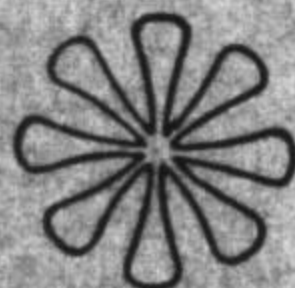


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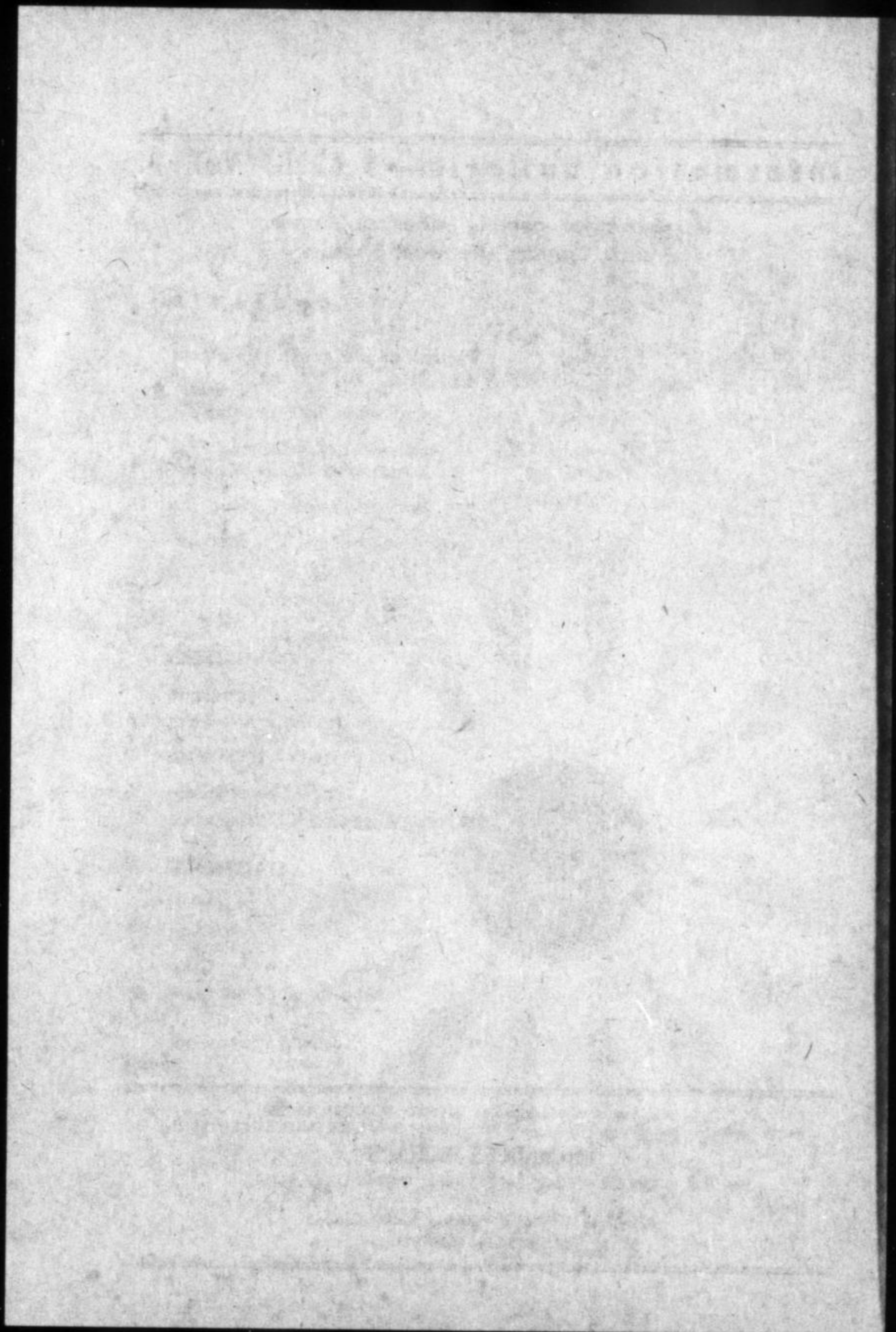
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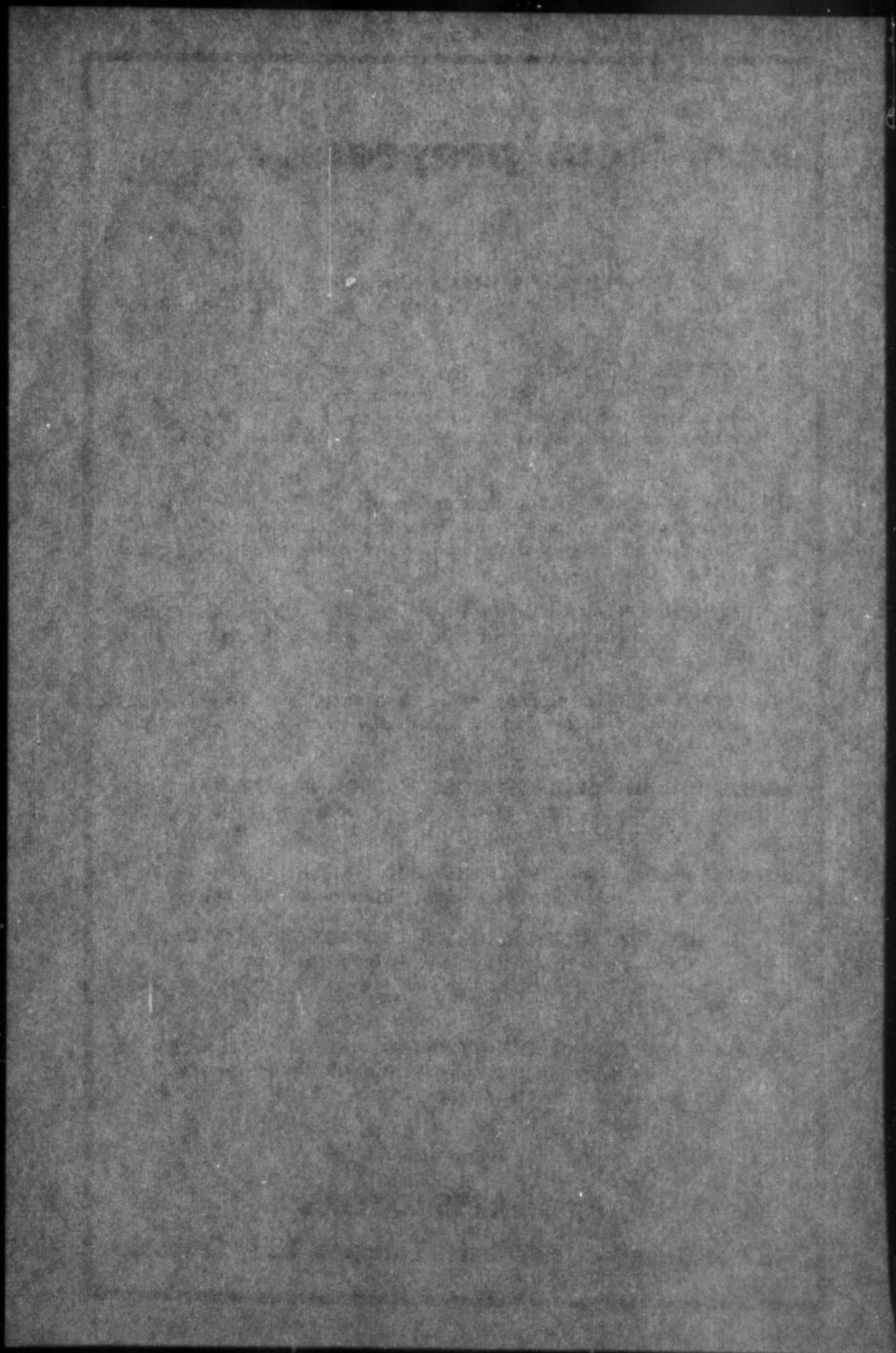
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VIETNAM: TRIUMPH OF A JUST CAUSE

APPEAL OF CC OF THE WORKING PEOPLE'S PARTY OF VIETNAM AND THE GOVERNMENT OF THE DRV

On January 28 the Central Committee of the Working People's Party of Vietnam and the government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam released the following appeal to the population.

Dear countrymen and fighters,

With great joy the Central Committee of the Working People's Party of Vietnam and the government of the DRV inform compatriots and fighters throughout the country that on January 27, 1973, in Paris, the capital of the French Republic, the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the DRV, the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Vietnam, the Secretary of State of the United States of America and the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Vietnam officially signed an Agreement to End the War and Restore Peace in Vietnam.

As of today, January 28, there will be complete cessation of hostilities in both zones of our country.

In accordance with the Agreement, the United States and all other countries will respect the independence, sovereignty, unity and territorial integrity of Vietnam. The United States will cease its aggressive war and will not continue its military involvement or intervene in the internal affairs of South Vietnam.

The South Vietnamese people's right to self-determination shall be respected by all countries and the democratic liberties of the people shall be ensured. The South Vietnamese people shall themselves decide the political future of South Vietnam through genuinely free and democratic general elections.

The reunification of Vietnam shall be carried out step by step through peaceful means.

The signing of this Agreement means that our people's war against American aggression, for national salvation, has ended in glorious victory. This is the greatest victory in the most heroic war of resistance in our national history of struggle against foreign aggression.

All our people in both zones—the North and the South—are filled

with enthusiasm and are exceptionally proud of their country's great victory.

This is likewise a victory for the peoples of Indochina who have united in the struggle against the common enemy.

Our people's victory is also an epochal victory for the forces of socialism, national independence, democracy and peace, for the freedom and peace-loving peoples the world over.

This brilliant victory is the result of more than 18 years of a stubborn struggle by 40 million countrymen and fighters who experienced untold suffering and had to overcome innumerable hardships.

This is a triumph of ideas. "There is nothing more valuable than independence and liberty," the might of the union of all the people, revolutionary heroism, patriotism, existing now for four millenniums, the indomitable courage of the Vietnamese nation.

We sincerely hail our countrymen and fighters of the heroic South, who, united under the glorious banner of the National Liberation Front and the Provisional Revolutionary Government—the only true representative of the people of South Vietnam—have surmounted such severe ordeals and waged an exceptionally heroic struggle.

We sincerely hail our countrymen and fighters in the North, who fought with such courage and were enthusiastically building socialism, and who gave whole-hearted and all-out aid to the South, the great front of anti-American struggle, of struggle for national salvation.

Our invincible armed forces in both zones of the country, boundlessly loyal to the motherland and the people, fought selflessly and with extraordinary courage, performed magnificent exploits and are truly worthy of being "an heroic army of an heroic people."

In these days of victorious jubilation our people warmly recall the great merits of their beloved President Ho Chi Minh, leader of the Vietnamese revolution, who had dedicated his entire life to the independence and freedom of the motherland and the revolutionary cause of the peoples of the world.

We express our deep gratitude for immortal services to the heroes and fighters who fell with honor on the field of battle, to the comrades and compatriots in both zones who gave their lives for their country.

The great victory of our people in the war against American aggression and for national salvation is a victory of invincible Marxism-Leninism, a victory of the creative and wise military and political line of our Party, a victory demonstrating the spirit of independence, sovereignty and union of our entire party, our armed forces and all our people determined to give battle and to win,

blending genuine patriotism with true proletarian internationalism.

This is a victory of the viable socialist system which has transformed North Vietnam into a reliable revolutionary base for the whole country.

This victory is also the result of the dedicated support and great aid from the socialist countries and progressive peoples the world over. In view of this our people express their sincere gratitude to the fraternal countries, the working class of the world, the peaceful and freedom-loving countries and peoples throughout the world, including the progressive-minded citizens of the United States.

Dear countrymen and fighters,

The victory crowning our people's war against American aggression, for national liberation, reflects a new turn in the Vietnamese revolution. The Agreement that has just been signed represents the political and juridical basis ensuring the fundamental national rights of our people and the sacred right to self-determination of our countrymen in South Vietnam. This victory is the basis for the continued advance of our people towards new achievements and towards accomplishing the national and democratic revolution in the entire country.

Our people in South Vietnam still have many difficulties and obstacles to overcome in their struggle. The militarist and fascist forces—weapons of neo-colonialism—prevent our people from fulfilling their aspirations and continue their intrigues, sabotaging the peace and hindering progress towards our people's independence and freedom.

Therefore, the most urgent task of our countrymen in both zones is to strengthen their alliance, be on the alert, cement the victories that have been scored, and maintain a reliable peace, establish full independence and democracy in South Vietnam and advance towards the country's peaceful reunification.

The government of the DRV solemnly states that it will seriously and strictly abide by all provisions of the Paris agreement, and demands that the other signatories respect and fully comply with the agreement. This concerns a very important and also very severe and very complex struggle to which our countrymen—representatives of all the country's social strata, all patriots in South Vietnam—should actively contribute.

The aggressive war waged in our country by one imperialist power after another during the past thirty or more years, has left a grave aftermath. Our countrymen in South Vietnam will be able to join forces, to show affection for one another like children of a single family, to overcome their hatred and resentment and, irrespective of material standing, political views, religious convictions or ethnic background, to help, with body and soul, in the struggle

to maintain the peace, achieve full independence, democratic freedoms and national accord in order to heal the wounds inflicted by the war, restore the country and bring prosperity and happiness to all.

