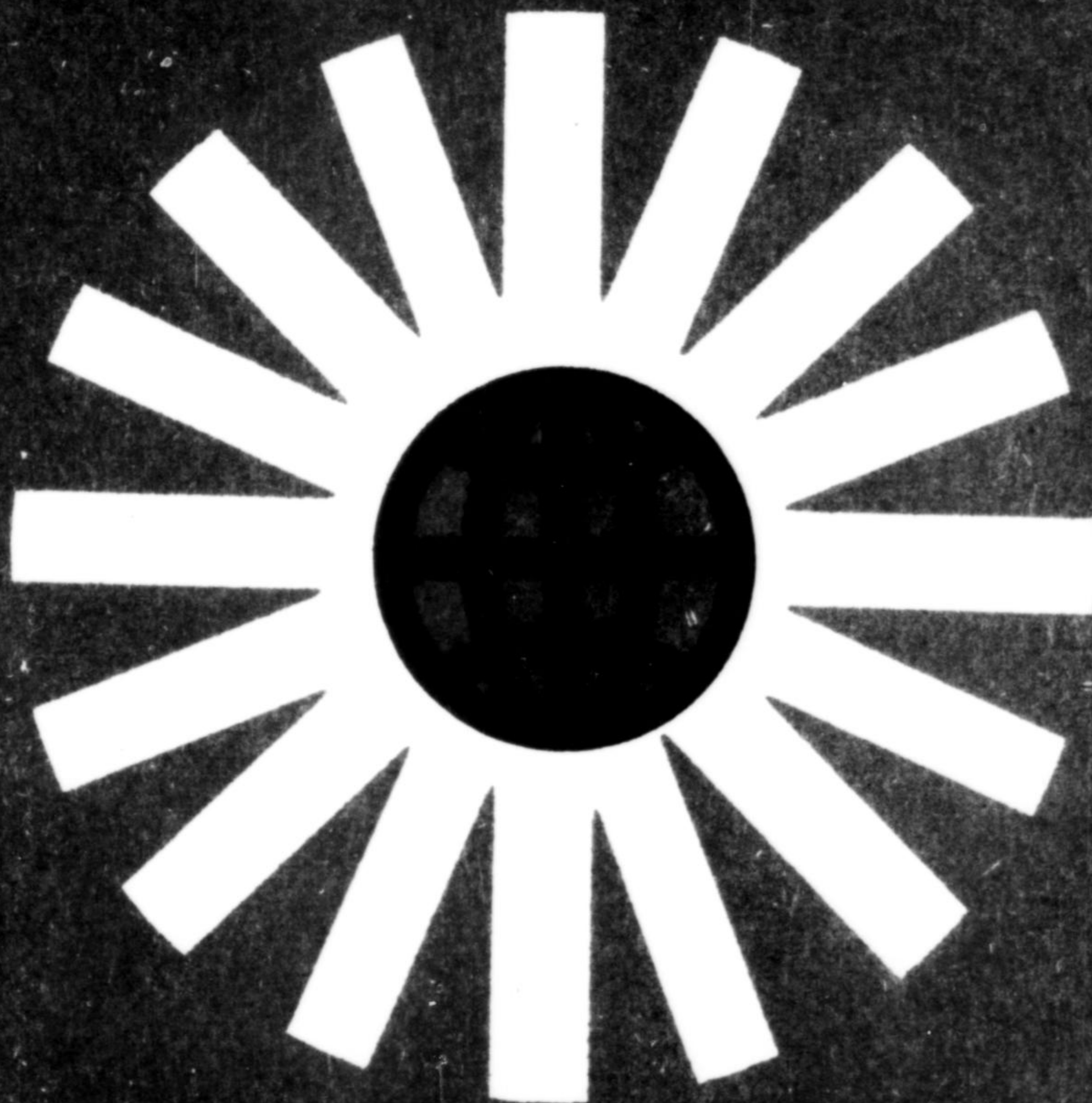
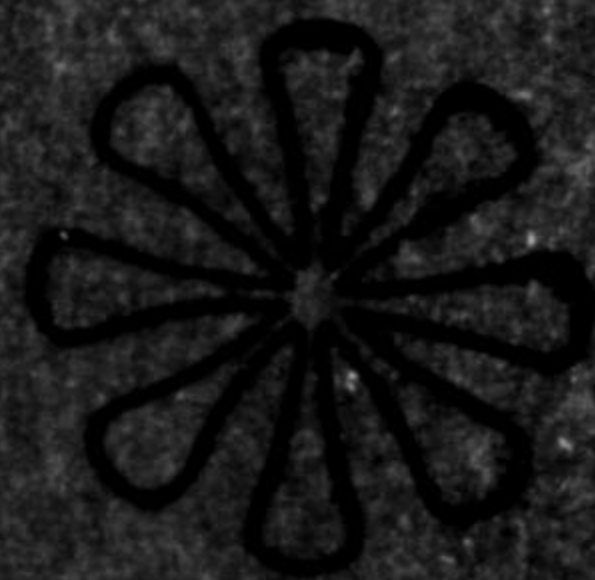


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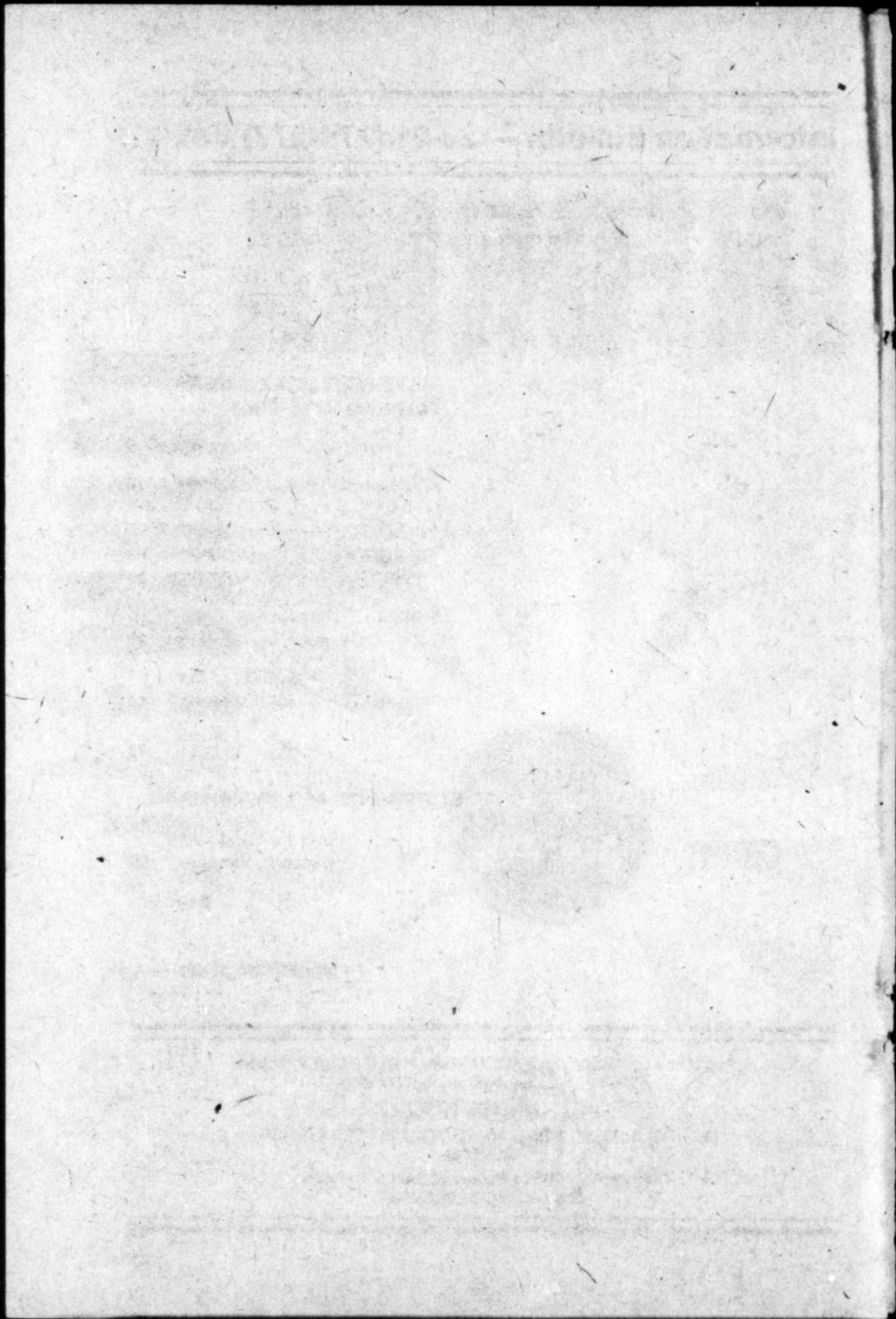
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contents

A QUARTER OF A CENTURY
ON THE ROAD TO SOCIALISM 5

Speech by Erich Honecker 5

Speech by Leonid Brezhnev 16

WARSAW CONSULTATIVE MEETING
OF EUROPEAN COMMUNIST
AND WORKERS' PARTIES 29

Speeches at the
Consultative Meeting 31

Results of the
Warsaw Consultative Meeting 40

In brief 49

STATEMENTS AND SPEECHES

For a firm and just
peace in Vietnam 53

(cont'd next page)

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(cont'd)

Stop repressions in Indonesia 62

Declaration on strengthening
friendship and expanding
fraternal cooperation between
The CPC and SUPG and
between the CSSR and GDR 64

In brief 69

BILATERAL MEETINGS 78

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A QUARTER OF A CENTURY ON THE ROAD TO SOCIALISM

The Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany, the Council of State, the Council of Ministers and the National Council of the National Front met October 6 in Berlin to celebrate the 25th anniversary of the German Democratic Republic.

Assembled in the hall were members of the SUPG Central Committee, members of the Council of State, deputies of the People's Chamber, representatives of Party and mass organizations belonging to the National Front, veterans of the German labor movement, foremost workers, scientific and cultural workers.

Also present were a delegation of the Soviet Society of Friendship with the GDR and a large group of veterans of the war against fascism.

The crowd gave a tumultuous standing ovation to General Secretary of the CC CPSU Leonid Brezhnev, First Secretary of the CC SUPG Erich Honecker, Chairman of the Council of State of the GDR Willi Stoph, Chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers Horst Sindermann, members of the Soviet Party and government delegation. Together with them in the presidium were members and candidate members of the Politbureau of the CC SUPG and other GDR Party and state officials.

The national anthems of the German Democratic Republic and the Soviet Union were played.

Erich Honecker made a speech devoted to the 25th anniversary of the German Democratic Republic.

SPEECH BY ERICH HONECKER

Dear friends and comrades,

This is a day which fills our people's hearts with joy and pride. We are celebrating the 25th anniversary of the rise of our German Democratic Republic, the first German state in which power is wielded by the workers and peasants and in which the working people decide their own destiny. On October 7, 1949, after the glorious Soviet Army had freed our people from the fascist yoke and after the early years

marked by numerous difficulties, we set out to build a new, socialist social system. A state emerged which had broken with its accursed imperialist past once and for all and helped from the outset to maintain and safeguard peace. It is now realized better than ever that the formation of the GDR was a turning point in the history of both the German people and the whole of Europe.

We are happy to have Leonid Ilyich Brezhnev, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the CPSU, our good friend and comrade, with us on this festive occasion.

