth National Congress has won great victories."

It is well known, however, that the main report, and in fact the only political speech published at the Ninth Congress in 1969, was delivered by Lin Piao himself. Even more significant, Lin Piao was officially named in the Party constitution adopted then as Mao's "successor." Thereafter he was constantly depicted and described in Chinese Party publications as Mao's "close comrade in arms," the only leader to be so described.

Yet now we are told by Chou En-lai that Lin Piao was a "bourgeois careerist, conspirator, double-dealer, renegade and traitor," while the communique adds that his chief supporter, Chen Po-ta, who was formerly Mao's secretary and later a leader of the "cultural revolution," was an "anti-Communist Kuomintang element, Trotskyite, renegade, enemy agent and revisionist."

How is it possible for the political report of a man now denounced as a renegade and traitor still to be regarded as the correct line for the Chinese Communist Party?

Chou En-lai's explanation was that the original draft report prepared for the Ninth Congress by Lin Piao and Chen Po-ta was "opposed to continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat."

This draft, states Chou En-lai, was rejected by the Central Committee and a new draft was then prepared under "Mao's personal guidance." This, we are told, was "grudgingly accepted" by Lin Piao, who subsequently read it to the Congress.

Why Lin Piao, who apparently was openly against working-class power, was given the responsibility of delivering the only major political statement to the Ninth Congress and was then designated as Mao's political successor, is not explained.

Chou En-lai draws the conclusion from the experience of the Lin Piao affair and the struggle earlier against Liu Shao-chi, that these struggles are "the reflection within the Party of class struggle in society."

He adds that in the last 50 years the Chinese Party has gone through ten major struggles between the two lines, that "such struggles will occur ten, twenty or thirty times," that new "Lin Piaos will appear," and that these struggles will go on for "long years to come."

In the section of his report dealing with the situation and the Party tasks, Chou En-lai says virtually nothing about the economic situation in China. There is an early reference: "Our country's industry, agriculture, transportation, finance and trade are doing well. We have neither external nor internal debts. Prices are stable and the market is flourishing. There are many new achievements

in culture, education, public health, science and technology."

But there are no facts or figures to illustrate these achievements. There is no reference to economic plans, neither as regards progress towards achieving the tasks of current plans, nor in connection with further plans and targets.

In the field of domestic tasks, Chou En-lai limits himself to the generalities of the well-known slogans: "struggle-criticism-transformation," "the great proletarian cultural revolution" which is to be continued, "rectifying the style of work," "going all out, aiming high and achieving greater, faster, better and more economical results," "grasp revolution and promote production," practice "self-reliance," follow the line of "walking on two legs," "take agriculture as the foundation and industry as the leading factor."

There is nothing about the role of the trade unions nor of the cooperatives, nor even of the communes. Nothing is said as regards specific aims for developing the economy, and not a word on what has been done and what still needs to be done to raise the living and cultural standards of the people.

A decisive section of Chou En-lai's political report to the Congress is devoted to China's foreign policy.

If there is one thing above all which is carried forward from the Ninth Congress it is the anti-Soviet policy of the Chinese Communist leaders. In a series of slanderous statements, Chou En-lai tries to present the Soviet Union as an imperialist state aiming at world hegemony, as China's main enemy. Noting that the international policy of China is causing serious difficulties for the world anti-imperialist movement, the author writes in conclusion:

"China's hostility to the Soviet Union is leading it along a dangerous path. This has resulted in its expressing support for the European Common Market, voicing opposition to the European Security Conference, and to the idea of a collective security agreement for Asia.

"Many friends of China are disturbed at what has overtaken this great country. We cannot but hope that China will turn back from the dangerous road which, in many respects, she is travelling in world affairs.

"Central to such a change must be the peaceful settlement of the Sino-Soviet frontier question, the full re-establishment of normal state relations with the Soviet Union, and their gradual transformation (though this will take considerable time) into relations of cooperation."

BULGARIA

In an article entitled "In an Atmosphere of Secrecy and Fanning Anti-Sovietism," the newspaper *Rabotnichesko Delo* writes: "The

new Peking leadership has hastened to declare that the 10th CPC Congress has demonstrated the unity of three generations in the Party. It boasts that the composition of the 10th CC is indication of the blossoming of the Party and the existence of leading functionaries united by the ideology of Mao Tse-tung. But a party in which the generations are united and has leaders united on a principled basis and linked with the people does not have to call its congresses in strict secrecy or engage in endless purges and physical reprisals against 'factioneers'."

In its foreign political aspect of the 10th CPC Congress has been characterized by anti-Sovietism, the main trend of Chinese policy. The Maoist leadership is maddened by the developing process of improvement of international relations and détente, because it feels its internal instability in such a situation. Improvement of the international climate is not conducive to the hegemonistic aspirations of its foreign policy. At the 10th Congress the Maoist leadership came out openly against any improvement in international relations, for the continuation of "major disorders" in international life. It considers that this will help it attain world domination, split the peace-loving forces, mislead the national-liberation movements, and unite the "small" and "medium" states against the "super-powers."

The 10th CPC Congress hypocritically declared that Soviet-Chinese differences on questions of principle should not prevent the normalization of relations between the two countries on the basis of the five principles of peaceful coexistence. In reality, however, the Maoists have declared the Soviet Union China's "Enemy No. 1." Thereby the slanderers have proved not only that they have lost the class socialist content of their foreign policy. At the congress the Maoists put forward blatantly bellicose slogans of the kind the most reactionary, anti-Communist circles used to advocate. This rabid anti-Soviet line is being pushed all the more actively now, when the Soviet Union's peaceful international policy has found such widespread recognition and facilitates changes in the international climate.

It is worth recalling, however, the paper concludes, that progressive, realistically minded social forces, Marxist-Leninist Parties and democratic movements have learned to discern decisions and moves that pursue positive aims. Reasonable people find it difficult to rate the shady deliberations and claims of the 10th CPC Congress among them. There can be no doubt that the internal "unity" staged by the Congress and false revolutionary zeal of the Maoists will be correctly appreciated and exposed.

CHILE

On September 4, shortly before the fascist coup in Chile, *El Siglo* carried an article on the 10th CPC Congress. The article, entitled "The Peking Leaders' Anti-Communism," was contributed by Rodrigo Rojas, director of *El Siglo*, alternate member of the Political Commission, CC CP of Chile.

Chile's Communists, Rojas wrote, were deeply alarmed by Chou En-lai's report to the CPC Congress in which he launched slanderous attacks on the world Communist movement and, first of all, the CPSU.

What Chou said at the Congress was a logical sequel of the PRC leadership's subversive activity against the international Communist movement and the efforts of the Soviet Union and the CPSU for the unity of the movement. By using ultra-Leftist phrases, the Maoist leadership would have us believe that its differences with the Soviet Union are national in character.

Actually the Chinese leadership realizes that the world's first socialist country and the Party founded by V. I. Lenin constitute the main obstacle to its hegemonist ambitions.

The Chinese leaders' attempts to undermine the prestige of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries and obstruct their effort for international détente tend to weaken the world revolutionary movement and the anti-imperialist front. These ambitions of Peking have nothing to do with the interests of socialism or the anti-imperialist and liberation movement. They show again that the CPC leaders have broken completely with Leninism.

For over half a century now, the consistency of revolutionaries and parties has been judged by their attitude to the world's first socialist state. There can be no anti-Soviet communism any more than anti-Communist communism.

The Chinese leaders have departed from the principles of the international Communist movement and substituted the Mao personality cult for Marxism-Leninism. The danger which this kind of mystification presents to socialism lies, among others, in the fact that while resorting to Marxist-Leninist terminology the PRC leaders present Maoism as the acme of Marxism-Leninism.

There is a connection between the struggle for hegemony in the Communist movement, against Marxist-Leninist parties, and the Peking leaders' territorial claims. It explains the upswing in anti-Soviet hysteria in China following Chou's Congress report.

A pressing task of revolutionaries is steadfastly to lay bare the anti-Leninist and anti-popular nature of the political and ideological fabrications contained in Chou En-lai's report to the 10th Congress. We, the author wrote in conclusion, never associate the Chinese leader's statements with the hopes and aspirations of the Commun-

ist Party of China or the Chinese people as a whole. It is not in struggle against the Soviet Union or other socialist countries but in fraternal unity and cooperation that China can achieve a genuine national revival and assure its socialist development.

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

On September 6 *Rudé Pravo* carried an article under the head "What Remained Secret."

The very characterization which the communique on the 10th CPC Congress gives to Mao Tse-tung's companions-in-arms of yesterday — "clique," "bourgeois careerist," "renegade," "traitor," "Koumintang element," "enemy agent," "Trotskyite" — is sufficient evidence of the intensity and bitterness of the present stage of the power struggle.

The Maoists described their secret meeting as "a Congress of cohesion, a Congress of victories." But its very course gave them the lie.

The fundamental cause of the leadership crisis is still the issue of a successor, of who is to lead the CPC after Mao. It will be recalled that the Ninth CPC Congress held out this prospect to Lin Piao and, indeed, said so in the Rules. This time the list of Mao's deputies, or likely successors, was increased to five, with Chou En-lai heading the list.

The main roots and causes of China's leadership crisis lie in the ideological and political crisis of Maoism, which the 10th CPC Congress aggravated still further.

A new spur was given to war hysteria in China, which has been whipped up ever since the "cultural revolution." Behind the smokescreen of preparations "for a war emergency" and "against a surprise attack," the Maoists at the 10th Congress beat the war drum, not because anyone plans to attack China, but in order to divert the attention of people, of world opinion, from China's domestic problems, which are plentiful.

The most outspoken anti-Communist and anti-Soviet quarters of the world are among the forces with which the Peking leaders coolly ally themselves. Numerous statements of recent date by Premier Chou indicate that the Maoists class NATO among their allies.

The 10th CPC Congress accentuated the Maoists' policy of splitting the world anti-imperialist movement. This policy is highly detrimental to the vital interests of the Chinese people, on whom it imposes rabid anti-Sovietism, that is, hostility to a country which did so much for people's China, and whom it expects to approve of China's rapprochement with imperialist quarters.

The Maoist strategic plan — to turn China into a world political centre — has not changed in the least. It is based on anti-Sovietism and subversion within the revolutionary and national-liberation movement.

The information on the 10th Congress published by the Maoists, *Rudé Pravo* writes in conclusion, bears out these conclusions.

FRANCE

After the 10th CPC Congress, *L'Humanité* carried an analysis of Peking's home and foreign policy.

Speaking of the situation in the PRC, *L'Humanité* wrote that "the Chinese economy is developing at a relatively slow pace." It pointed in this connection to the negligible increase in food production over the past five years, saying that "there are virtually no specific data" on industrial production.

