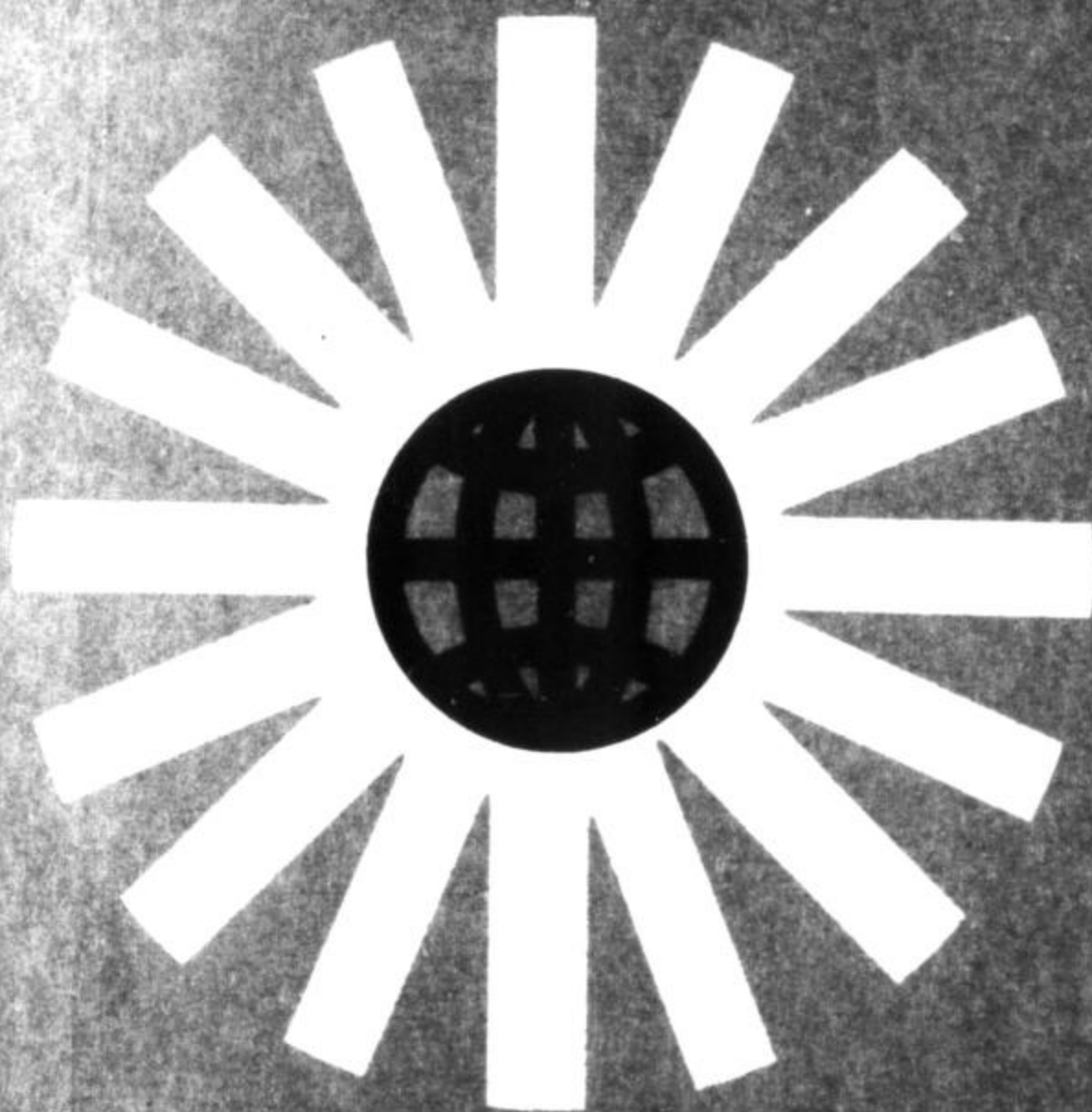


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**NEW PROGRAM
OF SWEDISH
COMMUNISTS**



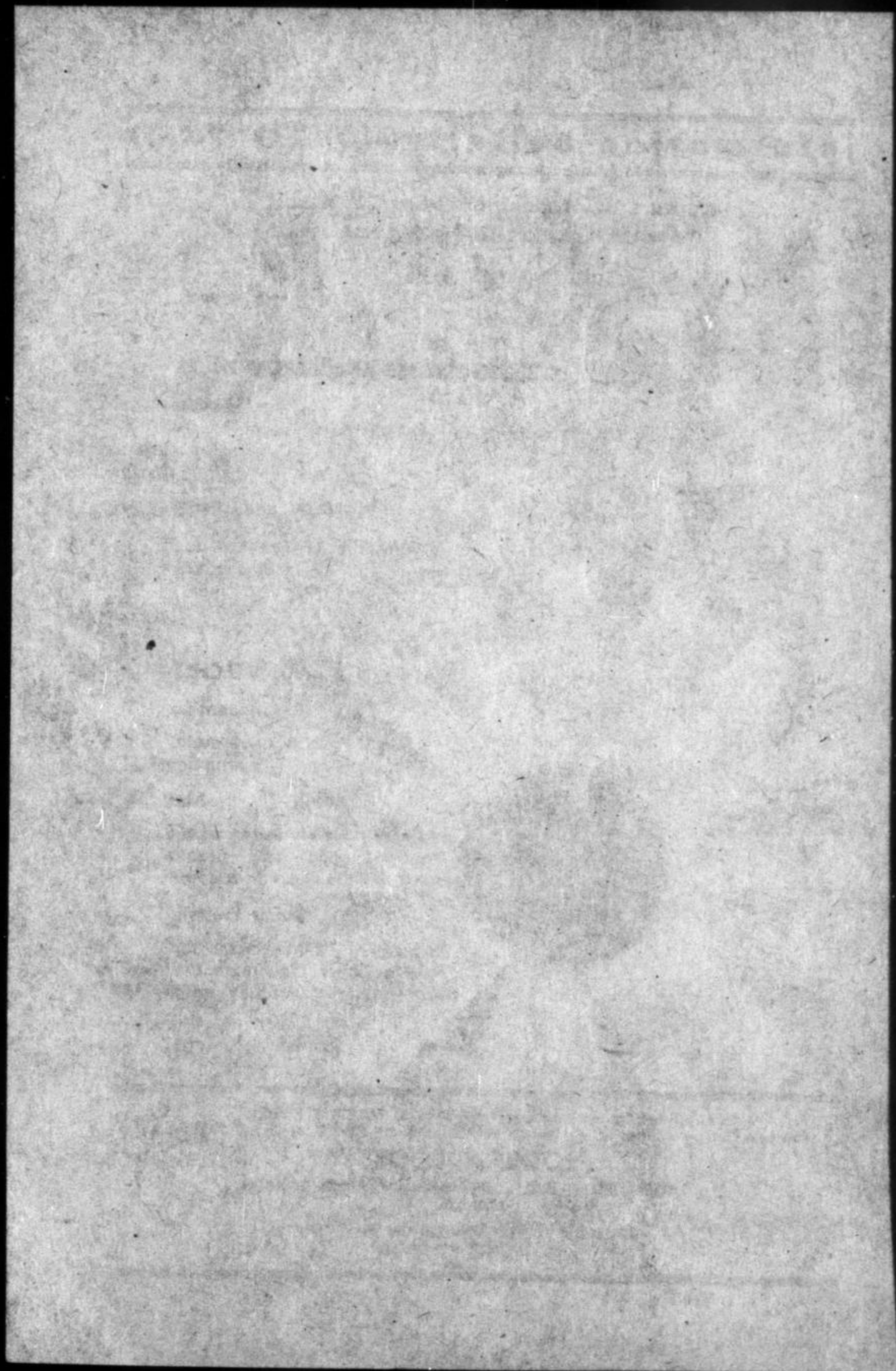
**SOUTH AFRICA—
STATEMENT OF CP**



**STATEMENT OF
CP ARGENTINA**

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CONGRESSES AND CONFERENCES

PROGRAM OF THE LEFT PARTY—COMMUNISTS OF SWEDEN

The 23rd Congress of the Left Party—Communists of Sweden (October 26-29, 1972) adopted the Party's new Program. The Program consists of a Preamble and four sections: "Imperialism and Socialism," "The Sweden of Monopoly Capital," "The Road to Socialism" and "Socialist Society."

Following are extracts from the Preamble and the first section of the Program, and the full text of the second and third sections. (Translated from 23rd Congress of the LPC, October 26-29, 1972. Göteborg, 1973.)

3. Socialism is born inevitably of the contradictions of capitalism. It is the way out for the people. It eliminates the rule of finance capital. Capitalist private property is abolished: the factories, machines and natural resources become the people's property. The groundwork is laid for genuine democracy, for people's power over production and social development. The prerequisites of eliminating classes and establishing equality among people are brought into being.

The road to socialism is a road of class struggle. Capitalism cannot be willed out of existence but must be overthrown. No parties or leaders can accomplish the socialist revolution. It requires all the strength of the working class and the majority of the people.

4. The Left Party—Communists is part of the Swedish working-class movement. It has been growing with the struggle of the working class.

The Party commits itself to participate in and carry forward every movement upholding the working people's interests. It fights against all curbs on the people's democratic rights and for extension of these rights: the right to national self-determination; the universal and equal right to elect a people's representative body electing or rejecting governments; freedom of organization, assembly and demonstration; freedom of opinion and speech and a free press.

The Party's main task is constantly to link the working people's movement with socialism. Its foundation is scientific socialism, the revolutionary theory of Marx and Engels. It works to apply this theory, carry it forward and fuse it with the struggle of the Swedish working class.

The Party organizes the more socially conscious section of the working class. Its aim is to ensure that the struggle of the working

class and the people guided by the ideas of revolutionary socialism leads to victory over capitalism and to a classless society.

5. The struggle against imperialism is worldwide. The peoples of other countries who are fighting for freedom, democracy, socialism and peace are our people's allies. . . .

On an expanding part of the globe, the peoples are shaping socialist social relations. The main contradiction in the world is the contradiction between socialism and capitalism. Proletarian internationalism joins together the struggle of the working class and the people in various countries against capitalist oppression, for socialism.

7. . . . The United States is the center of imperialism, and its military power is imperialism's world police. The dominant position of the United States is not unchallenged. Other capitalist countries and blocs come out as U.S. rivals and are trying to strengthen their positions. However, the interests of imperialist countries are in the main identical as far as the people's liberation struggle and socialism are concerned.

8. Sweden is a small but insatiable imperialist country. To boost their profits, its big companies strive to assert themselves in a sizeable section of the world market. They export capital and transfer factories and production to other countries. Swedish capital intertwines with the capital of other imperialist countries. Swedish and foreign big capital act together to plunder in common the peoples of Western Europe, Asia, Africa and America. Wealth created by Swedish workers is used for exploiting other peoples. Swedish big capital tries to use the profit made through this exploitation for strengthening the positions of capitalism in Sweden.

The Swedish state backs the operations of finance capital abroad through export credits and investment guarantees. It invites foreign capital to Sweden. It encourages and takes part in the interlocking of Swedish and foreign big capital. It supports the imperialist monetary system. By participating in the World Bank and similar organizations, it helps to strengthen imperialism. Trying to sacrifice Sweden to the EEC and the monopolies' new order in Europe, it takes part in the attacks of big capital on the Swedish people's right to national self-determination.

10. Imperialism is the epoch of victorious socialist revolutions. . . . One-third of the earth's population today is following a socialist road. The historic worldwide transition from imperialism to socialism has begun and is continuing. It cannot be stopped. . . .

The victories of socialism have split and weakened the world capitalist system. Imperialism is far from being defeated. However, the imperialist powers today are confronted with socialist countries, which fight for peace and serve as bastions of movements for national and social liberation.

11. The imperialists' motto is "Divide and rule." Imperialism grossly violates the rights of nations. At the same time it foments nationalism. It sets the workers of diverse countries against one another. It fans racial hatred and contempt for foreigners. It takes advantage of national antagonisms to weaken its rivals. . . .

Proletarian internationalism is the revolutionary movement's weapon against nationalism and chauvinism. The fundamental class interests of the working people of all countries in regard to capitalism and imperialism are identical. The struggle in the enterprises calls for unity of action on the part of Swedish and foreign workers. The working people of various countries must counter multinational monopolies by putting up organized resistance. It is an internationalist proletarian task to unite the working people of all nations in a common struggle against capitalist exploitation, for the victory of socialism throughout the world.

Proletarian internationalism respects and upholds every people's right to national self-determination. It links patriotism with internationalist solidarity. It merges the struggle of the peoples for just national demands in one anti-imperialist front. It unites fighters for the socialist revolution in one worldwide movement.

SWEDEN OF MONOPOLY CAPITALISM

12. Present-day Sweden is governed by the laws of capitalism. Production and capital are being concentrated. Big enterprises are becoming ever more dominant. With an eye to ruling the market, enterprises cooperate in branch organizations and cartels. The merger of enterprises brings into being a single seller and trusts in a growing number of fields. Monopoly in diverse forms dominates the Swedish economy. Free competition has been supplanted by struggle between monopolies.

Concentration and monopoly formation also take place in banking. Large commercial banks have become power centers of finance capital and operate as a combination of banking and industrial capital. Associated with them are the major private insurance and investment companies and numerous big industrial enterprises.

A few monopoly families control in the final resort banking monopolies, industrial corporations and insurance trusts. They make up the core of finance capital.