The cordial welcome which the population of our capital gave you, dear Comrade Leonid Ilyich, and to the Soviet Party and government delegation on your arrival in Berlin yesterday was a further expression of close fraternal bonds between our two parties, our states and our peoples. We welcome in your person a spokesman of Lenin's Party, the vanguard of the international Communist and working-class movement. We say to you "Welcome" as to an envoy of the Soviet people, who are building communism and radically reshaping the world as they carry out the great Peace Program announced by the 24th Congress of the CPSU. Growing numbers of true friends are coming to side with the Soviet people, friends among whom our socialist GDR belongs for all time. We avail ourselves of the presence of delegates of the Soviet Union and other fraternal parties at this anniversary to voice our deep joy and satisfaction over the fact that by decision of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany, the Council of State and the Council of Ministers of the GDR, Comrade Leonid Ilyich Brezhnev, General Secretary of the CC CPSU, winner of the International Lenin Peace Prize, has been awarded the Order of Karl Marx for his outstanding contribution to the struggle to ensure the triumph of the ideas of Marxism-Leninism, build up the power and unity of the socialist commonwealth, strengthen the militant alliance of the CPSU and SUPG and foster friendship and cooperation between the peoples of the Soviet Union and the GDR. Allow me, dear Leonid Ilyich, to offer you our most heartfelt congratulations.

The past quarter of a century has seen the people of the GDR enter the era of socialism, thoroughly renovate their social being and participate actively, under the leadership of the working class and its Party, in the revolutionary transformation of the world, continued the First Secretary of the CC SUPG. The finest sons of the German working class fought for such a future, for the invincible ideas of Marx, Engels and Lenin to become reality. Socialism is a goal which

inspired anti-fascist Resistance fighters in prisons and concentration camps, in the International Brigades, underground and in exile. Adherents of humanism and progress longed and fought for this future. Thus our socialist state of workers and peasants, a living reality, carries out noble behests. They are the behests of unforgettable revolutionaries, Wilhelm Liebknecht and August Bebel, Clara Zetkin and Franz Mehring, Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg, Ernst Thälmann, Wilhelm Pieck and Otto Grotewohl, Walter Ulbricht, Hermann Matern and Otto Buchwitz.

This past quarter of a century in the GDR has been a period of hard work, of training and testing in class struggles. The workers, cooperative peasants, intellectuals and other working people, all the forces of our people united in the National Front, have done a big job in these years. No one expected our task to be easy, and in spite of all difficulties and imperialist attacks, we have achieved our objectives. Social and personal experience shows beyond doubt that the socialist path charted by the Socialist Unity Party of Germany and travelled under the Party's leadership was, and remains, correct.

Our people greet the anniversary of the GDR with numerous initiatives and useful actions which speak of their unqualified allegiance to our socialist state and of their readiness to continue strengthening it as they work on the tasks set by the Eighth Party Congress, E. Honecker said. On behalf of the CC SUPG and the Council of Ministers of the GDR, I wholeheartedly thank the working people of the republic.

We now live in a prosperous socialist state, a fact recognized all over the world, and our gains entitle us to look confidently ahead. We wish to put special emphasis on the important historic fact that the Soviet people's heroic fight freed our people from fascism and enabled them to take the road of progress. The development of our republic would have been and is unthinkable without the fraternal alliance with the Land of Soviets. This unshakable principle of our policy has deep roots in the struggle of the finest members of the German working class, who after the Great October Socialist Revolution invariably showed their allegiance to Lenin's Party and state, embodiment of the future of mankind. It was in this spirit that in 1945 they proceeded to deeply impress friendship with the Soviet Union on our people's hearts and minds. The great idea of friendship with the Soviet Union guided us in our early initiatives and became the foundation on which we built our state. Furthermore, it is due to this friendship that the GDR, an inseparable component of the socialist community, is now part of the most powerful and influential world

force, the force of socialism, which has firmly established itself on three continents.

We have every reason to say that friendship between the GDR and Soviet Union encompasses every sphere of our social life. We will continue to preserve and promote this friendship for the good of our peoples, for the good of socialism and its growing appeal throughout the world.

The rise and development of our republic demonstrated on German soil as well the vitality and triumph of the teachings of Marx, Engels and Lenin. It is in a continuous revolutionary process ranging from an anti-fascist democratic revolution to the provision of the basis for socialism and the formation of a developed socialist society that the working class has been fulfilling its historic mission in alliance with other working people. A decisive condition for this is the unity of the working class achieved under the leadership of Wilhelm Pieck and Otto Grotewohl, which found expression in our Marxist-Leninist militant union, the Socialist Unity Party of Germany. At every stage of our development, in every sphere of the life of our society, in political struggle as in economic, scientific, technological and cultural advance, in safeguarding and dependably maintaining our socialist gains, and in the face of various trials, our Party has always shown itself to be the tested vanguard of the revolutionary working class, the leading force of the new society.

After the defeat of the Nazi regime, correct conclusions were drawn from our people's history. The factories of industrialists and Nazi criminals who had made a fortune out of the war were expropriated and handed to those who create all wealth. The democratic land reform that was carried out met the centuries-long demand that free land be tilled by free peasants. As a result of the educational reform, the schools and universities opened their doors to workers' and peasants' children. These were all milestones on the road to a new stage in our people's history.

It was the worker-peasant state that revived the finest traditions and humanist ideals of German history, adopted them and carried them forward under socialism, raising them to a new plane.

All the positive ideas and events of German history serving human progress are carefully preserved in the GDR and live on in the people's hearts. We preserve and respect a great heritage and in the past 25 years we have been doing our best to proceed according to this binding heritage, for the good of the people, in building socialism in the GDR.

Of course, we have not forgotten that the enemies of socialism missed no opportunity to question the existence of our state and injure our interests. But now everyone knows that all counter-revolutionary designs miscarried and all the doctrines conceived to this end failed along with their authors while the GDR grows and prospers. Our republic has for ever taken up its place in the heart of Europe as a state of workers and peasants.

The GDR marks the 25th anniversary of its rise as a solid socialist state. Industry, farming, science, education, culture and all other spheres, whose harmonious progress our policy encourages, have attained high standards. We have made great headway in building a developed socialist society.

The more we perfect socialist relations, the more widely the working people's creative initiative is applied and the more deeply and tangibly its results transform people's lives. The motive forces of socialism go on growing and the historic advantages of the system manifest themselves ever more markedly. This is also the experience of our people in putting the decisions of the Eighth Party Congress into practice. The results of the policy approved by the Congress are a fitting summary of the past 25 years.

The GDR ranks 96th in area and 36th in population. But in terms of industrial production it attained a position among the world's first 10, a place we hold to this day. When our state sprang up its national income amounted to 22,000m. marks but in 1973 it was as high as 127,000m. marks, that is, showed an almost sixfold increase. Our industry today produces as much in six weeks as it did throughout 1949.

In the third year of effort to carry out the decisions of the Eighth Party Congress, industrial production exceeded 200,000m. marks for the first time. At this point, three months before the year's end, we can count on putting out industrial products worth almost 220,000m. marks by the end of 1974. When the 1974 plan has been fulfilled we will have reached in growth of industrial output roughly 80 per cent of what the Eighth Congress guidelines envisage for the whole five-year period.

However, these figures do not give a complete picture of our achievements over 25 years, Honecker noted. The working class and its allies had to learn to govern the state, manage the economy and effectively apply socialist economic laws. They had to launch and master socialist planning. That was by no means an easy task and we

are well aware of the tremendous help our Soviet comrades gave us in this respect.

Tens of thousands of new executives have risen from the working people's ranks. Our enterprises are now called "people's enterprises," which means that we had to cultivate a new attitude to labor. There is a growing emulation and innovation movement. We set up socialist economic structures and perfected them continuously. The upward trend of growth indices shows that these structures function well. The worker who said that we are doing better without the capitalists is being proved right.

We have a genuinely developed socialist economy with an up-to-date industry and agriculture, which represents an entirely new type of social production as far as its social quality and its indices are concerned. This applies to the amount and steady rate of production growth as well as to consistency and development according to plan, a development free from the vicissitudes of capitalist crises. It means, first and foremost, that our economy is increasingly developing as a component of the powerful world economic system of socialism.

The pattern and activity of our economy are aimed entirely at meeting the material and cultural requirements of society and its every member. In this economy, man is no longer an appendage to production — and this is particularly important — but increasingly dominates production and his own working conditions.

It is in this that the advantages of socialism manifest themselves, Honecker stressed. An emancipated working class, organized and inspired by a Marxist-Leninist party, plays the leading role in society and the state. Its fruitful activity combines physical with mental labor ever more closely. The social character of the peasantry has changed radically. Due to collective property, the peasants today are one socialist class and their alliance with the working class, an alliance which has proved its worth, has a new quality now. The use of industrial production methods in socialist farming has registered unquestionable successes. It brings about far-reaching changes in people's lives.

The republic's socialist intelligentsia maintains close and friendly relations with the working class. Under socialism, solution of the problems of the scientific and technological revolution gives rise to a creative community linking scientists and technologists with workers and peasants. The classes and strata of our society are drawing closer and closer together on the basis of working class ideology.

Along with socialism, democracy has struck deep roots in our

country for the first time, the First Secretary of the CC SUPG further noted. Our Party constantly takes steps to perfect the forms of working people's participation in the management of social processes. Much of what we have accomplished in our republic is due to the effort of parties friendly to the SUPG — the Christian Democratic Union, Democratic Peasant Party, Liberal Democratic Party and National Democratic Party. We also owe credit to the social activity of the trade unions, the workers' biggest class organization, to the leagues of youth and women and to all other mass organizations and forces united in the National Front of the GDR.

The people of our republic have managed to attain not a bad living standard. We have advanced noticeably in solving social problems to which capitalism has been unable to find answers even in conditions of a high level of development of the productive forces. Such typical characteristics of highly developed capitalist countries as crises, unemployment, inflation, poverty and insecurity alongside vast wealth in the hands of parasitizing billionaires, are unthinkable in our socialist way of life.

E. Honecker went on to speak of the work of the SUPG and the GDR government to implement the socio-political program put forward by the Eighth SUPG Congress, to satisfy the major requirements of the working class and other sections of the working people. Our citizens, he noted, are working diligently, zealously and successfully, studying and jointly building up the new society, and they have scored successes which they can be legitimately proud of.

We know only too well how much we still have to do. Some of the tasks which we have not yet been able to solve require further efforts, but from our successes there also grow new demands. How we cope with them will depend first and foremost on our achievements in intensifying production, in its socialist rationalization. From the assessment of the level achieved in this sphere and our future tasks stems the need for a radical deepening of intensification. We now have to sum up and extensively introduce all the experience accumulated in this field over the last few years so as to determine new reserves of production growth. In other words, the key to improving the material and cultural standards of life lies in raising the efficiency of labor.

We know that we can consume only as much as we produce. Thus, there is a direct link between our initiatives in the emulation framework, which accelerate scientific and technological progress and

helps save energy, materials and labor, and the development of our socialist policy.

Our republic's advance, the First Secretary of the CC SUPG continued, is linked with the development of the family of socialist states. In fact, this advance became possible in this community, and it will continue confidently within it, acquiring broad international significance. Against the background of the jubilees and achievements of other fraternal countries this year, it has become especially obvious that socialism is the road to the happiness of people not merely in certain conditions but in all conditions.

Imperialism sowed hostility among the peoples now belonging to the socialist community of states. At the time of liberation they were at very different levels of social and economic development. Socialism has united them, and in their joint advance they are, step by step, overcoming the differences in socio-economic structure, level of industrialization and living standards. At each stage of social-economic progress the possibilities of interaction and exchange of new experience of social development are greater.

We highly value the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance, which has also been in existence for 25 years now, as an important historic gain, and we contribute to its activities to the best of our abilities. In the forefront of these efforts is cooperation with the Soviet Union, whose potential is the mainstay of socialist economic integration.

Recently steps have been taken for the joint long-term solution of energy and raw material problems. Our efforts are being increasingly directed at intertwining whole branches of industry and economic complexes. New forms of cooperation are being introduced with the purpose of directly pooling scientific, technological and economic potentials. Of prime significance is the recently begun multilateral planning of integration measures. All these are the major results of the implementation of the CMEA Comprehensive Program; they are extremely promising results as regards the necessary and planned acceleration of integration. Joint preparation of the next five-year plans provides the opportunity for further consolidating these achievements.