Vietnam is a single whole and the Vietnamese nation is a single whole. Reunification of the motherland is the sacred wish of Vietnamese in both zones. And on the way to uniting all Vietnamese within the bosom of their beloved motherland, we shall restore normal relations between both zones as soon as possible in response to the sincere desire of every family wishing to be reunited, and together we shall labor for the nation's radiant future.

In the northern part of the country, the victory of our patriotic resistance to the American aggression creates exceptionally favorable conditions to successfully continue the building of socialism. In the name of our nation's prosperity, in the name of achieving full independence and democracy in South Vietnam, in the name of our own prosperous and happy life we call upon our compatriots in the North to display their traditional heroism and feeling of collective responsibility. Let them toil with enthusiasm and creative spirit, restoring and building the economy, strengthening national defense, developing culture, abolishing poverty and backwardness in order to turn our land into a mighty and prosperous socialist country and to strengthen still more the international role of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, impregnable outpost of the socialist camp in Southeast Asia.

After the war, which lasted several decades, we are entering an era of peaceful construction, moved by passionate revolutionary enthusiasm and a strong spirit of emulation. Let us transform our revolutionary heroism of the battlefields into a determination to overcome all difficulties, and build socialism with greater energy than before.

The fate of the peoples of three Indochinese countries is still closely interlinked. The feelings binding the Vietnamese, Laotians and Cambodians have been cemented by the blood they shed together in the long struggle against the common enemies for the independence and freedom of each of these countries. We are absolutely certain that the resistance of the heroic people of Laos under the glorious banner of the Patriotic Front of Laos, and the resistance of the heroic Cambodian people under the banner of the National United Front of Cambodia and the Royal Government of National Unity will also be crowned with glorious victory.

The people of Vietnam are convinced that the socialist countries and progressive people the world over will continue to give their sincere support and valuable aid to our people's efforts to preserve

peace, achieve complete independence and democracy and restore the country in both zones.

Our government and our people earnestly desire to establish friendly relations based on mutual respect for independence, sovereignty and equality and mutual advantage with all countries, including the United States.

Dear compatriots and fighters,

The Vietnamese revolution has won impressive victories but our people must continue to struggle to cement what has been gained, and win new victories, to build a peaceful, reunited, independent, democratic and prospering Vietnam, to contribute to the common struggle of the peoples of the world for peace, national independence, democracy and socialism.

Following this victory, our nation will enter an age of most impressive growth. In order to be worthy of our countrymen and fighters who gave their lives to win independence and freedom for the nation, welfare for our people and future generations, let each of us do his utmost and devote all his energy and abilities to the country's defense and construction, let each of us continue inscribing ever new and glorious pages in our national history.

Compatriots throughout the country, let us close ranks and use our victories to advance with enthusiasm.

Long live the Vietnamese motherland!

Long live the Working People's Party of Vietnam

May our great President Ho Chi Minh live on eternally in the triumphs of our cause.

ADDRESS OF NATIONAL LIBERATION FRONT CC AND PROVISIONAL REVOLUTIONARY GOVERNMENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF SOUTH VIETNAM

Compatriots and fighters, the aggressive U.S. imperialist war is over; peace has returned to our country. The great victory is the result of more than 18 years of persevering struggle by our heroic people as a whole, by our fighters and people in the South who fought staunchly despite incalculable losses and hardships, were the first to go into battle and the last to regain peace and were always worthy of the name, "the country's iron bastion."

The victory of the Vietnamese people is a victory for the peoples of the three fraternal countries of Indochina, who fought jointly against the common enemy. It is also a victory for all nations

cherishing independence and freedom, for all progressives, including those Americans who strive sincerely for justice and peace.

Our people's great victory shows that in these days, though a country may not have a large territory or population, it can defeat any aggressor, provided it follows a rational revolutionary line, knows how to unite the people, to win international solidarity, and is determined to fight and win.

But our struggle will continue to be difficult and complicated. Reactionary, militarist and fascist forces abetted by foreign powers are hatching sinister plans to subvert peace and block independence, democracy and national concord.

Therefore, our people must absorb the spirit of national concord, forge complete unity, work firmly for peace, genuine independence and sovereignty, assure democratic freedoms, and improve the living conditions, build a peaceful, independent, democratic and prosperous South Vietnam and work for the country's peaceful reunification.

The National Liberation Front and Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Vietnam solemnly declare that they will strictly and fully observe the agreement and shall insist that the other signatories should also adhere to all its provisions.

In this crucial hour for our national history, the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Vietnam hopes that the Saigon administration will place the country's interests above all else, will meet the demands of all sections of the people, and will by frank consultations rapidly form the National Council for National Reconciliation and Concord, comprising three equal elements of all levels, and soon hold free, democratic and universal elections, giving the South Vietnamese people an opportunity freely to decide on their political system.

In the light of the nation's glorious victory, the armed forces and people of the South are all the more keenly aware of the fraternal feelings and great services of the heroic armed forces and people of the North in combatting American aggression in the name of national salvation. The South Vietnamese people have complete confidence in the 22 millions of our fellow-countrymen who are fortifying North Vietnam, making it strong and dependable in all domains, so that it should serve as a support for the entire country in the struggle to safeguard peace and win independence and democracy, and assure the country's peaceful coexistence.

The National Liberation Front and the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Vietnam express sincere gratitude to the fraternal Cambodian people led by the National United Front of Cambodia and the royal national unity govern-

ment, and to the fraternal Laotian people led by the Laos Patriotic Front for their support and valuable aid in the battle for the national salvation of the Vietnamese people. May the solidarity of the three peoples of Indochina grow still stronger!

The NLF and PRG RSV express their deep gratitude to the governments of friendly countries, to international organizations, and to all the peoples of the world for their sincere support and selfless aid to the people of Vietnam.

The NLF and PRG RSV send to progressives in the United States the warmest congratulations on the common victory gained for peace and in the interest of our two peoples.

We fervently hope that the valuable international support and solidarity will prevail and grow stronger in the struggle to fortify peace and achieve the fundamental national rights of the Vietnamese people and the right to self-determination of the people of South Vietnam.

L. I. BREZHNEV MEETS LE DUC THO*

On January 30, the General Secretary of the CPSU, Central Committee, L. I. Brezhnev, met with Le Duc Tho, Political Bureau member and Secretary of the CC, Working People's Party of Vietnam, special advisor to the DRV delegation at the quadripartite talks on Vietnam.

During the talks, held in an atmosphere of cordiality and fraternal friendship, Le Duc Tho informed the General Secretary of the CC CPSU of the concluding stage of the Paris talks on Vietnam. He stressed the importance of the results achieved at the talks, which led to the signing of the Agreement on Ending the War and Restoring Peace in Vietnam. The Agreement ends the U.S. aggressive war in Vietnam and records the basic national rights of the Vietnamese people. An important factor in this victory was the effective and selfless aid and support given by the CPSU and the Soviet Union through all the years of the Vietnamese people's struggle against the U.S. imperialist aggression.

On behalf of the Political Bureau of the CC WPPV, the Working People's Party of Vietnam and the people of Vietnam, Le Duc Tho expressed deep gratitude to the CC CPSU, the Soviet government and all working people in the Soviet Union for their consistent internationalist stand in relation to the just struggle of the people of Vietnam.

Comrade L. I. Brezhnev said that the Communists, all the Soviet

*Pravda, January 31, 1973.

people, wholeheartedly hail the great victory of their Vietnamese brothers. This victory is, first of all, the result of the heroic struggle of many years by the people of Vietnam on the military, political and diplomatic fronts, the far-sighted and wise leadership of the struggle by the Working People's Party of Vietnam and its Central Committee.

This is a big victory for all countries of the socialist community and all peace-loving forces.

At the present time the task of all friends of heroic Vietnam is, together with Vietnamese patriots, to get the Agreement on Ending the War and Restoring Peace in Vietnam strictly and undeviatingly fulfilled by all signatories of this document. Observance of the Agreement on Vietnam signed in Paris on January 27 is an important condition for the further progress towards détente and the establishment of reliable peace in Asia and other parts of the world.

The Soviet people, who invariably and consistently were on the side of the Vietnamese people in the years of the most severe trials, will continue, together with all peace-loving forces in the world, to give all necessary support to the people of Vietnam in their just cause, in ensuring a stable peace in Vietnam.

The Soviet and Vietnamese sides stressed their determination to continue strengthening the fraternal friendship and cooperation between the CPSU and the WPPV, between the USSR and the DRV, in the interests of the Soviet and Vietnamese peoples, the socialist world system, in the interests of further strengthening the unity and cohesion of all revolutionary forces of our time.

President at the talks on the Soviet side were CC CPSU Secretary K. F. Katushev and Foreign Minister A. A. Gromyko, member of the CC CPSU; on the Vietnamese side Vo Thuc Dong, DRV Ambassador to the USSR, and Dang Kuang Minh, Ambassador of the Republic of South Vietnam to the USSR.

IN AN ATMOSPHERE OF CORDIAL FRIENDSHIP

On January 30 the CPSU Central Committee and the Soviet Government gave a dinner in the Grand Kremlin Palace in honor of Comrade Le Duc Tho, Political Bureau member and Secretary of the Central Committee of the Working People's Party of Vietnam, and Comrade Nguyen Duy Trinh, member of the Political Bureau, CC WPPV, Deputy Prime Minister and Minister for Foreign Affairs of the DRV.

Together with them were Vo Thuc Dong, the DRV Ambassador in the USSR, Dang Quang Minh, the RSV Ambassador in the USSR,

members of the DRV delegation who took part in the Paris quadripartite talks on Vietnam, and other Vietnamese comrades.

Present from the Soviet side were comrades L. I. Brezhnev, G. I. Voronov, A. P. Kirilenko, A. N. Kosygin, F. D. Kulakov, K. T. Mazurov, A. J. Pelshe, D. S. Polyansky, M. A. Suslov, A. N. Shelepin, P. E. Shelest, P. N. Demichev, M. S. Solomentsev, D. F. Ustinov, V. I. Dolgikh, I. V. Kapitonov, K. F. Katushev, G. F. Sizov, Chairman of the CPSU Central Auditing Commission, G. S. Dzotsenidze, Vice-President of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, Deputy Chairmen of the USSR Council of Ministers M. A. Lesechko, V. N. Novikov and I. T. Novikov, Y. S. Nasriddinova, Chairman of the Soviet of Nationalities of the USSR Supreme Soviet, M. P. Georgadze, Secretary of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, Ministers of the USSR and Chairmen of the USSR State Committees, members and alternate members of the CPSU Central Committee, members of the CPSU Central Auditing Commission, Soviet military leaders and other officials.

L. I. Brezhnev, General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee delivered a speech during the dinner.

SPEECH BY COMRADE L. I. BREZHNEV

Dear Comrade Le Duc Tho!

Dear Comrade Nguyen Duy Trinh!

Esteemed comrades and friends!

It is with profound satisfaction that our Party, the Soviet people, all our country, have met the signing of the Agreement on Ending the War and Restoring Peace in Vietnam. This is a great victory for the Vietnamese people rallied around the Working People's Party of Vietnam, a great victory for the forces of peace, a victory of realism and common sense in international affairs.

These days the thoughts and feelings of all Soviet people are turned to the heroic Vietnamese people. We think of the Vietnamese—men and women, old people and children, we think of the living and the dead, of all those who upheld the righteous cause of the freedom and independence of their country in the course of the long selfless struggle against the barbarous aggression.

These days our thoughts and feelings are addressed to the fraternal socialist countries, the Communist and Workers' parties, the international working class, the national-liberation movement, all progressive people of the world. Their vigorous actions against the American aggression and effective support for the Vietnamese people have brought nearer the hour of victory.

We Soviet people who went through the grim trials of the Great Patriotic War, understand the feelings of the Vietnamese and take them close to heart. Together with you, dear friends, we are glad

that bombs no longer explode over your towns and villages, that the sky is clear over Vietnam for the first time in many years!

The victory of Vietnam shows that it is impossible to conquer a people who fight for their freedom and independence, leaning on the powerful support of their class brothers, all revolutionary and progressive forces of the planet. Such a people is invincible.

The victory of Vietnam points to the tremendous vital force of socialism. Defending their socialist gains and upholding the right to be masters in their own home, our Vietnamese brothers have displayed great selflessness, staunchness and courage.

The victory of Vietnam is a graphic proof of the effectiveness of the internationalism of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries. We have rendered Vietnamese friends active assistance in their efforts on all fronts—the military, political and diplomatic.

Another important conclusion: the victory of Vietnam shows how narrow the possibilities of imperialism have become in our days. There are no means today with the aid of which it could have reversed the course of history!

A decisive step has been made toward completely restoring peace on Vietnamese soil. The Democratic Republic of Vietnam is returning to creative work. It now has the possibility of focussing all its efforts on building socialism, and new prospects appear in carrying out President Ho Chi Minh's behest—to build up a peaceful, reunited, democratic Vietnam.

The way of peaceful democratic development, establishment of genuine independence and pursuit of a policy of national concord and unity is opening up for South Vietnam.

More favorable conditions are being created for stopping bloodshed in Laos and Cambodia.

The struggle for ending the war in Vietnam has been a most important issue of our foreign policy course, the Peace program advanced by 24th CPSU Congress. The war has now been ended. One of the most dangerous or, to be more precise, the most dangerous hotbed of war on our planet is being eliminated.

The forces of aggression and reaction have for many years used this war for aggravating international tension and intensifying the arms drive. This war seriously interfered with the establishment of broad international cooperation.