13. Capital concentration is accompanied by a strong increase in the proportion of wage workers, who, today constitute the majority of the people. The working class originally was composed of workers in industry, construction and transport, who now comprise its core. It may now be said to include most other categories of wage workers: large groups of petty officials, clerks, and people engaged in trade and the service industry generally. As regards such groups as technologists, teachers or cultural workers, changes

in their situation and condition bring them nearer to the working class.

The fundamental contradiction of capitalist society is the contradiction between labor and capital, between the capitalist class and the working class. There also exist contradictions between various groups of employers, first of all between the big financial bourgeoisie and small employers. The monopolies' position in production, trade and the credit system enables them to plunder all other groups and classes — wage workers, the self-employed, small employers and peasants.

14. The production process is determined by monopoly capital's bid for profit. Technology is used against the working people — working conditions deteriorate, labor is speeded up and the wear and tear of labor power increases. Many basic requirements remain unsatisfied. At the same time production is prejudiced by commodities which are not needed or can be done without and which cause damage, destruction and poisoning. It is profitable for capitalists to sacrifice irreplaceable natural resources, scarce power resources, collective property, man's environment and culture. Unproductive government spending is a condition for the existence of a monopoly economy. Armaments entail untold expenditures of labor, materials, technology and resources. They undermine the value of money, jeopardize democratic rights and endanger peace.

The capitalist class society is present in every sphere. Incomes distribution under this system is based on capital's right to own the means of production. Capital concentration is also concentration of property in the hands of a small group of big owners.

Due to a favorable economic situation and growing production, the working class has succeeded in winning wage increases, but capitalist profits have grown to a still greater extent.

The notion that classes become equal under capitalism is illusory. Discrepancies in the distribution of fortunes and incomes are increasing. The numerous group of low-paid categories and disinherited people is the antipode of the wealthy superclass. The reserve army of fully or partially unemployed is growing due to the policy of concentrating capital and forcing workers out of the production process.

Women are oppressed as both workers and women. Female labor in the household and in taking care of children is not paid. Its value on the labor market is held down. Women are joining the reserve army of unemployed. The oppression of women is aggravated by their isolation at home, discrimination in various social spheres and ideological myths about the role of women.

15. In any society, the fundamental task of the state is to consolidate the prevailing economic order and the power of the ruling class. The state is always an embodiment of class power.

State power in Sweden is based on a capitalist economy. It supports the rule of the bourgeois class over the working class and the majority of the people by imposing the ideology of the ruling class, through legislation and the judiciary, by directly using force through police and army. In fighting against oppression and exploitation, the working class comes up against covert or overt violence on the part of the state.

16. The majority of the people have won important democratic rights through political struggle. These rights must be upheld and carried deeper. They are restricted by capitalist relations of property and power. The ruling class tries to nullify them. The influence of the Riksdag and other elected bodies is restricted by the power of capital and the bureaucracy. People's power is impossible so long as a small part of the population owns and controls the decisive means of production.

17. As monopoly capitalism develops, the state is faced with new and bigger tasks. The interdependence of diverse branches of the economy has become greater and the entire system more sensitive. Economic and social contradictions are growing. Crises tend to go deeper. The state takes an increasing part in monopoly capital's efforts to overcome contradictions and ease the crisis. It is directly involved in the concentration process. Credit policies, planning and policy on the labor market are subordinated to the demands of capital. Education and research are curtailed for the same reason. The economic policy of the state in support of monopoly capital is gaining greatly in scope. Government and private capital fuse. The state and big finance capital extend cooperation agencies and the system of political agreements and their representatives directly influence the state apparatus. Capitalism has become state-monopoly capitalism.

18. Under state-monopoly capitalism, organized cooperation between the state apparatus, big capital and the bureaucratic leaderships of mass organizations is a common phenomenon. The interests of the top leadership of large organizations are close to the interests of the government bureaucracy. State power tries to use the trade union movement and other mass organizations as its extended arm. The potentialities of organizations for action are restricted by agreements concluded over the heads of the rank and file. The state organizes class collaboration, which gives rise to corporatist elements.

The strong positions of reformism have left a definite imprint on the development of state-monopoly capitalism in Sweden. Social-Democratic policy has meant increasing class collaboration.

Reformism entertains illusions about the possibility of changing capitalism into socialism. At present the Social-Democratic leadership cherishes the illusion of creating a durable and organized

capitalism that can be changed through reform. This is why it is clashing more and more with Social-Democrats who are opposed to class collaboration and adhere to socialist ideas.

19. The contradictions between labor and capital are growing. The constant struggle between wages and profits is gaining in intensity. As the struggle for higher pay and for greater material security goes unrelentingly on, wage workers are becoming more and more aware of the importance of strength and unity against their common enemy. It is only natural that Communists and Social Democrat workers as well as non-party workers should act in common in everyday struggles.

Monopoly capital makes it imperative to link the struggle for higher pay with the struggle against steadily growing prices and rents and against environmental destruction. Consumers rally together in maintaining their interests against rising prices. Tenants unite to combat plunder by house-owners. New opposition groups join in struggle against destruction of the environment. The experience of concrete struggles helps more and more workers to realize that the issue of working conditions is one of power in the enterprises.

Demands for political reform are directed against the bourgeois state, its legislation and its tax system. A struggle is going on against plunder through taxes. The unemployed insist on their right to work. Resistance to repressive legislation is on the rise. A movement is developing against the population outflow from rural and other areas and against the forcible displacement of people. The struggle for political reforms is increasingly backed by public opinion and is becoming an extra-parliamentary movement. It is also carried on in the Riksdag and in communal bodies. It exposes the role of bourgeois parties as well as reformist illusions and lays bare the real contradictions of society. It makes people more and more conscious of the need to fight.

The struggle in today's Sweden goes on primarily between the overwhelming majority of wage workers and big finance capital. In the economic sphere it is centered on equitable distribution. In the political sphere, it is spearheaded against the power of capital and the state as the instrument of big monopoly's political power. It connotes struggle against imperialism, for the right to national self-determination and other democratic rights. Bourgeois ideology is countered by the people's experience, progressive political, cultural and educational ideas and the ideas of scientific socialism.

It follows that the class struggle is gaining in scale and intensity. Capitalism can never achieve genuine stability. People in the enterprises, urban neighborhoods and mass organizations, young men and women are becoming ever more confident of their strength and increasingly aware of the necessity for organized struggle.

Strikes and other actions are evidence of the failure of the policy of class collaboration.

THE ROAD TO SOCIALISM

20. Capitalism has created objective conditions for its own abolition. Crises and imperialist wars show that capitalism should be in the dustbin of history. However, capitalism will not go of its own accord. The oppressed classes destroy it only through struggle. The development of state-monopoly capital leads to a merging of the economic and political struggle. Concentration of capital is accompanied by concentration of political power in the hands of the big monopolies. This power is used to ensure high and stable profits. Therefore, the very development of capitalism is linked with the fundamental questions of power in society. It appears that the problem of distribution is connected with the problem of control over production resources. The people's interests require a struggle for political power.

The working people's struggle against the big monopolies has its ups and downs and any gains made by the working class are always in danger. The content of reforms is nullified, democratic rights are infringed, living standards drop as a result of labor speed-up, rising prices and environmental destruction. During the recurrent crises capital goes over to the offensive and with the aid of the state the burden of the crisis is shifted on to the working people.

It is necessary to destroy the power of big capital in order to ensure the vital interests of the people.

It is the task of the conscious socialist forces to point out the goal and direction of the struggle.

21. The enterprise is the most important sector of the front of economic and political struggle, for here capitalist oppression is strongest and most direct. It is accompanied by ceaseless efforts to split the working people. Certain groups are shown preference by introducing special forms of wages and by granting privileges. Workers are brought in from other countries; many of them become part of the lower strata. The aged are forced to leave work and women are given low-paid jobs.

Nevertheless, all workers and office employees, Swedish and foreign, men and women, young and old, experience capitalist exploitation, the power of those who buy labor power, insecurity and worsening conditions of work. The joint struggle for higher wages by cutting profits neutralizes capitalist attempts to split the workers. In the struggle against employer omnipotence at enterprises and for winning more power for hired labor the workers are uniting on a class basis. A united working class is the main force in the struggle for new political power.

22. Organizations, such as the workers' and employees' trade

union movement, the tenants' associations and cooperatives are becoming a potent weapon in the struggle for better conditions. Realizing the need for an organized struggle, the members of these organizations have strengthened them. On a local scale, members of the workers' movement take an active part in their daily activities, bearing in mind the working people's basic requirements and interests and the never-ending class struggle.

Monopoly capital and its state try to deprive the working people of this weapon. The reformist policy of class collaboration ties these organizations, forcing them to cooperate with the state and the big monopolies. This causes splits in the organizations and passivity among the members. The leadership takes cover behind a massive bureaucratic machine which, at crucial moments, acts contrary to the interests of members of the organizations.

The trade union struggle develops in the fight against capital and the state as instruments of capital's political power. It is in need of organizations that are capable of waging a struggle and mobilizing its members.

A militant trade union policy rallies members of the trade union movement. By working to carry out this policy and taking an active part in it they can jointly abolish class collaboration and bureaucracy in their organizations, restore democracy in the people's movements and the rights of members and make the trade unions militant working people's organizations. Then the trade union movement, carrying on its struggle, will again demand abolition of exploitation. This will be a decisive step in the direction of building up revolutionary policy.

23. Revolutionary theory and scientific socialism should help in disclosing the objective conditions for working-class emancipation. On this basis it is the task of the Party to explain its policy in exposing bourgeois ideology, uniting the working class and its allies and isolating the main enemy—big capital.

The vital interests of the people run counter to monopoly power and property relations and call for their restriction. The working people demand a say at their enterprises, the unemployed demand work and women are coming out against twofold oppression. The population of the poorly developed regions is demanding that the government build key branches of industry there and develop these areas economically. Spokesmen of various public groups are uniting in the struggle to prevent the destruction of the environment, the people's health and living conditions, motivated by the profit drive, and demand an organization of production that would satisfy the people's needs. The political struggle unites various aspects of the struggle of the working class and people which is developing into joint offensives against the power of big capital. Progressive political parties and movements, mass organizations, action groups and

the movement for peace and international solidarity are uniting in a common front of struggle against big capital.

This front helps unite the ranks of the working class and establish cooperation between the working class and other segments of working people. In the conditions of a democratic mass struggle demands for economic, social and political changes become more pronounced. These demands are increasingly directed against the social system. The broad masses of people are realizing the need for a socialist alternative.

The working people, taught by the experience of struggle, accept this policy as their own. The majority rally round this policy. This gives rise to a political force which brings the socialist transformation of society to the forefront.

24. The power of big capital can be destroyed only with the support of a conscious and active majority. The Left Party—Communists strives to develop and strengthen this majority on the basis of an all-round economic, ideological and political struggle in the interests of the people. The foundations of a new political power in the shape of a revolutionary government emerge in this struggle.

Such a government is an instrument in the struggle of the working class required in order to destroy the power of big capital, neutralize the means of its political power, do away with its economic power and open the road to people's power and socialist democracy.

The following measures must be carried out:

—Abolish military bureaucracy. A people's defense must take the place of the army and para-military police;

—Replace the bourgeois state bureaucracy with an administration responsible to the people and bodies elected by the people;

—Confiscate bank holdings, large companies, the land and natural riches belonging to big capital and make them public property;

—Nationalize commercial banks, private insurance companies, big enterprises and key branches of industry so as to provide a basis for production in the hands of the people;

—The revolutionary government should express the will of the majority. Only action by the people themselves can bring them to power and ensure that these tasks are realized.

25. Parliament has never been the center of authority in a bourgeois society. Final authority and control of production is in the hands of a few owners of capital who are not responsible to the people. The capitalist state guarantees political power for capitalists. Under monopoly capitalism authority is vested more and more with organs that are beyond democratic control and influence.

If in its attempts to retain its power the bourgeois class curtails or abolishes the people's democratic freedoms and rights, it is the

task of the people to work for their restoration. The defense of democratic freedoms and the rights of the people and the struggle for democracy form an integral part of the struggle for people's power and a necessary link in socialist social transformations.

Realization of socialist transformations peacefully, without an armed struggle or civil war, is in the interests of the working class and the majority of people. However, the ruling class defends its privileges with all the means at its disposal and will not relinquish them voluntarily. Whether it will be possible to force big capital to surrender its political and economic power without resorting to armed resistance depends in decisive measure on the balance of forces in the class struggle.

The revolutionary government will have the support of the majority of people's representation as one of the expressions of a conscious and militant majority of the people who form the basis of such a government. It will use all its forces to defend the rights won by the people against bourgeois attempts to abolish them. The revolution establishes democracy by transferring authority to organs elected by the people and responsible to them. When control of production is in the hands of these organs, the foundations will be laid for people's power in our country.

PLENARY MEETINGS

UNITY IS THE KEY

STATEMENT* OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN COMMUNIST PARTY

Important developments have taken place in South Africa since the enlarged meeting of the Central Committee of the South African Communist Party reviewed the situation in 1970. The permanent state of crisis of the system has been aggravated, arising both from the general crisis of world imperialism and of the special contradictions and stresses inherent in the white supremacy apartheid structure. The aggravation of the situation is reflected not only by growing indications of conflict between various elements of the ruling classes over problems of how best to retain the racist-colonialist structure, but, more significantly, by expressions of renewed militancy and upsurge among all sections

*The African Communist, first quarter of 1973. For the SACP Statement on the International Situation see previous IB.

of the oppressed and exploited masses. There are encouraging signs that the despondency and immobility which resulted from the heightened repressive measures in the post-1960 period, are beginning to recede.