Cooperation and contacts beyond the framework of individual countries have already become daily practice, and they open up great vistas for creative activity. Our peoples contribute the best of their revolutionary national traditions and qualities to their common future. The citizens of our socialist state take ever greater pride in the

realization that they are a component of this great socialist community, whose example charts the future of mankind.

Dear comrades and friends.

One of the great objectives of the revolutionary workers' movement has always been to rid mankind of the scourge of imperialist wars, achieving this through the struggle for socialism. The course of world history has for a long time been governed by the fact that the more powerful the development of socialism and the stronger its impact on world politics the firmer and more reliable the peace.

The inevitable confrontation between socialism and capitalism, which determines the character of our epoch, cannot be allowed to doom millions and millions of people to death and the fruits of their hard work to destruction in the flames of a world atomic war. Since the GDR's foundation its foreign policy has been aimed at achieving the great objective of ensuring a lasting peace. The German Democratic Republic's 25 years have been 25 peaceful years thanks to the consistent efforts of the community of socialist states united around the Soviet Union in alliance with the broad masses of the people all over the world. We want this period to be followed by more years of peaceful endeavor. This is what we are working for. This course, aimed at achieving lasting peace, serves the interests of building socialism, it is in keeping with the fundamental interests of the peoples, and at the same time mobilizes all the forces of peace fighting for freedom and independence, for democracy and social progress.

We can note with satisfaction that nowadays the policy of peaceful coexistence is increasingly becoming the norm in relations between states with different social systems. Following the alarming and dangerous cold war period a beginning has been made to a phase of international détente. And we attach such great significance to the improved relations between the Soviet Union and the United States just because that improvement, as anyone concerned with preserving peace knows, has an important impact on the climate of international relations. Together with our allies we are working for the European Security and Cooperation Conference to be concluded, without procrastination and at the highest level, in the interests of all participating states. Our republic actively supports constructive moves toward disarmament.

The German Democratic Republic's foreign policy will continue to be based on continued strengthening of our fraternal alliance with the Soviet Union and other countries of the socialist community.

We are steadily expanding our relations with the people of Asia,

Africa, the Middle East and Latin America who have thrown off the yoke of imperialism and colonialism and chosen their own way of development. At the same time we are also developing relations with capitalist countries in accordance with the principles of mutual benefit, non-interference, and respect of sovereignty and territorial integrity. The GDR's membership in the United Nations has opened up new favorable opportunities for this.

As for relations between the socialist German Democratic Republic and the capitalist Federal Republic of Germany, the agreements and treaties concluded have created the prerequisites for positive results along the road of normalizing relations. The opportunities for this have certainly not been exhausted. Obviously, this presumes readiness and good will on the part of both sides. We proceed from the consideration that reasonable relations between the GDR and the FRG will be useful not only to both German states but also to the continued process of détente all over Europe.

The task now is to continue to stabilize the results achieved in securing peace. Much has still to be done to consolidate the process of détente. There still are powerful imperialist forces striving, contrary to the peoples' interests, to throw the world back to cold war times and reassert their domination. Far from the least indication of this is the North Atlantic pact's frantic arms drive, which again confirms that the aggressive character of imperialism has not changed. That is why we shall remain vigilant as before and reliably uphold the gains of socialism and defend the peace from any encroachments.

The resistance of aggressive imperialist circles to peace and détente is due to the drive of multinational concerns, especially military-industrial capital, for profit and expansion. However, it cannot but be observed that their ever more open link-up with the present leaders of the People's Republic of China serves as a nutritious medium for this position which is hostile to détente. Lately this has become especially apparent in the support of Peking leading circles for reactionary NATO and EEC circles. It is our conviction, however, that the genuine interests of the peoples, the Chinese people included, will ultimately triumph.

One cannot speak of our worker and peasant state without re-emphasizing that we are linked by bonds of sincere solidarity with all fighters for freedom, democracy and socialism the world over. The spirit of proletarian internationalism and anti-imperialist solidarity is alive in our people, and especially among the younger generation.

Our hearts beat in unison with the hearts of the brave Popular Unity

fighters in Chile. From this rostrum we demand freedom for Luis Corvalan, freedom for all the Chilean patriots locked up in dungeons! We shall continue to give active solidary aid to the courageous people of Vietnam. We demand the liquidation of the festering hotbed of tensions in the Middle East through the withdrawal of the Israeli aggressors from the occupied territories and full respect for the rights of the Arab people of Palestine. We fully support the Soviet Union's proposals aimed at resolving the Cyprus question. Feelings of solidarity link us with the working class of capitalist countries who are compelled to fight against the ever more apparent evils of capitalist society. We send ardent greetings to anti-fascists in the FRG, Portugal and Greece, to all those brave people fighting selflessly, without fear of sacrifices for the just cause of their people!

Today we look ahead to the near and more distant future, to the second quarter century of the existence of our socialist republic E. Honecker said. Interlocking with other fraternal states in ever more numerous respects, our republic will advance steadily to communism. Years of persevering effort will be required to build a developed socialist society. The further social and economic progress goes, the more relevant Lenin's statement that higher labor productivity is, in the final analysis, the decisive factor for the victory of the new social system. It follows that the future will put exacting demands to us. We must have a deeper theoretical insight into the task of combining the advantages of socialism with the demands of the scientific and technological revolution so as to carry it out all the better. A member of the family of peoples united behind the Soviet Union, our republic takes part in this gigantic creative effort. Under socialism, rapid scientific and technological progress enhances the creative character of labor and provides new prerequisites of labor increasingly becoming a primary vital need of man. The new society led by the working class sets an example of using the powerful potential of contemporary science and technology for the good of people.

The SUPG will persevere in carrying out the main task set by its Eighth Congress, which is to meet the working people's material and cultural requirements ever more fully by steadily raising the productivity of social labor. In this process, primary importance will attach in growing measure to the encouragement and satisfaction of people's spiritual and cultural requirements, education and the acquisition of higher skill, steadily improving working conditions in the factories and cooperatives, more effective health care, protection and improvement of the environment. Evidently, these advances pre-

suppose a substantial increase in the efficiency of both industrial and agricultural labor. We must also work to perfect socialist economic planning and management and economic incentives.

What is becoming ever more important to the working people is precisely the social solutions and institutions which are unthinkable under a system geared to the acquisition of profit and torn by competition. And it is becoming ever more manifest that only socialism can answer the questions of our time and provide man with whatever he needs to give meaning to his life.

We are advancing to the Ninth Party Congress. As we look at the breath-taking vistas ahead, we realize that to fulfill the tasks facing them, the working people of our country will have to give all their creative energies. We also know that economic and social bonds between socialist states will become closer still and that the socialist community, which is led by Lenin's country, is strong enough to cope with tasks of truly historic significance.

In October 1949, the day he was elected the first President of the German Democratic Republic, Wilhelm Pieck said that we must always be equal to great historic tasks if we want to face the bar of history with a clear conscience.

That has determined our plans and actions throughout the past 25 years. And it is in that spirit that we will continue to devote all our energies to doing our duty to our people and the world revolutionary movement. We are ready to do everything to cope with our responsibility to the community of socialist states united behind the Soviet Union.

Long live our socialist German Democratic Republic!

Neues Deutschland, Oct. 7, 1974.

SPEECH BY LEONID BREZHNEV AT THE ANNIVERSARY MEETING

Dear Comrade Honecker,

Esteemed members of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany.

Esteemed deputies to the People's Chamber, members of the National Council of the National Front of the German Democratic Republic.

Dear comrades and friends.

We have gathered today to mark a date of great historical import.

The birth of the first workers' and peasants' state in the homeland of Karl Marx and Frederick Engels has become an important milestone in the development of world socialism along a path blazed for mankind by the victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution.

This is so because it signified a radical turn in the destinies of the working people in your country, and their victory in the revolutionary struggle against militarism and fascism, and for the triumph of socialist ideals.

This is so because it signified a tangible increase in the common potential of the community of socialist countries.

This is so because it was of tremendous, fundamental significance in the history of Europe, in the development of international relations on the continent.

This is so because your experience of socialist construction in an industrialized country has enriched Marxist-Leninist thought considerably and is of great help to our class brothers in the capitalist countries.

Life has fully confirmed what Vladimir Ilyich Lenin frequently said about the great importance of the victory of the socialist system on German soil for the common cause of the Communists.

And it is understandable that the working people of the Soviet Union and the other fraternal countries are celebrating with you the anniversary of your Republic. It is our common festival, a holiday of all those who engaged in mortal battle against fascism, defended peace, struggled and continue to struggle for the triumph of the ideal of democracy and socialism.

I had the honor to head Party and Government delegations from the USSR to the celebration of the 15th and 20th anniversaries of the German Democratic Republic. Each of these anniversaries marked a new stage in your progress. And now comes the 25th anniversary. You are meeting it with truly outstanding achievements, about which Comrade Erich Honecker spoke here so well. Any country and any people could be rightly proud of them.

To properly assess your achievements, they must be seen in retrospect.

For centuries the ruling circles in Germany nurtured the ideology of violence and racial supremacy. Their aggressive policy laid a heavy burden on the destinies not only of the peoples in the neighboring countries but on the Germans themselves. Devastating wars originated from here, from the center of the European continent, and their flames swept over peaceful cities and villages in countries to the east

and west of Germany. And strife and enmity became worse after each bloody clash, after new sacrifices on both sides. There was a kind of historical accumulation of hate. Fascism, which brought terrible calamities on the peoples of Europe, including the German people, was a monstrous culmination of the evil begotten by German imperialism. The fascist aggression in World War II had still further deepened the chasm between Germany and the other countries.

We Communists may feel well satisfied that it was socialism and socialism alone that managed to cut through the "Gordian knot." It was socialism, as incarnated in the first socialist power in the world, that was of decisive importance in the rout of the dark forces of fascism on the battlefield. It was socialism and socialism alone that, in determining the destiny of the GDR according to the will of her people, saved your country from the lethal whirlpool of reaction, aggression and war, and made it one of the important factors in strengthening European peace.

By routing fascism, the Soviet Army liberated European countries, and, with them, the German people. The Party of Lenin, the Land of Soviets stretched out a hand of peace and friendship to the German working people. And the Party of Thälmann began to deal with the difficult and noble task of transforming the life of their people along new, fair and humane lines.

Embodied in the present victories of the SUPG on the political, social and cultural fronts are the particles of the soul and the heart of Karl Liebknecht, Rosa Luxemburg, Ernst Thälmann and many other courageous internationalist fighters.

Today we cannot help remembering those who were called "activists of the first hour." These people came from the front-line trenches with the soldiers of the Soviet Army, from the anti-fascist underground, and from behind the barbed wire of the fascist concentration camps. They had the invaluable experience of the Communist Party of Germany, and the experience of work in the international communist movement behind them. Everything that was good and honest in East Germany at the time had rallied round them.

Many of those who stood at the cradle of the GDR are no longer with us. But the bright names of Wilhelm Pieck, Walter Ulbricht, Otto Grotewohl and many other Communists and non-Communists who have written glorious pages into the history of socialist construction on German soil will remain forever in the memory of our descendants.

The Republic owes its achievements above all to the Communists, the vanguard of the working class. The unwavering loyalty of the

SUPG to the principles and ideals of Marxism-Leninism gave the strength to overcome the tremendous difficulties of transforming the country, warped by imperialism and nazism, and to build socialism.

Their own experience has convinced the working class and all working people of the GDR that the leading role of the Marxist-Leninist Party is the main, the determining factor in the successful implementation of social reforms. This has been irrefutably confirmed by the experience of your country and of other socialist countries.

The whole world is aware of the doggedness with which imperialist circles tried to break your Republic, to prevent it from becoming firmly established on European soil and the GDR from being internationally recognized as a sovereign state.