New possibilities open now for promoting détente and strengthening security and world peace. It is to be expected that the political settlement in Vietnam will exert a positive effect on relations between the states which in one way or another had been drawn into the events in Indochina. Moreover, this example shows that a peaceful and just solution may be found to other conflict situations, and that the still remaining hotbeds of war menace may be elimi-

nated, particularly in the Middle East, for the situation in that area is fraught with great danger to peace.

Everybody realizes that a significant improvement of the political climate in Europe has been reached lately. A beginning has been made for a turn from tension and confrontation to business-like cooperation between states with different social systems. An immense role here was played by the policy of our country, by the common policy of fraternal socialist countries.

Following Europe, a realistic possibility arises for reducing tensions in another vast area of the world, this time in Asia where the flames of war have raged continuously throughout the last few decades.

Working for a lasting peace, we attach decisive significance to further strengthening the unity, solidarity and coordinated action of the socialist countries. It was important yesterday, in the conditions of war in Vietnam, and it is no less important today when it is necessary to consolidate the peace reached and to advance towards the realization of the peoples' aspirations.

Our principled line is to strengthen the unity and solidarity of the socialist countries. This line has nothing in common with the policy of blocs, with building up closed military groupings directed against the interests of other states. Our unity, as before, is fully at the service of the cooperation of all nations, at the service of the peace and progress of mankind.

Comrades, the Paris agreement has come into force. The Central Committee of the Working People's Party of Vietnam and the DRV Government, the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam and the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Vietnam have declared solemnly that they will seriously and strictly observe all its clauses. Nations expect that the other participants in the Agreement will respect and fully carry out their commitments. An important role here is to be played by the forthcoming international conference in which the Soviet Union will actively participate.

We know that Vietnamese workers, farmers and intellectuals will have to do a great deal to raise the cities and villages from ruins, to rehabilitate industry, and to score new successes in building socialism. Soviet people fully support the resolve expressed in the Appeal of the Central Committee of the Working People's Party of Vietnam and the Government of the DRV to turn the Democratic Republic of Vietnam into a mighty and prosperous socialist country and to still further enhance its international role.

Dear Vietnamese comrades, in the days of peace, just as in the days of war, we shall be together with you in the same ranks. Sup-

port to Vietnam is our internationalist duty. It is the common cause of all socialist countries.

Trials fell to the lot of Vietnam which no other nation experienced after World War II. Assistance to it can and must become an act of solidarity by peoples and states regardless of their social system.

Comrades, allow me, on behalf of the Central Committee of our Party, the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet and the Soviet Government and on behalf of all the Soviet people, to congratulate once again our comrades-in-arms—the Vietnamese Communists, the working people of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, and all the progressive and democratic forces of Vietnam—on their victory.

We wish great successes and happiness to our Vietnamese brothers.

To the heroic Vietnamese people!

To the glorious Working People's Party of Vietnam and its Central Committee headed by Comrade Le Duan.

May peace, freedom and socialism triumph!

SPEECH BY NGUYEN DUY TRINH

Dear Comrade Brezhnev, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union!

Dear Comrade Kosygin, Chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers!

Dear Comrades!

Comrade Le Duc Tho and I are extremely happy that the General Secretary of the CC CPSU, Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, and the Chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, Comrade A. N. Kosygin, and other Soviet leaders have accorded us such an exceptionally warm reception following the talks we have just completed and the signing of the Paris agreements on Vietnam.

Allow me to convey to Comrade Brezhnev, Comrade Podgorny, Comrade Kosygin and other Soviet leaders sincere greetings from the President of the DRV Ton Duc Thang, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the WPPV Le Duan, Chairman of the Permanent Committee of the DRV National Assembly Truong Tinh, Prime Minister of the DRV government Pham Van Dong and other Party and state leaders. We were deeply touched by the telegrams of congratulations we received from the Soviet leaders on January 27 and by what Comrade Brezhnev has said here, giving a high appraisal of the significance of the victory won by the people of Vietnam living in both parts of our country.

The Paris agreements on Vietnam which ended the U.S. aggressive war in Vietnam, U.S. military involvement and interference in the internal affairs of South Vietnam, are a particularly great

victory for the people of Vietnam which they have won in the most heroic war in the history of Vietnam. This victory of the people of Vietnam is a victory for the forces working for socialism, national independence, democracy and peace, a victory for all peoples of the world who cherish freedom and justice.

This great victory of the people of Vietnam is the result of the consequential and persistent struggles which they waged for many years holding on high the banner of President Ho Chi Minh inscribed with the words: "There is nothing more valuable than independence and freedom." This is a victory for the revolutionary line of the Working People's Party of Vietnam which persistently fought on three fronts — the military, political and diplomatic — frustrating the enemy's intrigues and maneuvers.

The generous and effective aid and support of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries for the people of Vietnam was an infinitely important factor facilitating our victory.

Allow me, on behalf of the WPPV, the government of the DRV and the people of Vietnam, to convey our sincere gratitude to the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the Soviet government and the fraternal Soviet people for their invaluable support and aid which we shall never forget.

Dear Comrade Brezhnev, dear Comrade Kosygin, dear comrades!

As stated in the January 27 Address of the Central Committee of the Working People's Party of Vietnam and the DRV government, the victorious conclusion of the war against the American aggressors, for the salvation of the country, initiated a new stage in the Vietnamese revolution. Our countrymen in both parts of Vietnam are faced with the tasks of strengthening their cohesion, enhancing their vigilance, fighting for strict and full observance of the Paris agreements, for a prolonged peace, for continued socialist construction in North Vietnam, for completing the national-democratic revolution in South Vietnam and for peaceful reunification of the country in the future.

We are absolutely certain that the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Soviet people will continue to give us their support and aid in fulfilling these difficult and complex tasks and will continue to support the struggle which our compatriots are carrying on in South Vietnam under the glorious banner of the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Vietnam, the only true representative of the people of South Vietnam. We shall continue to do all in our power to further strengthen Vietnamese-Soviet solidarity, friendship and cooperation on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, for the good of the peoples of both our countries, in the interests of the common struggle for peace, national independence, democracy and socialism.

I propose this toast to the exceptionally great victory of the people of Vietnam and all the forces working for peace, national independence, democracy and socialism, to new successes for the fraternal Soviet people led by the CPSU in creating the material-technical base of communism and in the struggle for the preservation of European and world peace.

To the further strengthening and development of fraternal friendship and cooperation between the parties and peoples of Vietnam and the Soviet Union!

To the health of Comrades L. I. Brezhnev, N. V. Podgorny, A. N. Kosygin and the other Soviet leaders!

To the health of all those present here.

The speeches by L. I. Brezhnev and Nguyen Duy Trinh were heard with great attention and were warmly applauded.

The luncheon was held in an atmosphere of brotherly friendship and cordiality.

GREAT VICTORY FOR JUST VIETNAMESE CAUSE*

Yesterday, January 27, agreements were signed in Paris on ending the war and restoring peace in Vietnam. The agreements envisage a cessation of U.S. aggression, full withdrawal of American and other foreign troops from Vietnam and renunciation by the United States of interference in the internal affairs of Vietnam.

The ending of the war and restoration of peace in Vietnam will go down in history as an important milestone in the peoples' struggle for freedom, national sovereignty, world peace and social progress, as a brilliant victory for the heroic Vietnamese people over the forces of imperialist aggression, a victory for the militant solidarity of the progressive and peace-loving forces the world over.

Attempting to suppress the legitimate desire of the people of Vietnam for freedom, independence and peace, imperialism mobilized huge forces and means. All in all, the Pentagon poured almost one million U.S. and allied troops into the Indochinese theatre of operations together with a large quantity of military equipment.

Unleashing their aggressive war, the strategists of American imperialism counted on crushing the DRV, one of socialism's outposts in Asia, destroying the national-liberation movement of the peoples of Indochina and undermining the unity of the anti-imperialist, peace-loving forces of the world.

This aggression failed above all thanks to the staunchness and heroism displayed by the people of Vietnam over many years in

**Pravda* editorial, January 31, 1973.

the North and in the South. Their utter devotion and high level of organization, absolute faith in victory and readiness for self-sacrifice to uphold the ideals of freedom and independence have earned them the admiration and pride of the whole world.

Skillfully combining all forms of struggle, the Vietnamese patriots were active on the political and diplomatic fronts parallel with their military operations. In the course of the long negotiations in Paris for a political solution in Vietnam the spokesmen of the DRV government and the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Vietnam set a brilliant example of revolutionary diplomacy — firmness and principledness combined with a constructive approach and flexibility. They consistently defended the principles of international law and the basic national interests of their people, energetically helping to expose the imperialist aggression and involving the broad world public and different political forces in support of fighting Vietnam.

The tremendous historical significance of the victory of the people of Vietnam lies in the fact that it demonstrated to humanity inspiring examples of heroism in the struggle for freedom, strengthened socialist positions in Southeast Asia, showed the might of the forces of socialism and peace and opened prospects of further relaxation of international tensions. The devoted and determined struggle of the people of Vietnam, the all-round aid from the socialist community, the unprecedented international movement of solidarity headed by the Communist and Workers' parties — these factors were insurmountable barriers on the road of aggression.

The exploits of the sons and daughters of the first socialist state in Southeast Asia — the Democratic Republic of Vietnam — will constitute one of the most heroic pages in the history of the world liberation struggle. Mobilizing all the material and spiritual forces of the people and relying on the selfless aid of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, the Working People's Party of Vietnam, raised by Ho Chi Minh, was able in a short time to turn the DRV into an indestructible fortress assaulted in vain by the aggressor's bombers and ships. Only a socialist system which forged a generation of staunch and dedicated patriots, only a Marxist-Leninist Party which armed the broad masses with a clear understanding of the just goals, were capable of imparting such broad scope and militant organization to the people's struggle, and inspiring mass heroism.

At long last the working people of the DRV acquired the opportunity of channeling their energy into building socialism which did not stop even at the height of the war. Even during the most devastating bombings the country continued building mines and power stations; schools and colleges continued to function. The signing of the agreement on peaceful settlement affords the working

people of the DRV favorable opportunities for carrying out the behests of the great patriot and internationalist Ho Chi Minh on building a socialist society in Vietnam.

The courage and unity of all the people of Vietnam in the North and in the South dashed the hopes of the aggressor to achieve success with the aid of the so-called "special war" and "Vietnamization," and led to the negotiations and a political solution of the Vietnam problems.

The National Liberation Front of South Vietnam was the organizing and guiding force of the South Vietnamese patriots. The program advanced by the Front, its appeal for unity of all classes, nationalities, political parties and public organizations united the broadest sections of the people in the struggle against imperialist aggression, for a peaceful, independent, democratic and neutral South Vietnam.

The patriotic forces have liberated and are in control of a vast area of South Vietnam. The Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Vietnam is carrying out democratic reforms in the liberated area, is taking measures to develop the economy, culture and education and to normalize life in the country. The ending of the war and withdrawal of the U.S. and allied troops from the country create favorable conditions for the development and progress of South Vietnam along the road of peaceful building, democracy, independence, neutrality and for a final and just settlement of the Vietnam problem — peaceful reunification in accordance with the national aspirations of the people of Vietnam without any foreign interference.

The Soviet people welcome the great victory scored by the people of Vietnam with joy and satisfaction. The CPSU, the Soviet state and all the Soviet people, true to the Leninist principles of proletarian internationalism, have always considered comprehensive aid to their Vietnamese brothers to be their vital concern. This principled and consistent line of our Party was set down in the decisions of the 23rd and 24th CPSU Congresses and in other important Party documents.

When the imperialist aggressors launched the fierce bombings of the DRV, our country took all necessary steps to equip the Vietnam People's Army in the shortest possible time with modern weaponry: anti-aircraft rockets and artillery and fighter planes. An important role in organizing resistance to the aggressors and in supplying the population of the DRV was played by the uninterrupted delivery from the USSR and other socialist countries of supplies and equipment to meet the military and civil requirements of the country. Thanks to the aid of Soviet specialists sent to the DRV and the training of Vietnamese cadets at Soviet military schools, thousands of Vietnamese were taught to handle modern weaponry.

The Soviet Union and other socialist countries have always used

all their international prestige to give resolute backing to the political and diplomatic actions of the government of the DRV and the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Vietnam, to their realistic and constructive proposals. In this connection world public opinion justly notes the great significance for the restoration of peace in Vietnam of the strong condemnation of the most recent acts of imperialist aggression and the expressions of invariable solidarity with the people of Vietnam accented in the report of L. I. Brezhnev, General Secretary CC CPSU, on the 50th anniversary of the USSR.

"We have always regarded it as a central objective of the Soviet Union's foreign policy to work for the elimination of the seat of war in Indochina. This is why we give our Vietnamese friends active assistance in their efforts for a just peace settlement. In sum, we are translating our internationalist solidarity with the people of Vietnam into concrete deeds all along the line. And we shall spare no effort to preserve and strengthen Soviet-Vietnamese friendship."

The Vietnam solidarity movement, involving more and more people of goodwill the world over, has acquired a truly grand scale and become a vivid expression of the peoples' striving for peace, national independence and social justice. This has fully confirmed the conclusion reached by the 1969 International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties: "The stronger the unity and solidarity of the international Communist movement and all other anti-imperialist forces in the struggle against the common enemy — imperialism — the greater will be their success." The forces of world socialism, the international Communist, workers' and national-liberation movements, all who are fighting for peace, democracy and social progress have become so strong that imperialism is no longer able to decide at will the destiny of nations, as was the case in the past.