The most revolutionary organizations of the oppressed people—the liberation alliance headed by the African National Congress and embracing the SACP—have long recognized that the problems of the country can only be resolved by the revolutionary, forcible overthrow of white supremacy and the taking over of power by the people. But they have never had a “putschist” approach to our revolution; we recognize that the South African revolution must be seen as a process accompanied by an ever-rising combination of forms of resistance, action and organization, violent and non-violent, illegal and legal, spontaneous and planned.

The task of the vanguard is to welcome, encourage and support all positive manifestations of the rising consciousness of the oppressed people; to participate in them and to strive ever to build among them the spirit of unity, of active and militant struggle, of revolutionary purpose.

THE PEOPLE ON THE MARCH

The white regime in South Africa has always maintained its grip by techniques ranging from administrative and political dictatorship, to open terror. In the post-war period the Nationalist Government threw to the winds all remnants of democratic pretence. To meet the mass challenge the racists went all out to destroy the people's organizations with the main attack directed to the ANC, the other organizations in the Congress Alliance, the SACP and the newly-created military organ of the movement, Umkhonto we Sizwe.

It is a matter of historical record that the enemy succeeded in inflicting wounding blows on the whole movement. The people's organizations were hounded into complete illegality, leadership centers were destroyed and the attempts to regroup within the country were hindered by the absolute nature of the terror and the lack of adequate preparation to meet it. The thoroughness and brutality of the repression stunned the people who are largely deprived of the effective guidance, direction and leadership of the organizations behind which they had rallied so magnificently in the mass upsurge of the late 50s and early 60s.

But the attacks which were designed once and for all to destroy the people's organizations and their resolve to put an end to white domination, did not end in a permanent rout as the enemy had hoped. Once again there is evidence of significant stirrings amongst the mass of the oppressed in our land.

Despite the barrier of repressive legislation which has illegalized strikes and denied the African workers the right to form trade unions, more and more workers are taking matters into their own hands. The strike movement is growing in spite of punitive actions by the State and the employers. The workers are becoming more confident of their strength and more experienced in struggle, organizing under the very noses of the repressive forces and maintaining their unity and solidarity in open struggle.

The militant actions of the Durban and Cape Town dockers and the PUTCO bus drivers are but some of the nationally publicized instances of militant working-class action. Many other unreported actions have taken place at various places of work throughout the country.

The magnificent three-month strike of the Namibian workers which spread to every sector of the Namibian economy and involved tens of thousands of workers, created a crisis of international and national proportions for the Vorster regime. It was triggered off by the iniquitous contract labor system. As it developed, more general demands were included which went to the root of the whole system of white domination—the rate for the job, freedom to change jobs, freedom to enjoy family life, abolition of the pass books, and so on. Despite the detention of 200 leaders, the killing of strikers by armed police and the military, a clamp down on all news and the introduction of a measure similar to the infamous Proclamation 400 of the Transkei, the Government was unable to break the resolve and unity of the workers. In the end it was forced to negotiate and to suspend and alter the labor contract system, though the new arrangements do not go to the root of the evil. The basic iniquities of South African imperialist domination in Namibia remain and the people are poised for a further round of struggle. The Namibian strike was one of the most inspiring examples of how the labor of the oppressed (even in the absence of extensive organization) can be forged into a most potent instrument of mass struggle. This lesson is not lost on the Black workers everywhere in our land.

In the countryside the Government's policy for the arbitrary removal of entire population groups is deepening the anger and resentment of the people. In some areas resistance has forced the Government to abandon "rehabilitation schemes" and those that take place have to be carried out at the point of a gun. In the Bantustans groups and individuals from amongst the oppressed majority are beginning to act and speak out publicly with a sharpness which seemed impossible only a few years ago. Even some of the Government-appointed Bantustan Chief Executives find themselves compelled to raise demands which come from the people themselves

and which reflect a changing mood and a growing impatience.

The recent student actions not only bore testimony to the spirit of resistance among the youth despite the ever-present threat of violent oppression by the Vorster Government, but were also a simultaneous, nationwide expression of a struggle that the student group had been waging with increasing intensity in the schools and colleges throughout the country. Already, in at least the two cases of the Lebowa and Transkei Bantustans, commissions of inquiry into "student unrest" have had to be appointed.

THE DEMOCRATIC FRONT WIDENS

In an effort to overcome the disabilities imposed upon them by the banning and persecution of their political and labor organizations, the patriotic forces of our country have founded a number of organizations which objectively form part of the broad democratic front. More and more sections of the oppressed people are entering the struggle as a conscious force, and they are using many opportunities to present united demands for the improvement of the conditions of the people and the advancement of the struggle.

The Colored Labor Party has continued to be more than just an electoral machine for the dummy Colored Representative Council. It won its majority on a platform of positive rejection of apartheid and in particular of second class representation. It has steadfastly refused to be tempted by proposals (such as a limited representation in the white Parliament) for hiving off the Colored people from their African brothers. The sense of a common fate with the oppressed as a whole is deepening amongst the Colored people, the mood which regards Black freedom as indivisible is growing. The militant youth wing of the Labor Party has recently decided to drop its "Colored" tag and open Party membership to all races. It adopted a manifesto at its present conference which contained complete acceptance of the concept of Black Awareness and the need to coordinate closely with other Black groups in political and community programs. The Colored riots of last year and the bus boycott in Port Elizabeth are further signs of an increased readiness to combine and act against authority.

The same tendencies are showing themselves amongst the Indian community. The recent period has seen the re-emergence of the Natal Indian Congress as a public campaigning body.

Despite the bannings and other forms of persecution, the mass organizations of the Indian people are no longer dormant. They are responding not only on questions related directly to the Indian community but have reaffirmed the militant policies of the Dadoo-Naicker leadership of unity in action amongst all the oppressed

people. Students at Indian educational institutions were in the front ranks of those who demonstrated solidly with the African students during the recent unrest. The Indian Congress is considering launching a national youth league open to people of all races.

Although there is no certainty as to the direction it will take, the recent move to launch a Black People's Convention is yet another sign of a growing awareness of the need for nationwide organization amongst the oppressed.

African teachers have united to demand the scrapping of Bantu Education and the introduction of free and compulsory education for African youth; women's organizations are helping to spearhead the demand for the abandonment of and resistance to the policy of mass removals. Significant sections of the intellectual and business strata are devoting efforts to the educational and cultural advancement of the African people. Within the church a struggle is being waged to enable it to play its part in advancing the struggle for the liberation of the Black people. The campaign for the removal of discrimination in sport is drawing in greater numbers of sportsmen. The great victory of the African doctors of Johannesburg in winning their demands for equal pay comes as culmination of persistent united action on their part.

Thus, at all levels and amongst all strata, there is a nationwide sharpening of the confrontation between the oppressed and the oppressor, an urge of unity in action and an ever-increasing search for yet more effective measures and organizational forms to advance the liberation struggle.

This upswing in militancy and organization in many important spheres is no accident.

The rekindling of the spark of a will to resist is in no small measure connected with the "no surrender" policy and actions of the whole liberation movement and especially the ANC and our Party. Despite the enemy's vicious onslaught and the enormous problems created by the need to pursue the struggle in the new situation created by the terror, the people have been inspired and have gained new courage by the public re-appearance on a national scale of the illegal organizations which have continued to carry out consistent organizational, educational and propaganda activities under the very noses of the police. The people warmed to the battles between cadres of Umkhonto we Sizwe and South African and Smith forces during the late 60s — the first organized armed engagements in the modern period by a people's force which, even on the enemy's admission, showed a skill and heroism of the first order. Whatever their limitations, these actions and the internal illegal activities

have helped to inject a mood of resistance and have demonstrated that organized opposition can persist and find new expression even under the most difficult conditions.

But no amount of agitation and propaganda could have roused the masses of the people out of the despondency of a few years ago if they themselves had not realized through their own experience that their conditions are becoming more and more intolerable and that they must take action to change them.

This realization has grown inevitably out of the intensification of the apartheid system of systematic repression, extreme national oppression, super-exploitation and planned impoverishment of the Black people.

THE ECONOMY IN TROUBLE — THE PEOPLE SUFFER

In all spheres of life the oppressed masses of our country have been cast into even lower depths of deprivation, want and suffering. The country's economy has slipped into a recession which is particularly affecting certain important branches of industry such as building and construction and durable consumer goods. The Government has worsened the situation by imposing deflationary measures aimed largely at correcting an adverse balance of payments.

While to some extent the South African recession is part of the recession afflicting all imperialist countries, its causes remain largely home-based. It is a direct consequence of the continuation and intensification of the policy of apartheid.

Its single most important cause is the retrogressive labor policy of job reservation and the color bar. While this policy has served its purpose of attaching the white working class to the white alliance, it is now acting as a limiting factor even to the capitalists themselves who are interested in expanding production. There is an acute shortage of skilled labor which the policy of attempting to import white immigrants has failed to overcome. The limited nature of the internal market, caused by the planned impoverishment of the majority of the people, is another aggravating factor.

The persistent deficit of the balance of payments is itself a result of the apartheid system which, amongst other things, has imposed a heavy bill of military expenditure on the country. South Africa's armed forces have been more than doubled in the years between 1971 and 1972. According to the Institute of Strategic Studies, South Africa's armed forces increased from 44,250 in 1970-71 to 109,300 in 1972-73. Opposition to her policies has excluded South Africa from establishing stable, equal and mutually-beneficial trade relations particularly with the countries of independent Africa.

While the monied classes of South Africa are worried by record levels of bankruptcy, sharp falls in share prices and under-utilization of productive capacity, the deepening crisis of the apartheid

economy is a matter literally of life and death to the masses of the people. There are now one and a quarter million unemployed Africans in the country. This is a rate of unemployment of about 18 per cent of the employable African population. In the absence of unemployment benefit and overall social security for the African people, this level of unemployment signifies absolute destitution of a sharpness, permanence and scale which the bare figures cannot really convey. It is calculated that African unemployment will reach four million by 1980.

Simultaneously, a persistently high rate of inflation continually reduces the purchasing power of the wages particularly of the Black workers through increases in the price of essentials such as food, rents, fares and so on. This occurs in a situation in which Black labor is contributing more and more to South Africa's wealth. For example, Francis Wilson in his book, *Labor in the South African Gold Mines 1911-1969*, established that in real terms Black cash earnings in 1969 were no higher and possibly even lower than they had been in 1911. White miners, on the other hand, have increased their real cash earnings by 70 per cent over the same period, mainly as a result of their bargaining strength.

It has recently been announced that one of the major mining groups has increased the wages of 50,000 of its African miners by 30 per cent. As grandiose as this rise may sound, in actual earnings it means that the income of the African mine worker is still a miserable pittance. His average wage will go up from just over £9 per month to just over £12 per month, compared to the white miner's average earnings of £200 per month. In 1967 the rise which the white miner got was more than the total average earnings of the Black miner.

Acting directly in the interest of the monopolies, the Vorster regime has also further worsened the conditions of the people by devaluing the Rand twice within one year, aiming at further redistributing the national income away from the ordinary working people towards the owners of productive property, the white capitalist class. Simultaneously the local monopolies have had their internal high prices protected from foreign competition by a high wall of import restrictions.

The weight of the total onslaught on the people's living standards through the continuation and extension of apartheid, has resulted in a further reduction of the Black people's share of the national income, with the wage gap widening rather than narrowing. Eighty per cent of the urban African population lives below the minimum poverty datum line, while agriculture can only feed one-third of the Bantustan African population. At R432 a year, the national average household income for Africans constitutes only nine per cent of the annual white average income of R4,800.

BANTUSTANS AND RESETTLEMENT

Hidden behind the fraudulent constitutional arrangements of the Bantustan program is the reality of masses of people with no land, no jobs, no food. The apartheid system, even in its Bantustan guise, continues to maintain the reserves as labor reservoirs and dumping grounds for the unemployed. The thousands that are being uprooted, endorsed out of the towns and removed from the white farms have meant a sharp aggravation in the conditions of the rural masses whose destination the colonization of our country has made endemic.

In the recent period the most pernicious tightening of the screw has been the forceful application of the principle of migrant labor regardless of how long Africans have lived in the urban areas, with the massive uprooting of populations this has entailed. The resettlement camps form one part of this program. In the last few years, the Government has removed close to half a million Africans from "white" areas and so-called "black spots" and dumped them in the veld in areas marked out for "resettlement." The wretched conditions in these camps have been exposed in the press. But the forcible adherence to the immigrant labor policy and the expulsion of "surplus" African populations to the "homelands" goes even further than this. The Government has taken powers to improvise a new system of dealing with pass offenders. They are to be shuffled off to "aid centers" run by the Department of Bantu Administration where Bantu Affairs Commissioners will then decide if (1) jobs can be found for them, (2) they should go to jail as pass offenders, or (3) they should be repatriated to their "homelands." Aid centers may reduce the numbers of short-term prisoners but instead of going to prison — or being given the option of paying a fine — Africans will be forcibly sent to the rural areas where there is no employment, or as cheap laborers to areas where there is a shortage of labor, particularly on white-owned farms.

The resettlement camps and the rural locations have become the bane of the rural African masses and the African nation as a whole. Further subdivisions of plots in the Bantustans are increasing the hardships of the people. The policy of the removal of labor tenants from white farms is depriving the people of tenure and stock while the policy of creating a pure agricultural working class whether resident on the white farms or in the rural locations and the resettlement camps, objectively favors the taking over of more land by the more powerful sections of the white capitalist class. Transformed into a proletariat, with nothing to live by except the sale of their labor power, the African agricultural workers throughout the country, the Indian sugar cane workers, the Colored agricultural workers in the Western Cape, are all subject to especially severe super-exploitation. Whilst their productive labor feeds white

South Africa and large numbers of other people throughout the world, the South African agricultural workers themselves live in increasing misery and starvation.