But these attempts were foiled by the joint efforts of the fraternal socialist states. The demand for legal recognition of the GDR was included as one of the more important goals in all the foreign-policy program documents of the Warsaw Treaty member-countries, and into the resolutions of the European and international meetings of Communist Parties. The struggle for this recognition was one of the key clauses in the Peace Program of the 24th CPSU Congress. And what had to happen did happen. The German Democratic Republic — the first state of German working people in history — has now been officially recognized by practically the whole world and has occupied its legitimate place in the United Nations Organization.

Today the German Democratic Republic is a strong and prospering socialist state, an active and authoritative participant in international life. All the nations of the socialist world are proud of the achievements of their German comrades. Is not that the best reward to those who saw far beyond the darkness of tragic events and through the blackness of hard years, those who devoted all their strength and all their energy to building a just socialist future for the people of the GDR! Is it not a remarkable argument in favor of socialism as a great factor for peace and for ennobling international and human relations!

This is what one cannot help thinking in this connection. For many years the ruling circles in the bourgeois countries did not want to recognize the Soviet state. They had to recognize it. They did not want to recognize the German Democratic Republic. They had to recognize it. They refused to recognize the Democratic Republic of Vietnam. Today the Vietnamese people have won worldwide recognition by their heroic struggle. Certain people are still clinging to the policy of economic and political blockade and non-recognition of

socialist Cuba. But we say with confidence that they will have to recognize it!

Isn't it high time to learn one simple lesson of history: the movement toward socialism is an objective process. It expresses the will of the nations, the intrinsic needs of social development. It is invincible. And whether you like it or not, it has to be taken into account.

Socialism has yielded splendid fruit on German soil. This is shown by the rates of development of your country which has, in 25 years, increased its industrial output eightfold to hold a firm place among the 10 economically most developed countries in the world.

However, this still is not the main thing. Germany was also an industrialized state in the past. But only in socialist Germany did it become possible to bring about profound changes in the living conditions of the working people, who became genuine masters of their country. An end has been put to exploitation, and private ownership of the means of production has been eradicated. It became possible, in these conditions, to ensure, for the first time, the most important thing — the genuine right to dignified and socially useful labor, to do away with unemployment completely and for good, to free the working people from this terrible threat, and to secure equal pay for equal work.

It is only in the socialist GDR that all the citizens know that they are guaranteed free medical services, that even the costliest and complex treatment won't cost the patient a single pfennig. It is only in the socialist GDR that a workingman need no longer worry about where he is to get the money to provide an education for his children — education in schools, specialized secondary schools, institutes and universities is free and the vast majority of students receive state grants. Never before have so many children of workers and peasants studied at German universities and higher schools of all types, as in the GDR today. All that, comrades, and many other things constitute real advantages of socialism, the real gains of the German socialist state. But the most important of socialism's gains is, undoubtedly, the new type of man who is proud of his socialist Motherland, is devoted to communist ideas, and does not separate concern for the welfare of his own state from the interests of the entire community of fraternal countries.

Dear German comrades, you have travelled a glorious road and you have every reason to be proud of it. On this red-letter day, please accept the most cordial, the most sincere congratulations from the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the

Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet and the Soviet Government. The warmest fraternal greetings and best wishes to the people of the German Democratic Republic from the 250-million-strong Soviet People!

Dear friends,

The most distinguishing feature of socialist society is its aspiration for the future. We know that all your plans and activities are now aimed at fulfilling the tasks of building a developed socialism, put forward by the Eighth Congress of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany.

You have everything you need for the fulfilment of your plans. A solid production base and high level of development of science and technology, the well-adjusted mechanism of economic management and control, the large number of excellent specialists, and the high skill and sense of organization of the working people. And, of course, it is the political atmosphere in the country and the unity of all the organizations in the National Front, of the working class and all the people around their recognized vanguard — the 2,000,000-strong Party of Communists; the high authority of the Party's leadership, its Central Committee and the Politbureau of the Central Committee, led by Erich Honecker, a faithful son of his people, a steeled anti-fascist and a prominent figure in the international communist movement.

Our people and our Party, with more than half a century of experience in the struggle for socialism and communism, realize fully the scope and the complexity of the tasks which your Party and your people's state have set themselves. And dear friends, we sincerely and fraternally wish you the greatest possible successes!

This year, like the next, are years of notable anniversaries of the establishment of people's power in a number of fraternal countries. It is a pleasure to realize that they approach their anniversaries with outstanding results in different fields of social, economic and cultural development. These results are especially conspicuous when seen against the unprecedentedly aggravated economic, social and political instability in the capitalist world.

We are convinced that the fuller, broader and deeper the all-round cooperation between the socialist states and the firmer their consolidation, the more completely will the advantages of the new system be revealed.

The relations between the Soviet Union and the German Democratic Republic are developing in just this direction. The comradely cooperation between our two Parties — the Communist Party of the

Soviet Union and the Socialist Unity Party of Germany — is steadily deepening and gathering strength. The close bonds of manifold relations and contacts in all fields unite the peoples of our two countries, involving literally millions of people. The GDR has long since become one of the USSR's largest economic partners. And our people know from their experience that it is a solid reliable partner who conscientiously fulfills its commitments. We also know that the GDR favorably assesses our assistance in supplying its economy with raw materials, machinery and other goods.

The multilateral cooperation of the fraternal countries within the framework of socialist economic integration is acquiring an ever growing significance. We have already started, in practice, upon projects which are connected with production cooperation, joint planning and collective research. When we are doing this, such major problems as improving quality and technical standards in engineering, developing the raw-material and fuel base and the elimination of shortages of certain types of goods on the world socialist market come to the forefront.

I have no doubt that the German Democratic Republic, together with the other fraternal countries, will make a worthy contribution to solving these problems and ensuring the emergence of the socialist community to the advanced frontiers of the scientific and technological progress.

We in the Soviet Union fully understand the importance of the development of the Soviet economy in this respect. The workers, collective farmers and the intellectuals of our country are working with great enthusiasm, raising labor productivity and improving the quality of their output, to implement the resolutions of the 24th Party Congress on the development of socialist production at a higher rate and on increasing its efficiency, and, on that foundation, to achieve a new upswing in the people's well-being. We shall be summing up the results of the Ninth Five-Year Plan in just over a year and even now we can confidently say that they will show that the Soviet country has become even mightier and taken another big step along the road of communist construction!

Esteemed comrades. We are all living at a time when conditions have taken shape for a cardinal reconstruction of international relations, above all here, in Europe. The way is being paved toward establishing good-neighborly relations and mutually beneficial cooperation on the basis of peaceful coexistence of states with differing social systems, for which the Soviet country has worked since the day

of its birth. And if this task is now being solved in practice then we must declare outright: this is due, above all, to the strengthening of world socialism and the international role of the socialist states, which has grown beyond all measure.

For obvious reasons relations between the socialist countries and the Federal Republic of Germany occupy a special place in the complex of problems on which the durability of European peace depends. All of us pay a great deal of attention to this matter. I think that there are grounds to speak highly of the progress attained in this area in recent years.

It should be stressed that the policy of the German Democratic Republic, which is working for the normalization and development of relations between the two German states on the basis of the principles of peaceful coexistence is an important integral part of the general course of the socialist countries and an important element in international détente, especially in Europe.

The transition from enmity and confrontation to peaceful, mutually advantageous cooperation, which has lately taken place in the relations between the socialist countries and the FRG, enjoys the support of the people of Europe, including, as we understand it, the majority of the population in the FRG itself. We regard this as the token of further successes for the policy of peace and détente.

We realize, of course, that there are still influential circles in the FRG who do not like the changes that are taking place. They regard the treaties with socialist states as a forced concession to the times and would wish to reduce their practical significance to a minimum. I'll be frank: the attempts made to obtain special advantages, by acting counter to the quadripartite agreement on West Berlin, also help these forces.

In our view the achievements stemming from the great efforts, the good will and responsible approach of the states belonging to different social systems are too important and valuable to be made, even to the slightest degree, the subject of political games.

The course of active development of relations between the countries of the socialist community and the FRG is already justifying itself in practical terms. It is producing tangible results for both sides, in political contacts, which facilitate better mutual understanding, and in the economic, scientific and technological cooperation, in relations among public organizations and in cultural exchanges. It can be said with complete confidence that the legal foundations for the development of stable relations created by the treaties with the FRG are being

steadily filled with solid content. We are prepared to follow this road further. In our opinion, this should also be of concern to the other side.

As you know, we are expecting Mr. Schmidt, the FRG Chancellor, in Moscow on an official visit in the near future. It will be his first visit to the USSR as the head of government. Bearing in mind the well-known declarations of the FRG Government leaders on the continuity in the Federal Republic's foreign policy we hope that the forthcoming talks will enable further concrete steps to be taken in the development of mutually beneficial relations and cooperation. This will be in accord both with the interests of our two countries and with the cause of European peace.

Comrades, much effort was devoted by the socialist countries to the struggle for the convocation and success of the all-European conference. We never entertained illusions that holding the first meeting of this kind in history would be easy. And, indeed, there were and still are difficulties at the Conference. Some are caused by the natural non-convergence of views between the participants on individual questions; others — by the desires of some to obtain unilateral advantages for themselves. However, it is already clear that the interests of ensuring peace in Europe demand that the work of the All-European Conference be concluded in the near future. The USSR, the GDR and other socialist countries are exerting every effort to see to it that the Conference is crowned with the success which would help lay firm foundations for security and peaceful cooperation in Europe.

Our starting-point is that the conference decisions will facilitate the development of both bilateral and multilateral interstate cooperation on the European continent in politics, the economy, science, culture and other areas of human activity. Our common task is to help the gradual formation of a new epoch in the life of ancient Europe — the epoch of reasonable relations and mutual trust.

The policy worked out and pursued jointly by the countries of our community is clear proof that socialist states are prepared to play their active part in achieving this goal. They hold out a hand of peace and friendship to the other countries on the continent and hope for constructive cooperation.

This does not only apply to Europe. This is a worldwide phenomenon. The USSR, the GDR, all the states of the socialist community — inspired by the principles of the Leninist international policy, whose supreme goal is the guaranteeing of social progress in conditions of peace and security of nations — are conducting an indefatigable

struggle to reduce the danger of war, relax the military confrontation, limit the arms race and lessen the burden of arms expenditure, and to achieve disarmament. This policy of ours enjoys recognition and support from all honest people.

Some leaders in the capitalist states are also gradually beginning to realize that an unbridled arms race cannot solve the contradictions between states, much less between the two world social systems, and that it cannot give security to nations.

All this created the opportunities over the last few years for making important agreements on certain limitations of the arms race, and these are operating reasonably well. But these agreements are only the beginning — we need to proceed further. We attach great importance to the talks, conducted in this area and, above all, on the further steps in the limitation of strategic arms by the USSR and the USA and on the reduction of the armed forces and armaments in Central Europe.

You are aware, comrades, that the Soviet Union has lately put forward a number of new practical proposals on the limitation of the arms race and on disarmament.

We have, in particular, placed for discussion by the UN General Assembly the proposal on the prohibition of environmental and climatic modification for military and other purposes incompatible with the interests of safeguarding international security and human well-being and health. This proposal met with the approval of many states.

In the course of our contacts with the USA Government, we are continuing to work out concrete forms for a joint initiative toward an international agreement on the banning and destruction of the most dangerous, lethal chemical weapons.

The USSR, as I said only recently, is prepared to come to an agreement, at any time, on the withdrawal of Soviet and American nuclear armed ships and submarines from the Mediterranean. We also favor an agreement on a complete end to underground nuclear tests.

These are only some of the steps which, we believe, could feasibly be implemented in the near future. We shall work persistently for these proposals, counting upon the understanding and support of all the peace forces.

But, of course, this is far from being all that can and must be done to lessen the danger of war and check the arms race. To stop this race and then proceed to the reduction of armaments, such are the main frontiers which must be reached on the road to our common ultimate goal — universal and complete disarmament.