The elimination of one of the dangerous seats of war is further clear proof that reason and realism, a desire to solve controversial issues by peaceful means, by negotiations, are growing stronger in international relations. The ending of the war in Vietnam means a healthier climate in Southeast Asia and all over the world, opening still more favorable prospects in the struggle of the forces for peace and progress, for further relaxation of international tensions, for a dependable peace and security.

In their messages to the leaders of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and the Republic of South Vietnam in connection with the agreements on ending the war and restoring peace in Vietnam, the Central Committee of the CPSU, the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet and the USSR Council of Ministers expressed the thoughts and feelings of all Soviet men and women in conveying sincere congratulations to the people of Vietnam on their great

victory won in the long and selfless struggle against imperialist aggression.

"The Soviet people sincerely rejoice over the successes of their Vietnamese brothers," says the message to the leadership of the DRV. "Just as previously, during the years of grim trials for the people of Vietnam, during their struggle against imperialist aggression, in this new stage, too, the Soviet Union will invariably be on the side of Vietnam's just cause. The Soviet people are fully confident that realization of the signed agreements will be an important practical step on the way to creating a united, democratic, peaceful, independent and prospering Vietnam."

The progressive world public and all who support the just cause of the people of Vietnam will closely follow the development of events in Vietnam and the fulfilment of the agreements signed in Paris. The people of Vietnam should be afforded the lawful right to be masters of their land and to settle their internal affairs without outside interference, in accordance with their national aspirations. Strict and consistent realization of the agreements to end the war and restore peace in Vietnam opens a realistic way to reaching these lofty goals.

CONGRESSES

RESOLUTION OF THE FIFTH MCP CONGRESS

The Fifth Congress of the Martinique Communist Party (December 30-31, 1972) unanimously adopted a political resolution. Following is the full text of the resolution as published in *La Justice*, January 4, 1973.

1. The colonial regime in Martinique is passing through a deep general crisis.

The economy is declining fast (decreasing production, the closing of sugar refineries, an enormous balance of trade deficit, and so on).

This situation, a product of the colonialist authorities' policy, is aggravating the working people's hardships. It hits new segments of the working population and dooms tens of thousands of Martinicans to unemployment.

The departmental system, which has made for greater arbitrariness and discrimination, is questioned by more and more Marti-

nicans. This expresses itself in the working people's growing joint struggle, the revolt of youth, and mounting opposition.

ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL CHANGES IN MARTINIQUE

2. These past years have seen important economic changes, as well as changes in the population's social composition, due in the main to the fact that the French big capitalists associated in monopolies exert decisive influence on the Martinican economy in conjunction with the colonialist state.

The forms and methods of colonial exploitation have been modified in our country. The chief reason for this is that in France the capitalist monopolies and the state have in recent years formed a close-knit alliance to coordinate their activity, so that a transition has taken place from the stage of monopoly capitalism, at which monopoly and state have fused together.

Furthermore, in France, there is a growing association and fusion of French with foreign monopolies, so that state-monopoly capitalism is losing its national character to become an instrument of cosmopolitan monopolies.

The main object of the colonialist government's policy today is to ensure the French monopolies' sway over our economy and guarantee them here a consumer and investment market on the most advantageous terms.

3. Direct monopoly control plays a decisive role in Martinican life today. French monopolies are gradually taking over the power industry, sugar refining, new industrial enterprises, tourism, sea and air transport, public works, wholesale and retail trade, banking and other key fields of activity. This has weakened the position of the domestic bourgeoisie, which no longer dominates the economy and is becoming ever more dependent. Moreover, the bourgeoisie acquiesced in the liquidation of the Martinican economy and the strengthening of monopoly domination.

The Common Market has reduced Martinique to a sphere of exploitation for European and U.S. monopolies.

4. It was mainly government action that made the monopolies' take-over possible. The state paves the way for them outright through a system of inducements, premiums, and so on. The billions in public funds are in reality spent on imports or translate themselves into profits for the French companies operating in this country.

Colonial exploitation is no longer restricted to deriving profits from Martinican products or to unequal trade.

More and more, it takes the form of public investments which draw profit from the Martinicans' labor and return to monopoly safes in France.

In other words, the so-called "financial effort of the mother country" is merely a formula serving to disguise the main beneficiaries of public funds, that is, the monopolies, all the more since the armed forces and the police get the greater part of the fund budgeted for overseas departments.

Diverse plans, the growing number of mixed companies dominated by the French capital and the state, the policy towards labor emigration and the declining birth rate are producing one and the same effect.

This is the fundamental object of French policy in our country, and not satisfaction of the working people's social needs, which is indicated, among others, by the French refusal fully to enforce existing social laws.

5. Monopoly control does not imply that Martinique has become a developed country and reached the stage of state-monopoly capitalism. On the contrary, it has accentuated the underdeveloped state and colonial, dependent character of our country, whose economic and social structures it has disrupted.

Due to the economic crisis, employment has dropped and the composition of the employed labor force has changed.

The working class remains the most important social stratum of our society but its composition is different now.

The agricultural crisis, the reduction of areas under sugar-cane, mechanization and new farming techniques have led to a substantial decrease in the proportion of agricultural workers. Banana plantations account for the largest labor force. In cane-growing, the few machine operators that there are play a decisive rule. The proportion of workers of this category fell off considerably with the closing of sugar refineries.

The exodus from the countryside has brought many young people to the towns. Despite this drain, the rural proletariat still forms a fairly large segment of our working class. However, the conditions in which it fights have changed and it is faced with new organizational problems.

The urban proletariat, while greater in number than before, is still scattered over numerous small enterprises (except for the dockers). Building workers make up the bulk of the urban proletariat, which has retained links with the countryside.

By contrast, due to the excessive growth of the service industry (52 per cent of the gainfully employed population), the ranks of the working class were swelled considerably by the influx of wage labor engaged in trade, various services and transport.

6. Monopoly control of the state and capitalist exploitation are putting an ever heavier burden on increasing numbers of working people (salary-earners in factories and on factory estates, bank

employees, shop assistants, Air France, social insurance and other personnel), who are thus prompted to resist colonialist policy. Clerks and medium salary-earners are likewise affected.

Handicraftsmen and small traders, harassed by pettifogging regulations and crushed by taxes, are forced out of business by the French-owned supermarkets and shops. The government's land reform led to a slight increase in the proportion of small peasants but their situation is precarious due to debts and the lack of aid. Most of them have given up cane-growing. In general, Martinique's small producers have been eliminated or are threatened by the competition of big companies.

The numerical strength of youth, which is due to a population explosion, is bound to influence national life in increasing measure. Young people are doomed to unemployment or emigration. They are fast becoming aware of colonial oppression and play a growing part in popular struggles.

Another striking fact is that with the spread of education teachers and students are coming to carry greater weight than before. This explains the ideological influence of the petty bourgeoisie, among whom the departmentalist trend is still in a majority and there is a "Leftist" upsurge linking up with the May 1968 events in France and with Maoism.

Lastly, one of the effects of state-monopoly capitalism is the massive infiltration of every field of activity by French administrators and other salaried workers, which has aggravated unemployment and racial tensions.

It follows that the monopolies' take-over and the activity of their state have modified the conditions for the class struggle. The monopolies and their state confront the masses as their principal exploiters against whom the masses now spearhead their struggle.

To be sure, the domestic bourgeoisie remains the direct exploiter of the majority of working people. But it is affected by the monopoly take-over and tries, therefore, to associate itself with French and foreign capital. As a result, the alliance of the monopoly bourgeoisie and the domestic bourgeoisie is still a fundamental factor.

PRESENT CONTEXT OF THE FIGHT FOR AUTONOMY

7. In the crisis situation through which Martinican society is passing, the people are farther removed from political power than ever.

The role of agencies brought into being by universal suffrage is nullified at all levels (parliament, General Council, municipalities). Thereby Martinicans are denied every possibility of having an effective say in the conduct of the country's affairs.

The prefect wields overriding authority.

This evolution of the departmental system confirms the accuracy

of the analyses made by our Party congresses, which came to the conclusion that the country's political status must be changed.

More than ever before, it is imperative to bring the people nearer to power and vest the bodies established through universal suffrage with real and extensive powers — in short, solve the country's problems.

8. In accordance with the right of self-determination which belongs to every people, our Party has opted for autonomy as a form of our struggle for national liberation.

We made this choice in line with Lenin's principles, which explicitly uphold the right of every oppressed people to shape its own destiny, that is, to secede if necessary from the nation oppressing it and, at the same time, the duty of the Communist Party of the oppressed country to choose, in accordance with the right to self-determination, a solution meeting the interests of the proletariat, including—in definite circumstances—non-secession.

9. The autonomy sought by the Communists is a democratic and popular autonomy safeguarding the working people's past gains and moreover, providing the best general conditions for existence and the most favorable positions in the fight for socialism.

The autonomy sought by the Communists is a stage necessitated by present-day conditions, above all by the alignment of social classes, in the progress of the struggle of the working class to abolish capitalist oppression and bring about socialism.

10. It was our Party which at its Second Congress proposed autonomy to the Martinican people as a way out of the colonial crisis.

This demand has been tested by political events ever since our latest congress (1968). These events showed that autonomy today is the key to solving the political problem of overseas departments.

The 1971 elections, which resulted in the defeat of the UDR mayors upholding the old system and in the victory of the democratic mayors of the South seeking new solutions; the ever more determined mobilization of the working people and youth in strikes and diverse actions demanding a change of policy; the Morne-Rouge Convention uniting the will of all democratic organizations of the four so-called departments and specifying in a declaration the conditions for establishing an autonomous regime; Messmer's abortive attempt at regionalization intended to consolidate the present departmental regime; the Paris meeting of French political and trade union organizations and the anti-colonialist forces of overseas departments and territories, which reaffirmed their close solidarity; the agreement reached by the French Socialist Party and Communist Party and recognizing in a common program our right to self-determination; and lastly, the recent founding of the Social-

ist Federation of Martinique with a democratic and anti-colonialist orientation—all these new developments show clearly that in Martinique, France and other overseas departments and territories autonomy today is seen as a realistic solution likely to win the greatest support.

Unity of the popular forces must be brought about on the basis of the Morne-Rouge Convention Program.

11. However, popular unity is blocked by difficulties due to "Leftist" action and to nationalism and anti-communism in the Progressive Party.

By calling in the present situation for immediate independence rather than autonomy (already accepted by the masses) and for armed struggle rather than mass political struggle, "Leftist" groups are carrying on a campaign of division and diversion, which plays into the hands of the colonial authorities, all the more as these false concepts are supplemented with traditional anti-communism and anti-Sovietism.

12. Martinicans must fight for immediate demands and for autonomy on two fronts.

They must break the resistance of the reactionary forces led by the UDR and intent on maintaining the present system, which is opposed to the democratic evolution and economic growth of society and to steadily improving social and cultural standards.

On the other hand, Martinicans must fight against the forces of diversion, which pose as revolutionary, yet try to prevent political unity of the exploited masses and the provision of conditions for their victory.

The masses and youth engaged in grim battles against the colonialist policies of a monopoly state, must, if they are to win, guard against illusions bred by so-called revolutionary currents born among the petty bourgeoisie, who promote ideas, utopias, actions and methods typical of this social stratum.

These "Leftist" currents accuse us of not choosing immediate independence of which they cannot—let it be said in passing—formulate the program nor define the framework.

13. Our option in favor of autonomy is prompted by our analysis of the present epoch, by our desire to achieve socialism in the distinctive conditions of our country, which lies in the Caribbean area, by our will to enhance the Martinicans' individuality and responsibility and safeguard the Martinican proletariat's interests through liberation.

Martinique is not an ordinary colony. The special conditions of the formation and development of its society determined the specific features requiring a special path of liberation—a democratic and people's autonomy.

Contrary to the partisans of immediate independence, we consider it necessary to demand political responsibility and to negotiate an agreement binding the French state to assume its obligations in regard to the social rights of the working people after more than three centuries of direct and unrestricted rule marked by colonial exploitation.

This position is bound to be shared by the vast majority of popular forces. It will triumph all the sooner if we Communists, by combatting the mistakes of petty-bourgeois nationalism, promote among the masses and youth the ideas of internationalism, that is, solidarity of the working class and people of Martinique with those of all countries, primarily with the French working class and people. The more vigor and conviction we show in popularizing it, the sooner it will triumph.

THE PARTY: TASKS FACING THE COMMUNISTS

14. The Martinican Communist Party, a political organization of the working class, has contributed in substantial measure to the mobilization and struggles of the masses. It has emphatically denounced the misdeeds of capitalism and colonialism, upheld the working people's demands and expressed the fundamental interests of the Martinican people.

However, at the threshold of changes in the making, our Party must do its utmost to enable the working class to play a decisive role, so that our people may be spared neo-colonialist solutions.

To this end it is indispensable to remove the serious shortcomings and deficiencies of our activity and of the functioning of our Party, which prevent us from benefiting by the vast possibilities of extending and strengthening our influence.

15. To reinforce the Party is a task of the first importance. We must:

(1) Devote sustained attention to the ideological struggle on two fronts—against bourgeois, colonialist ideology and against Leftism. We must revise our propaganda and information methods to make extensive use of public discussions, films, and so on.

Improving the content and distribution of *La Justice* should become a major concern of all Party organizations. This also applies to our theoretical journal, *Action*.

(2) Decide promptly on guidelines for our members working among the masses, in democratic organizations and among diverse social strata which are victims of capitalism and colonialism.

Labor unions, small planters, teachers, young people and women should receive priority attention.