The earnings of the Black middle-stratum have also deteriorated, and the constitution of apartheid has further limited the possibilities of advancement in terms of both position and income. There has been a mass exodus into industry and elsewhere by many amongst the teaching profession. The intelligentsia as a whole finds itself barred from effectively contributing to the genuine cultural advancement of the people. Government-sponsored businessmen find themselves over-burdened with debts and becoming no more than employees of the State and white businessmen. The civil servants in the Bantustans find their position worsened with the exception of a very thin upper layer. Many of them are becoming demoralized by the realization that they are often forced to act as instruments for perpetuating the subjugation of their own people.

In general, the people live in grinding poverty and under a lengthening shadow of police rule and brutality. They find their best sons and daughters, the most selfless patriots of our country, murdered at will by the security police. Everywhere force and greater force is the order of the day against the striking students and the PUTCO bus drivers, against the students in Cape Town and the striking workers in Namibia, and against all expressions of mass opposition.

NEW SOLUTIONS

The search for new "solutions" within the suffocating framework of capitalist exploitation and racial supremacy is an indication of the mounting difficulties and contradictions facing the ruling class. Those "solutions" designed to find more effective methods for the continuation of race rule, cannot succeed.

Faced with a continuing shortage of skilled and semi-skilled labor, significant sections of the owning classes, whose profits suffer because the potential growth of the home market is frustrated by job reservation and the limited buying power of the majority of the people, find themselves in conflict with some of the policies of the Vorster regime. They, of course, stand four-square behind white supremacy but are, at the same time, affected by some of the restrictive measures designed primarily for the protection of the privileged white workers. Their "solutions" for easing aspects of the color bar in industry, are motivated by the desire more effectively to stave off radical moves for change in the whole economic structure and to introduce only such reforms which will ensure the continuation of the high profits system.

The white-dominated Trade Union Council of South Africa (TUCSA) is scrambling to be in at the foundation of a mass African

trade union movement which it is campaigning for. Its purpose is to capture it and bend it to its class collaborationist and reformist class. Already TUCSA has more Colored and Indian workers than whites in its ranks with the Black workers constituting 54 per cent of the membership. It no doubt reckons that after it has pulled in the African workers it will, with the aid of the Vorster regime, continue to monopolize the leadership in the hands of the white labor aristocracy. Its new-found championing of the Black workers is suspect. If there was any doubt as to what is behind this new "liberal" approach of some white trade unionists, it becomes crudely obvious by the recent statement of Mr. Arthur Grobbelaar, the General Secretary of TUCSA, who said that if the employers and TUCSA did not help organize African unions it would lead to "dangerous frustration" (which) will build up and inevitably lead to a rejection of the privileged white group's policies and "ultimately lead to violence for changing the present situation."

In its turn, the Government as one of its priority "solutions" is pressing ahead with increasing vigor to set up so-called Bantu "Homelands." On the international front its purpose is to break down South Africa's isolation by projecting the Bantustans as real enclaves of African independence and to use the client administrations which are being set up to prepare the ground for further imperialist incursions into the rest of Africa. On the internal front the policy is aimed at reversing the process which began in earnest with the formation of the ANC in 1912 of cementing the African people into one nation with an indisputable right to determine the destiny of our land.

By projecting the constitutional mechanisms of Bantustan, the policy is directed to undermine support for a revolutionary change. In this way the Government hopes to isolate the national movement from its base of support amongst the people.

Ethnic development within the framework of white domination may create the illusion of a recognition of some of the undoubted cultural rights of the different groups, but its main purpose is to break up the unity of the African people and to perpetuate their inferior status. The talk of so-called cultural autonomy is designed to emphasize the separate rather than the common heritage and aspirations of the African people; to deprive the people of the sort of education which will qualify them to integrate into the modern sector, and to rebuild the walls of separation between the different groups which made them easier targets for white conquest and control.

In each "homeland" a bureaucracy of politicians, office holders, administrators and officials of various sorts is being created with the purpose of giving a small sector of the traditional rulers and groups from amongst the intelligentsia a special place in separation

politics at the administrative level which would help the white State to govern them more easily through Black officials.

The Government also encourages the growth of a business and middle class in the "homelands" who, by the very nature of things, will be wholly dependent for their economic survival and expansion on the State or the white bourgeoisie.

It is also hoped to create ethnic style divisions amongst the African working people, to move the fulcrum of political activity away from the towns and into the separate "homelands," and thus to emasculate the united working class as a political force in the areas most vital to the enemy — its industrial complexes. The spearhead of resistance to white domination in the modern period has understandably been in the urban complexes. The African proletariat has shown a political consciousness and has had a history of militant struggle which places it in the vanguard of our democratic revolution. In the urban areas objective conditions have helped to break down tribal barriers. An African national consciousness grew up and formed strong links with the oppressed Black minorities — the Colored and Indian people.

Despite over 20 years of "Bantu homelands" development, the majority of African people — over eight million — live and work in the so-called "white" areas. The heightened tempo of repatriation to the "homelands" in the last few years is making little significant impact on the population distribution as between Blacks and whites in the towns. Today there are still more Africans in the urban areas than whites. This position is likely to remain materially unchanged in the future.

The purpose of the Bantustan "solution" is clear. Together with the Pass Laws, it is intended to give every African the status of a migratory worker in order to deal in a new way with the undeniable and growing dependence of white mining, industry and farming on Black skilled, semi-skilled and unskilled labor. According to a recent study, six million Africans are already in the grip of migratory labor (*Migratory Labor: The Canker in South African Society* by John Kane-Berman).

THE ONLY REAL SOLUTION — POWER TO THE PEOPLE

All these "solutions," whether by representatives of white labor, elements amongst the big bourgeoisie, the Vorster regime or his white Parliamentary opponents, point basically in one direction — a search for new methods to continue white domination. The only real and lasting solution lies in the revolutionary taking over of power by the people — the most militant constituent of which is the most oppressed section, the African majority.

Our analysis has shown that greater possibilities are opening up of raising mass struggle to new heights because of the ever-widen-

ing gap between the white minority and the mass of the oppressed and the intensification of internal contradictions at all levels. This is accompanied by a growing awareness by more and more amongst the Black majority of the need for nationwide mobilization to end white domination in all spheres of life. The speed with which these stirrings will be transformed into a real revolutionary upsurge depends on a number of factors. How can the leadership of our whole liberation movement channel the streams of growing protest into one mighty river of revolution? It needs growing unity in thought and action which in the first place has its roots in a common understanding of the processes which are taking place.

UNITED THOUGHT LEADS TO UNITED ACTION

Ideological clarity is of capital importance not only within our own movement but at all levels of the new and reconstructed mass organizations which objectively form part of the broad democratic front.

The current ferment is accompanied by a public debate and discussion on what has become known as the Black Consciousness movement. What is the position of our Party on this question?

The SACP is a pioneer of the idea that the main content of our struggle is the liberation of the African people and with them the other oppressed nationalities. As early as the 20s communists were the first to give expression to it by the adoption of the slogan of "Independent Black Republic." Our Program adopted by the underground conference in 1962 confirmed that

the main content of this (national democratic) revolution is the national liberation of the African people. Its fulfilment is, at the same time, in the deepest interests of the other non-white groups for in achieving their liberty the African people will at the same time put an end to all forms of racial discrimination.

We have always recognized that one of the prime mainsprings for the maximum mobilization of the African people remains (as stated in the ANC's *Strategy and Tactics*) a deepening of their national confidence, national pride and national assertiveness. Although it still lacks clear and consistent expression the concept of Black Consciousness and the psychological liberation of the African people has its roots in, and is part of, the battle for the unity of the oppressed masses and their leadership of the whole national democratic alliance. We therefore see the current, public spread of the ideas of Black Consciousness as reflecting basically a positive aspect of one of the realities of our struggle.

Our Marxist-Leninist Party, itself largely an African Party in its composition and leadership, remains first and foremost a Party of the working class whose aim is socialism and whose ideological standpoint is rooted in internationalism. We stand for the unity of

the working people across all national boundaries against the whole capitalist class and its ideology, regardless of its national origin. We, however, see no conflict between this standpoint and our support for the revolutionary-democratic features of a nationalism which cements the unity of the African and other oppressed Black people and which heightens the struggle of the Black masses relying on their own initiative and strength.

"Black nationalism" is an inevitable and healthy response of the oppressed people against the arrogant white chauvinism, embracing Afrikaner nationalism, British jingoism and the crude racialism which has been absorbed by a white aristocracy of labor, which has made common cause with the racist bourgeoisie in the dispossession and super-exploitation of the Black working people.

At the same time, patriots must be on their guard lest this somewhat unclearly-defined slogan and concept of Black Consciousness be used as an instrument merely to secure the material advancement of the Black intelligentsia and middle strata at the expense of the working people. It is a reformist illusion that, within the existing social and economic framework of apartheid, islands of "Black Power" can be built from which effective onslaughts can be mounted against the structure itself. It is important to defeat the indoctrination of African servility, deliberately inculcated by the oppressors, and to vindicate the finest elements in the traditions and history of the Black people. But merely contemplative theories, confined to comforting assertions about the uniqueness and superiority of African culture and traditions, will never in themselves serve to mobilize the people in action for freedom.

Mindful, no doubt, of many past experiences in which white "liberal" elements have tried to dominate Black protests or misdirect them into harmless channels, it is natural and correct that the modern Black protest movement, especially amongst the students, has strongly asserted its independence. At the same time, tendencies to impose on the liberation movement a crude, overall "principle" of "anti-whiteism" must be vigorously opposed as harmful to our people, our cause and our victory. We must work to isolate the most viciously racist section of the oppressors; to win over or at least to neutralize anti-fascist sections of the white population.

In the conduct of the struggle we must distinguish between those forms of subordination to sections of the oppressor nation which would strangle national identity, and essential steps for the maximum unity of all revolutionary forces.

In order to become a more positive and dynamic force in uniting the various strata of the oppressed people, the concept of Black Consciousness needs the reinforcement of the scientific and enlightening ideology of the working class: Marxism-Leninism, and to

be integrated within the hard-won common program of the liberation alliance: The Freedom Charter.

For ideology to become a real force for revolutionary change it must provide concrete guidelines to the different strata of our people on the implementation of the basic tasks which emerge from the present situation. What are these guidelines?

IN THE FACTORIES

The leading class, the proletariat, must resist all attempts to set up yellow or government unions and must use its collective strength to gain better conditions and to play its leading role as the most important constituent in the struggle for national liberation. This it must do through mass action and direct confrontation, through a rising class consciousness, through the organization of African workers, with or without the permission of the Vorster regime, through the extension of mass struggle beyond the limits of each individual firm or work place, to action on an industrial and national level.

Now, more than ever, it has become vital to reconstruct and strengthen the most progressive, experienced and genuinely working class trade union center: The Congress of Trade Unions — SACTU — uniting organizations of African, Colored and Indian workers. Those Colored and Indian workers who are organized in TUCSA must fight uncompromisingly against its policy of white patronage and minority domination and against the exclusion of African workers from skilled work and trade union rights.

The fact that some employers in industry, commerce and even the mines have recently been compelled to concede increases in wage levels, shows that the time is ripe for the African workers to achieve a genuine break-through by enforcing the demand for a standard of living in keeping with that of other developed countries.

The foundation for these tasks must be laid, as never before, in effective factory organization in every part of the country. New initiatives are needed by advanced elements in every workplace. We must begin building up a network of factory committees in a way which will defeat the enemy's secret police apparatus. Such clandestine groups functioning in accordance with all the rules of conspiracy must become shock brigades organizing and leading their fellow workers in the struggle for higher wages and better conditions, coordinating their work with other factory committees and, if need be, defending their rights to exist and to organize by industrial action. On the white farms too, where millions of Black workers labor under conditions of extreme exploitation, the key to advance is organization. In general the labor of the Black workers without which the economy would crumble remains one of the most potent weapons in the hands of the people.

ON THE LAND

In the countryside the landless, impoverished Black mass must translate its absolute rejection of white land monopoly over the major part of our country by becoming more and more involved in united action. The enemy must begin to find it more and more difficult to implement its resettlement policies. Organized mass resistance must prevent it from shifting whole populations like cattle. In the resettlement camps themselves organized community bodies must be created to demand food, better conditions and land and to prevent the authorities from dealing with the people as if they were inmates of a Nazi concentration camp.

In the Bantustans the people by their actions must show the white State that it cannot rest secure with Government-appointed officials and dependent and puppet administrations. The very administrations themselves must, where they can, be exploited to expose the ultimate fraud behind the Bantustan plan. Those elements who will use their positions to accelerate confrontations on such major questions as land, real legislative and executive powers, proper mass representation, the arming of the people, must be strengthened. Those aspects of the policies of the Bantustan Leaders which (whether intended or not) play into the hands of the Government must be criticized and attacked. The lie must be given to the Government's propaganda that those selected by it to run the "homelands" are the sole legitimate representatives of the Africans. The liberation alliance headed by the ANC is the voice of the oppressed and its leaders, whether underground, in jail or in political exile, are the true spokesmen of the Black people.