The successes achieved in the struggle for détente are, undoubtedly, considerable, but we must not rest content with that. International life brings forward new problems, while many old ones are far from solved. The Middle East crisis has not been settled yet, even though the conditions for such a settlement were created long ago. Neither has a truly durable peace yet been secured for the peoples of Indochina, who must, at long last, have the opportunity to begin to arrange their lives without outside interference. Naturally, this also concerns in full measure the people of Cyprus. And there are quite a few trouble spots in other areas.

Joint action by the socialist countries can, as before, play a useful, and, I'd say, indispensable part in solving acute international problems in the interests of peace and security of nations. The coordination of our political efforts in the international arena in the name of strengthening peace, and the fraternal cooperation of the armed forces of the Warsaw Treaty countries in the name of peace are all factors of the greatest importance. Here, as in solving the tasks of internal development, the true token of our further success is the consolidation and unity among states of the socialist community.

Comrades, dear friends,

Lately we have witnessed major political events of general European, and, what is more, of worldwide significance. I have in mind the downfall of fascism in Portugal and the inglorious collapse of the "black colonels'" dictatorship in Greece. For the first time in decades there is a real prospect that Europe will be able to get completely rid of fascist regimes. However, the events of the last few days in Lisbon remind us that the reactionaries do not lay down their arms even when fascism is overthrown. Therefore, the forces of democracy must be vigilant.

Permit me from this rostrum to express our solidarity with the people of Portugal and to wish them complete success in the struggle for a free and democratic Portugal! We are also in solidarity with the patriotic forces of Greece, who are working for developing and consolidating the democratic process that has begun in their country.

The downfall of Portuguese fascism was also the collapse of Portuguese colonialism.

Ninety years ago, the diplomats of bourgeois states were shaping and reshaping Africa right here in Berlin, then the capital of the Kaiser Reich. That was one of the last acts of building up the world system of colonialism which its creators saw as virtually eternal. And today the last colonial empire is disintegrating under the joint blows of the

national-liberation movement in Guinea-Bissau, Mozambique and Angola and of the Portuguese people's anti-fascist movement.

The collapse of Portuguese colonialism is a major frontier in the struggle for the complete and final liquidation of colonial slavery in Africa. We are convinced that the day is not far distant when all of Africa — from the Cape of Good Hope to the Western Sahara — will be free!

The socialist countries have always rendered every assistance and full support to fighters for the liberation of the colonies. For us, this has always been our internationalist duty. And together with the nations that have thrown off the colonialist yoke, we greet the victories of the anti-colonial revolution, which is one of the powerful accelerators of modern history.

While thinking about the morrow in international relations and working for a lasting and stable peace, we are fully aware that the road to this goal is no easy one. The cause of peace and détente has not only proponents but active opponents, too. The present leaders of the People's Republic of China are, unfortunately, among the latter.

The 25th anniversary of the People's Republic of China was observed recently. The victory of the people's revolution was a great event in the life of China, and the development of the world revolutionary movement. We give those Chinese Communists who, expressing the aspirations of their people, led the struggle for national liberation, for the establishment of new social order in their country, their due for this feat.

But there are also other things that need mentioning today. The fact that China, at the will of Maoist leaders, took the road of splitting with the socialist countries and of fighting against them, a course of lining up with the most aggressive forces of world reaction and encouraging them, cannot but cause a feeling of bitterness.

We are convinced that this abnormal situation cannot go on for ever. This dark page in the history of the people of China, in the history of their relations with the socialist countries, will undoubtedly be turned over by the Chinese people themselves. As for us, we shall exert every effort, as before, to normalize relations with the People's Republic of China, to restore the fraternal friendship and cooperation with the Communists, with the working people of China. We believe that the vital interests of both the USSR and China, the interests of world socialism, of the liberation struggle of nations and of lasting peace on earth demand this.

Dear comrades,

The enemies of socialism are very well aware of the importance of the unity of our countries. And it is against this unity that they spearhead their main attacks. We know that the GDR, situated on the border of the two systems, is particularly subjected to heavy persuasion from the imperialists. The population of the Republic is flooded with streams of hostile propaganda day in, day out. The aim is to sow doubt about the policy of the SUPG and about the road chosen by the people of the GDR, and to try, if not to split them off, then at least to estrange the socialist Republic of German working people from the great community of socialist states.

That, of course, shall never happen! The working people in the GDR know full well what lies behind the class enemy's treacherous propaganda. They are proud of their achievements and hold them dear. They know well who are their true and loyal friends.

Probably it is the history of the emergence and development of the GDR that shows with utmost clarity the importance of international solidarity of the socialist states in our time.

Soviet Communists can say with a clear conscience that even in the most complex situations, when a threat of a direct confrontation with the imperialist forces arose, we did not waver in the least in defending the interests of the fraternal GDR.

We Soviet people highly appreciate that friendship with the Land of Soviets has become an inalienable part of the internationalist policy of the SUPG and the German Democratic Republic and that millions of citizens in your country hold it dear. Rest assured, dear comrades, that the Soviet people fully reciprocate. True to the internationalist behests of Marx, Engels and Lenin, our Party educates Soviet people in the spirit of friendship and fraternity with the working people of the GDR. Let it be known and remembered by you — we are with you, on your side at every moment, at all times; we side with socialism, with labor, peace and international fraternity of working people!

May the German Democratic Republic live and prosper!

May the unbreakable friendship between the Soviet Union and the GDR gather strength!

Long live the great community of socialist countries — a reliable bulwark of peace and progress!

Long live communism!

Pravda, October 7, 1974.

The speeches by E. Honecker and L. Brezhnev were heard with keen attention and punctuated by prolonged, stormy applause.

WARSAW CONSULTATIVE MEETING OF EUROPEAN COMMUNIST PARTIES

COMMUNIST AND WORKERS' PARTIES OF EUROPE TO HOLD CONFERENCE

A consultative meeting of Communist and Workers' parties of Europe was held in Warsaw on the initiative of the Polish United Workers' Party and the Italian Communist Party on October 16-18, 1974. It was attended by delegations of the following parties: Communist Party of Austria, Communist Party of Belgium, Bulgarian Communist Party, Progressive Party of the Working People of Cyprus, Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, Communist Party of Denmark, Communist Party of Finland, French Communist Party, German Communist Party, Socialist Unity Party of Germany, Communist Party of Great Britain, Communist Party of Greece, Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, Communist Party of Ireland, Italian Communist Party, Communist Party of Luxembourg, Communist Party of Norway, Polish United Workers' Party, Portuguese Communist Party, Rumanian Communist Party, San Marino Communist Party, Communist Party of the Soviet Union, Communist Party of Spain, Left Party — Communists of Sweden, Swiss Party of Labor, Communist Party of Turkey, Socialist Unity Party of West Berlin, League of Communists of Yugoslavia.

The broad fraternal exchange of opinions, in which all attending parties took part, yielded agreement on the necessity and usefulness of preparing and convening a conference of the Communist and Workers' parties of Europe.

It was considered desirable to convene the conference not later than the middle of 1975.

It was agreed that the conference should discuss the struggle for peace, security, cooperation and social progress in Europe.

A proposal to hold the conference in the German Democratic Republic was welcomed by the representatives of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany.

The participants expressed their satisfaction over the atmosphere of democratism and fraternal cooperation in which the meeting worked with a view to achieving common standpoints on the basis of equality and respect for the opinions of all parties. They declared their

determination to prepare and conduct the conference in the same spirit.

A preparatory meeting of fraternal parties will be held in December 1974-January 1975.

The consultative meeting worked in a spirit of mutual understanding and proletarian solidarity, in full conformance with the norms of relations established between fraternal parties.

FRATERNAL SOLIDARITY WITH FIGHTERS AGAINST FASCISM AND FOR FREEDOM, DEMOCRACY, AND NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE

The participants in the Warsaw Consultative Meeting of the Communist and Workers' Parties of Europe reaffirmed the European Communists' unwavering support for all fighters against imperialism and neo-colonialism, reaction and aggression. They reasserted the fraternal solidarity of their parties with the peoples of Indochina, the Middle East, Central and South Africa, the people of Cyprus fighting for its independence and territorial integrity and against all foreign interference, the people of Northern Ireland fighting for democratic and national rights, and all peoples fighting for independence and the right freely to decide their own future and to dispose of their national wealth.

The participants in the consultative meeting express warm fraternal solidarity with all fighters against the junta which usurped power in Chile, and demand freedom for Comrade Luis Corvalan and all persecuted patriots and democrats. They firmly demand the release of Comrade Rodney Arismendi and all fighters for freedom and democracy in Uruguay.

The parties participating in the Warsaw meeting declare their warmest fraternal solidarity with the Communist Party, working class, and entire people of Spain fighting for liberation from fascist tyranny, and demand the release of Comrades Romero Marin, Sanchez Montero, Fernandez Inganzo, Lucio Lobato, leaders of workers' commissions Marcelino Camacho and his comrades, and all those languishing in Franco prisons.

The participants in the consultative meeting hail the peoples of Portugal and Greece who overthrew fascist regimes and are fighting to consolidate their democratic gains.

SPEECHES AT CONSULTATIVE MEETING

Following are speeches published in the national dailies of the parties concerned during or after the consultative meeting.

SPEECH BY EDWARD GIEREK

The consultative meeting was opened by Edward Gierek, First Secretary of the CC PUWP, who said:

Dear comrades, I welcome you wholeheartedly on behalf of our Party and the Polish working class, which, being loyal to its revolutionary and internationalist traditions, devotes all its energies to the great cause of building and consolidating socialism. We deeply appreciate the fact that outstanding spokesmen of the Communist movement of Europe are meeting here in Warsaw, the capital of our country.

The Central Committee of the Polish United Workers' Party thanks all the brother parties which supported the joint initiative of our Party and the Italian Communist Party and sent delegations to this consultative meeting. We are convinced that the meeting will play an important part.

Important because it is concerned with the issue of convening and preparing for a European conference of Communist and Workers' parties. Our Party has repeatedly expressed the opinion that such a meeting is necessary and would be timely.

Recent years have seen favorable changes in the situation on our continent. The process of easing tensions and normalizing relations has gone further and there are new opportunities for greater security, a more durable peace and constructive cooperation. This is an important achievement of all our parties and all progressive forces.

This process benefits above all from the principled policy and initiatives of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, and in particular from the sustained effort of Leonid Brezhnev, General Secretary of the CC CPSU, in carrying out the great Peace Program advanced by the 24th Congress of the CPSU.

The alignment of forces on our continent, which is favorable to peace, affords a solid basis for détente. All socialist countries have lately set about fulfilling new tasks in building socialism and communism. They concentrate more and more on achieving the main objective of our system, which is to assure the well-being of the working people, to provide them with higher living and cultural stan-

dards. They are scoring noteworthy gains in the process.

In capitalist Europe the Left has strengthened its positions, and the working class and the masses influence developments more than ever. Never before have the Communists of Europe rallied as many people in support of peace and social progress or had as important allies as today. We are proud of what our comrades throughout Western Europe have achieved in battling for the working people's rights, for democracy and social progress.

For three decades all our parties, which are united by international solidarity, have been campaigning to consolidate the results of the victory over fascism, won through great sacrifice, and to establish a lasting system of security and peace in Europe. These perennial efforts are yielding results now.

All countries have definitively recognized the territorial and political order brought into being after World War II.

The Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe is in session. There are real chances of successfully completing its labors in the near future, at a European summit that will be the first in history.

The situation on our continent is characterized by the development of the socialist community, growing democratic and progressive trends in many capitalist countries and the strengthening of the principles of peaceful coexistence.

We are now faced with new tasks and problems. It is essential to make the détente achieved lasting and irreversible, put peaceful coexistence on the powerful basis of constructive agreements and extensive economic, scientific, technological and cultural cooperation, prolong and perpetuate the peace which our continent has enjoyed for almost 30 years.