The obvious slowing down of industrial production during the "cultural revolution" expressed itself in a relative stagnation of Chinese foreign trade in recent years. It should be noted that major capitalist countries account for four-fifths of China's foreign trade while the share of socialist and developing countries is only one-fifth.

In foreign trade, the Chinese leaders continue to bank on bare-faced anti-Sovietism. One indication of this was Chou En-lai's report to the 10th CPC Congress in which he spoke only a few words about imperialism and furiously attacked the Soviet Union.

The Chinese leaders strive to keep up internal tension by alleging that the Soviet Union threatens China with "a surprise attack" and ignoring such Soviet proposals as the one for a non-aggression pact made in the middle of last June.

Peking's foreign policy is injurious to all the peoples of the world and at the same time enables imperialism to maneuver with a view to blocking the policy of peaceful coexistence and of general and controlled disarmament advocated by socialist forces.

In conclusion *L'Humanité* refers to the resolution of the 20th FCP Congress saying that China could play a positive role in the peoples' fight for peace, progress and socialism provided it renounced the chauvinist line being followed by its leaders and returned to unity of action with other socialist countries. "However, the CPC has not yet taken this road."

G D R

In a commentary entitled "on the 10th Congress of the Communist Party of China" published September 2, the newspaper *Neues Deutschland* wrote:

Up until the publication of its communique, the 10th Congress of the Communist Party of China was shrouded in an atmosphere of extreme secrecy. Obviously, the organizers of a Party congress surrounded with such mystery had reasons to fear the participation of the broad masses in the preparations for it, or their attention to its deliberations. Furthermore, the secrecy was designed to keep people from seeing the deep political contradictions in the Party and the country's social development.

Facts indicate that no stability in relations has been achieved. As can be gleaned from various reports, the 10th Congress was a compromise between conflicting groups.

It presented no constructive solution for the political and economic problems facing the country. An analysis of the known facts about the 10th CPC Congress indicates beyond all doubt that the policy and ideology of Maoism is aimed against the interests of all socialist countries, the international Communist movement as a whole, and the national-liberation movement. The anti-Leninist course of the Ninth Congress has been revitalized; the ideology of Maoism continues to be demonstratively substituted for Marxism-Leninism. The monstrous combination of words, "the idea of Marxism-Leninism-Mao-Tse-tung," is in itself indication that Maoism has nothing in common with Marxism-Leninism. In this light the positive response to the 10th Congress in the bourgeois press of all imperialist countries is not at all surprising.

The 10th CPC Congress continued in ever sharper form the openly anti-socialist policy. This is seen, in particular, in the Congress' anti-Leninist line, in the ridiculous claims that capitalism is being restored in the Soviet Union and other socialist countries. And this at a time when, thanks to the creative application of Marxism-Leninism, the Soviet Union and the socialist countries are achieving great successes in building communist and socialist society. In Maoist eyes the main enemy is not the imperialists but the Soviet Union. This accusation is in reality designed to camouflage the Chinese leadership's alignment with the most aggressive imperialist forces.

No secret is made any longer of the reorientation of China's relations towards the imperialist states. More, Chou En-lai's statements at the Congress testify that the Chinese leaders are prepared to form unholy alliances with all and sundry to achieve their main aim. They are using the false "two superpowers" thesis to camouflage their true intentions.

No one can ignore the fact that the Chinese leaders are trying, albeit unsuccessfully, to prevent the process of détente in Europe and the development of normal, mutually beneficial relations between all countries of our continent on the basis of the principles

of peaceful coexistence. They have now even outdone the imperialists in trying to revive the political corpse of the alleged Soviet threat. The purpose is obvious. It is to abet the most aggressive NATO circles in their attempts to prevent détente. The Chinese leaders support the bloc of West European countries as a counterbalance to the socialist community, they come out in favor of a stronger NATO and a continued U.S. military presence in Europe. They slander the treaties aimed at recognizing territorial integrity, rejecting the use of force and developing good-neighborly relations among all European states as a temporary development. It is an open secret that this stand is wholly in line with the objectives of the reactionary and revanchist forces of imperialism, including the FRG.

The Chinese leadership is continuing its shameful game in other parts of the world. In Asia it continues, together with the most aggressive imperialist circles of the United States and Japan, to seek to expand its sphere of influence at the expense of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries and of the national-liberation movement. It is most zealous in its attempts to torpedo the idea of a collective security system for the region. In the Middle East it fans the conflict between Israel and the Arab states to prevent a political solution of the problem. In relations with countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America, with the revolutionary-democratic movements of these countries where peasant and petty-bourgeois strata are strong, the Maoists seek to extend their influence at the expense of those movements.

As the results of the 10th CPC Congress show, it is necessary to expose the true essence of Maoism on a broader political and theoretical base so that all progressive forces, parties and organizations may realize the reactionary character of Peking's policy and actively oppose it.

The might and international political influence of the Soviet Union, the attractive power of the successes of the socialist community of countries, remain the main obstacle for the Chinese leaders' policy. Their achievements demonstrate clearly and convincingly the triumphant force of the ideas of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. We are convinced that the objective laws of the world-revolutionary process will not stop at the People's Republic of China. The 10th Congress of the CPC is indication that the Peking leadership is vainly trying to swim against the tide of events.

HUNGARY

The newspaper *Népszabadság* writes in an article entitled "Maoist Congress":

The 10th CPC Congress has demonstrated that no change has occurred in the anti-Soviet line of the Peking leadership. The congress once again called for the continuation of the course laid down by the Ninth CPC Congress and aimed against the Soviet Union and other countries of the socialist community, against the unity of the international workers' movement.

The 10th Congress, the article says, has reactivated the Maoists' mounting subversive policy of the last 15 years aimed against the Soviet Union, the other socialist countries, the international Communist movement, the forces of peace and progress. This policy is characterized by China's constant opposition to disarmament, limitation of nuclear weapons and international détente in Europe, as well as in the Middle East and in Asia.

The Chinese leadership, the newspaper continues, allies itself with the most extremist and reactionary circles — cold warriors, NATO ultra-reactionaries — supports and encourages them while waging an open campaign against the international organizations of the socialist countries, the Warsaw Treaty and the CMEA. The Peking leaders create international tensions and play into the hands of the opponents of détente.

Since the Congress has placed struggle against the Soviet Union and other socialist countries and against international détente in the forefront of the CPC's policy, there is nothing left but to continue to expose this policy. The Maoists cannot be allowed to continue to harm the international workers' movement and all forces of progress.

ITALY

An article by Luca Pavolino on the 10th Congress of the CPC, published on September 14 by the journal *Rinascita* under the title, "Political Confrontation in People's China," says, in part:

The 10th National Congress of the CPC has confirmed the existence and continuation of an intense political struggle in the People's Republic and the Communist Party of China.

The very conditions in which the Congress was held show that it took place at the height of tensions, that it marked not the completion, but merely one of the phases, of a continuing struggle. Proof of this is the fact that the Congress was held behind closed doors, in virtual secrecy, was reported only after it was over, and only the texts of the reports, but not the debate, were published.

... The 10th Congress in fact (and this is an important point) confirms and repeats the contents of the Ninth Congress (with the exception of the name of the main speaker).

Therefore, no shift has been announced and, on the contrary, the emphasis is on succession. It is obvious attempt to isolate Lin

Piao and his group, whereas the young cadres moved to the fore as a result of the cultural revolution have been included in leading bodies.

Observers are puzzled by certain objective facts. Those who have visited China since the cultural revolution and those who have studied developments there are virtually unanimous in pointing out that the ideological and practical rigidity of the previous period has been eased in many respects and emphasis shifted to the needs of production and productivity, and that some incentives — in the form of wages and in other forms — are being reintroduced, if warily and with reservations. The socialist principle "to each according to his work" is being widely applied, replacing egalitarianism. Besides, it is perfectly logical that closer political and diplomatic as well as economic and trade relations with developed capitalist countries of the West should confront China with a number of ticklish problems. To cite an example, the construction of big modern enterprises would inevitably pose the question of lagging sectors, internal imbalances and, in the final analysis, a "development model."

Yet there is no hint of these problems in the Congress documents, in particular Chou En-lai's report. When reading the documents, one is mislead (and alarmed) by the fact that very little is said about the actual situation of the country or related matters. Since these things are missing, the polemic suggests that the political struggle is reduced to an individual or group struggle for power.

The offensive is being carried on by methods deplorably reminiscent of those which the international working-class movement has seriously criticized already, describing them as dangerous and unacceptable.

The explanations that are offered are unsatisfactory and, moreover, contain serious distortions used at other periods and in other countries to remove the name of a politically defeated leader from the very history of the Party and movement. The defeated man turns out to have long been a traitor serving the class enemy. The "contradictions inside the people," though Mao provided a theoretical basis for them, can apparently find no political expression. A defeated line no longer belongs "among the people" and becomes "anti-popular."

Indeed, that is how the Congress documents we are examining (as, incidentally, the greater part of Chinese political literature) state the issue of the "struggle between two lines."

The "struggle between two lines" is a permanent fact invariably placed alongside the class struggle. It recurs periodically. There are always two lines, and never more than two; one of them is the correct, proletarian line while the other is aimed at reviving

capitalism. It is virtually useless to try to ascertain whether the "other" line is Right- or "Left-wing," for a Left deviation serves, always and under all circumstances, to cover up a Right-wing deviation and vice versa. Liu Shao-chi and Lin Piao, for example, are condemned in identical terms and for identical reasons. The arguments look alike. The only dependable point of departure in defining a proletarian line (when reading the documents) is, it seems, the ultimate position adopted by Chairman Mao.

MONGOLIA

In an article entitled "The So-called 10th CPC Congress," the daily *Unen* says:

The history of Communist and Workers' Parties has seen no precedent of a ruling party holding its congress behind the backs of its own people. The Communist Party of China is the exception. This shows that Mao Tse-tung and his group ignore the organizational principles of a Marxist-Leninist party and flout the Marxist-Leninist principles of broad Party democracy.

The 10th CPC Congress showed again that the fraternal Communist and Workers' Parties were correct in stating that the Mao group has long since abandoned Marxism-Leninism and that it links up with the most reactionary imperialist forces and pursues a great-power, chauvinist policy against the Soviet Union and other members of the socialist community.

The Maoists' spurious, reactionary theory of fighting against the "superpowers" is designed to justify their anti-Sovietism, divert the Chinese people's attention from domestic problems and whitewash their overt and covert deals with imperialist reaction. On the other hand, it is a cover for their secret plan to transform China into a nuclear "superpower" shaping the fate of countries and peoples.

It is becoming ever more manifest that the present Chinese leadership wants to dissociate the national-liberation movement from the socialist community. Peking, which poses as a "protector" of the interests of "small and medium" countries while aspiring to leadership of the Third World, pursues thoroughly selfish aims.