Majority rule over the whole of South Africa must remain in the forefront of popular demand in the "homelands." By deed and by word the people everywhere must in every possible way continue to reject the Government's territorial "solution" as completely unacceptable. We must continue to assert the historic right of the African people to the whole of South Africa and expose the true purpose behind the Government's plan which is domination by separation. Above all, the issues confronting the people in the Bantustans must not be fought out only at the top — the Government's chosen ground. What is at the moment mainly a verbal confrontation between the Government and some of the more outspoken Bantustan leaders must be transformed into a real one between the people and the Government. The worst compromisers must be met by popular opposition. Solidarity actions with the oppressed in every part of the country should be the order of the day. Demands for more land, which has become one of the burning issues, must, when appropriate, be accompanied by acts of occupation. Attempted removals must be met by acts of resistance.

THE YOUTH

The working youth and students, both in town and countryside, have a special contribution to make. It is from them that the new public impetus has come which has placed more prominently on the agenda the whole question of the national assertiveness by Black people and an unqualified rejection of ethnic separation. At schools and universities, on the farms, in the factories and in the Bantustans, the youth must raise to even greater heights their restless urge for complete liberation. The recent national confrontation between the Government and the Black youth (African, Indian and Colored) supported by solidarity actions by some white students, is a pointer to the future. Improved nationwide organization and more actions by the youth in alliance with the workers, the peasants and other sections of the oppressed people will bring nearer the day when the national democratic revolution will triumph. Even within the restrictive atmosphere of the separated ethnic places of study, the student youth has a unique opportunity of equipping themselves and their fellow students with the liberating ideology of Marxism-Leninism through secret discussion and study circles and also playing an important part in helping to elaborate and to spread the policies and program of the whole national democratic front.

The Black middle strata — small traders, various professional men and women, teachers, and others — have also a vital role to play. Their future is inseparably linked with that of the people as a whole. This group, like the students, have special opportunities to contribute intellectually and materially to the revolutionary cause. Individually and through their professional associations they must intensify the right for Black advancement and against discrimination — not only for their own sake but also for all their people.

CEMENTING THE DEMOCRATIC FRONT

The new and reconstructed public organizations which have emerged can play a vital role not only in organizing those whom they represent but also coordinating their unity in action. As in the past the patriotic forces must take full advantage of every legal opportunity to heighten the consciousness of the people and to sharpen their will to resist. Their activity must be conducted with a skill which will make it more difficult for the regime to deprive them of important legal platforms. But, by the very nature of things, the limitations placed upon their activities by repressive legislation and the security apparatus call for a combination of legal with underground illegal activity.

It is only the underground voice that can speak without inhibition and freely relate the mass struggle to the long-term needs of our revolution. What does this mean in practice? It means in the first

place the strengthening of the underground leadership and units of our fighting front headed by the ANC within the country with stronger links with the people and their mass movements. It means also that the advanced elements amongst all strata of our people must be encouraged to take their own initiatives to create illegal units at every level of life — whether in the factories, on the land, in the Bantustans, at the schools and universities, or in the re-settlement areas.

Such units, guided by the policies of the vanguard revolutionary organizations, will plan and generate day-to-day organization, resistance and struggle wherever they are. They should not wait until they have made formal contact with the existing apparatus of our revolutionary front.

As the struggle reaches new levels ways will be found of integrating such units into the organized machinery of our movement as a whole. Advanced elements must not wait for a lead from elsewhere.

The white minority will not surrender its control of the State without a violent struggle. Preparation for it is essential for victory.

Whatever chances remain or arise for legal mass work education or organization, must be used to the full. But it would be illusory to believe that on its own the organization of wide-scale open and lawful activity will lead to freedom. Such activity cannot therefore be regarded as an end in itself. The experience of the mass struggles of the late 50s and early 60s has taught that the enemy will respond viciously to any basic threat to the white State and go all out to destroy the people's organizations.

If the main emphasis of the struggle is on legal activity the masses, unable to defend themselves when the enemy acts, will inevitably once again be gripped by immobility and despondency. There is therefore the need to combine legal with illegal organization so that each blow leads to a new counter-blow by the people.

But more than this, there is the continuous need to prepare conditions in which armed struggle can be started and carried on. We have never regarded this process as one which is only the business of professional and armed cadres nor do we believe that heroic and dramatic actions will on their own trigger off mass insurrection. The insurrectionary conditions which will lead to victory will only arise with the intensification of the mass struggle and when the people themselves see violence as the only way out. Their undoubted anger, hatred and frustration is not enough; it must be translated into a widespread contempt for death, a readiness amongst all strata of the oppressed people to die rather than to submit.

This will only come about when the people learn from their own experience that it is not only necessary but possible to defeat the

enemy by armed activity even though the task be a difficult one. To bring this about it is necessary not only to spread skill and understanding on the strategy and tactics of a people's war but it is also necessary for advanced cadres to complement the people's mass struggle with organized blows which will demonstrate the capacity of the revolutionary forces to successfully meet the enemy on his own ground.

Such activity must be related to the issues most affecting the people so that they will increasingly experience the connection between their day-to-day mass struggle and the possibilities of transforming it, increasingly, into mass resistance and ultimately into a nationwide armed struggle.

STATEMENTS AND SPEECHES

COMMUNIST PARTY WILL TAKE A POSITIVE STAND ON THE NEW GOVERNMENT

STATEMENT OF THE CC, CP OF ARGENTINA

Following is the full text of a statement adopted by the CC CPA on March 18, 1973 and published in **Nuestra Palabra**, March 20.

We will criticize every move injuring the interests of the working class, the people and the nation. With power transferred to Campora, a barrier must be raised to the oligarchy.

On March 11 the dictatorship and its anti-popular and anti-national policies were defeated at the polls. Great National Concord (GAN), that big trap set by reaction and the Right wing of bourgeois parties and repeatedly exposed by us as an out-and-out fraud, was dealt a shattering blow by the voters. We must prepare to complete this job, for the effort towards "national conciliation" is continuing in the shadows. The men behind the disastrous maneuver for "national conciliation" want the country's antiquated structures and outdated institutions to be left intact.

GAN was engendered by fear of the workers and people, whose vast and courageous struggles (in Cordoba, Rosario, Tucuman, Mendoza, throughout the country, in big industrial centers, in the countryside, in the universities) caused cracks in the edifice of the dictatorship, led to the successive downfall of Ongania and

Levingston and compelled Lanusse to take the tortuous path of maneuver so as to continue, if by other methods, the policy ushered in by the 1966 coup. The working class and the people did not allow themselves to be hoodwinked. By coming out against the dictatorship in spite and against the will of a corrupt trade union leadership, they upset the pre-election "concord." They are also prepared to prevent the resumption of post-election maneuvers in favor of "concord."

The outstanding and most important fact is that the working class and the people voted unequivocally for social justice and far-reaching economic, political, social and cultural changes. They also expressed their will for Argentina to join with determination in the great liberation movement shaking Latin America, for a genuine advanced democracy in our country with a social, anti-oligarchic and anti-imperialist content, and for steps to pave the way for socialism.

Generals Lanusse and Lopez Aufrano declared that they were going to recognize the victory of the Justicialista Liberation Front (GLF) and transfer the power to those elected on March 11. That was a nominal recognition, however. Anyone will see that it is not without strings. The two generals have said more than once that they were not going to "jump into a void" and that the "armed forces would not merely look on." On February 15 last, the chiefs of the three armed services signed an "Undertaking of the Armed Forces" to "assure the continuation of the process." This means that the trap is still there.

The more gorilla-minded elements in the armed forces are conspiring in close contact with the gorillas active among civilians to flout the people's will by refusing to relinquish power to Campora. The working class and the people, who voted for the JLF and for progressive and revolutionary changes, must therefore stand by to demand that the new mandataries keep their promise and reject the three military chiefs' "five points," and above all, to raise an impregnable wall against conspirators who might venture to challenge the people's will. *In the event of a coup*, all democratic and patriotic forces, civilian and military alike, but primarily the working class, must take joint action to assume control of the country's streets and roads. Action by the workers and people must put an end once and for all to the vicious circle of coups and counter-coups initiated in 1930.

Without abandoning its well-known positions, the Communist Party will take a positive stand on the new government. It will back the government's every legislative act or move tending to implement the progressive measures advocated by the JLF during the

election campaign, above all, in the "Programmatic Guidelines" which Dr. Campora read out before Peronists seeking election and which he recapitulated in his last election message on March 9, as follows:

—Increasing pay on a mass scale. Taking steps to end unemployment. Nationalizing the banks. Nationalizing foreign trade. Stopping the import of commodities produced at home. Protecting domestic enterprise. Repealing emergency laws and special courts. Amnestying all political and social prisoners. Establishing relations with Cuba, the DRV and North Korea.

To these undertakings given by Campora before the nation, we add some which are included in the "Programmatic Guidelines" but which he did not mention in his final message:

—Trade without ideological barriers. Abolishing the latifundia for all time and effecting a full-fledged agrarian reform. Reassuming control of the railways. Mineral, waterfalls, oil, coal and gas deposits are the everlasting and inalienable property of the nation. Mobile minimum wages providing an adequate livelihood. Autonomy for the universities. Repealing repressive legislation, in particular Law 17401 against communism.

Our Party is determined to fight for democratic freedom and for the right to full legality. The Political Parties Act must be repealed. The landed oligarchy and monopolies supporting the dictatorship should be made to pay for the consequences of the crisis, whose burden the de facto government has shifted on to the workers and people. The government must carry out an agrarian reform and take action against the country's plunder by international monopolies. Foreign policy should be aligned with the forces aspiring to an independent course in the interest of the country, the struggle of the Latin American, Asian and African peoples for national liberation, and the great struggle for peace. We must demand diplomatic recognition of Cuba, North Vietnam, the Revolutionary Government of South Vietnam, North Korea, the German Democratic Republic, Outer Mongolia and Albania. We must promote closer cultural relations with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries.

We firmly declare that we shall support all the positive initiatives of the Campora government, and also declare frankly that we shall criticize any step it may take contrary to the interest of the working class, the people and the country.

The victory of the Justicialista Liberation Front, which consists of the Justicialista, People's Conservatives and People's Christian parties, the Movement for Integration and Development, and a few provincial parties and other lesser political organizations, is an incontestable fact. The Front polled half the votes.

Yet the election results show for certain that no one popular force can resolve the country's grave problems on its own. It will take an alliance of all progressive forces — those that voted for the JLF and those that did not—to effect far-reaching revolutionary changes, and build a strong, flourishing and independent socialist-oriented Argentina.

A truly democratic anti-oligarchic and anti-imperialist front, no matter what its name, is an imperious necessity. This is borne out by Latin American, as well as worldwide experience. Therefore, our Party will pursue the struggle for such a front as vigorously as before. And it is proper to recall what we said before the elections: due to its diffuse program and heterogeneous composition, the JLF lacks the qualities of such a front, for it was in effect intended as a substitute for genuine unity of working-class, popular and democratic forces around a program of deep-going change. Apart from those really aspiring to revolutionary changes, it encompasses elements linked with imperialist interests (Frondizi and Frigerio, associated with oil consortiums), conservative elements (Solano Lima), nationalist elements of the Right (Sanchez Sorondo, Mario Amadeo, and others), opportunists and careerists, and trade union bosses.

Our Central Committee notes with satisfaction that the idea of a national and social liberation front has taken deep root among the people, and that favorable conditions are appearing for its materialization. It will not take long, we hold, for contradictions to surface between the tendency towards radical changes and the center-right tendency, whose exponents conceive the JLF as a dam to contain the radicalization of the masses, between the tendency directed in one way or another against verticalism, i.e., against class collaboration, and the protagonists of this anti-democratic principle. The electoral failure of the Right-wing leadership of the Civil Radical Union is sure to bring about a realignment of its forces, and, as our Central Committee sees it, the strong anti-oligarchic and anti-imperialist groups in the CRU will try to separate organizationally from the centrists and the Right wing.

The process of dissociation will involve the armed forces, where elements loyal to the patriotic, democratic San-Martinian traditions of national liberation will see separation from elements serving oligarchic and imperialist reaction.

The differentiation is also sure to spread to other national and provincial political parties. The ultras (Coral and other Blanquists) and the opportunists and adventurers of the Left People's Front have proved their political and organizational impotence and have shown what happens to those who pursue anti-communism and anti-Sovietism, substituting pseudo-revolutionary rhetoric for mass struggle.

Whatever the deviations in the situation, the conditions should be increasingly favorable for our fundamental task—the fight for power of a new type with a deep social content which would ensure independent development of the national economy. A guarantee of the triumph of this struggle is the creation of a broad Democratic Front of National Liberation.

The Revolutionary Popular Alliance supported by our Party, the only party barred from the elections, has launched a broad political battle and has made a substantial contribution to the struggle for a broad front of the democratic and patriotic forces. It can be said that in the difficult conditions in which it has to operate—the shortage of time to strengthen its weak organizational structure in the country and the lack of means to counter the wide-scale propaganda of the parties with large economic resources “generously” supplied by large enterprises — this bloc achieved impressive results at the elections, particularly in the capital and the province of Buenos Aires, winning important positions in parliament. Its campaign had a strong foundation — its program, the most advanced of all the programs at the elections. The energetic propaganda of the program by the front and the work of the National Encounter of Argentiniens in spreading the “25 essential objectives in the solution of the crisis in Argentina” have forced the JLF and the Civil Radical Union to make their programs more radical. There is indeed an essential difference between the colorless program of the Justicialista Liberation Front released December 8 and the Program guideline published later on.

We do not doubt that the Revolutionary Popular Alliance and its parliamentary group will continue the struggle for the program, stimulating the creative activities of the masses, energetically impelling unity of action and helping to raise the general anti-oligarchic and anti-imperialist struggle to a new and higher level.