All the key problems of our time, such as those of speeding the scientific and technological revolution, putting its achievements in the peoples' service, making judicious use of natural resources, protecting the environment or combating diseases, can be solved only if all the peoples of the continent work together.

Our Marxist-Leninist parties constitute the most powerful and comprehensive political movement of all time. This movement is equal to working out a program for the solution of the problems I have listed, a program for peace and progress, and of uniting hundreds of millions of people of good will around this program in the socialist and capitalist parts of Europe, throughout our continent.

This year our people celebrate the 30th anniversary of their liberation from nazi occupation and the renaissance of their state within

legitimate national frontiers and under a new, socialist system.

Socialism has transformed Poland. It has enabled our country to rise from the ruins, overcome its backwardness, build up a modern industrial potential, raise the productivity of agriculture, advance education and science and develop just and humanist relations between people.

About four years ago we drew up a far-reaching social and economic program envisaging a high growth rate coupled with a considerable improvement of the working people's standard of life and the consolidation of socialist social relations. The program has won our people's universal support and has become a matter of honor for the Polish working class, for all our working men and women. The broadest masses show energy, enthusiasm and a high degree of activity and initiative in carrying out this program.

We steadfastly and successfully implement the line of our Sixth Party Congress. Drawing on past experience, we shape our future socialist advance.

The Central Committee of our Party is deeply convinced that the great effort which this consultative meeting is initiating will be crowned with success. On behalf of the Polish United Workers' Party and the Polish working class, I wish you fruitful work, dear comrades.

Trybuna Ludu, October 17, 1974

SPEECH BY BORIS PONOMARYOV

B.N. Ponomaryov, alternate member of the Political Bureau and secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, spoke at the meeting on behalf of the CPSU delegation.

The holding of the consultative meeting, he stressed, truly reflects the desire of the fraternal parties for cooperation in working for our common aims. We agree with the views expressed here by Comrade Gierek and others that the time is ripe for convening another conference of European Communists. This is prompted by political necessity, the very course of events, and the interests of the working class and the nations of Europe. This is also prompted by the immediate interests of the European communist movement. The public airing by the Communists of their views and their Marxist-Leninist comprehension of the problems and tasks facing the peoples of Europe would contribute to the further spread of the mass-scale drive for peace and social progress.

Basic changes of a principled character have taken place in Europe

in the past few years. Whereas back in the 60s we, Communists, rightly placed in the forefront the consolidation of the territorial and political results of the second world war, now it is clear that the major successes in carrying out this task are undeniable. As a result of the signing of the well-known agreements of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries with the Federal Republic of Germany, the principle of the inviolability of borders in Europe has won universal recognition. The German Democratic Republic — a state of German working people — has now been recognized by practically the entire world. Whereas back in the 60s we spoke of the need for exerting every effort to put an end to the cold war, we are now entitled to say that the peace-loving forces in Europe have moved far toward this goal. The cold war policy has completely discredited itself morally and politically, whereas the principle of peaceful coexistence of states with differing social systems is now increasingly determining international relations in Europe and throughout the world.

In the conditions of relaxation, the class struggle for economic and political rights of the working people, against the power of monopolies, for radical democratic reforms, against fascist regimes, for socialist ideals of the working class has become ever more widespread.

As we all know, outstanding political events have taken place in Portugal and Greece: fascist dictatorships have been overthrown and prospects for democratic development have been opened up there. This is of great importance for the entire anti-imperialist, liberation movement in Europe, and all those who treasure democracy and progress should support the anti-fascist democratic forces of Portugal and Greece. The struggle against the fascist Franco regime is developing in Spain. In France and Italy, in recent years, the left-wing forces are rallying. Considerable achievements have been recorded by the German, Danish and several other fraternal parties. The Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the entire Soviet people rejoice over all these successes and are widely popularizing them.

We believe that more than over before the Communist parties have greater possibilities and strength to exert influence on the course of developments in Europe for peace and the complete elimination of the danger of war, in the interests of the workers' movement and all working people.

What are the sources of these possibilities? They are connected with a whole complex of factors. This is, first of all, the exceptional dynamism and successes of the economic development of the socialist

countries, their social and political consolidation and the growth of their might. The international economic, scientific, technical, cultural and social ties of the socialist countries continue to expand, and this contributes to the spread of the truth about socialism in other countries.

Never before has the prestige of socialist foreign policy been so high. The successes of the Soviet Peace Program, which enjoys ever greater support of people everywhere, and the importance of its implementation are now universally recognized.

On the other hand, deep trends stemming from the development of capitalist society itself also influence events.

The deepening crisis of capitalism is still further discrediting imperialism, not only among the working class, but also among other sections of the population. Step by step, the vanguard forces of the working-class movement and the Communist parties are gaining ground. The European Communist movement now numbers 25 million people. This is an enormous political force.

By uniting with other left-wing forces and movements, the Communists are forcing their bourgeois opponents to retreat all the time. Contradictions are growing sharper between various groups of the ruling classes not only on questions concerning relations with the socialist world, but also on problems linked with inflation, the energy crisis, the agricultural policy, the aggravation of social relations and the scope of the mass movement.

At the same time, we are all aware that the favorable situation which has shaped up now for the further substantial spread of the workers' and democratic movement will not bring success automatically.

Success in the struggle against the danger of war and for social progress, B.N. Ponomarev went on to say, largely depends on the vigorous and purposeful action of the democratic forces and the Communist parties, which take into account the new possibilities and also the serious obstacles and the tremendous resistance to be overcome. As we all know, political détente has not as yet led to the termination of the arms race, nuclear arms included. The process of equipping the armies, of supplying them with ultra-sophisticated weaponry has been even more intensified. Preparations for war are continuing, and the danger of war has not disappeared.

The ruling circles of the West and their propaganda are again rehashing the allegations about "intensified military preparations" of the USSR. These allegations are spread persistently in order to justify

the greatly inflated military budgets and modernization of their armies, to mend the split that developed in the NATO military organization, and to try to create a new military grouping in Western Europe.

As has again been shown by the recent events in Cyprus, the services of NATO, the CIA and other military and intelligence organizations of the imperialist powers present a constant threat to peace. At the same time, more and more frequently they act as a direct instrument of struggle against the forces of democracy and social rejuvenation. We cannot afford to forget about this for a second, all the more because there is direct evidence of the resurgence of the extreme right, fascist and militarist forces in a number of countries.

It must also be said quite frankly that, influenced by the big successes in the fight against the cold war, and in the atmosphere of obvious international détente, some people appear to have become reassured and have slackened their activities against the danger of war.

Thus, we Communists, therefore, face the question: what has to be done and how? As we see it, a conference of the European parties is needed so that, guided by the theory and principles of Marxism-Leninism and of proletarian internationalism, a collective answer may be given to this question.

In our view, the main long-range task now facing the European peoples is to make our continent one enjoying a stable, durable peace. This is a truly historic task. For this to come about it is vital that the efforts of the socialist states, of the working class, of all working people, of all democratic and peace forces in Europe merge into a single, powerful stream.

Our Party's general secretary, Leonid Brezhnev, in his speech delivered here, in Poland, said: "... The convocation of another conference of European Communist Parties will help strengthen the combined action for a further relaxation of tension on the continent and make for the success of the struggle waged by Communists to secure the vital rights of the working people." These words express the position of our Party on the main content of the conference.

We, therefore, think that the conference is faced with a dual problem: to determine how to enlist the masses for further struggle to make détente irreversible, to ensure durable peace in Europe and at the same time to strive for the maximum use of international relaxation in the interests of the working people.

In speaking of the first aspect of this problem, we have in mind above all the solution of many issues on which depend the furthering

of political détente, the supplementing of this détente with one in the military field, the curbing of the arms drive, and the ending of war preparations. There is, moreover, the need to develop cooperation between states and peoples in the economic, scientific, technical, cultural and other fields.

Some of these questions are under discussion at the European conference of states in Geneva. It is to be expected that positive results will ensue, which could be regarded as a great success for the peace forces.

Our delegation assumes that a conference of Communists will be held after the completion of the European conference.

At their conference, the Communists would be able to discuss in depth the question of a lasting peace in Europe in direct connection with social progress and protection of the interests of the working people, and to indicate ways of freeing them from the burden of inflation, price-rises, permanent economic upheavals, etc.

The whole world can now clearly see the difference between the situation in the socialist and capitalist parts of Europe. The socialist countries do not have economic crises and use the strengthening of peace to raise the well-being of the working people. The acute crisis in the economy and policy of the capitalist countries is in sharp contrast. However, in the conditions of international détente, inflation, unrestrained growth of prices and taxes, and unemployment and the like become particularly intolerable for the popular masses. It is precisely onto their shoulders that the ruling class is attempting to shift the consequences of the energy and monetary crises and other manifestations of the decaying system. This creates a very complicated social situation, including increased danger from the Right, from the pro-fascist and extreme militaristic forces.

Millions of working people are searching for the causes behind the continued aggravation of the crisis in the countries where capital holds its sway.

However, neither the ruling top, nor the bourgeois opposition parties, nor the Social Democrats can give the real answer to these pressing issues. Only the Communist Parties, basing themselves on Marxism-Leninism, are able to reveal the actual causes behind events in the capitalist world, and explain to the masses that many burdens which they shoulder are directly related to the enormous military spending and militarism. No one except Communists can reveal the essence of the capitalist system as a source of both war danger and social calamities, and thereby substantiate the need to combine the

struggle against war with protection of the economic and political interests of the working people.

We believe the forthcoming conference of European Communists can give its authoritative judgement on all these issues.

Undoubtedly, if the efforts to make détente irreversible are to be crowned with success, then it is more than ever essential that there now be a closer and more organic combination of the drive for peace by the socialist states with the activity of the working class, with the development of the peace movement of broad working masses in European capitalist countries, and their immediate class struggle against the power of monopolies, against the reactionary policy and neo-fascism, for their vital interests and rights.

With this in mind, it would be correct to define the main theme of the conference thus: "The present tasks of the struggle for peace, security, mutually advantageous cooperation and social progress in Europe."

We consider that it is important and appropriate to the aims of the forthcoming Conference that it should clearly indicate the causes and factors behind the shifts that have taken place in Europe. We must prove convincingly what forces have set in motion the processes of détente, and provide a clear-cut orientation for the people by showing how they must work for a peace which accords with their interests.

The forthcoming conference will be held almost on the 30th anniversary of the end of the war, the 30th anniversary of the victory over German fascism and its allies. It is common knowledge that the countries of Eastern Europe suffered much greater losses in the war — both material and human — than the capitalist West. But they have embarked on the path of socialism and, together with the Soviet Union, have scored great successes in ensuring the well-being of their peoples, and creating a society where the working man is the master and faces the future with confidence.

Socialism, which once and for all time has delivered a considerable part of the continent from the rule of the exploiters — that source of militarism and war, of enmity and suspicion among the nations — is the vehicle for ensuring peace and security. We consider that the part played by the coordinated foreign policy of the socialist community in the changes on the international scene needs to be very strongly emphasized.

We believe that it is of fundamental importance to emphasize the great, indispensable significance of the activities of the Communist parties in European capitalist countries in bringing about positive

changes on the continent. Our fraternal parties tirelessly expose militarism and its masterminds, launch mass campaigns against the policy of imperialist aggression, in support of relaxation of international tensions, and wage a persistent struggle against the forces of reaction and militarism.

Naturally, the question arises of how to present the intentions and aims of the conference so that they may reach the broad public and be of practical value.

The right way, probably, is for the conference to formulate a concrete political platform in which the question of peace would be closely connected with the tasks of social progress.

The CPSU believes it would be expedient to adopt two basic documents at the conference. The first one should be a kind of political declaration which would sum up the results of the discussion and set out in detail a program of joint action. Possibly, the document might formulate our general assessments of the changes which have taken place in Europe, and indicate the factors contributing to these changes, and could give an answer to the question why we, Communists, now advocate such a platform of action, why we consider it real and feasible, and how it has to be achieved.