(3) Improve the functioning of Party organizations on all levels by strictly and properly redistributing tasks and by applying Lenin-

ist standards (democratic centralism, criticism and self-criticism, verification of fulfilment, and so on).

(4) Assure the systematic training of cadre members of working-class origin. Young cadre members should be boldly assigned posts on every level.

(5) Reinforce the Communist Youth by persevering in our effort to organize and train its cadre and promote its manifold activities (sports, cultural, educational and political activities, mass action) so as to make it a militant and loyal ally of our Party.

16. Our Party is a contingent of the international Communist movement, whose unity it firmly upholds.

It has condemned the Chinese leaders' anti-Soviet slander campaigns aimed at disrupting the united front of the world forces of socialism.

Our Party took part in the international Meeting of Communist parties and signed the documents of the Meeting.

Our Party maintains fraternal relations with all the parties loyal to proletarian internationalism. It has particularly close fraternal relations with the Communist parties of Guadeloupe, Réunion and France, the French Communist Party being our chief ally in the fight against French colonialism.

The Martinican Communist Party backs the efforts of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries for peace and the freedom of peoples. It welcomes their great achievements in building socialism.

Our Party will extend its unqualified solidarity to the peoples of Indochina till they defeat the U.S. aggressors.

Our Party sides with all who are fighting anywhere in the world against racism and imperialism, for national liberation and for socialism.

PLENARY MEETINGS

MORE COMMUNISTS, MORE MORNING STAR READERS

**JOHN GOLLAN'S REPORT TO THE COMMUNIST PARTY
EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE, JANUARY 13/14, 1973**

In launching the Party building and Star campaign at last January's Executive Committee following the 32nd National Congress, we emphasized two points:

First, that building the Party and YCL and extending the circu-

lation of the *Morning Star* was not just a question for us, but for the whole labor movement in order to defeat the Tories and win a Labor Government committed by mass pressure to left policies. We said that the urgent political situation needed a stronger Communist Party and a major advance in *Star* circulation.

Second, we argued that the essential basis for getting this lay in developing the mass movement to the utmost and in the public campaigning of the Party as a Party, turning the Party outwards, and extending our ideological argument.

Events justified this approach a hundred per cent. 1972 was a momentous year for the mass movement in the struggle against the Industrial Relations Act, the wages battles, tenants' struggles, Vietnam, the Common Market and many other questions, in which the working class found ever increasing confidence and ability as its forces were brought into action.

Even the briefest mention of only the outstanding events shows the enormous scope of the struggle. There was the UCS victory and other factory occupations for work; the outstanding victory of the Pentonville Five, with the threat of the first General Strike since 1926. There were the great wages battles, the outstanding militant strike of the miners, the railwaymen's and builders' strikes, the tenants' movement and the rise of trade union action in support of the pensioners' struggle. There was the protracted struggle in the labor movement on the Common Market. There was the increasing involvement of the labor movement to end the war in Vietnam which reached a peak over Nixon's brutal bombing offensive. There were the important victories for European peace and East-West relations, and increased activities on Northern Ireland.

The Tory Government policy of direct confrontation received a decisive rebuff. The government was shaken. Important victories were won by the labor and progressive movement despite the Right-wing. The Left further advanced. The Party increasingly appeared on joint platforms with Labor people.

We would have been failing in our duty if we had not last January sharply posed the political need for a bigger Communist Party and increased *Star* circulation. We often say that we are an integral part of the labor movement. Despite the restrictions of our size, we are a leading part, and play a leading role. This we did in 1972. There would never have been such a level of struggle without us.

We gave day-to-day leadership in all the momentous events. Our leading Communists in the labor movement and the factories rose to the occasion. As a Party we gave vital leads at critical points. We issued a stream of materials—leaflets, broadsheets and pamphlets on a scale not seen for years. We organized a great number of meetings, rallies and demonstrations.

Outstanding was the role of the *Star*, which throughout the year was brilliant. It gave continuous and bold leadership; acted as the source of essential information, agitation and propaganda, and as the co-ordinator of action. It combatted the whole capitalist class and state mass media network.

There was the sharpest contrast of our leadership and that of the Right-wing in the labor movement. They played the classic cowardly role of attempting to hold back the movement and disarm it in the face of the Tory offensive. We on the other hand, not only gave mass leadership but ideological leadership, challenging the so-called law-and-order arguments, showing the class nature of the state, simultaneously doing everything we could to raise militancy while showing the need to go beyond immediate aims, and sharply posing the need to challenge capitalism as such and win social change. If ever there was an argument for a stronger Communist Party here it was.

1972 was a vindication for the Party's general strategy of Left unity worked out at the 32nd Congress. We fought Right-wing capitulation and sectarian and ultra-Left distractions, and counter-posing of official and unofficial action. We showed that success depended on bringing the whole movement into action, official and unofficial, if Tory confrontation was to be defeated by working class confrontation. The increasing degree to which the whole movement was indeed brought into leadership and action was an outstanding feature of 1972 and an important pointer for 1973. Our idea of operative democracy, of bringing masses into action, was successfully demonstrated.

We want to pay tribute to all on the left in the trade unions, the Labor Party, and the movement generally, and many who are not normally designated left, for their role. Without their work and effort the victories of 1972 couldn't have been won. But what was distinctive in our leadership arose because we are an organized Marxist Party, with nationwide organization, doing our duty in all trade unions and sections of the movement. Again this is an important illustration of the need for a bigger Party. The ever-extending unity of the Left and the continuous strengthening of the Communist Party as the major organized force of the Left are two sides of the same medal.

THE TASKS FOR 1973

If these are some of the lessons of 1972, they underline even more the need to carry the Party and *Star* campaign to new heights in 1973.

The Tory Government is not only the most vicious class government at home: it is a major reactionary force in Europe. It has

been shaken, but it is far from defeated.

In this report concentrating on the Party campaign, we cannot deal in detail with the tasks for 1973. This is being done in the *Star* and in our day-to-day leadership.

I would briefly pinpoint these main points—and of course there are many others.

The government is now in phase two of its class offensive. The clear aim is statutory control of wages with a farce of price control, buttressed by the use of force, the Courts and the Industrial Relations Act. They are still trying to inveigle the TUC. The economic situation and balance of payments will become worse as the terms of entry to the Common Market are shown in ever sharper increases with VAT and so on.

Despite Barber's waffle, serious concern about the plight of the economy and grave doubts on any prolonged upturn are growing. There is controversy as to the extent of expansion but increasing certainty that we will soon be back on the treadmill of stop-go. Already the government decisions on credit squeeze, high interest rates and wage freeze will bring contraction. With the big balance of payments deficit looming as the 1972 figures show, this year we will be back to where we were.

From this EC we make the call. The TUC should break off talks now. There should be a refusal of any statutory control of wages, and an all-out wages offensive with the demand of real price controls. Industrial action should be used to defend any union threatened by the Industrial Relations Act. The offensive to smash the Act should be stepped up. Let the TUC be recalled to mobilize action to achieve these aims. Already in the first week of 1973 there is the action of the gas workers and the civil servants.

We salute those Councils and tenants who resisted the Tory Housing Finance Act. The revolt would have been very much greater if it had not been for Right-wing sabotage. We should rally the fullest support for all tenants and Councils in the fight.

Vietnam has reached the most critical stage. The Nixon bombing offensive against Hanoi and Haiphong was halted by the heroic resistance of the Vietnamese with the help of the USSR and the socialist countries and the power of world pressure, in which the Australian dockers and trade unionists played a key role. The Heath Government stands condemned for its refusal to protest.

The mass movement needs to be stepped up enormously to stop the bombing, sign the peace treaty now, and release Saigon's political prisoners. The extent and nature of the U.S. bombing is one of the biggest crimes in history. It goes on as Kissinger talks. The grave Vietnamese warning what the stark position is—either sign the treaty or the war goes on—needs to be driven home. It is a

measure of the extent to which action must grow. Ending the U.S. war in Vietnam is a precondition for the success of all moves for genuine peace and security in Europe, support for which is growing and should be extended.

The struggle in Ireland, too, needs our increasing support along the lines of the joint statement of the Irish and British Communist Parties.

All our warnings about the consequences of Tory entry to the Common Market have been vindicated, on loss of sovereignty, limitations on Parliament, and no amount of fanfares can hide that it is a bureaucratic monopolist club. We should expose and fight every reactionary measure of the Market, and extend the Labor and TUC boycott of its institutions into the major demand that Labor when elected will take Britain out of the Market.

The importance of all we have said in relation to the fight for a General Election now and a government committed to Left policies cannot be over-stressed. The outcome of this crucial election can't be left until the polls. We have to see the ever-growing mass struggle as the vital necessity to rout the Tories, and with this mass struggle great efforts to heighten political consciousness. It would be fatal to underestimate the size of the job to be done or the capacity of the Right-wing to maneuver, and of the Tories to exploit the situation to keep in office. This is the measure of the task in 1973.

Here our paperback *Time to Change Course*, putting our program for the country's crisis and the way forward, couldn't be more timely.

And of course, immediately, there is the vital importance of the 1973 local elections which will be on the widest scale and must result in a resounding defeat for the Tories.

In short, the scale of mass action in 1973 must be greater than in 1972 and lay the basis for bringing down the Tory Government.

This is the essential background to the next stage of our campaign on building the Party, the YCL, and extending the circulation of the *Morning Star*.

What is the crux of our argument? If our Party of the size it is could play such an outstanding role in 1972, we need a much bigger Party, and even more, a much greater circulation of the *Star* to fulfil our responsibilities in 1973.

ADVANCES IN 1972

Where have we got to since our campaign last January?

There has been a small net gain in Party membership during the last year. So Party membership is increasing on the basis of implementing the approach decided on at last January's EC, with a

consistent fight for new members, assistance to the Branches, and better organization.

Fourteen out of 18 Districts show a bigger membership. In my last report I pinpointed the vital role of our six major Districts, and the importance of London resuming growth. Now London, along with Scotland and the Midlands, shows an increase. They must keep moving up, and we hope that the North West, Wales and Yorkshire will soon be in that position.

THE MORNING STAR

Regarding the *Star*: as the result of a big effort for which we thank all concerned, the rate of decline has been reduced.

Neither we nor our friends in the labor movement can be satisfied with this, particularly in view of the acute financial situation, disclosed in the Editor's appeal, due to rising costs. Many readers have written in, not only on the financial situation, but also on how they think the content of the paper can be improved. All points are very welcome and will get serious consideration.

The most pressing political issue, not just for us but for the whole movement, is how to stop the decline completely, and get *increased* circulation.

Never before have so many tributes been paid to the paper by the labor movement. In turn, the paper has the right to ask the whole militant movement to join in the concerted and sustained effort for increased circulation in 1973. The level of the mass movement in 1973 depends to a large degree on increasing the paper's readership.

The factories and centers which spearheaded the fight in 1972 were where there were *Star* readers. The aim for this year should be to get *Star* readers in every major factory, trade union and shop stewards committee, and in the Labor Parties.

A great public circulation campaign is needed appealing to the whole labor movement, led by the paper, using the excellent folder, with more *Star* Rallies this year. In addition to the London Rally in 1972, very successful rallies were held in Glasgow, Manchester and Birmingham. These should now be extended to Yorkshire, the North East, Wales, East Midlands and the West of England.

First priority, therefore, is the drive to the labor movement. District Committees in association with the Branches should work out detailed steps for . . .

A systematic approach to working class and labor movement activists in the greatest possible number of factories, unions, Trades Councils and Councils, for new readers.

Within this, to select the important factories where there are no readers for a special effort.

Boldly to approach Shop Stewards Committees and union committees for official efforts on these lines. Labor movement conferences on the need for increased circulation of the *Star* should be considered in major centers. We should ask the Industrial Department to arrange discussions with all advisory committees and leading trade union comrades to decide on how to help in this approach.

In our last report we asked the District Committee to select Party Branches for special efforts. Now we should extend this approach to every Party Branch, the so-called inactive as well as the active, with every Branch having a *Star* organizer and seeing that every member is a reader. We should plan (i) for efforts directed to the labor movement on the above lines; (ii) for extension of weekend sales and start of new weekend rounds and pitches by every Branch, especially wherever possible mid-week canvassing, using the paper now in the local election campaign; (iii) for the biggest possible extension of newsagent guarantee schemes, contacting the local libraries, etc.

Every Branch of the YCL should decide on some form of regular activity for the paper.

The National Student Committee to let us have their plans on this, and a report on progress, in a month's time.

What we need is to lift all the efforts to date into a National Campaign for circulation led by the paper and the Party, but enrolling in this effort not only very many more Communists, but thousands of militants not in the Party and the widest sections of the labor movement—so that we spearhead the mass movement with the *Star*.

AIMS FOR COMMUNIST PARTY AND YOUNG COMMUNIST LEAGUE

We have got a definite momentum here, and there is rising confidence. It enables us to make the appeal from this EC to all Party members that we go all out to the 33rd National Congress with a bigger membership than at the last Congress.

We want a concentrated effort in the first six months of the year to place us in the best possible position for the drive up to the Congress. Here I would make an appeal to complete the issue of 1973 cards by the end of February, for unless this is done we could well endanger such progress as has been made.

I would make two preliminary points: first, the Executive Committee should express its thanks to all who have contributed to building the Party, and to Gordon McLennan for his leadership. At the same time, far too few comrades are involved. We won't get the results we want until literally thousands more are involved, not through nagging, but by political conviction. Second, as before,

the basis of our efforts will be mass political campaigning on the issues. 1972 showed this—and I won't labor the point.