The Central Committee expresses its satisfaction with the impressive contribution which Party members and the Communist Youth Federation made to ensure the success of the Revolutionary Popular Alliance. It was impossible to do more in so short a period of time. As far as we are concerned, we shall not spare efforts in supporting and developing such an important unitarian alliance.

The landed oligarchy, big trading capital and the foreign monopolies will try to retard the liberation process with the help of the Right Peronists, their own agents who have infiltrated the Justicialista Liberation Front and the trade union leadership. This is fully in the spirit of the “new policy” of Yankee imperialism in Latin America; faced with the powerful upsurge of the national-liberation movement, this “new policy” banks on the aid of imaginary “sup-

porters of change" in order to avoid genuine transformations.

The landed oligarchy, big capital and imperialism are undoubtedly furious over the shift to the left of the Peronist masses. It is clear, however, that they are pinning their hopes on the conservatives, the Right nationalists and lucky opportunists who have entrenched themselves in key posts in the Justicialista Liberation Front. The agents of international monopolies became active even before the elections. The interests of the oil monopolies are looked after well. They know that their fifth column is active in the JLF, but it will not be easy for them to change Argentina's course for national liberation. No matter how formidable the obstacles they may place on our road, they will not be insuperable.

The masses who showed their support for Justicialism by their voting are opposed to the dictatorship, the oligarchy and imperialism; they oppose the trade union bureaucracy and reject anti-communism. We call on them to be vigilant in the face of possible new intrigues by the Right to prevent the realization of the program for which the masses voted. We warn against the new forms assumed by fascist-type movements, which are trying to exploit the dire situation of certain social strata, preaching unbridled chauvinism and expansionistic foreign policy and basing their actions on political intolerance and terroristic organizations. We believe that the masses will be able to prevent the Justicialista Liberation Front from becoming a barrier on the road of the necessary and inevitable process of national and social liberation of the people of Argentina. We are convinced that the unity of action of Communists and Peronists at all levels — mainly at enterprises and in workers' neighborhoods — will continue developing and strengthening. We believe that the supporters of deep transformations, whose thinking and feeling vary, will be able to create a truly national-democratic front aimed against the oligarchy and imperialism.

Ever since the so-called Argentine revolution in 1966, which was neither Argentinian nor a revolution, our Party has decisively unfurled the banner of struggle against it and exposed those who advocated "playing dumb until things clear up" (Balbin) or "hopeful expectations" (Right Peronist trade union leadership).

The military dictatorship wanted to do away with our Party by persecution and isolate it from the masses by outlawing the party. But it broke its teeth. The dictatorship was not able, and no one will ever be able, to isolate the party, which consistently raised its voice in defense of the legitimate interests of the working class, the people and the country.

De-facto governments, and not these governments alone, have outlawed Communists. But even in the most adverse conditions

our Party has never considered itself illegal. It was the putschists, who illegally usurped power, who were illegal.

Our Party is resuming its legal activities following a protracted and difficult underground period from which it is emerging numerically larger and stronger. It is entering a new stage of its political life, beginning today, stronger and more confident, ready to continue the never-ending struggle for democratic freedoms, the urgent demands of the working class and people, for an agrarian reform and nationalization of the key enterprises of the national economy.

Henceforth, our Party is preparing for legal activities, it is ready to step up its work among the workers and peasants, the students and middle strata of the population. The Party will spare no efforts to develop a 'united front and work to bring together all supporters of the workers' and people's movement in a broad democratic front of national and social liberation. It will help consolidate all the unitarian mass movements and the National Encounter of Argentinians. The Party considers it a political necessity to support and broaden the Revolutionary Popular Alliance. It will do everything possible to attain the highest level of unity making it possible to achieve national liberation and socialism.

The CC recommends that Party organizations and Communists carefully analyze their work during the elections in the spirit of criticism and self-criticism; they should be capable of stressing achievements but also of exposing shortcomings.

In conclusion the CC recommends:

- stepping up work among the workers, particularly at large enterprises and in thickly populated neighborhoods;

- giving more attention to work in the trade union movement, with emphasis on the struggle to abolish the disgusting practice of election frauds and establish trade union democracy;

- intensifying work among women and the youth who have played such a prominent role in popular struggles;

- improving ideological work in order to help the working class realize its vanguard role in the revolution which is rapidly coming to a head in the country, a role it will be capable of fulfilling as it frees itself from the influence of bourgeois nationalist ideas and starts acting in the spirit of class independence, as it stops placing its hopes on bourgeois parties and on individuals sent by Providence, and acquires faith in its own forces, the force of its organizations and its Marxist-Leninist party;

- continuing the efforts to double the membership of the Party and the Communist Youth Federation and to strengthen them organizationally. This is decisive for accelerating the creation of a broad front and winning national independence and socialism.

COMPLETE IMPLEMENTATION OF OIL NATIONALIZATION LAW — URGENT DEMAND OF THE IRANIAN PEOPLE

**(FROM THE COMMUNIQUE OF THE EXECUTIVE BUREAU
OF THE CC OF THE TUDEH PARTY OF IRAN)**

In a communique dated February 1973, the EC of the CC of the Tudeh Party of Iran deals with the recent contradictions between the Iranian government and the International Oil Consortium.* It points out: "The decision of the Shah and Iranian Parliament concerning the non-prolongation of the oil agreement between Iran and the International Oil Consortium is, without any doubt, the reflection of growing contradictions between the Iranian ruling circles and the imperialist oil monopolies. The monopolies plan to force the Iranian side to abandon its declared line and to accept a harmful compromise. It is quite natural that the only correct policy consists in a consistent implementation of the declared decisions, i.e., the complete implementation of the Nationalization Law. Such a policy would enjoy the full support of the Iranian people. They are ready to do everything in their power to put an end to the domination of the International Consortium and its neo-colonialist methods. With the full support of the people, all the existing difficulties will be overcome."

The communique then analyzes the international factors that have contributed to the weakening of the imperialist oil monopolies and the strengthening of the oil producing countries, struggling to secure their legitimate rights. It points out that the struggle of OPEC has already resulted in a series of victories of significant importance.

"According to the agreement imposed on our country by the International Consortium in 1954, the imperialist oil monopolies have, within 16 years, obtained about one billion three hundred million tons of oil in our country. This is about 15 per cent of our whole oil reserves with some 7.5 billion tons . . . The net profit of the monopolies in this period is over 7.4 billion dollars."

The communique then deals in detail with the points made in the Shah's speech, and while supporting the decision not to prolong

*On January 23, the Shah of Iran declared that the Consortium refused to fulfil Iran's demand for the doubling of oil extraction by 1980 (in 1972 Iran produced 254 million tons of oil). The Shah then demanded that the Consortium should either continue its operations with the commitment to double oil production or immediately turn over all its enterprises in Iran to the government.—Ed.

the agreement, it criticizes the weak and unclear aspects in Iranian policy. It emphasizes the fact that under the present conditions the Iranian government is fully in a position to put an end to the agreement of 1954 and to bring the whole Iranian oil industry under its own control.

"Once again we underline the fact that the Nationalization Law of the Iranian Oil Industry is fully valid and must be implemented. According to the 1954 agreement, the Iranian National Oil Company has fully indemnified the International Oil Consortium. It is now the undisputed owner of the entire oil industry of Iran, from the oil resources of the oil refineries and installations. . . ."

Putting an end to the domination of the International Consortium means a great contribution to the cause of our national independence and economic development. It is the national duty of all Iranians to mobilize all their forces and to support this struggle. All necessary conditions are at hand to gain victory.

STATEMENT BY PROVISIONAL REVOLUTIONARY GOVERNMENT OF REPUBLIC OF SOUTH VIETNAM

The Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Vietnam in its statement of April 1 has summed up fulfilment of the Agreement on Ending the War and Restoring Peace in Vietnam during the past two months. The statement expresses high appraisal of the victory scored over the foreign aggression by the people of Vietnam.

After the signing of the Paris Agreement on Vietnam, the statement says, the People's Armed Liberation Forces and the population of South Vietnam, responding to the appeal of the National Liberation Front and the PRG RSV, strictly observed the ceasefire terms and fulfilled the various provisions of the agreement. In the regions under its control the PRG RSV is pursuing a policy in the interests of the country and the people in order to stabilize the situation and gradually improve the life of the people, achieve national accord and guarantee democratic freedoms.

The statement points out that in the past two months there have been systematic and serious violations of a number of the articles of the Agreement. The troops of the Saigon administration have carried out tens of thousands of operations against the areas controlled by the PRG RSV. The Saigon air force has daily carried out an average of 200 bombing sorties against these areas. Thus,

the statement continues, there is no genuine ceasefire in South Vietnam. This extremely serious situation is a direct threat to preservation of a durable peace in South Vietnam.

As a genuine representative of the people of South Vietnam, the PRG RSV emphasizes that, responding to the desire of the population for peace, independence and democracy, it is ready to open consultations with the Saigon administration to settle internal problems in South Vietnam in the spirit of national reconciliation and accord.

The statement also points out that upon leaving South Vietnam American forces did not take their weaponry with them and did not dismantle their military bases, which is a violation of the Agreement. In South Vietnam the United States left over 10,000 military personnel in the guise of civilian advisers.

Strongly censuring such actions, the PRG RSV demands that the United States terminate its military presence, put a stop to its interference in the internal affairs of South Vietnam and strictly observe the Paris Agreement on Vietnam. The Saigon administration must fully comply with its obligations, observe the stipulations of the ceasefire, immediately stop operations to capture territory and withdraw its troops to the positions as they existed before January 28, 1973. The Saigon administration must stop all acts of terror, abolish all fascist laws, transfer to the PRG RSV all civilian personnel held prisoner and start serious consultations with the PRG RSV in order to reach an early settlement of South Vietnamese internal problems.

The PRG RSV reaffirms its unchanged stand of strictly observing and seriously fulfilling the stipulations of the Paris Agreement on Vietnam.

The Vietnamese people's struggle for the realization of the Paris Agreement has led to brilliant successes, the statement continues. The American expeditionary corps has left Vietnam. The Paris Agreement and the Act of the International Vietnam Conference are a reliable juridical and political base for the Vietnamese people's struggle. The PRG RSV calls on the countrymen to heighten their vigilance so as to thwart all intrigues and attempts to violate the Agreement, to preserve peace, ensure democratic freedoms and achieve national accord, to build a peaceful, independent, neutral, democratic and prosperous South Vietnam and to work for the peaceful reunification of the country.

The PRG RSV appeals to the governments and peoples of the socialist countries and to all peoples of the world to increase their support of the just cause of the people of South Vietnam and to emphatically demand strict observance of the Paris Agreement in order to ensure peace in Vietnam and preserve peace in Southeast Asia and the world over.

FROM THE PARTY PRESS

FOLLOWING THE CORRECT, LENINIST COURSE

SECOND ANNIVERSARY OF THE 24th CPSU CONGRESS*

The entire social life of the Soviet land is filled with the creative work of the popular masses to put into effect the decisions of the 24th CPSU Congress. During the two years that have passed since the Congress the Soviet people led by the Party and its Leninist Central Committee, have scored fresh successes in the economy, in the social, political and cultural development of our society, in the further strengthening of the defensive might of the country. Implementing the Peace Program adopted by the Congress, the Soviet Union has made an important contribution to the improvement of the international situation, to the consolidation of the forces of peace, democracy, national independence and socialism.

As we advance, the vast organizational, political and ideological strength of the Party of Communists is being revealed more and more fully, its leading and guiding role as political vanguard of developed socialist society is growing. And it is very symbolical that the Party membership cards of the 1973 issue carry V. I. Lenin's inspired words: "The Party is the intelligence, the honor and the conscience of our epoch." These words are a statement of the great historic mission of the Communist Party, reminding the Communists of their noble calling and duty. The unbreakable unity between the Party and the people, the life-giving force and advantages of socialism were again demonstrated during the celebrations of the 50th anniversary of the formation of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, this dependable bulwark of peace, social progress and socialism throughout the world.

I. The report of the CPSU Central Committee to the 24th Party Congress and the Congress decisions define, on the basis of the Marxist-Leninist teaching, the Party's general line at the present stage of the development of our society, a concrete program for the further development of the socialist economy, for raising the material and cultural level of the people's life, for the communist education of the working people. The implementation of this exten-

*Pravda, March 30, 1973.

sive program requires great energy and a high level of organization, mobilization of all the forces of the Party and the people.

The two years of work to fulfil the decisions of the 24th CPSU Congress have shown convincingly that the Party is undeviatingly leading the Soviet people along a correct road, along the Leninist course. It is distinguished by a creative, innovatory approach and boldness in solving the new, ever more complex problems put forward by life, by the ability to rally behind itself millions upon millions of working people. "We Communists," Comrade L. I. Brezhnev said in his report on the 50th anniversary of the USSR, "are not ones to sit quietly. We want to do as much as we can to improve the life of the people, for their happiness, and to do it as quickly as possible. This is clearly one of our Party's distinguishing characteristics. Another is that the Party not only fights for the people's interests but is capable of rousing and carrying along the broadest masses of working people. And the people are responding with enthusiastic activity and mass labor heroism."

The steadily growing ties with the people enable the Party to increase its influence on all spheres of the life of society, on all sectors of economic, social and cultural development. In the course of the implementation of the Congress decisions the level of the political, organizational and ideological work of the Party is rising and the style and methods of Party guidance are being improved.