The PRC is an Asian country. Yet the ruling Peking group openly came out at the 10th CPC Congress against a collective security system in Asia. This is directly connected with its intention to solve all Asian problems by itself and play a hegemonistic role on the continent. World opinion knows well that China's rulers have repeatedly encroached on the territory of neighbor states, including the Soviet Union.

The 10th CPC Congress again revealed the reactionary character of the Maoist policy towards war and peace. The Peking leaders

circulate groundless rumors about the "threat from the north," supposed to come from the Soviet Union, in an attempt to justify their war preparations and reckless nuclear arms race.

The policy line of the 10th Congress is directed against détente and the positive changes taking place in international relations today.

The 10th CPC Congress reaffirmed "Mao Tse-tung's ideas," which run counter to Marxism-Leninism, as the Party's general line. This line militates not only against the interests of world socialism, the international Communist and working-class movement and all anti-imperialist forces but against the fundamental interests of the millions of workers, peasants, and other working people of the PRC.

The Communists and all working people of the Mongolian People's Republic condemn the activity of the Chinese leadership. They condemn the line of the "10th Congress of the CPC," which revealed the Maoists' further departure from class principles.

VENEZUELA

A commentator of the Communist newspaper *Tribuna Popular* writes of the 10th CPC Congress:

"It is strange indeed that, in a country where Communists are said to be in power, their Party congress should be held in virtual clandestinity." The Congress, he points out, was attended by no representatives of the international Communist and workers' movement. In effect, it was a Maoist, national-chauvinist congress isolated from the socialist community, the international working-class movement and progressive forces. "We find not a single decision imbued with a spirit of solidarity with the struggle of the peoples of developing countries, just as we find no genuine summation of developments in the economic, industrial or agricultural spheres."

The author stresses the vast difference between the CPC Congress and congresses of the CPSU, which take place in an atmosphere of support and understanding of the Soviet people, in the presence of representatives of the whole international Communist and working-class movement. When the CPSU prepares for its congresses, the date is announced well in advance and the materials to be discussed, including CC reports, are circulated without any restrictions. "This is as it should be, for in socialist countries Party congresses are called not to elevate someone to sainthood but to assess the achievements in the time between congresses and to do everything possible to fortify the positions of communism and international solidarity." The CPC Congress, however, has demonstrated the contradictions racking the Maoist group.

TO THE PEOPLE OF CHILE

Below follows the complete text of an appeal of the Communist Party of Chile circulated in the country illegally on October 11, 1973.

The military coup of September 11 has plunged the country into an atmosphere of terror and brutality unknown in its history. The cruelty and ferocity with which all democratic movements, the worker movement especially, are being suppressed are without precedent in our country or in all Latin America. The massacre is comparable with the one perpetrated after the coup d'état in Indonesia.

Every act of the military junta is a complete negation of what the forces in opposition to the Popular Government had purported to uphold. They spoke of democracy: they have imposed a dictatorship; they spoke of freedom: they are building concentration camps; they spoke of human dignity: they are daily shooting people without trial or investigation; they said they were for pluralism and autonomy at the universities: they have placed them under military control.

The real state of affairs is:

A fascist dictatorship has been established with all its attendant criminal actions and arbitrary rule.

The plan of the coup, the tactics employed, the brutality accompanying it, all bear the stamp of foreign origin. The coup was conceived in the services of the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency with the direct participation of the International Telephone and Telegraph Co. and Kennecott concerns.

A special group was formed in the Pentagon and the White House to put the plan into effect.

The fascist junta represents no national or patriotic trend. It is anti-patriotic in essence and operates against the interests of Chile as an independent state. The junta is a fascist tool of imperialism and internal reaction.

On the very day of the coup American ships and aircraft were taking part in the Unidas games off the Chilean coast.

Several hours after the coup the military junta declared a state of siege, riding roughshod over the Constitution and the National Congress.

This was followed by the suspension of the National Congress "until further notice." The "notice" was not long in coming, and it decreed the closing down of both houses of Congress and nullification of the mandates of Senators and Deputies. Those who had only yesterday spoken vociferously — whether called upon or not

— of their support of legislative authority now remain silent. We mean specifically the Senate President Mr. Frei and the speaker of the House of Deputies Mr. Pareto, who have meekly submitted to the outrage.

On September 24 the junta announced the dissolution of all municipal councils which, like the parliament, had been elected by the free vote of the citizens. Now these bodies of local government are being appointed by the military junta.

Then the junta decided to appoint military men as university rectors, dismiss all Marxist teachers and ban the teaching of Marxism. University autonomy has been done away with. Roundups and persecutions are of the most undisguised fascist nature.

All civil freedoms have been suspended. Freedom of meetings, association and organization, freedom of speech and of the press have been liquidated.

Punitive operations are conducted with incredible cruelty. The civilian population, especially those living in popular communities and city suburbs, has become the victim of repressions arousing the indignation of all. Sanctity of the home is being violated. People are dealt with summarily. Stacks of books are being burnt as though all this were taking place at the height of Hitlerism in Germany. Hundreds have been shot.

The imposition of the state of siege was supplemented by a decree authorizing death sentences.

The workers' right to raise economic demands and go on strike has been banned. The military junta's pledge not to resort to repression is refuted by all that is happening. Members of all Left parties, trade union leaders and working people, many of them with no party affiliations, are being persecuted. Thousands of Chilean patriots, from rank-and-file workers to such prominent figures as Dr. Asenjo, winner of the 1973 National Science Prize, have been thrown out of work for the "crime" of holding progressive views and sympathizing with the Left forces. The witchhunt has reached peak dimensions. More than 10,000 Chileans have been thrown into jail or the concentration camps set up in the national stadium and on remote islands.

A 180-degree reversal has been executed in foreign policy. This was preceded by actions unprecedented in Chilean history: armed attack on the Cuban Embassy and provocations against Soviet, Cuban and GDR ships and members of their crews, against engineers and specialists from the socialist countries and against the auxiliary personnel of diplomatic missions. A chauvinistic hysteria was launched against foreign citizens, many of them leading experts helping Chile to tackle the country's problems or people seeking refuge in Chile in accordance with our laws and traditions.

In the face of all these facts, indicative of the establishment of a fascist-type dictatorship, one is entitled to ask: What do the Christian Democrats think of all this? What has become of their proclaimed stand against anti-democratic action? What has become of their benevolent attitude towards ideological and political pluralism?

We know the special position taken by a group of CDP leaders and parliamentarians headed by such figures as Radomiro Tomic, Bernardo Leighton and Renan Fuentealba, who have remained loyal to their principles and denounced the military coup and its consequences. This speaks in their favor, and we feel that they express the view of the absolute majority of Christian Democrats among the people who were so shamefully betrayed by their official leaders linked with the plot.

With the aid of all the reactionary mass information media, the military junta has launched a smear campaign designed to vilify the memory of the late President of the Republic Salvador Allende. They are attacking the President's body like vultures. But they are mistaken if they imagine that they can stamp out of the hearts of the people the memory of a man like Salvador Allende, who loved his country above all, fought for decades for the freedom of the exploited and oppressed and died heroically in combat. The dark days will pass and the name of Salvador Allende, the president who gave Chile back her copper, who rose against imperialism and oligarchy, who refused to bow either to praise or enemy threats and remained loyal to the people to the last moment of his life, will be inscribed in the history of our country and all Latin America along with the names of O'Higgins, Balmaceda, Recabarren, Aguirre Cerda and other Chileans who gave everything for their country and their people. But no trace will be left of those who vilify them.

All the junta has done was deliberately planned in advance. The putschists began with the bombing and destruction of the Le Moneda Palace, an action of barbarity which will never be forgiven. The totally unjustified bombing of President Allende's residence, military operations at factories and in worker communities, the organization of junta-sponsored gangs, arrests of thousands of citizens — it was all carefully thought out in advance. As the newspaper *El Mercurio* wrote, the junta adopted fascist blitzkrieg tactics, a tactic of swift, simultaneous strikes in many places so as, among other things, to sow panic among the population.

The whole world knows that the country's grave economic and financial situation was due not only to government errors, though they played a part, but to the huge external debt, backward agriculture and weak infrastructure inherited from previous govern-

ments, as well as to the falling prices of copper for two successive years, devaluation of the dollar, the closing of U.S. credits, economic sabotage, the tremendous damage caused by the truckers' strike, and the passing of a state budget and wage increases not supported by financial measures.

Imperialism and the oligarchy could not forgive President Allende and the Popular Unity all that was done to nationalize the mining industry, promote the agrarian reform, nationalize banks and create a state sector in the economy.

That is why they decided to do everything to overthrow the popular government. No one can deny this. They repeatedly declared their intentions and they carried them out. To achieve their goals they did not even stop short of causing tremendous damage to the Chilean economy.

LIES FOR JUSTIFICATION

A terrible lie was invented in a vain attempt to justify themselves in the eyes of public opinion at home and abroad: they would have people believe that the armed forces were faced with the alternative of either attacking or being attacked by alleged para-military units of the Popular Unity.

According to this untruth, the Popular Unity was preparing to put its plan into effect on Monday, September 17. All of this is a coarse concoction of imperialism and its fascist hangers-on inside the country. They pulled out this plan when they felt the extent of the hatred caused by their crimes, which offend the consciousness of all humanity. The lie is so implausible that on September 18 newspapers carried remarks by General Pinochet, the junta leader himself, who said: "It is quite possible that they were really preparing a coup. There were so many rumors, so many people trying to sow doubts or alarm among the people."

THE FIGHT FOR THE FUTURE

The present state of affairs is not permanent. Falsehood will not triumph over truth, oppression over freedom, or fascism over democracy. Sooner or later — more likely sooner than later — the country will emerge from its state of savagery and regress. There are no forces capable of shackling our people or suppressing progressive tendencies in our society for long.

The new rulers fear the people. That is why they keep the state of siege and the curfew, that is why they maintain the terror, impose their complete control over the radio and television, close down the Left press, abrogate trade union rights, persecute dissidents and outlaw Marxist parties. And all this with the approval or participation of many pseudo-democrats.

The working people and popular masses will recover from this blow and undoubtedly again take their country's destinies into their hands.

We will lay emphasis, as we always have, on fostering the organization, political consciousness, unity and struggle of the masses. The confusion and despondency among some sections of the people today are clearly a passing phenomenon. The working class and the people will emerge from the trials and battles ahead stronger than before.

The military coup abolished all state institutions except the docile judiciary and the office of Comptroller General, held by a puppet. It ended the legal state and made Chile a police state in which the Constitution and laws are flouted and the military junta's gangs are on the rampage. The people's blood is flowing and virtually every family has lost someone or is concerned about his fate.