Since this document, if the meeting considers it necessary, will also include an analysis of the situation and a comprehensive program of action, it can hardly be short, though, of course, we should aim for this. That is why it might be useful to adopt another document which would expound our basic ideas and slogans in a concise and attractive manner. This document might also mention how we, Communists, understand cooperation of all left, democratic, peace-loving forces, and what needs to be done to establish such cooperation.

Obviously both documents must express the common, agreed opinions of all the parties present. This does not, of course, preclude the right of every Party to touch upon any problems it deems necessary to discuss at the conference. This is already a deep-rooted, democratic tradition.

Our Party believes that our movement has a substantial experience of collective work. On the basis of the consistent observance of democratic norms, equality and mutual respect of all participating parties, it is necessary to ensure for every Party the right to take a practical part in preparations for the conference at all stages, including the working out of its documents.

We support the proposal made here on the holding of the conference in the GDR, if our comrades from the SUPG agree with this.

These are the views of the CPSU on the questions proposed for the agenda of the consultative meeting.

In conclusion, allow me to emphasize once again that the CPSU attaches great importance to the convocation of a new all-European Communists' conference. It could be an important political event in the accomplishment of the historic task of turning Europe into a continent of a lasting peace.

The conference will also help to develop and consolidate the relations between all our Parties, will promote further unity of the European Communist movement on the basis of generally recognized principles of inter-Party relations and in this way will contribute to the consolidation of the world Communist movement on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. Our Party believes that the conference will demonstrate our growing solidarity with the liberation struggle of all peoples.

A constructive answer to the issues of peace and ensuring the vital interests of the people will be our important contribution also to the struggle against anti-communism. We have been fighting and will continue to fight against anti-communism of every shade, and daily and consistently uphold the Marxist-Leninist outlook, the noble ideals of the working class.

B.N. Ponomarev conveyed to the meeting and the fraternal parties present at it cordial greetings from the Central Committee of the CPSU and its general secretary Leonid Brezhnev, wishes of success in their activities and every success in the joint work of preparing the conference. He warmly thanked the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers' Party for the cordiality accorded the participants in the Warsaw consultative meeting.

The forthcoming forum of European Communists will fully demonstrate that they are standard-bearers of peace, determined opponents of imperialism and aggression, and staunch fighters for the vital interests of the people.

Pravda, October 18, 1974.

FOR PEACE AND PROGRESS IN EUROPE

RESULTS OF THE WARSAW CONSULTATIVE MEETING

The Consultative Meeting of Communist and Workers' parties of Europe (Warsaw, October 16-18, 1974) added a new chapter to the history of the Communist movement.

The main political result of the meeting was that the delegates reached agreement on a conference of European Communist and Workers' parties to discuss problems of peace, security, cooperation and social progress in Europe. The conference is to meet in the German Democratic Republic before the middle of 1975. A forum that will represent 25 million Communists, it promises to become a notable event.

The Consultative Meeting itself was a milestone. It brought together 28 Communist and Workers' parties, the most representative Communist meeting ever held in Europe. It proceeded in the spirit of fraternal cooperation and international solidarity which characterizes the trend toward unity and cohesion prevailing in the Communist movement today.

The parties that attended the meeting have already published its records and commented on its results in their press. They speak highly of the outcome of the meeting and signify their readiness to help in preparing for and holding the conference of Europe's Communists.

"Our Marxist-Leninist parties," said Edward Gierek, First Secretary of the CC PUWP, opening the Consultative Meeting, "constitute the most powerful and comprehensive political movement of all time. This movement is equal to working out . . . a program for peace and progress, as well as to uniting hundreds of millions of men of goodwill around this program in the socialist and capitalist parts of Europe, throughout our continent." The progress and outcome of the meeting showed the readiness and determination of Europe's Communists to work for these objectives. Stating its view on the proposed conference, the CPSU delegation to the meeting proceeded from the certainty that the conference would, as L.I. Brezhnev, General Secretary of the CC CPSU, stressed, "help to step up joint effort in favor of greater détente on the continent and further the success of the Communists' struggle to guarantee the working peoples' vital rights."

I

The discussion in Warsaw of the idea of a conference of Communist and Workers' parties of Europe revealed much common ground in evaluating the situation on the continent, the latest changes in it, the motive forces of these changes and the trends of subsequent development. The meeting cordially welcomed the delegates of the courageous Communist parties of Portugal and Greece, which did much to bring about the overthrow of fascist dictatorships and pave

the way for democratic development in their countries.

"The Portuguese events," said Carlos Aboim Ingles, member of the CC PCP, "showed clearly that peaceful coexistence, far from making the revolutionary process impossible, provides opportunities for new achievements and victories. There is a strong interdependence today between the struggle for peaceful coexistence and for the fundamental interests of the working people and the masses generally, on the one hand, and the struggle for democracy, national independence and social progress in the country concerned, on the other."

The same idea was voiced by other delegates, who pointed to the recent gains of the Communists and the left-wing forces cooperating with them in France, Italy and elsewhere. It is an indisputable fact that détente affords the Communist parties greater opportunities than before to influence developments in Europe in favor of peace and social progress.

What the delegates said at the meeting added up to a panorama of noteworthy advances in the fight for peace and security on the continent. In the 60s, they pointed out, Communists rightly gave priority to consolidating the territorial and political results of World War II. Today there is every reason to say that important progress has been made in accomplishing this task. Due to the well-known treaties between the Soviet Union, other socialist countries and the FRG, the principle of inviolability of European frontiers has won universal recognition. The German Democratic Republic, the state of the German working people, is now recognized by virtually the whole world. Whereas in the 60s the problem was to end the cold war, today the peace forces of Europe may safely be said to have gone a long way toward this goal. "The cold war policy," said B.N. Ponomaryov, leader of the CPSU delegation, alternate member of the Political Bureau and secretary of the CC CPSU, "has completely discredited itself morally and politically, whereas the principle of peaceful coexistence of states with differing social systems is now increasingly determining international relations in Europe and throughout the world."

The delegates were unanimous in estimating the factors for favorable changes in European politics. The growing power and prestige of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, said Jean Kanapa, leader of the FCP delegation, force "the imperialists to retreat and imperialism has less and less reason to hope that socialism can be wiped off the face of the earth. More and more often it is compelled to accept the need to coexist with socialism."

The meeting had a high opinion of the foreign policy of the Soviet Union and other members of the socialist community, of the energetic effort of the CPSU toward carrying out the Peace Program of its 24th Congress, a program which plays a decisive part in making peaceful coexistence and good-neighbor cooperation the basis for international relations. This is an emphatic refutation of the allegations of anti-Soviet propaganda agencies, such as the West German *Frankfurter Allgemeine*, which affirmed on the eve of the meeting that the Soviet policy of détente was "increasingly criticized within the world Communist movement." An important sign of the times, said Federico Melchor, Executive Committee member of the Communist Party of Spain, "is the strengthening of the policy of coexistence followed by the socialist countries, and the growing prestige and international leverage of the Soviet Union and European socialist countries."

It would be hard to overrate the West European Communist parties' contribution to favorable changes on the continent. The Communists of capitalist countries continuously expose militarism and its backbone, the military-industrial complex, and have initiated a campaign against the imperialist policy of aggression.

Running through the speeches of numerous delegates was the idea that détente serves social progress. On the one hand, "the peoples of our socialist community can demonstrate the merits and advantages of the socialist social system more forcefully and much more widely when peaceful coexistence has a stronger basis, military spending is considerably reduced and mutually beneficial cooperation is developing," as Hermann Axen, member of the Political Bureau and Secretary of the CC SUPG, put it. On the other hand, the vindication of the principles of peaceful coexistence creates a favorable situation in which the class struggle for the working people's economic and political rights, against the omnipotence of monopolies, can be greatly extended.

While noting the achievements of the forces of peace, democracy and socialism, delegates spoke of the stubborn resistance to the policy of détente and peaceful coexistence put up by the reactionary, aggressive quarters of monopoly capital. The arms race persists and is, moreover, becoming more intensive in qualitative terms. Reactionary, extreme right-wing imperialist groups, above all those associated with NATO, hold up the development of constructive relations between countries belonging to different social systems and cling doggedly to policy "from strength," a policy rejected by life.

"Peace-loving Europe," said Konstantin Tellalov, Secretary of the

CC BCP, "pins great hopes with regard to its future on the European Conference on Security and Cooperation and on the talks aimed at limiting armed forces and armaments in Central Europe. We all know that certain quarters raise obstacles to the Conference and the talks and that even when both are over it will take a tremendous effort to carry out decisions. The proposed conference of brother parties could also state the Communists' common position on these important issues."

Many delegates, especially from Western Europe, noted with concern that along with economic power, the big monopolies strive to concentrate all political power in their hands. Reuben Falber, deputy General Secretary of the British Communist Party, said that reactionary quarters tried to use the armed forces on an increasing scale against the masses. There was evidence of the resurgence of various fascist-type organizations in some West European countries and the ruling classes exploited racism to sow discord among the working class.

"Reactionary imperialist forces constantly go out of their way to prevent the elimination of the more dangerous sources of conflict," said A. Grlickov, member of the Executive Committee, CC Presidium, League of Communists of Yugoslavia, whose participation in the Consultative Meeting was noted with satisfaction by the delegates of all parties.

Delegates gave much attention in their speeches to the fight against the arms race and war preparations, which rob the working people of immense funds, to the struggle for social and democratic rights in capitalist countries and the need to steadfastly resist reaction and fascism. In view of efforts of certain European rightist quarters, our conference should set out jointly to call all the forces of peace, progress and democracy in Europe into action, said J. Blum, Political Bureau member of the Communist Party of Belgium.

The agenda of the European Communists' conference — peace, security, cooperation and social progress in Europe — agreed in Warsaw as a result of a creative, principled and ample debate, comprises the problems which the brother parties consider particularly pressing now, as the meeting showed. It is a question of defining the ways and means of mobilizing the masses for a still more widespread struggle to make détente irreversible and achieve lasting peace and security on the continent. It is also a question of using to the utmost the favorable conditions created by détente to step up the fight for far-reaching social changes.

II

The progress and outcome of the Consultative Meeting showed that the delegates were prompted by the need to evolve a political platform, a joint action program, closely linking the issue of peace and security in Europe with the problem of social progress. This platform could become one of the important results of the conference.

Speakers at the meeting suggested that the conference document should analyze in an appropriate, agreed form the nature of the changes brought about on the continent, name the forces and factors behind these changes and prove the validity of the joint action program for peace and social progress put forward by the Communist movement of Europe.

The delegates agreed that the issue of the forms, aims and actual content of cooperation of all left-wing, democratic and peace-loving forces willing to work like the Communists and with them to foster the security of European peoples is particularly important today. This is why they also spoke of the need clearly to state the Communists' position on this issue and specify their concept of this cooperation and of what can and should be done to start it. The delegations of the CPSU and some other fraternal parties noted that the conference could adopt a document setting out succinctly and in terms of an appeal the fundamental ideas and slogans of Europe's Communists.

It goes without saying, speakers stressed, that the documents of the planned conference should express the common, agreed opinion of all the parties attending, which in no way rules out the right of every party to touch in its statement at the conference on any problem it sees fit to raise. This is an established, thoroughly democratic tradition.

Every contingent of the Communist movement in Europe operates in its own, distinctive conditions. In the socialist countries the parties are in power while in the capitalist world some of them are in opposition, others operate legally although they, and still others operate underground. Some parties are active in countries belonging to opposed military and political alignments (the Warsaw Treaty organization and NATO) and opposed political and economic associations (CMEA, EEC, EFTA), while others are active in neutral or unaligned countries.

Hence, each brother party often has to solve distinctive problems, doing so, moreover, in its own way. This also explains why the Communist parties of Europe approach an occasional practical matter

in dissimilar ways. Be that as it may, the fundamental objectives, interests and intentions of the diverse contingents of the European Communist movement coincide on the main, fundamental points. The Consultative Meeting showed this once again. The progress of the meeting, the nature of the debate and the outcome revealed once more how very earnestly the European Communist movement seeks solidarity in the fight for internationalist aims, for unity.