The CPSU with its present membership of about 15 million shows constant concern for the improvement of the qualitative composition of its ranks, for the growth of the ideological conviction and activity, organization and responsibility of the Communists. By developing the inner-Party democracy in every way, principled criticism and self-criticism, the Party demands strict observance of Party discipline. The CPSU Central Committee is doing all it can to constantly maintain in our Party an atmosphere of trust and respect for people, of encouraging their initiative.

Guiding itself by the directives of the 24th Congress, the Party attaches paramount importance to ensuring that all the sectors of the Party, state, economic, cultural, educational and social work are headed by politically mature, competent and able organizers with a deep sense of responsibility for the job entrusted to them. This was stressed once again by the December 1972 Plenary Meeting of the CPSU Central Committee.

An exchange of Party documents has begun in the CPSU, which has tremendous importance for the further ideological-political and organizational cohesion of the Party ranks, the continued growth of Communist activity and discipline, and the unfailing implementation of V. I. Lenin's call "to raise ever higher the calling and significance of the Party member."

Considering that our economic possibilities and social require-

ments have considerably increased in recent years, the Party raises and comprehensively tackles a wide range of tasks connected with communist construction. It focusses attention on the further growth of the socialist economy and the construction of the material and technical foundation of communism. Only through ensuring the necessary economic growth will it be possible to successfully solve the social tasks and problems of the communist education of the masses, which confront our society.

The course towards intensification of production and the emphasis on the qualitative factors of production growth constitute the essence of the turn in the Party's economic policy proclaimed by the 24th CPSU Congress. Nowadays, the main task of our economic development is to ensure economic growth, higher production effectiveness through greater labor productivity, accelerated scientific and technical progress, fuller use of operating capacities and the maximum return on every rouble invested, every ton of metal, fuel, cement and fertilizers.

The results of the first two years of the five-year plan show that the Soviet economy is developing successfully in accordance with the decisions of the 24th CPSU Congress. In this period, some 181,000 million roubles have been invested in the national economy. National income has increased by 10 per cent, industrial output by 15 per cent, labor productivity in industry by 11.8 per cent and in construction by 11 per cent. The major industrial enterprises commissioned in this period include the Volzhsky motor works, Kirishky oil processing plant, Kursk bearing plant, Kostroma automated lines plant and the Navoi chemical works. The Krasnoyarsk hydro-power station has reached its rated capacity of six million kw.

Much has been done to strengthen the material and technical foundation of agriculture. State investments in this sector have exceeded 28,000 million roubles. Agricultural workers have received 625,000 tractors, 326,000 trucks, 191,000 grain harvester combines and about 104 million tons of mineral fertilizers. An extensive land amelioration program is under way. Some 2.5 million hectares of newly-irrigated and drained lands have been ploughed up in the past two years.

The extremely unfavorable weather in 1972 prevented us from reaching the plan targets for the production of grain and some other farm products. However, the timely measures taken by the CPSU Central Committee made it possible to overcome these difficulties. As a result, the gross grain harvest in the country totalled 168 million tons. This is somewhat above the yearly average level of grain production achieved under the Eighth Five-Year Plan. The country harvested its highest ever cotton crop and 7.3 million tons of cotton were sold to the state. The production and purchases of meat, milk and eggs increased as compared with 1971.

Farm workers are trying not only to make up for what was under-produced last year, but also to create good reserves for the future in order to satisfy the country's growing requirements for food-stuffs and agricultural raw materials. The working class, the intelligentsia, the whole country, are helping them to solve this great task. The important thing now is to ensure that spring field work is carried out in an organized way and in a short time. The prospects of the future harvest and the further growth of livestock breeding largely depend on this.

The 24th CPSU Congress set a task of historic importance — to combine the achievements of the scientific and technical revolution with the advantage of the socialist economic system. Working on this task, the Party and the people have made notable advances in science and technology. Suffice it to say that in 1972 alone some 4,000 new models of machinery, equipment, apparatus and instruments were developed, and comprehensive mechanization and automation were introduced in 3,800 production sections, departments and sectors. Work is under way on effective organizational forms of science-production ties — associations and combines which ensure favorable conditions for the rapid implementation of new scientific and technical ideas.

At the same time — and this was pointed out at the December Plenary Meeting of the CPSU Central Committee — we do not make full use of socialism's advantages for speeding up scientific and technological progress. Performance of some research teams falls short of the mark. The latest achievements of scientific and technological thought are being introduced too slowly in some spheres of production. Socialism possesses all the possibilities for developing science in a planned way, for pursuing an integral technical policy on a countrywide scale, and for concentrating the necessary manpower and means on the main lines of scientific and technological progress.

Among the important instruments for intensifying production is the further improvement of planning, management and incentives and the creation of economic conditions that would make the ministries and enterprises draft intensive plans, mobilize their reserves and work with greater efficiency.

A great deal was done in this field in recent years. Planning has become more effective. Branch management has improved. Concentration, specialization and cooperation of production and the transition to the two-three link system in industrial management, which is to be completed in 1975, are proceeding apace.

The Party has set the task of steadily improving production management. Particular importance is now attached to enhancing the role of centralization in planning and management and to overcoming local and narrow-departmental tendencies which impede

our economic growth. Planning and the whole organization of capital construction calls for serious corrections. It is essential to put an end to the diffusion of manpower and resources over many projects and to focus attention on the priority projects of great economic importance. It is also important to improve the system of efficiency criteria in the work of enterprises and amalgamations so as to distinguish and encourage in every way those which make good headway on the road of intensification.

The social program of the Party, worked out by the 24th CPSU Congress, is being successfully carried out. It is directed at raising the living and cultural standards of the working people, eliminating substantial distinctions between town and countryside and between mental and physical work, and at further strengthening the social and political unity of Soviet society. In the two past years, more than 80 per cent of the national income went for consumption. Wages and salaries, pensions and stipends were raised, affecting approximately 34 million people. As a result, the per capita real incomes of the population increased 8.2 per cent, as compared with 1970.

The Soviet people is a new historical community of people — a true embodiment of the socio-political and ideological unity of the working class, peasantry and intelligentsia, of all nations and nationalities, their rallying around Lenin's party. The CPSU cements the unbreakable unity and cohesion of the fraternal family of nations of our great Homeland, inspired by feelings of socialist patriotism and internationalism, by the national pride of the Soviet people.

The Party conducts immense work for improving in every way the political organization of our society, Soviet socialist democracy. The role and activity of state and public organizations have increased. All this points to the growing activity of the masses in governing the state and in managing all public affairs.

In its many-sided titanic activity, the Party is guided by Marxist-Leninist theory and creatively develops it in application to the present conditions, to the solution of new problems. The materials of the 50th anniversary of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and L. I. Brezhnev's report devoted to this glorious jubilee, which gave a profound and comprehensive analysis of the historic accomplishments of the Soviet people and the progress made in fulfilling the decisions of the 24th Party Congress and defined the urgent present and long-term tasks of our advancement, were an important contribution to Marxist-Leninist theory.

Our Party shows constant concern for the communist education of the working people, for the people's spiritual growth. It sees the purpose of communist education in equipping the masses with the ideas of Marxism-Leninism and promoting their creative activity

in communist construction and enriching them spiritually and morally. The Party resolutely fights against the survivals of the past in the minds and behavior of men—grabbing and parasitism, self-interest, political indifference and other antipodes of socialist morality. The ideological and political activity of the CPSU is aimed at moulding a harmoniously developed man, an active builder of communism, selfless patriot and convinced internationalist.

The spiritual wealth of the Soviet people, their loyalty to the ideals of communism and to the cause of the Party are vividly displayed in the nationwide socialist emulation and the movement for a communist attitude to work. The living popular creativity, inspired by the Party, is inexhaustible. The Party invariably supports the valuable patriotic undertakings born of the initiative of the masses. On the initiative of foremost workers approved and supported by the CPSU Central Committee, a countrywide socialist emulation has been launched for the successful fulfilment and over-fulfilment of the targets of 1973, the decisive year of the Ninth Five-Year Plan.

Organizing the masses for the fulfilment of the decisions of the 24th CPSU Congress and the Ninth Five-Year Plan targets, the Party defines the prospects of Soviet society's further progress towards communism.

II. The 24th CPSU Congress charted the basic trends and tasks of Soviet foreign policy at the present stage. Life has confirmed the scientific substantiation of the analysis of the international situation, the correctness of the Leninist foreign policy course set by the 24th CPSU Congress. An effective factor of the current world politics is the Peace Program set forth by the Congress and expressing that fundamental course of active defense of peace, freedom and security of nations. Thanks to the activity and initiative of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, to their common coordinated foreign policy course, substantial success has been scored in the past two years in consolidating the positions of world socialism—the mainstay of the revolutionary and progressive forces of our time.

The entire course of history has put the world socialist system into the forefront of mankind's development. And, naturally, the issues of the further cohesion and development of the world socialist system are constantly in the focus of attention of the CPSU. The fraternal cooperation between the CPSU and the Communist and Workers' parties of the socialist states is developing and becoming ever deeper.

The Soviet Union acts as an energetic champion of the cohesion and cooperation of all the socialist countries. Collective efforts have helped to forge a durable alliance of socialist countries, and there

has emerged a reliable system of fraternal cooperation of the states within the Warsaw Treaty Organization and the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance, whose activities combine the common interests of the socialist community with the interests of every country in that community. The Comprehensive Program of Socialist Economic Integration of the CMEA countries has been adopted and is now being successfully implemented.

An outstanding success in the fight for peace and freedom of nations is the victory of the heroic people of Vietnam in the struggle against imperialist aggression, a victory won with the aid of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, and all peace-loving forces in the world. Currently, the Soviet Union, the fraternal socialist countries, and all progressive mankind are seeking to ensure strict observance of the peace agreements on Vietnam and Laos and ending of the war in Cambodia.

The Soviet Union, jointly with other socialist states, actively supports the Arab peoples in their struggle against the Israeli occupation of the Arab lands, and works for a just political settlement in the Middle East in keeping with the well-known UN Security Council resolution.

The international solidarity of the socialist states and of all the fighters for peace and social progress has become an immense force nowadays. Its growing strength is seen in the unprecedented scope of the liberation struggle of nations and for the socio-political transformations in the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America; everywhere the forces are growing that fight against the domination of foreign monopolies, for national independence and social progress. Graphic evidence of this is the substantial strengthening of socialist Cuba's political positions. Indicative of serious social changes in Latin America are the progressive transformations effected by the peoples of Chile, Peru and other countries of the continent which are championing their liberty and independence. It is noteworthy that a growing number of states in Asia, Africa and Latin America gravitate towards close ties with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries. These ties facilitate the success of the developing countries in their confrontation with imperialism and in the consolidation of national independence.

The major positive changes which have taken place in the international situation in recent times are convincing proof of the vitality and effectiveness of the Peace Program advanced by the 24th Party Congress and consistently implemented by the CPSU Central Committee and the Soviet Government.

The progressive changes in the modern world, which are largely due to the growth of the might and influence of the USSR and the fraternal socialist countries and to their vigorous, concerted foreign policy actions have led to elements of realism being ever more

tangibly manifested in the policy of many capitalist states. The principles of peaceful coexistence of states with differing social systems are winning ever broader recognition.

Successful progress is being made in solving the task of making a radical turn towards détente and peace on the continent of Europe. The USSR, together with the fraternal socialist countries, has made a tremendous contribution to establishing a healthier climate in Europe, which is of great importance in safeguarding universal peace.

A graphic example of the constructive nature of the policy of peaceful coexistence is offered by the mutually beneficial relations between the USSR and France.

The conclusion of the treaties by the Soviet Union and the Polish People's Republic with the Federal Republic of Germany, the quadripartite agreement on West Berlin, and the conclusion of the treaty between the German Democratic Republic and the Federal Republic of Germany are all important landmarks in the advance of Europe towards peace and security. They establish the inviolability of the postwar borders and finalize the results of the Second World War. This is a great victory of reason and realism in international relations, which has paved the way to the further development of peaceful cooperation of European states. An immediate possibility of making a new step along this road is offered by the forthcoming all-European conference on security and cooperation, which is called upon to make a worthy contribution to the strengthening of peace both in Europe and throughout the globe.

Of paramount international importance are the major changes in the relations of the Soviet Union with the United States, and especially after the Soviet-U.S. summit meeting in Moscow in May 1972. Defining the basic principles of relations between the USSR and the USA in the well-known document, signed by L. I. Brezhnev, General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and U.S. President R. Nixon, as relations based on the principles of peaceful coexistence, the USSR and the USA achieved a number of important agreements in the fields of economic, scientific and technical cooperation, as well as agreements in the field of limitation of anti-missile and strategic offensive armaments. Thus, the foundation is being built for the establishment of a healthier political climate in the relations between the USSR and the USA in the interests of both peoples and universal peace. The constructive turn in Soviet-U.S. relations is already exerting a favorable influence on the present-day international situation in the direction which the USSR is steadily and consistently working for, namely, towards a lasting peace.

Positive changes have appeared lately in Soviet-Japanese relations. The Soviet Union has come out and continues to come out

for their good-neighborly and friendly development. This meets with increasing understanding and support among broad sections of socio-political forces in Japan.

The consistent, active implementation of the foreign policy program of the CPSU and the Soviet state, mapped out by the 24th Party Congress, is largely contributing to the process of improving the international situation. This is now acknowledged by the whole world. The peoples of the Soviet Union and the fraternal countries of socialism take legitimate pride in the fact that today the historical initiative in the international arena belongs to socialism which determines the main content and direction of social development.