But the people will regain power. When this comes they will, of course, not have to re-establish all earlier institutions. They will adopt a new Constitution, develop new codes and laws, pass new decrees, set up new government agencies and institutions and bring into being a legal state of a higher type than the one strangled by the military coup. It will be a legal state in which freedom of religious and political convictions and all humanist standards will be respected but there will be no room for laws that might serve as a cover for fascist activities, for economic sabotage and political subversion.

After everything that has happened, the Chilean people have a right to envisage the formation of armed forces and police of a new type or, at any rate, the expulsion of fascist elements from the army, police and judiciary, so as to preclude a recurrence of the tragedy which our people are now passing through.

The severe trials which Chileans are undergoing today shall not have been in vain. A number of institutions sincerely trusted by many proved rotten. It would hardly occur to anyone to support the existing judiciary or a parliament which buried itself through complicity in the conspiracy against the government.

Revolutionary and democratic forces should reconsider these issues to form a common viewpoint.

Undoubtedly, it is also necessary to make a critical and self-critical analysis of the popular government's almost three years in power. That period saw important changes but also serious mistakes. "Leftist" activity and reformist trends, which occasionally told on the activity of the Popular Unity government, did much harm. The Communist Party is positive that its unqualified defense of the Popular Unity government, its steps toward mutual under-

standing with other democratic groups, especially at grass roots, its efforts to inspire the middle strata with confidence and direct the main blow against the principal enemies, imperialism and home reaction, its persistence in building up the Communist-Socialist alliance, working-class unity and mutual understanding between Popular Front parties, and its struggle for greater output, higher productivity, efficiency and proper labor discipline in the enterprises of the state sector were all components of a perfectly correct general policy.

On the other hand, the Communist Party thinks this is no time to engage in discussions of the mistakes made by the government and the Popular Unity bloc as a whole or any one of its member parties. All comes in its own time. To concentrate on this discussion at the moment would be to prejudice the popular parties' unity whereas it is the main condition for effective struggle against the military dictatorship and for the joint solution of new problems facing the working class and the people.

The Communist Party and the Communist Youth League of Chile will be equal to their duty in the new conditions.

The military junta has outlawed Marxism, our Party and all other parties whose activity is based on the teachings of Marx, Engels and Lenin. Indeed, it would have people believe that the interests of the Chilean nation are alien to us.

Our Party has been in existence for 53 years now. It came into being when, in 1912, shortly before World War I, Luis Recabarren, Chile's great revolutionary and patriot who was active among saltpetre miners, founded the Socialist Workers' Party.

Anyone who is familiar with the evolution of Chilean society knows that every class had one or more political parties expressing its interests and aspirations.

The Communist Party defends the interests of the working class. Marxism is the scientific ideology of the working class. This means that the Communist Party can never be destroyed. It will live as long as there is class struggle in any form. Marxism as an ideological weapon and a method of scientifically cognizing, interpreting and transforming the world will live for ever.

Numerous members of our Party and its leaders became victims of persecution by the military junta. Nevertheless, the Communist Party and the glorious Communist Youth League will hold out and courageously carry on their banner. Our Party will become more steeled in the new difficult conditions. It will emerge from this fight stronger and enjoying higher prestige than before.

We represent above all the interests of the working class, to whose cause we have always been loyal and will be loyal as long as we live. At the same time we represent the interests of the

whole people, the interests of our country, which are inseparable from the working man's.

We suffered telling losses but we will regain our strength.

It was in those trying days that Pablo Neruda died. His death was unquestionably hastened by the crimes perpetrated in Chile. Pablo Neruda was not only one of the greatest poets of our time but a genuine Communist, a member of our Party's Central Committee. He sang with inspiration the exploits of Araucan heroes, the heroes of the fight for independence, for the working-class cause — Recabarren and Lafertte — our fields, the sea and cliffs along our endless coast. A man of vast culture, incisive intellect and broad views, he devoted his poetry to a great cause, the cause of peace and socialism throughout the world. His heart was open to people in all latitudes and of every race or tongue. But deepest of all was his love for his people and homeland, of Chile's forbidding north, the rainy Andes, Valparaiso, its people and its hills.

Like every Communist, Pablo Neruda was a patriot. But not every Communist can speak of his patriotism so well as he did.

Communists are patriots and internationalists in equal measure. So was O'Higgins. Inspired by the progressive ideas of his time, he maintained close bonds of friendship and cooperation in struggle for the independence of the continent with the patriots and revolutionaries of other American countries.

A few days after Pablo Neruda's death, Luis Corvalan, General Secretary of our Party, was seized by the usurpers of power.

Luis Corvalan is a genuine revolutionary, fighter and patriot who more than once has unflinchingly borne up under tortures and brutal persecution.

We regard it as our lofty revolutionary duty to protect his life and wrest him from the junta's clutches. It is imperative to mobilize all democratic forces in order to prevent the physical destruction of Luis Corvalan and secure his release and also the release of thousands of other revolutionaries and democrats sent by the junta to concentration camps.

A halt must be called to repression and crimes by mobilizing the masses. There must be no room on Chilean soil for the murder of honest people.

Stop the bloodbath! End the assassinations, such as those of Victor Jara, the Chilean singer, and numerous others whose names are still unknown!

Luis Corvalan's life must be saved. The people must secure his immediate release.

In spite of the rigid censorship introduced by the junta, our people know of the protests being voiced all over the world against the fascist military coup.

All the peoples of the world condemn the crimes of Chile's fascists. Mankind demands an end to bloodshed and terror. This immense solidarity campaign, which has few precedents in history, inspires our fight and reminds us that the Chilean people are not alone.

We must stop the terror against our people and pave the way for a new upsurge of the revolution.

The broadest possible unity of our people is needed to accomplish this task.

Unity to uphold the right to live and to put an end to repression and death.

Unity to uphold the gains of the working class and win an increase in wages and salaries, which should assure a standard of life such as was provided by the Popular Unity government.

Unity to preserve the trade unions and prevent former owners from returning to nationalized enterprises.

Unity to restore civil freedoms.

Unity to return on to the path of revolutionary change.

There is room in these united ranks for every man or woman of our country, including those who joined the opposition under the influence of reactionary propaganda.

Millions of Chileans have seen with their own eyes what fascism is like and are prepared to fight it.

The whole people are with us. Chile will triumph.

"The world never stops advancing, not even at night," wrote Volodia Teitelboim, our fellow-Communist, in one of his books. What he meant by "night" was the black night of Hitlerism. He is right.

Chile will achieve ultimate victory through struggle. Our people will resume creative labor, our youth will go back to the universities to argue and learn, and once again Chilean families will live in peace and tranquillity.

Communist Party of Chile

Santiago, October 11, 1973.

IMPERIALISM AND COEXISTENCE IN THE LIGHT OF THE EVENTS IN CHILE

Following is an article by Enrico Berlinguer, General Secretary of the Italian Communist Party, published under the above title in the weekly *Rinascita*, September 28, 1973.

The events in Chile are a drama and are seen as such by millions of people on all continents. People realized and realize that they are events of international significance not only giving rise to hatred for the men behind the reactionary coup and massacres and not only arousing solidarity with those who are hit by the coup and resist it but raising questions which agitate fighters for democracy in all countries and set them thinking.

We should not close our eyes to the fact that the heavy blow dealt to Chilean democracy and the social gains and further prospects of that country's working people is also a blow to the liberation movement of Latin American peoples and the international democratic and working-class movement as a whole. This is also the view taken by the Communists, Socialists, working people and all democrats and anti-fascists of Italy.

As during all other events of as dramatic and serious a nature as the present, the reaction of fighters for freedom and socialism is not loss of heart, nor just indignation and anger. They also strive to learn a useful lesson which in this case has a bearing on vast sections of the world's population. It urges the large social strata still differing with us over the social and political battle going on in today's world to look into certain fundamental realities and understand them. This is one of the prerequisites of extensive and active participation in struggle to change the situation.

To begin with, the events in Chile shed added light — despite all illusions — on the fact that imperialism, in particular U.S. imperialism, is still characterized by arbitrariness, economic and political tyranny, aggressiveness and an urge for conquest, an urge to oppress peoples and rob them of independence, freedom and unity whenever the situation and the alignment of forces make it possible.

Secondly, the events in Chile show clearly who are the enemies of democracy in countries of the so-called "free world" and where they are. Public opinion in these countries, which propaganda media have been indoctrinating for decades, insisting that the working-class movement, the Socialists and Communists are enemies of democracy, now has new and conclusive proof that the ruling

bourgeois classes and the parties which represent or faithfully serve them are ready to stamp out all freedom and flout every civil right or humanist principle when their privileges and their power are affected or threatened.

Communists and all champions of democratic progress and the peoples' emancipation must take advantage of the growing realization of these facts to call for vigilance and draw attention to the dangers which imperialism and the ruling bourgeois classes pose to the freedom of peoples and the independence of nations, to rouse ever larger segments of the masses to democratic and revolutionary activity, and change the balance of forces in the world and in each country in favor of the working classes, national-liberation movements and the entire democratic and anti-imperialist camp. The events in Chile can and should lead, along with a powerful and widespread movement of solidarity with the Chilean people, to a general awakening of democratic consciousness and, above all, to the influx of new forces ready to fight in concrete forms against imperialism and reaction.

To this end it is also necessary to make a careful analysis of the events so as to draw from Chile's political tragedy conclusions helping to form a broader and deeper judgment of both the international situation and the strategy and tactics of the working-class and democratic movement in various countries, including our own.

No serious person can question the fact that the events in Chile were affected in decisive measure by the presence and interference of U.S. imperialism. The masses saw this at once. Apart from the highly revealing political and diplomatic episodes of the days of the coup and the period immediately preceding it, there can be no doubt that ever since the formation of the Popular Unity coalition government, U.S. monopoly groups holding dominant positions in the Chilean economy (copper, ITT) and the rulers of the United States had interfered systematically and in all forms — from economic war to attempts at overthrow — in order to bring on failure of the Allende government and overthrow it.

Incidentally, these and other methods of interference used by the U.S. against peoples and nations seeking independence are, of course, not the exception but the rule, especially in Latin America. Anyone will recall the gross interference in Guatemala, the Dominican Republic and numerous other countries. And anyone knows that socialist Cuba had to repulse various maneuvers, provocations, an economic boycott and direct attacks against its territory for years, showing the greatest firmness and unity and drawing on the solidarity and support of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, and that it still has to be vigilant if it wants to maintain its independence.

In other regions of the globe as well, whether the under-developed areas of Asia and Africa or developed capitalist countries (ranging from Japan to Western Europe), U.S. imperialism continues to penetrate and interfere in every imaginable form so as to preserve or extend its economic, political and strategic positions.