During 1972 we produced 15 national leaflets and broadsheets in 3,428,000 copies, and innumerable District and local leaflets. In this period we also handled 17 different pamphlets. Both the circulation of *Comment* and *Marxism Today* rose a little. We have no complete record of meetings, but the number was formidable. This is a picture of a real party in action. We are out to do even better in 1973. Our first leaflet in 1973 is out in 250,000 copies, and three new pamphlets are on the stocks. 25 major meetings are fixed to the end of March. A new feature here are area meetings. Some Districts are considering major District events or demonstrations in June. And of course our local election material will be produced in millions.

The big new ideological weapon for the campaign will be the Jack Woddis paperback, *Time to Change Course*.

Publicly this will be of assistance in many ways. It will put more in depth the Party's critique of the system and the way out of Britain's crisis. It will put the case for socialism. It will show the way forward in the labor movement, and argue the Party's role. It will show what in fact is the strategy for a socialist revolution.

A mass sale of this—and we want 30,000—with special meetings and classes around it, treatment at all Party Rallies, etc., will have a big effect on thinking workers, students and youth, and will be an excellent basis for recruitment in the next stage.

1973 demands a major challenge to the Tories on the electoral field. Besides the re-election of the Greater London Council, new County and District Councils are to be elected throughout England and Wales. The elections must result not only in a rebuff to the Tories, but the return of Council majorities consisting of Labor and Communist members who are committed to resist and refuse to implement Tory policies.

We will be contesting on a wide scale. In Greater London, more than 330 candidates will contest in areas each of which corresponds to a Parliamentary Constituency, with a total of one-and-a-half million voters. Elsewhere in England and Wales the elections for the new Councils will spread over April, May and June. In most of the District Council elections the people will have more than one vote which provides more favorable opportunities to us for winning votes. Preparations in nearly all Districts are still in a very elementary stage and we need to speed up the adoption of candidates and extend our work in the wards on the various social issues.

We should go all out for the biggest Party vote. This is essential, for it is linked with the need for Communist Members of Par-

liament, which would be the biggest contribution to making the slogan of a Labor Government compelled by the mass movement to carry out Left policies, a reality. In addition, the elections will compromise the biggest approach by the Party to the public generally for many years, reaching several million voters. Again a valuable basis for recruitment.

With these general points in mind, I would make the following additional specific points:

Twenty-nine new Branches have been established.

Great emphasis should be placed upon the development of factory Branches.

Each residential branch should discuss how it can grow and by how much. In this connection the problem for some branches is how to establish effective leadership to get going. We also have some very big branches which require some study as to what to do next on their special problems. In all we show a net gain of 12 new area branches.

Attention to branches and branch life has improved during 1972. But very much more has to be done here. Not only because the branches are vital in stepping up the mass movement, but because it is by the improvement in branch life and particularly in education, that we could retain many more members than we do. Not only recruitment but retention of members is essential if our growth is to be speeded up.

Here we should commend the Education Department for its work. 192 District and National Schools, with 4,500 attending were organized in the year, and 193 District public discussions on Marxism with 8,092 attending. 180 attended the Communist University. All this is an improvement on the year before. The Department, with our help, is out to do better in 1973.

The points made in last January's EC report about new growth areas are still valid. Too little has been done on this to date. The Organization Department should help more here, too.

It is difficult to say precisely how many of our new members are women. But in all the proposals we have outlined special efforts should be made to recruit women. Progress has been made in our Women's Conferences and publications (the women's journal will be out this year). We have the Conference on the Family, and the discussion in *Marxism Today*. We thank Jean Styles and the women comrades for all this, and pledge more help from the EC.

We have made least advance in relation to immigrants. So it is essential that in the next months we get a bigger effort in London, West Middlesex, Midlands and Yorkshire.

Real progress has been made regarding students. In the report on Student Activity to the EC, Dave Cook and the Student Com-

mittee set the aim of 1,000 student members of the Party in 50 branches. So far we have 877 student members in 43 branches.

Our weakest point still remains the YCL, which is now preparing for its Congress. Each Party District should help the YCL District and Branches in a twofold way—in the discussion on the resolutions and preparations for the Congress; and to build the League up to the Congress on the basis of the December YCL Executive Committee decisions.

These new advances in the students, and progress in the YCL will mean even more young people coming into our ranks and assuming responsibility.

What we have proposed in this report is considerable. But there is rising confidence in the Party because of what has been done in 1972, and the first results of the Party campaign. More Branches are active, and more young people are coming into leadership.

This was seen at the District Congresses of the Party, which were attended by 1,673 delegates. They reflect the growing influence of the Party, the new young people coming forward, and the general unity behind our policy.

But the last thing we want is complacency, as there is no room for it. What we have achieved we had to fight for. We won't get automatic advance. It could be argued that conditions were favorable. It could also be argued our leadership and work helped to create the favorable conditions. But not nearly enough comrades are in this fight. We need to get many more involved if the still limited progress is to be speeded up.

This new stage in our fight for the Party and the *Star* coincides with a growing feeling of dissatisfaction with the present position in the labor and trade union movement due to the character of Right-wing leadership.

We appeal to all those members in the labor movement who want socialist change to join our ranks. We need you and you need the Communist Party.

Our 32nd Congress advanced a policy and tactics which have made a big impact in the labor movement, an impact increasingly recognized by the more serious newspapers. The decisions of that Congress could well repay study. Our 33rd Congress can be even more important, especially if we go, as we can and must, with a bigger Party, YCL and *Morning Star* circulation.

Confidence and complacency are two different things. I am confident we can get what we are after, if we all give the effort and leadership. Our call is for a great united and concerted effort of the whole movement in 1973 to get rid of Heath and the Tories.

STATEMENTS

STATEMENT* OF THE CP OF ARGENTINA

The Central Committee of the Communist Party decided to support the Popular Alliance at the presidential elections to be held by the military dictatorship. We urge therefore to vote for the platform advanced by Dr. E. Alende and Dr. Horacio Sueldo. We decided to take an active part in the election campaign, using its organizational capacities and the efforts of its members, friends and sympathizers to build up around the Popular Alliance candidate a broad coalition of an anti-imperialist character.

Taking this decision, the Communist Party took into account the political platform of the Popular Alliance, which contains acceptable concrete provisions in favor of the popular interests especially as concerns energetic independent foreign policy action and for honoring the promises of democratization of the state. We also take note of the positive decision by the candidates who repudiated the repressive legislation, in particular "law" 17401,** and of their independent activity openly pursued despite the attempts to distort the achievements and content of an authentic front of national liberation.

Participating constructively in the election campaign, the Communist Party reaffirms its traditional adherence to Marxism-Leninism, which has never called for a boycott of elections in the specific conditions characteristic of the present situation in Argentina. We, too, hold the view that to abstain from voting or to cast blank ballot papers would only favor the trend towards "Brazilization" of the whole country. This is why the Communist Party, positively participating in the election campaign, exposes its fraudulent and unlawful character borne out by a series of anti-democratic measures, including the introduction of a state of emergency and the imprisonment of hundreds of people for political and trade union activity. The Party by no means suggests that the people will win their freedom and independence through rigged elections. If all efforts of broad strata of the population are channelled in this direction, favorable conditions will appear for creating a democratic front of national liberation.

The imperative dilemma before our country is: either an open

*Issued by the CC CPA on January 6, 1973 and published in *Frente Unido*.

**An anti-communist law enacted by the military dictatorship of General Onganía in 1965.—Ed.

or disguised continuation of the existing situation (by means of a coup d'état or through the use of the present election situation), or a process of deep changes through genuine liberalization that would end the domination of imperialism and the oligarchy. Taking the decision to enter the elections, the Communist Party sets itself this main goal, which can be achieved only by uniting the people and developing an organized mass struggle.

The plenum of the CP Executive, held on April 29-30, 1972, stated: "We cannot discount the fact that, despite all our efforts, the government organizes this election farce and all political parties take part in the election campaign. Our task is to criticize government maneuvers but not to isolate ourselves in any way." It is to the credit of the Communist Party that it is the only party which from the very beginning denounced the dictatorship's plans and called on all to reject this fraud initiated by the adoption of the unconstitutional "status of political parties" whose approval would help to give validity to the activity of the present "grand national accord."

The fact that our actions do not get adequate response does not detract from the importance of large mass movements which proclaim—and establish for short periods—a new democratic government, as was the case in Malargue, Animana, Trelew and the General Roca area.

This need for changes which have been insistently demanded by the people since unrest in Cordoba against the will of the collaborationist hierarchy, is the reality in the country. The events confirm irrefutably that only coordinated actions by all democratic and anti-imperialist forces can bring about revolutionary changes. And these changes require that a provisional government of broad coalition embracing civil and military forces opposed to the country's colonization should be installed with the view of convening a constituent assembly elected on the basis of proportional representation for the establishment of a republic on the basis of genuine democracy. No other way in the present conditions will lead to the national and social liberation of Argentina.

Nobody should delude himself over the background of these elections nor the character which the dictatorship intends to impart to the future government. On December 29, Lieutenant-General Lanusse declared again: "The future constitutional period will be transitional, because no party can act on its own in these conditions and because we must learn the use of democracy." From what he says, the armed forces are to assume in this transitional period the paternalist function of "assuring the stability of the new government." And so, the plan of the ruling classes is clear—to carry out sham changes so as to impede real changes. Therefore, we once

again denounce this secret conspiracy and declare again that the people's struggle for their just demands in the conditions of an unprecedented crisis gripping the country will pave the way for a broad democratic front of national liberation. The conviction that the country needs a real liberation front explains why the Communist Party did not participate in the meeting called by General Peron on November 20, 1972. We hold that its heterogeneity and the vagueness of proclaimed program demands are incompatible with genuine anti-oligarchic and anti-imperialist struggle. However, we declared our readiness to conduct negotiations with the Justicialist party (Peronists.—Ed.) for concerted actions but our proposals were not accepted.

Thus, by supporting on the national scale the presidential candidates of the Popular Alliance, the Communist Party contributes to the establishment of more favorable conditions for this front, bearing in mind that the crisis in Argentina cannot be solved through elections only. With the same aim in view, the Control Committee of the Party organization in the capital and provincial committees, by backing the presidential candidate of the Popular Alliance, will decide on the line to be followed at local level in the respective constituencies and conclude those agreements they consider opportune. Under all circumstances, they should remember that it is necessary to support those forces and candidates whose program, work and past record are likely to contribute to the formation of the democratic front of national liberation.

This will for unity has constantly inspired the work of the Communist Party and the idea of unity has gripped broad masses. The task is to give it higher organizational forms and this is what the Party's decision calls for. Nor does the Party renounce its program of solutions, a program of revolutionary-democratic, agrarian and anti-imperialist change. The election campaign is just one stage in this struggle for greater results. In this wider struggle the Communist Party pledges its loyalty, militancy and revolutionary determination, tested by 55 years of service in the cause of the working class and the people.

MANIFESTO* OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF CHILE

Men and women of Chile,

A historical struggle is taking place in the country. This essen-

*Issued in connection with the general elections to be held March 4, 1973. Published in *El Siglo*, January 21, 1973.

tially concerns not only the approaching elections. This concerns the future of the people, the future of Chile as an independent and sovereign country, it concerns democracy and freedom as values in the service of the national majority. The election campaign must be an active political struggle against the counter-revolutionaries, against those who would turn back the clock of history, who by counter-revolution are inflicting wounds on the country.

Everyone must define his place in this struggle. Each must become an active fighter. Every man and woman must be given a concrete task.

May the country's banner fly aloft! Let the mighty voice of the people resound over all our territory condemning the embargo on copper and the other acts of imperialist piracy!

Let the world show respect for the right of sovereign Chile to nationalize its natural riches!

THE MAJORITY OF CHILEANS SUPPORT THEIR COUNTRY

The majority of people come out in support of social transformations, in defence of their homeland in the face of imperialist aggression in various forms, for respect of the legitimate government and oppose a civil war.

There are individuals and political institutions such as the armed forces and various churches, which do not interfere in inter-party relations and support general accord in Chile. And in the opposition there are progressive and patriotic-minded people.

The tone among the coalition is set by the "mummies" (reactionaries—Ed.) from the National Party, former latifundists, yesterday's bankers, textile magnates of two years ago who engineered the murder of Hernan Mery and General Rene Schneider.

Renan Fuentealba is turning his party (CDP—Ed.) into a life-giving oxygen mask for the Right, something he himself said could never happen. The Demochristian Party is trailing in the wake of yesterday's enemy. Frei's dream—to unite the reactionary chariot, to make people forget "communitarian socialism" and all that he said in favor of the replacement of capitalism.

JARPA,* FREI AND THEIR STEPSONS

In the election register the Demochristian Party has entered into wedlock with the National Party not out of love, but out of hatred for the people and the popular government. It has fully gone back on the declaration made by Tomic (the CDP presidential candidate in the 1970 elections—Ed.): "When you win together with the Right, then it is a victory for the Right." They have descended to sordid anti-Communism and become accomplices of the oligarchy.

*Leader of the National Party—Ed.

In October 1970, Frei ended up by opening the road to Viaux (reactionary general—Ed.) But, at that time, because of his fear of the people and his indecisions, he could not defy the people's will. Now he is back at it, mistakenly believing that times changed in his favor.

Jarpa, Frei and their foster children Duran, Baltra and Bossay are mistaken in the belief that Chile will retreat into the dark and miserable past. With this in mind they are not loath to resort to any manner of lies and slander against state leaders and the Minister of Internal Affairs. They scorn the armed forces, insult the Catholic church and extend a helping hand to Kennecott and the ITT.