The policy of the PRC's leaders, aimed at splitting the socialist community and the world Communist and liberation movements, profoundly contradicts the interests of the working people throughout the world. The Peking leaders pursue a great-power chauvinistic foreign policy, actually joining the aggressive imperialist forces in the actions spearheaded against the relaxation of international tensions and against the fundamental interests of the peoples, including also the Chinese people's vital interests. The slanderous concoctions about an alleged "threat from the North" cannot cover up the anti-socialist and anti-Soviet essence of the policy of the PRC's present-day leadership.

With regard to China the Soviet Union consistently pursues the course defined by the 24th CPSU Congress. We have neither territorial nor economic claims on China. Firmly upholding the state interests of the Soviet people and the inviolability of the USSR's territory and resolutely fighting against the policy of the leadership of the PRC, which is hostile to the cause of socialism and the liberation movement, we come out for the normalization of relations with the PRC and restoration of Soviet-Chinese friendship. Such a course meets the common interests of the socialist community and the world revolutionary movement, as well as the vital long-term interests of the peoples of the USSR and China.

In the past two years the Soviet Union, together with the fraternal countries of socialism, has scored definite results in the struggle for disarmament. The talks with the USA on the limitation of strategic arms are being continued. Preparations are under way for talks on reduction of troops and armaments in Europe.

The adoption at the latest session of the UN General Assembly, on the initiative of the USSR, of the Resolution on the Non-Use of Force in International Relations and Permanent Prohibition of the Use of Nuclear Weapons has become a major event of international life.

"We are realists and are well aware that influential circles in the imperialist world have not yet abandoned attempts to conduct

policy 'from positions of strength'," Comrade L. I. Brezhnev pointed out in his report "The Fiftieth Anniversary of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics." "The arms race, which they have started, and which is a threat to peace, is still continuing. Naturally, our allies and we cannot but draw the necessary conclusions. However our peace-oriented foreign policy remains unchanged and in the present situation the potential of the peace-loving forces in their struggle against the forces of aggression and war is greater than ever."

The Leninist foreign policy of the USSR combines a firm rebuff to the aggressive encroachments of imperialism with a constructive approach to urgent international problems, an uncompromising ideological struggle with readiness to promote mutually-advantageous relations with the states of the opposing social system on the basis of the principles of peaceful coexistence. The implementation of the Peace Program is creating real prerequisites for the historically inevitable class struggle of the capitalist and socialist systems to follow a channel that will not be fraught with dangerous international conflicts, the arms race and a new world war.

The consistent and purposeful international policy of the CPSU is our Party's contribution to the joint efforts of the world Communist movement to implement the program of united actions in the anti-imperialist struggle, worked out by the Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties in 1969. The CPSU promotes in every way contacts and close cooperation with fraternal parties, regularly exchanges views on topical issues of world development. The CPSU wages resolute struggle against Right-wing and "Left-wing" revisionism, against nationalism. The CPSU activity in the international arena enhances the effectiveness of the joint struggle of the progressive forces against imperialism, for peace and friendship among nations, and contributes to the cohesion of the Communist movement on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism.

The results attained during the two years since the 24th CPSU Congress inspire us with confidence that its decisions and creative plans will be carried out successfully. The insuperable strength of socialism lies in the full approval and unanimous support rendered by the Soviet people to the policy of the beloved Communist Party and its Leninist Central Committee. Unbreakable unity of the Party and the people is the earnest of success in communist construction.

MEETINGS

MEETING OF CPSU AND CP OF FINLAND DELEGATIONS*

Delegations of the CPSU and CP of Finland met in Helsinki, March, 26-29.

The CPSU delegation consisted of alternate member of the Political Bureau, CC CPSU, and First Secretary of CC CP Byelorussia P. M. Masherov (head of delegation); member of Central Committee CPSU and First Secretary of the CC CP Estonia I. G. Kebin; alternate member of CC CPSU and Editor-in-Chief of *Kommunist* A. G. Yegorov, and Deputy Director of the International Department of the CC CPSU V. S. Shaposhnikov.

The Communist Party of Finland was represented by its Chairman A. Saarinen (head of delegation); Honorary Chairmen V. Pessi and H. Kuusinen; Vice-Chairmen T. Sinisalo and O. Hanninen; General Secretary A. Aalto; Political Bureau members U. Jokinen, E. Kivimäki, O. Lehto, E. Rautee and E. Tuominen, and Director of the International Department, CC CP Finland, O. Poikolainen.

In a comradely and outspoken atmosphere the delegations informed each other of the situation and the Party's activities in their respective countries, and exchanged opinions on international matters of mutual interest.

The Finnish delegation stressed the decisive significance of Soviet achievements in building communism for the consolidation of socialist positions and the forces working for peace and social progress. On behalf of the Finnish Communists, the delegation conveyed to the CPSU and all Soviet people sincere wishes for the successful fulfilment of the imposing targets set by the 24th CPSU Congress.

The CPSU delegation declared its solidarity with the struggle of the Finnish Communists for the vital interests of the working people of Finland, for broader social and democratic rights. It wished the CP of Finland success in effecting the tasks set by its 16th Congress and consistently raising the capacity of the Party and extending its influence among the masses, consolidating its role as the vanguard of the workers and all other working people of Finland, and strengthening the ideological-political and organizational unity of its ranks on a Marxist-Leninist basis.

**Pravda* and *Kansan Uutiset*, April 1, 1973.

Both sides gave a positive appraisal of the present state of Soviet-Finnish relations, and stressed the historical significance for these relations and for peace and security in northern Europe of the Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation and Mutual Aid between the USSR and Finland, the 25th anniversary of which is being widely marked in the Soviet Union and Finland. The delegations emphasized that the Communist parties of both countries had helped consolidate Soviet-Finnish friendship and are still making a decisive contribution to it.

It was agreed during the talks that there are favorable opportunities for a further extension of Soviet-Finnish cooperation in all spheres — political, economic and cultural. The CPSU and CPF will continue working for such cooperation.

It was noted, however, that certain circles in Finland and elsewhere were trying to disrupt the good-neighborly relations between the two countries contrary to the basic interests of the people of Finland. Such actions, the delegations stressed, should be vigorously combated. In view of this, the CPSU delegation expressed its understanding of the Finnish Communists, who oppose their country's involvement in the Common Market.

Both parties advocate international economic and scientific-technical ties if they are free of any discrimination and are in the interests of all concerned.

The views of the CPSU and CPF on the international situation, and the most important international events, it was found, coincided. The sides expressed their satisfaction that as a result of Soviet efforts under the Peace Program of the 24th CPSU Congress and the policy of the socialist countries and the efforts of all peace forces, a trend has arisen towards a relaxation of international tensions, that the principles of peaceful coexistence of countries with differing social systems are gaining ground, and opposition to imperialist acts of aggression is growing. World security, the delegations agreed, requires the closest vigilance and more vigorous action against imperialist maneuvers.

Both delegations hailed the historic victory of the people of Vietnam and said that it was the duty of all progressive forces to work for a consistent observance of the Agreements on Vietnam and Laos, and for an end to the aggression against Cambodia.

The delegations confirmed the solidarity of their parties with the Arab peoples, who are striving to eliminate the consequences of the Israeli aggression and achieve a just solution of the Middle East conflict on the basis of fulfilment of all provisions of the UN Security Council resolution with full consideration for the lawful rights of the peoples of this part of the world, including the Arab people of Palestine.

Both sides noted with satisfaction that the atmosphere on the

European continent is changing for the better and agreed that the convocation of an all-European conference on security and cooperation early in 1973, would help consolidate this positive process.

Attaching great importance to strengthening world peace, the delegations of the CPF and the CPSU expressed the readiness of their parties to promote a broad public movement for convening a world congress of peace forces in Moscow in October 1973.

Concerning the world Communist and working-class movement, both parties agreed that fulfilment of the ideas and conclusions of the 1969 International Meeting had helped strengthen the unity of Communists all over the world on the reliable foundation of proletarian internationalism. The CPSU and CPF hold that successful struggle against imperialism and reaction, for the social and national emancipation of the peoples, for socialism and communism, requires a further consolidation of Communist and all anti-imperialist forces. Therefore, they strongly condemn all anti-communism and anti-Sovietism, nationalism and attempts to inject reformism, the ideology and practice of Right and "Left" revisionism, into the working-class movement.

Both delegations expressed the readiness of their parties to hold bilateral meetings in future and also to participate in multilateral meetings of fraternal parties to discuss topical aspects of the struggle for peace, democracy and socialism.

PUERTO RICO, U.S. COMMUNISTS URGE STEPPED-UP ANTI-IMPERIALIST FIGHT

Following two days of discussions by Felix Ojeda, General Secretary of the Communist Party of Puerto Rico, and members of the Puerto Rican Party's Political Committee with Gus Hall, General Secretary of the Communist Party, USA, and William L. Patterson, of the National Council, and Arnold Johnson, of the Political Committee of the CP USA, the following statement was issued:

"In the spirit of close comradeship, mutual confidence and respect, we have discussed the political developments in the world today, and in Puerto Rico and in the U.S., including the role of our two Parties in the many struggles on key issues of common concern. There is full agreement between us in our assessment of developments and perspectives.

"As Communist leaders we reviewed the effects of the anti-labor, racist, reactionary, imperialist program of the Nixon Administration as it affects the living standards of the people in the U.S. and in Puerto Rico.

"Great thought was given to the mutual need for and attention

to the struggle against U.S. imperialism and for Puerto Rican independence and freedom.

"Our meeting took note of the historic victory against U.S. imperialism in being forced to retreat from Indochina, and called for vigilance and increased struggle to end the U.S. imperialist policy of aggression in all parts of the world. We called for an increased campaign to end U.S. imperialist policy in Latin America and for an end to the U.S. blockade and aggressive acts against the People's Republic of Cuba.

"We call on all parties and peoples of the world to defend Chile from all acts of U.S. imperialist aggression and intervention.

"The U.S. delegation to this meeting hailed the achievements of the Puerto Rican Communist Party as the Marxist-Leninist vanguard Party in the struggles of the people of Puerto Rico for the immediate demands in relation to the struggle for socialism.

"Our conference condemned the policy of U.S. imperialism in using Puerto Rico as a nuclear military base and as a store house for gas and oil supplies. The fact that the Nixon Administration now repudiates its agreement to end the use of Culebra as a military target calls for a greater demand to end all military occupation by U.S. forces in Puerto Rico.

"Our meeting called for an ever stronger unity of the people in struggle against the rising cost of living, racism and war, and for united strength to the working class struggles for peace and socialism.

"The meeting took place March 27 and 28 in San Juan, Puerto Rico, at the invitation by Felix Ojeda to Gus Hall."

Daily World, March 30, 1973.

MEETING AT CC CPSU

On April 11, M. A. Suslov, member of the Political Bureau and Secretary of the CC CPSU, and K. F. Katushev, Secretary of the CC CPSU, received Xuan Thuy, Secretary of the CC, Working People's Party of Vietnam and a Minister of the DRV government, who headed the delegation of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam at the Paris talks. Xuan Thuy visited the Soviet Union following the conclusion of the negotiations in Paris, on the invitation of the CC CPSU.

Xuan Thuy outlined the course of the fulfilment of the Paris agreement on Vietnam, and conveyed the profound gratitude of his Party, the DRV government and the people of Vietnam to the CC CPSU, the USSR government and the Soviet people for their effective support and invaluable aid to his country during the long

struggle against imperialist aggression and for freedom and independence, and socialist construction. The people of Vietnam will never forget that the fraternal and selfless aid and support of the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries were an important factor in the historic victory formalized by the agreement terminating the war and restoring peace in Vietnam.

At present, the government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Vietnam are doing their utmost to assure the strictest observance of the Paris agreement and consolidate peace on Vietnam soil. Led by the Working People's Party, the people are now engaged in building socialism in the North of the country, and as in the war of liberation against the imperialist aggression, are relying on the powerful support of the Soviet Union and other fraternal socialist countries, on that of the progressive forces of the world, in this new stage.

Faithful to the Leninist principles of proletarian internationalism and solidarity with the liberation struggle of the peoples, the Soviet side stressed, the CPSU and the Soviet people will always stand by their Vietnamese brothers and support their just cause. As before, the Soviet Union will render the Democratic Republic of Vietnam the necessary aid in peaceful construction and the advance along the socialist way. The Soviet people have the deepest understanding for the determination of the Vietnamese people to build up the Democratic Republic of Vietnam into a powerful and flourishing socialist country.

The Soviet people hail and support the goodwill and correct attitude of the DRV Government and Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Vietnam, which insist that all sides should respect and strictly observe the Paris agreement. The Soviet Union supports the DRV Government's statement of March 31, 1973, and the statement of the PRG RSV of April 1 concerning the observance of the ceasefire agreement during the past two months.

While noting that there has been some progress in fulfilling certain provisions of the Paris agreement, both sides strongly censured the Saigon government's continuing refusal to honor other important articles of the agreement. They expressed their confidence that freedom, independence and unity will triumph, and that the principles underlying the ceasefire agreement will ultimately prevail.

Undeviating observance of the agreement by all signatories, both sides noted, is necessary for lasting peace in Vietnam and the exercise of the people's basic national rights, and will contribute to peace in Indochina and Southeast Asia.

The CPSU and the Working People's Party of Vietnam, it was stressed, are determined to develop and deepen their close fraternal

relations and to promote the indestructible friendship of the Soviet and Vietnamese peoples.

The atmosphere at the meeting was fraternal, friendly and cordial. Others present were O. B. Rakhmanin, First Deputy Department Director CC CPSU; N. P. Firyubin, Soviet Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs, and Vo Thuc Dong, DRV Ambassador to the USSR.

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