What can check, limit and reverse this imperialist trend? The simplest and most correct answer is: a gradual change in the balance of forces in favor of the peoples striving to free their countries and of all countries fighting for a new world order and a new system of international relations. It is these lines that world history has been following over the past 60 years, ever since the Russian revolution of 1917 for the first time abolished the unchallenged domination of imperialism and capitalism. Ever since then, and above all since the defeat of Nazism, the victory of the Chinese revolution and the collapse of the traditional British and French colonial systems, the area controlled by imperialism has been steadily shrinking. When the insensate and adventurist policy aimed at overthrowing the socialist regimes established in Europe and Asia after World War II (the policy of rolling back) fell through the capitalist powers, the United States included, had to admit that socialist regimes anywhere must be left alone and should be reckoned and done business with.

Other states, which came into being with the disintegration of the colonial system, succeeded in asserting their independence, which they defend with increasing resolve, some of them tending to orientate their economic and social order in a socialist direction.

In this connection, the victory of the heroic people of Vietnam, who were supported by the socialist countries and a powerful international solidarity movement, over U.S. aggression is of tremendous importance. It delivered a new crushing blow to imperialist claims and made a new decisive contribution to changes in the balance of world forces and to the success of the policy of détente and peaceful negotiations between states.

Furthermore, the United States is now compelled to reckon with the mounting desire for independence shown by West European countries, particularly in recent years.

Lastly, while the overthrow of Chile's Popular Unity coalition government was a hard blow, the liberation movement, which remains an indisputable reality in Latin American countries, will, of course, never stop. It will take the most diverse forms and find ways and means of resisting, if only by scoring partial gains, U.S. domination and the domestic cliques faithfully serving the U.S. Surely an indication of this is the fact that the military coup is resisted and condemned by the Chilean people as well as by people in other Latin American countries and other areas of the

world and that it causes a reaction such as no other reactionary coup ever did.

Recognition of the fundamental trend which is taking shape in world history and whose ultimate result is a gradual shrinking of the area of imperialist domination by no means prevents us from putting it on record (it is from Chile that a new serious warning comes these days) that in many countries world imperialism and reactionary forces are in a position to check the peoples' liberation fight and occasionally to inflict serious reverses on the forces carrying on this fight. Only by taking account of this fact and the specific forms which this takes or may be expected to take in all areas of the globe, in every country and at every moment, can we avoid being caught unawares, stave off mistakes and succeed in organizing and carrying on a sustained revolutionary and democratic struggle by appropriate methods.

Some people are wondering how so gross an interference as that of imperialist and reactionary forces in Chile can still take place in a period of international development when we are advancing ever more rapidly towards détente and peaceful coexistence in relations between countries with different social systems. Yet no one has ever affirmed that international détente and coexistence imply the advent of an era of tranquillity, and an end to class struggle both at home and in the international sphere, to counter-revolution and revolution.

In view of the outlook for peaceful coexistence, the policy of easing tensions is, first of all, an obligatory way of achieving the principal goal, which is of vital importance to the whole of mankind and to every people: heading off the disaster of atomic and thermonuclear war, safeguarding world peace and establishing the principle of negotiation as the only means of settling differences between states. Besides, inasmuch as détente and coexistence lead to a gradual reduction of all armaments and to manifold economic, scientific and cultural cooperation on a growing scale and on both a bilateral and a multilateral basis, they are one of the ways of tackling in common the solution of complicated problems of today's world, such as ensuring the advancement of backward areas, protecting the environment, combating poverty and social diseases, and so on.

Détente and coexistence do not in themselves end, automatically and in a short time, the division of the world into blocs and zones of influence. Hence they do not make it impossible for the U.S. to interfere in the most diverse ways, including the most brazen ones, in areas and countries which they would like to bring for ever into the sphere of its direct or indirect domination.

The division of the world into various blocs and zones existed

even before the emergence of the policy of détente and coexistence, for it was a result of the entire process of world history from the October Revolution and World War II to diverse events of recent decades, which resulted in the present international and internal balance. We must not forget the adverse effect which differences between socialist countries, including the most serious of them—those between the People's Republic of China and the Soviet Union—have on international affairs.

A further shift in the current balance in favor of the forces of progress will depend primarily on the militancy and initiative of the proletariat, the working people, the masses, and their organizations in each particular country. But it is just as clear that progress in détente and coexistence is a requisite for ending the division of the world into blocs and zones of influence, affirming the right of every nation to independence and hence reducing in the long run the possibility of imperialist interference in the lives of other countries. By the same token, to persevere in the policy of détente and coexistence is to further the development of democracy and freedom in all countries of the world irrespective of social system.

This, then, is our conception of détente and coexistence, a dynamic and open conception opposed to another conception, that advocated by imperialism, which, even being compelled to hold talks with socialist countries, tries to maintain the present alignment of forces in the world and in various countries.

All this confirms the need to press forward on an international scale the fight for progress in détente and coexistence and for the extension of their every potentiality while continuing the struggle in every country for national independence and for democratic and socialist changes in economic and social order and in political and government system.

Our Party has always borne in mind the inseparable interconnection of the two. On the one hand, we have tried and try, as Togliatti taught us to do, soberly to take stock of the intricacy of international relations and the world situation in which Italy has to operate. On the other hand, we have tried and try to make an accurate assessment of the balance of forces in our country.

Specifically, we have always attached proper importance in our activity to the fact that Italy is a member of a military-political bloc dominated by the U.S. and to what this entails. But, of course, realization of this fact has never doomed us to inaction. We have always fought against it and resisted all attempts to defeat or isolate us.

As a result, our strength and our influence among the masses and in national life have increased. We can and must go on along this path. This means, first of all, that the internal alignment of forces must be changed in such a way as to foil or neutralize every

attempt by reactionary forces at home or abroad to do away with democratic and constitutional order and strike at our people's gains, split them and stop their advance to a transformed society.

Our struggle and our initiative must also assume still greater international scope. We must take an active part in every battle in Europe and elsewhere likely to weaken imperialism, reaction and fascism, and must also strive to ensure that Italy pursues a foreign policy upholding not only our people's desire to live in peace and friendship with all other countries but also their right to build their future in complete freedom.

Decisive steps can be taken in this direction today because we are putting forward our demands and proposals at a time when the situation in Europe is marked by substantial gains in détente and because they link up with similar aspirations and initiatives in other West European countries. This has enabled us to evolve a policy whose main point is the proposal for a peace zone in the Mediterranean and for an autonomous, peaceful and democratic Western Europe.

To strive for this goal does not mean putting such a Europe, Italy included, into a position of hostility towards the Soviet Union and other socialist countries or the United States. Anyone seeking this would be aspiring to something absurd, unrealistic and ultimately running counter to the logic of the policy of détente and democratic development of our country and all other countries of Europe.

A consistent effort for this international policy line is an important part of the perspective which we describe as the Italian road to socialism.

The events in Chile prompt us to make a careful analysis of not only the international situation and foreign policy problems but also problems of the struggle and outlook for the democratic and socialist transformation of our country.

Communists and democrats should never forget the fundamental differences between the situation in Chile and that in Italy. The two countries lie in such entirely different parts of the globe as Latin America and Western Europe. They also differ in social order, economic structure, growth level of the productive forces, systems of government (presidential republic in Chile and parliamentary republic in Italy) and political order. They have diverging traditions and political trends both at home and in relations with other countries. But along with differences they have things in common, such as that Chile's Communists and Socialists had likewise planned to advance to socialism along the democratic path.

In view of these differences and common features, it is necessary to give more profound definition of the Italian road to socialism and specify the ways and means of speeding progress along it.

MULTILATERAL MEETINGS

AGAINST ISRAELI AGGRESSION, FOR ARAB PEOPLES' ANTI-IMPERIALIST UNITY

Representatives of the Communist and Workers' parties of Arab countries held a meeting last September.

The meeting discussed the situation in Arab countries and the current tasks of the Arab liberation movement. It devoted much attention to the situation in the Middle East, where Israel persists in its imperialist aggression against Arab states. Following is a summary of the final declaration of the meeting and of other records published in *Al Nida*, October 5, 1973.

The Arab peoples' national liberation movement is fighting against world imperialism, Zionism and reaction. This fight is directed primarily against Israel's aggression and expansionist aspirations. It is aimed at freeing the occupied Arab territories and restoring the legitimate rights of the Arab people of Palestine. It is a fight for political independence, against reaction, for complete economic emancipation. It is directed against imperialist monopolies, military bases, hostile propaganda and ideological subversion. For all the difficulties attending this fight, most Arab countries have in late years registered important progressive gains.

A substantial part of the Arabs' oil resources was freed from monopoly domination in Iraq, Algeria, Syria and Libya. Important steps were taken to promote economic relations with the Soviet Union and other members of the socialist community so as to set up an independent national economy in which the state sector would play the leading role. This expressed itself in the construction of the Aswan Dam and a hydroelectric station in Egypt, the Euphrates hydropower project in Syria and oil-drilling facilities in Iraq, as well as numerous other industrial, agricultural and scientific projects. The agrarian reform in Algeria, Syria, Iraq and the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen was carried forward.

The struggle for economic and social progress necessitates coordinated action by all classes and social strata that want to achieve this goal, and a durable alliance of the workers, peasants, revolutionary intellectuals, petty bourgeoisie and other population groups being plundered by imperialist monopolies and domestic capitalism.

The declaration deals with the evolution of political democracy in Arab countries. In recent years a number of Communist and

national patriotic parties were enabled to operate legally. Progressive national fronts were established in Syria and Iraq. In Lebanon, progressive parties and organizations cooperate ever more closely in defense of democracy, the interests of the masses and the Palestinian resistance movement. In the PDRY there is cooperation between national democratic forces. In a number of Arab countries the Communist parties are participating in government and cooperate on a growing scale with other progressive parties and forces on the basis of common objectives. This phenomenon is indicative, among other things, of a qualitative change in the position of progressive patriotic and national forces and shows that they realize the dangerous character of anti-Communist slogans.

The Arab liberation movement attaches tremendous importance to cooperation between the Arab countries which have won their freedom and the Soviet Union. This is exemplified by the Soviet-Iraqi and Soviet-Egyptian treaties of friendship and cooperation, which are a reflection of the close interconnection of the national liberation movement and world socialism. Arab-Soviet friendship and cooperation are a major gain for the Arab peoples' liberation struggle and an earnest of its continued progress. No social force in the Arab countries can renounce or depart from this alliance without taking a step to the right, towards reaction.

The declaration next stresses the importance of the Palestinian resistance movement as an active contingent of the Arab and world liberation movement, a contingent representing the Arab people of Palestine and battling for their right to repatriation and self-determination on their native soil.

Favorable changes in the Arab liberation movements are fiercely resisted by imperialism, Zionism and reaction. This finds expression in the continuing and growing Israeli aggression aimed at further expansion at the expense of Arab territories, and at doing away with social and political gains in progressive Arab countries. As a result of imperialist, Zionist and reactionary intrigues, Rightist trends and currents are gaining ground in some Arab countries. One of the imperialists' most dangerous devices is to provoke internal strife among national forces while at the same time trying to spread anti-communism and anti-Sovietism.