The people must curb the reactionaries.

GO OVER TO THE OFFENSIVE

It is necessary to start an offensive and attack, exposing the anti-popular and reactionary aims pursued by the enemies of the Popular Government. It is imperative to explain the reasons for the difficulties in the country and point out those responsible for them.

We, men and women from among the people, we, representatives of the parties in the government, accuse and will continue to accuse all "black marketeers."

We have made mistakes, and we shouldn't try to hide them. On the contrary, we should expose them completely so as to rectify them and educate the masses. It must be re-emphasized that the roots of all the country's difficulties lie in the many years of imperialist domination and plunder of the natural resources. The Popular Government has put an end to this. The difficulties are a consequence of the suspension of a wide range of credits and other imperialist retaliatory action, the backwardness of agriculture, stagnation of animal husbandry throughout the latifundist domination, and the \$4-billion external debt inherited from the previous administrations, which means that every Chilean child is born with a debt of \$400.

GREATER INDEPENDENCE

The camouflage must be torn off the reactionaries masquerading as defenders of freedom. Theirs is freedom for Edwards to rob, freedom for Viaux to hatch conspiracies, freedom for Oteros to lie, freedom for speculation in prices. We want freedom for the people to work and create a better life.

Everything must be set in place. Those who now earn more—and they include all active and passive working people; those formerly unemployed who now have work; those who have received land from the Popular Government; those who work at enterprises

of the public sector and participate in their administration; the traders, small businessmen and artisans who are now entitled to social security; those who were formerly denied credits and now can get them—these are the millions of Chileans who under the present government enjoy greater freedom than ever before.

Chile as a nation has become more free under the Popular Government. It speaks with its own voice in Latin America and in the world. The nationalization of copper and other revolutionary transformations have set it on the road of economic independence, national stability, social emancipation, affluence and culture for the whole population.

STRAIGHT-JACKET THOSE WHO WOULD UNLEASH CIVIL WAR

We must march forward, not retreat. We must straight-jacket those who dream of overthrowing the government and to this end are engaging in "accumulation of anger" and fanning hate, who are seeking to split the country into two irreconcilable camps and plunge it into a fratricidal war.

The reactionary plotters are doing everything to worsen the situation, they are hoarding large quantities of goods, flouting official prices, organizing and encouraging contraband and the black market.

"If shortages and the black market persist," the newspaper *El Mercurio* declared, "one can predict a heavy defeat for the Marxist parties in the elections." This cynical confession explains that speculation and the black market are to a great extent due to artificial and criminal pre-election maneuvering. The reactionaries care nothing for the fate of the people. All they are interested in is to sow seeds of social discontent, discouragement and confusion so as to subvert public morale and provoke the destruction of the country.

EXPOSE THE BLACK MARKETEERS

Inflation, high prices and shortages are primarily a consequence of economic backwardness, imperialist blockade, the resistance of the "mummies" and Demochristians to the financing of state expenditures at the expense of those who have more money, and organize hoarding. The truth is that production has increased of milk, margarine, noodles, tires, cigarettes and many other goods which the enemies hoard or destroy to cause despair and chaos.

That is why we welcome the numerous popular actions aimed at apprehending and bringing to justice criminal hoarders and speculators. Thanks to this thousands upon thousands of tons of food hoarded by undercover representatives of the Christian-Democrat and National parties were discovered and sold.

We appeal to make the election campaign a battle for the right to live, we appeal for initiative to uncover and expose the hunger traffickers.

GIVE THEM NO RESPITE

The offensive against the black market has thrown the reactionaries into confusion; in a mad frenzy they are trying to regain the initiative wrested from them by the government-announced measures to improve supplies for the population.

They should be given no respite. The struggle must not flag. It is necessary to explain and promote the government's policy aimed at improving supplies so as to put an end to speculation, the black market and queues; special attention must be given to work with traders, who must be guaranteed equitable distribution of staple products. The reactionary-inspired rumors about possible introduction of discriminatory, poverty rationing are absolutely groundless.

The question is of using the government's prerogatives and the people's power to establish order in certain questions and do away with abuses.

Those who in October had incited the truck owners and traders to strike, which cost the country great losses and from the consequences of which the population is still suffering, are now dreaming of repeating that criminal act. We must be vigilant and prepared to rebuff these designs.

BAR THE PHARISEES FROM THE NATIONAL CONGRESS

The fist of the working class and the people will come down with full force on those who are trying to go against the Popular Government.

The Congress has been controlled by a reactionary majority which turned it into an enemy entrenchment against the people, into a forum of incessant vilification and lies. This spurious majority refuses to draft legislation on the public sector of the economy or establish guarantees for small and middle proprietors. The Congress has prevented the financing of public works, municipalities, housing plans and the industrial development program. It has held up the economic crimes bill and engaged completely in an infamous, slanderous game of constitutional accusations against State Ministers in utter disregard for the law. The accusation against Minister Millas was illegal and unconstitutional from any point of view and was added confirmation of the shady morals of its sponsors.

Thus, the election fight has acquired the character of a house-cleaning. The hypocrites and liars, the Pharisees and merchants of infamy should be thrown out of the National Congress!

THE ENEMY CAN AND MUST BE DEFEATED

Time and again the so-called voice of numbers has been refuted by the people's will and struggle. This must be done again. From the election point of view we have a strong enemy. However, he has an Achilles' heel: right is not on his side, and his boat is sailing against the stream. He can and must be defeated. He must be defeated in his two main intentions of gaining a two-thirds majority in the Senate to be able to impeach and remove the President of the Republic, and in his incitement to civil war.

During the 1970 Presidential elections not everyone believed in a possibility of victory for the people. But the people won. The people can and must win again, if the fight is waged with passion and confidence in our strength.

Victory can be made possible by the successes of every collective in the Popular Unity bloc. Many actions in support of candidates should be carried out jointly.

VOTE COMMUNIST

More than anyone else we wish to contribute to the common victory. That is why we call upon the people to give every vote to the Communist Party, the Party of Recabarren and Lafertte, the Party which more than any other is hated by imperialism and reaction. Day and night Party activists devote part of their life to the great tasks which require ever greater devotion and sacrifice, greater responsibility and revolutionary consciousness.

The Communist Party is taking part in this battle as a collective completely identifying itself with the Popular Unity Program and its election platform. The Party holds that its primary duty is to fight for the strengthening of the government headed by Comrade Salvador Allende and for new steps along the road of social change. It emphasizes the need for the urgent and resolute consideration of questions of constitutional change, including the democratization of obsolete and reactionary judicial bodies.

THE MAIN TASK: GREATER PRODUCTION

The Communist Party addresses the working class, the peasants and all Chilean workers to tell them that the main task is to increase farm production, to increase the output of copper and manufactured goods.

In overcoming these difficulties we enjoy international solidarity. Peoples and governments in Latin America and all over the world give us valuable aid. The Soviet Union and other socialist countries have granted us more than 200 million dollars and provided twice that sum in credits for investments. Other nations are also helping us.

But our main efforts are our own. They are the duty of the working people. Of decisive importance in 1973 is higher output of copper and all other export commodities.

Production can and must be increased by better and greater utilization of industrial plant, planning and labor rationalization. Everything should be done to reduce costs by linking higher wages with greater collective and individual responsibility. It is necessary to stimulate every labor initiative and increasingly encourage voluntary labor. All this requires a fundamental revision of the methods of factory management, including trade union involvement.

It is necessary to seek greater participation in factory management; executives must do away with bureaucratic forms of "order and management," be closer to the working people and make no step and take no measures without taking into account their views. For their part, the working people—the workers, employees and technicians—should struggle for greater participation in management. The trade unions should constantly discuss the problems of every factory, with due concern for the workers' interests, and at the same time pursue a policy of increasing copper and industrial production. Every enterprise should be financed on the basis of its own resources, and ensure maximum efficiency in order to promote the well-being of its workers. It is necessary to expand and renew industrial plant and help strengthen the state budget. We should considerably expand farm output, especially wheat, corn, sugar beet and sunflower. To this end the farmers should receive the concrete help and solidarity of their brothers, the city workers.

Prices for industrial and agricultural products should be in keeping with costs and be maintained at a just level based on the importance of the commodity. Future increases of wages and the incomes of farmers and agricultural entrepreneurs should be based in the first place on increased production and labor productivity.

DEFEAT THE COUNTRY'S ENEMIES IN MARCH

This is the only correct and firm way to overcome difficulties with supplies, do away with inflation, revitalize the finance system, overcome the monetary crisis, increase national investment, constantly improve living conditions and do away completely with speculation and the black market.

The fulfilment of these economic tasks is the key to victory in the fight for winning over the majority of the citizens to the side of socialism, to support of the Popular Government.

Therefore the tasks listed above are not problems of tomorrow, they are immediate objectives which must be treated as the main ones in the election campaign. In placing these questions on the order of the day, they must be disseminated, organized, given im-

petus so that their implementation should develop into diversified mass action helping to expand the revolutionary perspectives and contributing to the cause of victory over the enemies of social progress in March.

ENSURE CONVINCING VICTORY FOR THE PARTY AND POPULAR UNITY

The people have proved capable of overcoming all the difficulties they have had to endure. Last October they proved their strength, patriotism, revolutionary fortitude and firm will to defend their government and prevented encroachments on the gains achieved. Whenever necessary, especially now, in these days, the people will act with energy, displaying their ability to fight.

The working class and people of Chile can successfully cope with all the problems facing the country and win in the election fight.

Work and Fight!

Let March 4 see a genuine victory of the Popular Unity bloc!

Beat back the onslaught of the fascist bands which murdered Comrade Tomas Pino de Barrancas and are preparing to turn the election campaign into a bloody debate which would make it impossible to hold the elections. The parliamentarians of the National Party have called it a "meaningless undertaking."

WE CAN LEAD THE REVOLUTION FORWARD

We appeal to the minds and conscience of every Communist, of all friends and sympathizers of the Party, of every one without exception, to devote themselves to the election campaign. The March election will be a decisive confrontation between the supporters and enemies of the revolution.

Communist candidates must win the maximum support of the masses. All Party militants and friends should without losing a minute actively join the election struggle, especially the youth, women and formerly illiterate who will be voting for the first time, they should help set up committees, distribute propaganda material and carry out other necessary work.

Having passed through all the trials and sacrifices of its existence, the Communist Party must once again demonstrate to the class enemy that, together with the other parties of Popular Unity, it is capable of carrying forward the sacred cause of the working class, the people, the country—the cause of social revolution.

*Communist Party of Chile
Central Committee,*

January-February 1973

STATEMENT BY THE CP OF PORTUGAL IN CONNECTION WITH THE ASSASSINATION OF AMILCAR CABRAL

1. The Communist Party of Portugal, convinced that it expresses the feelings of the working people and population of Portugal, raises its voice in strong protest and profound indignation in connection with the dastardly murder of Comrade Amilcar Cabral, General Secretary of the African Party for the Independence of Guinea and Cape Verde Islands (PAIGC), leader of the struggle of the people of Guinea-Bissau and the Cape Verde Islands against Portuguese colonialism, for national independence.*

The Portuguese Communist Party lowers its banners in homage to the ardent patriot utterly devoted to the struggle for the liberation of his people, a consistent revolutionary who guided the building of a progressive society in his liberated homeland, an irreconcilable opponent of Portuguese colonialism and true friend of the Portuguese people whom he always regarded as an ally in the struggle against the common enemy.

The PCP conveys its sincere condolences to the PAIGC, all its members and the family of the deceased.

Despite its criminal war, the intrigues and acts of aggression against the Republics of Guinea and Senegal, the "psychological pressure" and demagogy, the fascist-colonialist government in Lisbon has failed to avoid a succession of military and diplomatic reverses or retard the development of the liberation struggle in Guinea-Bissau the high level of which was evident in the recent elections and reports of a forthcoming proclamation of independence. The murder of Amilcar Cabral will not bring the Portuguese colonialists the expected results in spite of the severity of the blow dealt the struggle of the peoples of Guinea-Bissau and the Cape Verde Islands and the entire liberation movement.

*Amilcar Cabral was murdered on January 20 in Conakry. A special commission was appointed by the Central Committee of the Democratic Party of Guinea to investigate the murder. In January the commission heard testimony of persons implicated in the murder. Addressing the session, President Sekou Toure of the Republic of Guinea, said that the heinous murder of Amilcar Cabral was the work of Portuguese colonialism. To carry out its foul plans it made use of agents who infiltrated the PAIGC as deserters from the Portuguese colonial army.

President Sekou Toure presented new facts concerning a broad plot against the leaders of PAIGC and attempts to engineer a split in the party. On the day A. Cabral was murdered, a group of traitors and colonialist agents captured three small naval vessels belonging to the PAIGC in an attempt to deliver to Bissau important functionaries of the PAIGC, including Deputy General Secretary Aristide Pereira. All of them were brutally tortured. This infamous colonialist plot was foiled by the Guinean navy which intercepted the vessels.

The investigation established that all these crimes were committed on the orders of the Portuguese colonial authorities with the aim of weakening and undermining the Guinea-Bissau liberation movement.—Ed.

The PCP expresses to the PAIGC and the peoples of Guinea-Bissau and the Cape Verde Islands its firm conviction that the struggle for which Amilcar Cabral gave his life will continue till victory is won.

The PAIGC and the peoples of Guinea-Bissau and the Cape Verde Islands can rest assured of the complete solidarity and active fraternal support of the PCP under all circumstances.