The declaration devotes special attention to the present international situation and the world Communist movement. It notes that the turn now taking place towards affirming the principles of peaceful coexistence in the world and the growing anti-imperialist struggle are due to the increased might of the socialist camp, in whose vanguard is the Soviet Union, to its economic, scientific and cultural achievements, as well as to the intensification of the working-class and national liberation movement throughout the

world. International détente is creating more favorable conditions for the peoples' struggle for independence and for the developing countries' advance in carrying out progressive political, social and economic reforms.

The Communist parties of Arab countries give credit to the conference of non-aligned countries held in Algiers early last September for its general anti-imperialist content and results and its unanimous condemnation of Israeli aggression.

The declaration stresses the great significance of the forthcoming World Congress of Peace Forces in Moscow and calls on all national patriotic forces and leaders in Arab countries to identify themselves with the congress and support it.

The declaration emphatically condemns the Chinese leaders' position, which is hostile to the Arab peoples. The Chinese leaders have taken an ambiguous stand on solidarity with the Palestinian resistance movement. China refused to support the UN resolution condemning Israel and adhered thereby to the U.S. position. The Chinese leadership does not support the struggle of the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen against the conspiracies and aggressive plots of foreign reaction.

The policy of splitting Communist parties and the anti-Soviet policy to which the Chinese leadership is committed and which translates itself into urging developing countries to dissociate from the Soviet Union, their loyal ally and the defender of their independence, and propaganda of the thesis that the world is divided into "big and small" and "rich and poor" states serve imperialist forces and greatly prejudice the national liberation movement and the world revolutionary movement as a whole.

The peoples of the developing countries fighting for their political and economic liberation emphatically reject the subversive Chinese line. They build up and expand their political, economic and cultural relations with the Soviet Union and other members of the socialist community. Closer friendship, cooperation and alliance between these peoples and the Soviet Union is the best reply to the Chinese leadership's subversion against the Soviet Union and the world liberation movement as a whole.

The meeting formulated a number of pressing tasks for the Arab liberation movement at the stage of national democratic revolution. The Communist and Workers' parties are resolved in common with all the patriotic and progressive forces of Arab countries to fight against Israeli aggression and resist imperialist and reactionary plots, which are directed primarily against progressive Arab regimes.

The Communists of Arab countries declare for establishing national fronts of progressive forces in individual Arab countries

and on an all-Arab scale, for achieving democracy, the consolidation of progressive Arab regimes and Arab unity on explicitly anti-imperialist and progressive lines.

The Communist and Workers' parties of Arab countries consider it their duty continuously to promote in cooperation with other fraternal parties the cohesion and unity of the world Communist movement on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, to strengthen the alliance of the national liberation movement with the countries of the socialist community and with other progressive forces of the world and to fight with determination against Maoism and the Peking leadership's subversive activity.

The meeting signified the Arab peoples' fraternal solidarity with the Chilean people in view of the campaign of terror and mass murder which the fascist junta has launched against that country's national and revolutionary parties and working class. The declaration demands an end to terror and repression against Chile's democrats and progressives. Arab Communists declare for their part in defense of Luis Corvalan, General Secretary of the CC, Communist Party of Chile.

The meeting adopted a message to L. I. Brezhnev, General Secretary of the CC CPSU, reading as follows:

"On behalf of all Arab Communists and their friends and supporters, the meeting of representatives of the Communist and Workers' parties of Arab countries wholeheartedly hails the selfless and sincere efforts which you as head of the CC CPSU make towards carrying out the Peace Program approved by the 24th Congress of the CPSU. We think highly of your initiatives and the results of your visits to the USA, FRG and France, which intensified the process of détente in the world as a whole and between countries with different social systems. This affords more favorable opportunities for the worldwide and Arab national liberation movement and constitutes a noteworthy success of the cause of peaceful co-existence of countries with different social systems in accordance with the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism.

"The participants in the meeting have a high opinion of your firmness in supporting the Arab peoples' fight against Israeli aggression and for the elimination of its effects, in the matter of solidarity with all the peoples fighting for their liberation and for social progress, including the Arab people of Palestine fighting to restore their legitimate national rights.

"We take this occasion to congratulate you heartily on the Lenin Peace Prize awarded to you in recognition of your persevering struggle to promote world peace.

"We wish you good health, a long life and fruitful work for the good of mankind and our common cause — establishing durable peace and building communism."

CONSULTATIVE MEETING OF COMMUNIST PARTIES OF CAPITALIST EUROPE

Following are records of the meeting held by Communist Party representatives from European capitalist countries in Stockholm, September 27-28, 1973.

COMMUNIQUE

On September 27-28, 1973, representatives of the Communist Parties of Austria, Belgium, Great Britain, Cyprus, Denmark, Finland, France, German Communist Party, Communist Parties of Greece, Ireland, Italy, Luxembourg, Norway, Portugal, San Marino, Spain, Left Party—Communists of Sweden, Swiss Party of Labor and Socialist Unity Party of West Berlin held a consultative meeting in Stockholm. They decided to call a conference of the Communist Parties of European capitalist countries. The Portuguese Communist Party and the Communist Party of Turkey will make known their decision on the matter as soon as possible. The conference will meet in January 1974 and its agenda will be:

"The present crisis of capitalism in Europe, the action of the Communist Parties for social progress, democracy, national independence, peace and socialism and their struggle for the unity of the working class and democratic forces."

The venue of the conference will be specified shortly.

It was also decided to hold several colloquiums and meetings on the following themes: (1) The Monetary Crisis, (2) The New Content and Forms of Working-Class and Popular Struggle, (3) Migrant Workers, and (4) The Situation of Intellectuals in European Capitalist Society Today and Cultural Freedom.

The Communist Party of the Netherlands was represented by an observer.

The consultative meeting unanimously adopted a resolution of solidarity with Chile's working people and democrats fighting against the fascist military junta, a message of support to the 75,000 workers of the multinational Michelin company on strike in France, Britain, Ireland, Spain and Italy, and an appeal for solidarity with Marcelino Camacho and other Spanish working-class leaders who are still awaiting trial.

Stockholm, September 28, 1973.

RESOLUTION OF SOLIDARITY WITH CHILEAN PEOPLE

The representatives of the Communist Parties of European capitalist countries who attended the Stockholm consultative meeting fully identify themselves with the workers, peasants, intellectuals and other working people of Chile fighting against the military junta's brutal dictatorship.

Three years ago Chile's Popular Unity government adopted important social measures and effected great revolutionary changes: a land reform, nationalization of copper and other national resources and the big monopolies. The Popular Unity government planned as it extended its gains to lead the country to socialism without civil war, through ever more active and extensive democratic participation in government by the Chilean masses.

Seeing that their class interests were threatened, reactionary forces backed by U.S. imperialism, which was represented by the CIA and multinational companies such as the ITT and Kennecott, began to step up economic subversion and political provocation. Thereupon they organized a military fascist coup against the constitutional government under President Salvador Allende and assassinated him. Today they are establishing in Chile a reign of fire and sword, torture and denunciation, execution and terror.

The representatives of the Communist Parties of European capitalist countries hail the Communists, Socialists, Radicals, Catholics and all Chilean democrats who have united to fight against the attempt to impose a fascist regime on Chile, for the restoration of the people's sovereign rights and in defense of its gains.

They assure the fraternal Communist Party of Chile, other democratic organizations and the whole Chilean people of their most active solidarity with their struggle. They renew the pledge of their Parties to achieve the widest participation in this solidarity in their respective countries and to fight for the international isolation of the fascist junta.

They declare their readiness to support every initiative in favor of unity likely to make for more active national and international solidarity.

The people of Chile will triumph over its enemies, re-establish democracy and once again become master of its destiny. We are and remain for ever on its side in this struggle.

RESOLUTION ON THE COMING TRIAL OF CAMACHO

The Communist Parties of European capitalist countries represented at the Stockholm consultative meeting on September 27-28 direct this message to the working people and democratic forces

to stress the urgency of launching a movement of solidarity with the ten working-class leaders—Camacho, Soto, Sartorius, Saborida, Garcia Salve and others—who have been held for 15 months in Carabanchel prison, and to demand their release.

The Franco regime is planning to organize a typical fascist trial, demanding appalling sentences totalling 162 years in prison. The trial is virtually directed against the working people and trade union freedom and is an attempt to stop the struggle of the workers and other working people.

A powerful worldwide campaign in support of the actions which are already being developed in Spain can foil the plans of the Franco regime and obtain the release of the workers' leaders. This is a task of vital importance in today's fight against fascism and for freedom in Spain.

RESOLUTION OF SOLIDARITY WITH THE WORKERS OF THE MICHELIN CO.

The representatives of the Communist parties of European capitalist countries who attended the consultative meeting in Stockholm on September 27-28, 1973 welcome the struggle of the Italian, French, British, Spanish and Irish workers of the Michelin company.

In common with their trade union organizations and with support from the masses, they are this week taking new powerful actions in their countries to make the management of this multinational monopoly group meet their legitimate demands for the protection of their jobs, wages and union rights and for better working conditions.

The Communist Party representatives reaffirm their support of this struggle, which may serve as an example of unity, militancy and internationalism and is thus becoming part of the current struggle of Europe's working people in the enterprises of multinational corporations against the practices of these corporations, in defense of working-class rights and national interests.

MEETING IN COPENHAGEN

Representatives of the Communist Parties of European capitalist countries held a preparatory meeting in Copenhagen on October 16-17, 1973.

The CC Secretariat of the Communist Party of Denmark announced that the meeting had decided to call a conference of the Communist Parties of these countries in Brussels on January 26-28, 1974. The conference agenda will be: "The present crisis of capitalism in Europe, the action of the Communist Parties for social progress, democracy, national independence, peace and socialism

and their struggle for the unity of the working class and democratic forces."

In preparation for the conference, international theoretical symposiums are to be held on "New Forms of Working People's Struggle in European Capitalist Countries" (Rome, November 26-28, 1973), "The Monetary Crisis and Its Effects on the Working People of European Capitalist Countries" (Paris, November 26-27, 1973), and "Problems of Migrant Workers" (Duesseldorf, January 8-9, 1974).

COMMUNIQUE

ON THE MEETING OF REPRESENTATIVES OF FRATERNAL PARTIES TO DISCUSS THE PUBLICATION AND DISTRIBUTION OF THE JOURNAL *PROBLEMS OF PEACE AND SOCIALISM*

On October 17-18, 1973, representatives of Communist and Workers' Parties met in Prague to discuss the publication and distribution of the journal *Problems of Peace and Socialism*. The meeting was attended by representatives of fraternal Parties from the following 38 countries: Algeria, Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Bulgaria, Canada, Chile, Colombia, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, Finland, France, GDR, Great Britain, Greece, Hungary, India, Indonesia, Iran, Israel, Italy, Japan, Jordan, Mongolia, Norway, Panama, Paraguay, Philippines, Poland, Portugal, Rumania, Senegal, Soviet Union, Spain, Sweden, Turkey, USA.

The participants discussed their experience and ways of further improving the publication and distribution of the journal.

The meeting registered the growth of the number of national editions, the increase in printing, reduction of the publication deadlines, and better layout of the journal. The meeting put on record that the journal is now published in 39 national editions and distributed in 142 countries in a total printing of about half a million copies.

The meeting was held in a spirit of comradely and businesslike exchange of views.

BILATERAL MEETINGS

IN MOSCOW

On September 26, L. I. Brezhnev, General Secretary of the CC CPSU, met Comrade C. R. Rodriguez, member of the Secretariat of the CP of Cuba.

In the course of the talks between Comrades L. I. Brezhnev and C. R. Rodriguez they discussed the further development of all-round cooperation between the Soviet Union and Cuba, the strengthening of the friendly ties between the CPSU and the CPC in the interests of both their peoples, of the unity and solidarity of the socialist community and of all revolutionary and anti-imperialist forces. There was an exchange of views on some topical international problems of mutual interest.

Comrade C. R. Rodriguez spoke of the great endeavors being made by the Communist Party, the Revolutionary Government and the entire Cuban people to fulfill the plans for the development of the national economy.

Comrade L. I. Brezhnev expressed his sincere wishes for major successes by our Cuban friends in building socialist society, in defending and strengthening their revolutionary gains.

Taking part in the talks were: Secretary of the CC CPSU Comrade K. F. Katushev; Assistant to the General Secretary CC CPSU Comrade K. V. Rusakov; and also the Ambassador of the Republic of Cuba to the USSR, member of the CC CPC, Comrade S. Aguirre del Cristo.

The talks proceeded in a warm, friendly atmosphere.

Pravda, September 27, 1973.

A meeting took place at the CC CPSU between a CPSU delegation and a delegation from the CC of the CP of Australia. Those present were: for the CPSU, alternate member of the Political Bureau, Secretary of the CC, B. N. Ponomarev; member of the Central Auditing Committee G. A. Zhukov; and Deputy Head of the CC International Department, A. S. Chernyaev; for the CPA, National Secretary, L. Aarons, and members of the National EC, B. Taft and M. Robertson.

The CPSU delegation spoke of the achievements of the Soviet people in fulfilling the decisions of the 24th Congress of the CPSU, and of the activities of the CPSU in implementing its Peace Program. The delegates from the CPA spoke of the development of the working-class and mass movement in their country, of the Party's

domestic and international policy and of its steps to stimulate activities against the Australian capitalist class and multi-national corporations.

During their stay in Moscow the Australian Party delegation noted with satisfaction the new achievements of the Soviet people in fulfilling the program of communist construction. The delegation of the CPA welcomed the peace initiatives of the USSR in the international sphere.

During the meeting there were frank exchanges of views on current international problems, on the world Communist movement and relations between the two Parties, each delegation setting forth its position.

Pravda, October 7, 1973.

On October 8, a meeting took place between member of the Political Bureau of the CC CPSU, M. A. Suslov, and alternate member of the Political Bureau and Secretary of the CC CPSU, B. N. Ponomaryov, with a delegation from the Syrian Communist Party, comprising member of the Political Bureau and Secretary of the CC SCP Y. Feisal, and member of the Political Bureau of the CC SCP, I. Bakri, who were in Moscow at the invitation of the CC CPSU.

The representatives of both Parties informed each other about their activities, exchanged views on present international problems, in particular on the situation in the Middle East where Israeli aggression continues against Syria and Egypt. The Syrian comrades expressed the determination of Syrian Communists and all people to defend their national independence and territorial integrity. The representatives of the CPSU decisively condemned the unleashing of war by Israel against Syria and Egypt and declared the unswerving support of the Soviet Union for the struggle of the Syrian and other Arab peoples to re-establish their legal rights.

The delegation of the SCP highly praised the work of the CPSU in the international field which accords with the vital interests of all peoples, and expressed its gratitude for the support given by the Soviet Union to the struggle of the Arab peoples for a just and stable peace in the Middle East.

The Syrian comrades also spoke of the work of their Party to strengthen its unity and of the practical steps undertaken recently to this end. The Soviet side expressed the hope that these endeavors would prove successful.

Both sides declared their desire to strengthen the traditional fraternal friendship between their Parties, based on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism.

The talks proceeded in a cordial atmosphere. The Deputy Head of the International Department of the CC CPSU, Comrade R. A. Ulyanovsky, participated.

Pravda, October 9, 1973.

B. N. Ponomaryov, alternate Political Bureau member and Secretary CC CPSU, met at the CC CPSU with Gustav Machado, Chairman, and Alcides Rodriguez, Political Bureau member, of the Communist Party of Venezuela.

In the course of the talks, Comrades Machado and Rodriguez described the work of the CPV in uniting the democratic, anti-imperialist forces in the struggle for the vital interests of the working class and all working people of Venezuela, against imperialism, for democracy and social progress.

Comrade B. N. Ponomaryov described the constructive labor effort of the Soviet people, implementation of the Peace Program adopted by the 24th CPSU Congress and the major steps taken by the CPSU Central Committee and personally by its General Secretary, Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, in the sphere of foreign policy. Comrades Machado and Rodriguez emphasized the vast importance of the foreign policy measures taken by the CPSU in behalf of peace, democracy and social progress.

Both sides resolutely condemned the Chilean military junta's terror against Popular Unity supporters and called for broad international solidarity with the fight of the Chilean Communists and all Chilean patriots.

The talks were held in a warm, friendly atmosphere.

Talks were held at the CC CPSU between B. N. Ponomaryov, alternate Political Bureau member and CC CPSU Secretary and A. Novella, Political Bureau member, and A. Rubbi, CC member, of the Italian Communist Party. There was an exchange of views on the international situation, the world Communist movement and the work of the two Parties.

The talks passed in a warm, friendly atmosphere.

Pravda, October 12, 1973.

Houari Boumedienne, Chairman of the Revolutionary Council and of the Council of Ministers of the Algerian People's Democratic Republic, made a friendly visit to the Soviet Union on October 14-15.

Talks were held between the Soviet leaders and Houari Boumedienne, in which the following took part on the Soviet side: L. I. Brezhnev, General Secretary, CC CPSU; N. V. Podgorny, CC CPSU Political Bureau member and Chairman of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet; A. N. Kosygin, CC CPSU Political Bureau member and Chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers; A. A. Gromyko, CC CPSU Political Bureau member and USSR Minister of Foreign Affairs; A. A. Grechko, CC CPSU Political Bureau member and USSR Minister of Defense. The Algerian side was represented, besides Houari Boumedienne, Chairman of the Revolutionary Council of Ministers of the Algerian People's Democratic Republic, by

Sherif Belkacem, member of the Revolutionary Council and Minister of State; Ahmed Draya, member of the Revolutionary Council; Mohammed Benyahya, Minister of Higher Education and Scientific Research; Colonel Hadj Mohamed Zerghini, Commander of the Third Military District, and Redha Malek, Algerian Ambassador to the USSR.

In the course of the talks there was a comprehensive exchange of views on the new aggravation of the Middle East situation caused by the Israeli imperialist aggression, and on other topical international problems and the present world situation generally. The two sides reaffirmed their determination to assist in every way the liberation of all Arab territories occupied by Israel.

Also discussed were questions relating to the continued development and consolidation of friendship and all-round cooperation between Algeria and the Soviet Union.

The talks were held in a friendly and frank atmosphere.

Pravda, October 16, 1973.

A meeting took place at the CC CPSU on October 19 between M. A. Suslov, Political Bureau member and Secretary, SS CPSU and B. N. Ponomaryov, alternate Political Bureau member and A. Saarinen, Chairman, and T. Sinisalo, Vice-Chairman, of the Communist Party of Finland.

In the course of the talks, held in a warm and friendly atmosphere, there was an exchange of views on topical problems of the international situation and other questions of interest to the two Parties.

They recorded with satisfaction that the efforts of the Soviet Union, other socialist countries and all peace forces have advanced the cause of international détente and security and there are now all the necessary preconditions for consolidating and further developing these positive trends in international affairs.

At the same time, the representatives of the two Parties noted the need for heightened vigilance with regard to the schemes of the imperialist circles aimed at keeping alive the hotbeds of tension in various parts of the world, and the need to rebuff attempts by the reactionary forces to suppress the will of the peoples for democracy and social progress.

Also discussed were questions relating to the further development of friendly Soviet-Finnish relations. The representatives of the CPSU and the CPF called for continued development of all-round cooperation between the two countries in accordance with all the provisions of the 1948 Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation and Mutual Assistance between Finland and the USSR, and the Soviet-Finnish Statement of April 6, 1973.

The representatives of the CPF described the struggle their Party and all Finland's democratic forces were waging against those who would like to change Finland's policy and, using its agreement with the Common Market, impair the traditional friendship of the two countries.

The CPSU representatives expressed their understanding of the principled policy and activity of the CPF and other progressive forces of Finland on this issue.

The two Parties believe that the interests of the peoples of Finland and the Soviet Union require that a resolute rebuff be given to all machinations directed against the friendly relations of the two countries.

The representatives of the two Parties discussed continued development of friendly ties and cooperation in different fields between the CPSU and CPF.

The talks were attended also by V. S. Shaposhnikov, Deputy Head of the CC CPSU International Department.

Pravda, October 21, 1973

IN HANOI

September 17 marked the conclusion of the visit to the Democratic Republic of Vietnam of the Cuban Party and Government delegation headed by Fidel Castro Ruz, First Secretary of the CC, Communist Party, and Prime Minister of the Revolutionary Government of the Republic of Cuba.

A joint communique states that the delegation of the Working People's Party of Vietnam and of the DRV Government discussed with the delegation of the CC of Cuba and of the Revolutionary Government of the Republic of Cuba problems relating to the revolutionary struggle of the Vietnamese people, the building of socialism, questions of Cuban national defense, and the further strengthening of friendship and cooperation between the two Parties and countries, as well as other problems of mutual interest.

Both sides decisively condemned the United States and the Saigon administration for their systematic violation of the terms of the Paris Agreement on Vietnam.

The communique stresses that at the present time efforts aimed at strengthening solidarity between the socialist countries in the framework of the international Communist and Workers' movement on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, and consolidating the unity between the countries of the socialist community and the forces fighting for national independence, are of special importance in the struggle for peace, national independence, democracy and socialism. The Working People's Party

of Vietnam and the Communist Party of Cuba will increase their efforts in the cause of international solidarity.