2. Exposing the policy of the Marcelo Caetano fascist-colonialist government and warning against the illusions caused by his demagoguery about an imagined change in colonial policy in the direction of "autonomy" and evolution towards "independence," the PCP has always stressed that the main directions of Caetano's colonialist policy are attempts to liquidate the national-liberation movement by means of wars, terroristic attacks against the leaders of this movement, intrigues and subversion against the African states supporting it.

The facts have fully confirmed this appraisal. Stepping up colonial wars; the assassination in 1960 of E. Modlane, Chairman of FRELIMO and leader of the struggle of the people of Mozambique; the invasion of the Republic of Guinea in 1970 with the aim of killing the PAIGC leaders, overthrowing the Sekou Toure government and destroying the support bases of the struggle of the people of Guinea-Bissau; plots and preparation of assassination of leading figures in Zambia, Tanzania, the People's Republic of Congo; acts of aggression against African states and now the assassination of Amilcar Cabral—all this testifies to the calculated determination of the fascists and colonialists to resort to any means to prolong their domination and colonial exploitation in order to prevent realization of the just aspirations of the peoples enslaved by Portuguese colonialism.

It would be a serious mistake to believe, even for one moment, the demagoguery and deceitful maneuvering of the Portuguese fascists and colonialists and their obvious and hidden allies. By these maneuvers and demagoguery the colonialists try to create the illusion that Portugal's policy is developing towards "decolonization," to create conditions making it easier for them to carry out their plots and terrorism, to weaken the Portuguese people's struggle against colonialism and colonial wars, deceive world public opinion, to reduce international aid to liberation movements and to ensure for themselves greater and more direct aid from the imperialists.

Firmly siding with the peoples of Guinea-Bissau, Mozambique and Angola, the PCP believes that to expose the Caetano government's policy of colonialism, war and terror is particularly important for explaining the real prospects of the struggle, for successfully countering this policy and for assuring increased aid by

all anti-imperialist forces to the liberation movements in the Portuguese colonies.

3. The Caetano government would not be able to continue its policy without the military, financial and diplomatic support it receives from the imperialist powers, particularly the United States, France, Britain and the FRG. Although the governments of these countries try to keep this aid a secret from their peoples and world public opinion, which are voicing growing condemnation of Portuguese colonialism, they bear a large share of responsibility for the continuation by the Portuguese fascist-colonialist regime of the policy of aggression, terror and war against the Africa peoples. They are accomplices in the crimes committed by the Portuguese fascists and colonialists. They are also guilty of the murder of Amilcar Cabral.

It is urgently necessary to reveal and impede the aid given to the Portuguese fascists and colonialists by the imperialist powers, and demand that it be stopped.

4. The situation calls for intensifying the support and aid of the anti-imperialist forces of the world to the liberation movements in Guinea-Bissau, Angola and Mozambique, to their revolutionary parties (PAIGC, MPLA, FRELIMO), and to their dedicated leaders who undoubtedly remain the target of Portuguese colonial war and the Portuguese colonialists. It is necessary:

- to raise a wave of protests against the nefarious murder of Amilcar Cabral;

- to demand an immediate end to the colonial war and recognition of the right of the peoples of Guinea-Bissau, Mozambique and Angola to full independence now;

- to demand an immediate discontinuation of the policy of terror, murder, intrigues and aggression in Africa;

- to transform the broad movement of Portuguese democratic forces against the colonial war into a militant mass movement;

- the need is for soldiers and officers to step up their opposition to the colonial war; for the number of deserters to increase and revolutionary activity among the armed forces to grow broader; for protest movements undermining fascist discipline to be started in Portugal and in Africa; for passive resistance to orders from superiors, sabotage and non-fulfilment of orders while creating the impression that they are being fulfilled;

- to continue armed action against the colonialist military machine.

The struggle against the colonial war and colonialism is not only an expression of brotherly solidarity by Communists, democrats, working people and the population of Portugal with the peoples of Guinea-Bissau, Angola and Mozambique and their revolu-

tionary parties, it is also one of the main directions of the Portuguese people's struggle against the oppressing fascist dictatorship, for their own freedom, for their true national independence.

The peoples in the Portuguese colonies and the people of Portugal have identical enemies. These enemies are those who kill the leaders and fighters of the national-liberation movements, who arrest, torture and throw into prison and kill leaders and fighters of the working class and the democratic forces of Portugal. The struggle of the peoples in Portuguese colonies and the struggle of the Portuguese people are bound by ties of close solidarity.

Active solidarity with the people of Guinea-Bissau, Angola and Mozambique is in itself an expression of the fundamental interests of the people of Portugal.

Secretariat, CC PCP

January 21, 1973

FROM THE PARTY PRESS

INTERVIEW OF POLITICAL BUREAU MEMBER OF THE LEBANESE COMMUNIST PARTY

The French weekly *France Nouvelle* of January 15 carried an interview granted to the journal's staff member Michelle Girard by Khalil Debs, member of the Political Bureau and Secretary of the Central Committee of the Lebanese Communist Party.

Question. In 1972 Israel repeatedly attacked Lebanon and Syria, thereby encroaching on the sovereignty of these countries. What do you think about the events in your area? What is the role played by progressive Arab forces?

Answer. Israel constantly organizes aggressive attacks not only against the Palestinians, but directly against Arab countries, such as Syria and Lebanon. Of course, it is peaceful inhabitants who suffer from the consequences of the attacks, most of the victims being women and children. The bombs thrown on villages and Israeli tanks destroying everything in their way show the monstrosity of these aggressive actions.

To strike a decisive blow at the Arab liberation movement and certain progressive regimes, to liquidate completely, politically and physically, the Palestinian resistance—such is the aim pursued by the Israeli leaders following an expansionist policy.

Refusing to fulfil the UN resolutions, they persist in their attempts to impose on the Arab countries, with the unreserved support of the U.S., a solution implying the recognition of the accomplished fact and to affirm their right of "the strong" through continued occupation of foreign territories.

Following the massacre of Palestinians in Jordan in 1970, Israel's attempts to impose a similar situation on the Lebanese government have not brought the expected results. The aim of this constant aggression is to strengthen the positions of Arab reaction everywhere, from the USA to Lebanon. Apart from that, the idea is being spread that only the U.S. possesses the key to the settlement of the conflict and efforts are being made to force the Arab countries to change their policy towards the USSR, which, it is claimed, "gave them nothing," and to make concessions to the U.S. All this is unquestionably connected with the strategic and economic conditions in this area.

Taking advantage of the weakness of the Arab liberation movement following the June 1967 defeat, Israel seeks to aggravate this weakness by resorting to force and the U.S.—by means of intrigues and pressure, so as to suppress the progressive and democratic movement.

Today, when there is a turn towards détente, peaceful coexistence and security, the U.S. position of support for the Israeli leaders in the political and military fields glaringly contradicts the "adaptation" to the new conditions of our time, announced by Nixon.

Imposition of a settlement either with the help of concessions or by means of force, contrary to the interests of the peoples of the area, will only aggravate the situation in the area. Only a solution that really meets the interests of these peoples and recognizes the right of the Palestinian people to self-determination can lead to the restoration of security in the Middle East. In this respect the unity of the Arab liberation movement and its solidarity may have a positive impact on the advance to such a solution.

Cooperation of the progressive Arab forces can and should be established to give a fitting rebuff to reaction and Zionism. Recently, following several months of preparations, a conference was called in Beirut on the initiative of the National Council of Palestine, which had proposed to hold the conference last spring. (I would like to remind that at our Third Congress 24 Arab Communist and other progressive parties and organizations called for an all-Arab peoples' conference in support of the Palestinian revolution.) The only absentee was Libya which refused to participate in a conference together with Communists. Not a single country or organization supported Libya. Since the social basis and class

positions of the represented parties and movements were different and their ideological and political conceptions often contradictory, the discussions at the conference, naturally, reflected these differences and contradictions. Still, the conference was a success, for it was the first meeting of nationalists and Communists moved by a real desire for unity.

The Conference made it possible to overcome some obstacles and set up the Arab Front of Assistance to the Palestinian revolution. This assistance goes much farther, for the Front's charter notes the role of the Palestinian resistance as an inseparable part of the Arab national-liberation movement and world revolution.

The conference was also successful in that it dealt a heavy blow at anti-communism, for along with representatives of other progressive Arab forces in power Communists were elected to the Secretariat of the Front. Incidentally, this set-back to anti-communism is closely linked with the consolidation of anti-imperialist unity. Lastly this success and solidarity was confirmed by the presence of representatives from socialist countries, the peoples of Europe and Latin America (China did not attend the conference).

After the rather controversial statements of the Right and reactionary wing of the Arab liberation movement, in particular Saudi Arabia (which was denounced by the Conference), this meeting may constitute a step forward in joint action by the progressive Arab forces to mobilize the masses.

Question. What are your relations with the Palestinian organizations? How do you combat attempts to counterpose the Lebanese population to the Palestinians in the south of Lebanon?

Answer. As for relations between the Lebanese Communist Party and the Palestinian resistance, it should be said that we are engaged in the same struggle, i.e., the struggle of the entire Arab liberation movement. Lebanese Communists fell in battle side by side with Palestinian commandoes.

All this, however, does not rule out the need for a measure of independence for each organization. Even though there are disagreements, one movement cannot impose its strategy on another movement. In this respect our relations have improved, for they are based on complete sincerity and, at the same time, on a common struggle against a common enemy. The guiding principles of our relations are mutual respect and the desire to strengthen cooperation and united action on the basis acceptable to both sides.

This is making the Israeli leaders lose their sleep. Hence the attacks on the Lebanese Communist Party by the newspaper *Haaretz*, which is close to the government. The Communist Party of Israel condemned this slander, calling it a provocation against the Leban-

ese Communist Party. Israel strikes even in Beirut with the help of charged letters and bombs. This is also why the Israeli government continued its aggressive action in southern Lebanon until the Lebanese government, in its turn, decided to strike at the Palestinians. It wants to thwart the 1969 agreements, but problems existing between Lebanon and the Palestinians cannot be settled by force.

The Lebanese Communist Party, together with other progressive parties in Lebanon, came out against all these attempts, making it hard for the Lebanese and Israeli reaction to achieve its aims.

Question. At a time when the crisis of state-monopoly capital is being exposed in France, your Third Congress drew attention to the economic, social and political crisis raging in Lebanon. How does this crisis manifest itself in your country, situated in another area?

Answer. Though certain economic successes may be noted from the standpoint of the internal political situation, they, regrettably, do not serve the interests of the broad masses. On the contrary, it is the masses who foot the bill, because the taxes are constantly rising and prices go up with no increases in wages. Recently, there were severe clashes in different sectors of the economy. The crisis was confirmed, for instance, by a recent strike at a food factory employing 1,500 workers. This strike, called in support of the demand for a five per cent wage increase (in line with the decision of the government which was compelled to grant it under the pressure of mass trade union and popular actions), forced the factory owner to call out police which opened fire, killing two workers and wounding several more.

These repressions caused a general strike and a big demonstration of 80,000 people which was held under social slogans on the initiative of the Left parties and forces. Solidarity demonstrations and strikes were called in several towns. The movement showed the depth of the crisis and underlined this political aspect: certain forces have not yet "accepted" the democratic gains of our time, including the legal status of the LCP. They tried to probe public opinion through this repression. It should be noted that these events occurred at a time when attempts were being made to push an anti-democratic law through parliament.

The retaliatory actions showed that it will be difficult for reaction to achieve their aims. They corroborated that the struggle for democracy is an inseparable part of the struggle for the people's demands. Even *Le Monde* had to admit that, as proved by the crisis in Lebanon, social struggle and social contradictions are gaining the upper hand over religious differences.

The attempts to involve Lebanon in religious strife have always

been an ideal means of concealing the social struggle, but the reality makes itself felt. For instance, the factory owner who ordered the police to open fire is a Moslem, like the majority of workers. The gulf is becoming deeper and we witness a growth of political consciousness among the workers and the people generally.

The Lebanese Communist Party has always combatted confessionalism. The best way of achieving this goal is to step up the social struggle. We have also noted that the petty and middle bourgeoisie whose interests coincide with those of the working class and run counter to the interests of the Lebanese financial oligarchy linked with foreign monopolies, was quick to respond to the strike call.

The movement is mounting among agricultural workers and small and middle peasants. Several regional conferences and one national conference have already been held to support their demands and rights and to organize the peasants. Preparations are under way for several more conferences.

Note should also be taken of the struggle of college and high school students. For the first time the students who represent the Right parties were forced to support the demands of the Left students.

This social and political struggle, its transition to a new and higher stage, have created new relations between progressive parties and forces. And, conversely, these parties and forces have promoted the growth of this struggle.

The alliance of the LCP with the Progressive Socialist Party (the touchstone of unity), the Baathists and Nasserites is growing stronger in struggle. All these and other forces were represented at our Third Congress.

It is not enough for us Communists to claim the role of vanguard. We must earn it in the fire of struggle. We do not claim a monopoly position for ourselves, but seek to cooperate with all who want to serve the interests of the popular masses.

This unity has already borne fruit. Some workers' demands have already been met. There is the possibility today of preventing the adoption of the anti-democratic law in parliament. But our Third Congress has proved again that the crises affecting the economic, social, cultural and political conditions in the country can be really overcome only through radical transformation of the structures of the present capitalist system. Therefore the Lebanese Communist Party advocates the creation of a national democratic government that would meet the interests of all victims of the policy of the financial oligarchy. This government may become a new stage in our struggle for socialism.

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