The delegations severely condemn the military coup in Chile carried out by Chile's reactionary forces aided by external imperialist quarters against the lawfully elected government of Popular Unity headed by Salvador Allende.

IN SOFIA

At the invitation of the First Secretary of the CC CPB, T. Zhivkov, the General Secretary of the Communist Party of Italy, E. Berlinguer, paid a visit to Bulgaria from September 30 to October 4. The joint communique states that in the course of the talks between T. Zhivkov and E. Berlinguer discussions were held on cooperation between the two Parties, problems of the international Communist movement and the international situation.

The BCP and ICP unanimously stress their determination to act on the basis of the great ideas of Marx, Engels and Lenin, in the spirit of proletarian internationalism in order to strengthen the unity of the international Communist and workers' movement.

IN PARIS

A meeting took place in October between delegations of the French Communist Party and the Moroccan Party of Liberation and Socialism.

During the meeting which proceeded in a warm, fraternal atmosphere, the delegations exchanged information and views on the international situation, on the policy and activity of their Parties in the struggle against imperialism and neo-colonialism, for national liberation, progress, democracy and peace, and also on other problems of mutual interest.

As a result of the meeting, the FCP and the MPLS adopted a number of measures intended to strengthen their ties and fraternal cooperation in the interests of the friendly peoples of the two countries, which for over 20 years have bound them, based on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism.

IN ULAN-BATOR

An official friendly visit to the Mongolian People's Republic was made from October 10-14 by the Party and government delegation of the GDR, headed by Comrade E. Honecker, First Secretary of the CC SUPG. As a result of the talks a joint statement was adopted.

The friendly fraternal relations and all-round cooperation between the MPRP and SUPG, the MPR and the GDR, based on the

unshakable principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, the statement says, are steadily developing and deepening; this fully meets the interests of the peoples of both countries and promotes the unity of the world socialist community.

The statement emphasizes that thanks to the consistent realization of the socialist countries' principled and genuinely peaceful policy epitomized in the Peace Program of the 24th Congress of the CPSU, and thanks to the persistent initiatives and concerted actions of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, enormous positive changes are taking place, promoting the strengthening of peace and international security. The MPR and the GDR, says the statement, warmly approve and value highly the results of the visits of Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, General Secretary of the CC CPSU, to the USA, the FRG and France and the conclusion of a number of important agreements.

The statement decisively condemns the aggressive policy of Israel and expresses solidarity with the Arab peoples.

Both sides resolutely condemn the criminal actions of the Chilean military junta.

Both sides, notes the statement, stressed the indissoluble alliance between the MPRP and the SUPG and the CPSU, and expressed their firm determination to continue the struggle for the purity of Marxism-Leninism, against all manifestations of revisionism, opportunism, anti-communism and anti-Sovietism.

The GDR and the MPR decisively condemn the great-power chauvinist policy conducted by the Chinese leaders which is against the interests of the Chinese people themselves, and all anti-imperialist forces. Both delegations, the document points out, registered their firm determination to continue a tireless struggle against the ideology and practice of Maoism, which are hostile to Marxism-Leninism, and whose anti-Soviet and anti-socialist trends were glaringly revealed in the decisions of the so-called 10th Congress of the CPC.

IN PYONGYANG

October 15 marked the conclusion of a visit to the Korean People's Democratic Republic of a delegation of the Socialist Party of Japan at the invitation of the CC, Korean Party of Labor. The Japanese Party delegation was received by the General Secretary of the CC, Korean Party of Labor, the President of the KPDR, Kim Il Sung.

The delegations of the Korean Party of Labor and the Socialist Party of Japan had a frank exchange of views in a friendly atmosphere. As a result the sides signed an agreement on the fundamental

line and some tasks for the normalization of state relations between Japan and Korea.

Both sides unanimously noted that the occupation of South Korea under the UN flag by the aggressive troops of American imperialism is the chief barrier to the unification of Korea, and that the hostile policy of American imperialism and the Japanese government in relation to the KPDR is the main factor preventing the normalization of state relations between the two countries.

In order to eliminate these obstacles and normalize state relations of both countries, the sides confirmed the following three principles:

1) Korea is one country, and actions must be taken against all policies of division.

2) Active support for the joint statement of North and South on the independent peaceful unification of the country, the main content of which are the principles proclaimed by President Kim Il Sung — independence, peaceful unification and grand national consolidation — and the five-point program proposed by him for the country's unification.

3) Normalization of state relations between Korea and Japan on the five principles of peaceful coexistence.

The delegation of the SPJ expressed its determination to bend all its efforts to defend the democratic national rights of Korean citizens in Japan and extend their right of free movement. It also expressed its intention at the present stage actively to promote exchange of people and contacts in the sphere of politics, culture, art, sport and science, exchange of visits by political figures, peasants, fishermen, youth and others.

The delegation of the KPL gave a high evaluation of the successes of the SPJ and of the active role it had played hitherto in the interests of friendship between the peoples of both countries, and at the same time stressed that the solution of the aforementioned problems is of significance for the normalization of state relations between Japan and Korea.

IN BUDAPEST

At the invitation of the CC, Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, a delegation from the CC, Iraqi Communist Party, headed by its First Secretary Aziz Mohammed, visited Hungary from October 11-16. The First Secretary of the fraternal Party of Iraq was received by the First Secretary of the CC HSWP, Janos Kadar. The delegation also had talks with the Secretary of the CC HSWP, A. Pullai.

During the talks the representatives of both Parties stated that consequent upon new imperialist provocations hostilities were re-

sumed in the Middle East and tension had been aggravated in Southeast Asia and Latin America.

The representatives of the HSWP once more expressed their solidarity with the Arab peoples fighting Israeli aggression and for the liberation of occupied Arab territories. They condemned the new Israeli aggression, and the savage bombing of the peaceful population of Egypt and Syria.

Both sides expressed indignation at the fascist repression against Communists and other supporters of the Popular Unity government in Chile by the military junta. They called for the freeing of the General Secretary of the Communist Party of Chile, Louis Corvalan, and other progressive people unlawfully imprisoned.

The representatives of both Parties stressed the importance of the further strengthening of the international Communist and workers' movement and the necessity for energetic ideological and political struggle against the anti-Marxist views of divisive forces, primarily of the Chinese leadership.

The representatives of the HSWP welcomed the steps being taken to unify the progressive forces in Iraq, establish the National United Front, and restore national sovereignty over the natural resources of the country, including oil.

The representatives of both Parties declared that on the basis of the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism fraternal relations between the two Parties are developing successfully. They expressed their readiness to continue to develop these relations still further in the interests of their two Parties, countries and peoples.

IN BAGHDAD

A meeting was held between delegations of the Iraqi and Syrian Communist Parties. A report of the meeting published on October 16 states that both Parties welcome the support and aid rendered to the Arab people by the Soviet Union. Arab-Soviet friendship, both delegations stressed, have strengthened still further thanks to the all-round political, material and moral support of the Soviet Union. The development of the hostilities on the Syrian and Egyptian fronts has dispelled the myth of Israel's invincibility, confirmed the power of Soviet arms, and defeated the attempts to cast doubts on Arab-Soviet friendship. Both sides described the present battle as a just struggle for liberation of the occupied Arab territories. They highly praised the staunchness of the people and armed forces of Syria.

Both delegations stressed the important role that the Communist Parties of the Arab countries are called upon to play in the present circumstances and pointed to the need for broadening their coopera-

tion with each other. The ICP delegation indicated the importance of uniting the ranks of the Syrian Communist Party.

IN PRAGUE

At the invitation of the CC CPC, T. Zhivkov, First Secretary of the CC BCP, Chairman of the State Council of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, paid a friendly unofficial visit from October 19-20 in connection with the opening of the Bulgarian National Exhibition. During the visit a friendly meeting was held between the General Secretary of the CC CPC, G. Husak, and T. Zhivkov.

The published communique states that G. Husak and T. Zhivkov, exchanged views about the further development of political, economic and cultural relations, as well as some external political problems.

Both sides paid high tribute to the successful fulfilment of the Peace Program, adopted at the 24th Congress of the CPSU, and to the personal contribution made by the General Secretary of the CC CPSU, L. I. Brezhnev in its elaboration and realization.

G. Husak and T. Zhivkov expressed complete solidarity with the Arab peoples fighting against imperialism, neo-colonialism and Zionism. They most resolutely condemned the military coup in Chile, the murder of President Salvador Allende, and the Junta's savage reprisals against the democratic and patriotic forces. They demanded the release of the General Secretary of the Communist Party of Chile, Louis Corvalan.

Both sides condemned the policy and ideology of the present Chinese leadership, which has completely departed from Marxism-Leninism, and which openly unites with the most reactionary world forces on an anti-socialist basis. This greatly harms the cause of socialism, peace, freedom and independence of the peoples, as well as the vital interests of the Chinese people themselves.

G. Husak and T. Zhivkov stressed the importance of consistently applying the principles of proletarian internationalism, and combating all manifestations of opportunism and all varieties of anti-communism and anti-Sovietism.

IN BERLIN

At the invitation of the CC SUPG a delegation from the Swiss Party of Labor, headed by member of the Political Committee, Secretary of the SPL, Jacob Lechleiter, visited the GDR from October 14-20. Erich Honecker, First Secretary of the CC SUPG, had a friendly meeting with the delegation of the CC SPL, and during the talks between the delegations of the CC SUPG and CC

SPL an identity of views was confirmed on the matters under discussion.

The delegation of the CC SPL stressed that the successes of the working people of the GDR achieved under the leadership of the SUPG, not only assist the strengthening of the GDR and its position internationally, but also enhance the influence of socialism on the struggle of the workers in capitalist countries.

Jacob Lechleiter dealt with the politico-ideological and organizational activities of the SPL aimed at increasing its fighting capability in the struggle for united working-class action as the basis for the creation of a wide anti-monopoly front in Switzerland. The SUPG delegation wished the SPL new successes in the fight for peace, democracy and socialism.

At the invitation of the CC SUPG and the government of the GDR, there was an official friendly visit to the GDR from October 18-23 of a Party and Government delegation of the DRV. At the conclusion of the talks between the delegations a joint communique was signed in which the results of the visit of the DRV delegation are characterized as a new, important stage in the development of close cooperation between the SUPG and WPPV, between the GDR and the DRV, and a conclusive demonstration of friendship and fraternal solidarity between the peoples of the two countries. It stresses the complete unanimity between both sides on all questions under discussion.

The sides also signed an agreement for 1974-1978 on aid to be rendered to the Democratic Republic of Vietnam in the planning and constructing of the city of Vinh destroyed during the war, and also a long-term agreement on cooperation in the sphere of professional training for 1973-1979.