The Warsaw meeting was consultative, as its name and agenda indicate. Nevertheless, the delegates found it necessary to adopt a document reaffirming the European Communists' invariable support of all fighters against imperialism and neo-colonialism, against reaction and aggression. Nor was that a mere gesture. Indeed, the spokesmen of brother parties of Europe restated thereby their internationalism and their inseparable connection with the world Communist movement, with the revolutionary and national liberation struggle of all peoples.

Speakers in the debate stressed again and again that the idea of "Eurocentrism" had always been foreign to the Communists of Europe. At the same time, they expressed confidence that "Europe, whose working class and other working people are the heroes of great battles and of an unrelenting struggle for progress, democracy and socialism, has sufficient potentialities and a sufficient sense of responsibility to make a new and original contribution to the struggle of the peoples of the world," as Gian Carlo Pajetta, Political Bureau member of the Italian Communist Party, worded it.

Pointing to this important circumstance, a number of delegates emphasized the need to refute firmly and in no uncertain terms the speculations of bourgeois propaganda, which would like to convince the public of the allegedly legitimate division of Europe's parties into "big" and "small," "Western" and "Eastern," and even "left-wing" and "right-wing." The Western press started campaigns of this nature even before the meeting. It engaged in prophecies to the effect that the meeting would be "difficult," that "insurmountable differences" would arise between delegates and so on.

The purpose of these cheap insinuations is perfectly clear. Erwin Scharf, member of the CC Political Bureau, Communist Party of Austria, made apt comment on this point at the Consultative Meeting. "Autonomy, equality, non-interference and internationalism," he said, "have long been a reality in inter-party relations. These methods have fully proved their worth in practice. We must therefore call public attention to the harmonious nature of our cooperation and

inter-party links. Of course, our enemies know of the fraternal character of our mutual relations. It is not because they are stupid but because they speculate on an inadequate knowledge of the facts by the working class and other working people of various countries that our enemies say these principles are applied 'against the resistance' of big parties. The enemies of the world Communist movement want something more than to shake the working people's confidence in unity. To be precise, they want to undermine confidence in the Soviet Union, the decisive force of the worldwide class struggle, of the struggle for democracy and the independence of peoples, for peace and socialism."

The success of the Consultative Meeting forced even the most inveterate anti-Communists into what was, in effect, an abrupt change of tone. Many of them had to admit that by talking about "discord" and "division" in the European Communist movement, they had indulged in wishful thinking. *La Stampa* even wrote of a "turn in relations between European Communist parties." What this mouthpiece of the Italian bourgeoisie virtually admitted was the fallacy of its estimates of the situation in the Communist movement, which the bourgeois press presents in a very false light. Vasil Bilak, member of the Presidium and Secretary of the CC, Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, fittingly described the "unity of the Communist movement as a real nightmare for international imperialism, which does its utmost to undermine this unity Real socialism is the greatest gain of the international Communist and working-class movement. Its inner political achievements and successes in foreign policy effectively help brother parties in non-socialist countries, and the struggle and achievements of these parties add to the strength of the world socialist system."

The delegates had good reason to express what the closing communique calls "satisfaction over the atmosphere of democracy and fraternal cooperation in which deliberations proceeded on the principles of equality and respect for the opinions of all parties, with a view to arriving at common positions. They declared their resolve to prepare for and hold the conference in the same spirit." This is all the more important because the agreement to convene the conference of European Communist parties reached in Warsaw put many important problems on the agenda. The approach to their solution will be worked out collectively by the delegates of the parties concerned, in the forms and by the methods which they will have agreed on. "Experience shows," said Arpad Pullai, Secretary of the CC HSWP,

“that thorough and extensive preparations for an international meeting are both a complicated task and a prerequisite of success. The conference of Communist and Workers’ parties of Europe should be prepared in the most democratic fashion, on the principles of collective effort, equality and comradeship.” The CPSU, in line with its principled stand, intends to make a constructive contribution to this work.

The delegates expressed their gratitude for the serious effort made by its sponsors, the Polish and Italian Communists, in preparing for it. Taking this fact into account, they asked the PUWP and ICP to continue their joint effort in connection with the coming preparatory meeting mentioned in the communique.

The Warsaw Consultative Meeting accomplished the tasks it had set itself. By declaring for a conference of European Communist and Workers’ parties, it launched actual preparations for this forum of the Communists of the continent.

The CPSU cooperated actively with the brother parties of the continent both before and during the meeting. In so doing, it adhered to its well-known policy of fostering the unity and cohesion of the world Communist movement, a policy which found expression in the decisions of the 24th Congress and subsequent plenums of the CC CPSU and in L.I. Brezhnev’s speeches.

Our Party is ready to do, and will do, all in its power to ensure the complete success of the planned conference. We are certain that the conference will be a new landmark in the struggle for peace and socialism, for closer unity of the European and world Communist movement on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism.

Pravda, October 30, 1974

IN BRIEF

FRANCE

The 21st (special) Congress of the French Communist Party was held in Vitry-sur-Seine, a Paris suburb, from October 24 to 27.

Its documents will be published in the next issues of the *Information Bulletin*.

PORTUGAL

The Portuguese Communist Party held its special Seventh Congress in Lisbon on October 20.

The congress documents will appear in the forthcoming issues of the *Information Bulletin*.

AUSTRIA

The CC CPA, meeting in Vienna on October 9, discussed internal political and international questions and adopted corresponding decisions.

It dealt, in particular, with the results of the September elections to workers' chambers, the mounting inflation and tax burden, and the situation of the Slovenian national minority in Carinthia.

CANADA

A Central Committee Meeting of the CPC was held in Toronto in the second half of October to discuss the Communists' tasks in the struggle for détente and social progress.

Although détente is an objective process, supported by the majority of mankind, General Secretary William Kashtan noted, it is necessary to fight indefatigably for it.

W. Kashtan also analyzed the parliamentary election results and outlined tasks for creating a united democratic anti-monopoly coalition.

FRG

The Board of the German Communist Party met in Düsseldorf on October 12-13.

Vice-Chairman Hermann Gautier reported on the Communists' struggle against monopoly domination, for the working people's interests, against unemployment and rising prices.

A member of the Board Presidium, Willi Gerns, reported on the Party's tasks in the ideological struggle.

In his concluding speech at the meeting, Chairman Herbert Mies noted the importance of combining the Party's struggle for the working people's interests with stepped-up ideological struggle. We see the political, economic and ideological forms of class struggle as a single whole, he said.

The Chairman further noted that the Party attaches great importance to actions aimed at curbing inflation and securing employment. The GCP stands for united action in this field with all social forces in the FRG.

On October 22 the Presidium of the GCP Board discussed the results of the Warsaw Consultative Meeting of European Communist and Workers' parties and expressed full agreement with the final communique and the statement on fraternal solidarity with the fighters against fascism, for freedom, democracy and national independence.

It hailed the Consultative Meeting's decision on holding a conference of European Communist and Workers' parties in the GDR before mid-1975.

The Presidium expressed the belief that the forthcoming conference of European Communist and Workers' parties will, in the new, more favorable atmosphere, give fresh impetus to united actions of all democratic and peace forces. These actions are designed to make détente irreversible and strengthen the unity of the broad masses in fighting the consequences of the crisis of the capitalist system, in support of the social and political demands of the working class.

ISRAEL

At its 15th plenary meeting the Communist Party of Israel adopted a resolution stressing the need for a new international conference of Communist and Workers' parties.

World events since the 1969 Moscow Meeting, the resolution says, have confirmed its assessments and conclusions.

The struggle of the socialist countries, led by the Soviet Union, and the struggle of the Communist and Workers' parties and all progressive forces against imperialism, for peace, democracy and socialism have brought about important changes in the international scene and

led to big successes in implementing the aims set forth by the Moscow Meeting.

The resolution says in conclusion that the CPI is ready to take part in preparations for the new international conference of Communist and Workers' parties and to contribute to its success.

POLAND

A plenary meeting of the CC PUWP closed in Warsaw on October 23. First Secretary Edward Gierek made a report: "Stepping up food production and development of agriculture is the task of the entire people."

The report analyzes the level of development of agriculture and outlines ways and means of its further development. It stresses, in particular, the need for intensifying agricultural production, mainly through mechanization and concentration, using the achievements of science, and developing collective forms of work. During the last six years investments in agriculture and food production have totalled 750,000 million zlotys, which is more than the sum total of capital investments in the entire national economy during 1961-1965.

In addition to Gierek's report, the meeting also discussed the program document of the CC PUWP Political Bureau, "For further improving the people's diet and development of agriculture." The plenum unanimously adopted both documents, instructing the government to work out a long-term program of agricultural development and a plan for food production in 1976-1980, and then to submit them for approval by the Sejm.

E. Gierek spoke of the Party and government activities in furthering détente and making it irreversible in accordance with the common political line of the socialist community.

He also informed the plenum of the results of his recent official visit to the USA.

VENEZUELA

The Central Committee of the CPV concluded its 17th plenary meeting in Caracas on October 21. It discussed questions to be included in the agenda of the Party's Fifth Congress scheduled for next month.

The meeting approved the report to be delivered by General Secretary Jesus Faria at the congress. The report analyzes Party activity in the period after the Fourth Congress, the results of the 1973 general elections, the situation in the country, and other questions. It

specifically stresses the significance of nationalizing the oil industry in the struggle of Venezuela and all Latin America against imperialism. The meeting adopted a political statement calling on the people to fight in defense of the draft law on oil nationalization, which had been approved by the special presidential commission.

The plenum also supported the initiative on holding an international conference of Communist and Workers' parties, and a conference of Latin American parties.

COMMUNIST PARTY OF CANADA SPEAKS

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STATEMENTS AND SPEECHES

FOR A FIRM AND JUST PEACE IN VIETNAM

Progressive international organizations, Communist and Workers' parties, youth leagues, democratic forces throughout the world are stepping up the solidarity movement with the people of Vietnam and demanding the strict implementation of the Paris agreement of ending the war and restoring peace in Vietnam.

An International Week in support of the political prisoners in South Vietnam was held this October. More than 200,000 patriots are still languishing in the gruesome dungeons of Saigon. The corrupted Saigon regime is cruelly persecuting any one who disagrees with its anti-people's policy, whoever is in favor of the Paris agreements. In the countries of the socialist community and in many other countries International Week was marked by meetings, demonstrations and other actions for the immediate release of political prisoners in South Vietnam, and in support of the struggle of all patriots and democrats in Vietnam.

Below we publish documents characterizing the situation in South Vietnam. They show the necessity and importance of stepping up international solidarity with the embattled Vietnamese people.

THE SITUATION IN SOUTH VIETNAM

STATEMENT BY THE PRG RSV

On October 8, 1974 the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Vietnam (PRG RSV) issued a statement on the situation in South Vietnam. Following is the full text of the statement as released by the VIA agency.

The Paris agreement on Vietnam was signed over 20 months ago (January 28, 1973. — *Ed.*) Yet, genuine peace has not been restored in

South Vietnam and the desire of its population for peace, democracy, a better life and national concord has not yet been realized.

Going back on their own commitments, the U.S. government and the Saigon administration continue military operations and grossly violate the Paris agreement and the joint communique of June 13, 1973. The United States persists in its military involvement and interference in the domestic affairs of South Vietnam, using the Thieu administration in attempts to establish its own neo-colonialist rule.

The militarist and fascist clique headed by Thieu continues to step up the war, making its troops carry out ruthless operations for seizing territory and "pacifying" the population. It recruits more and more men to strengthen its armed forces, increases repression and the exploitation of the people, denies them elementary democratic rights, subjects patriots and peace supporters to brutal repression, comes out against leaders and organizations of the political third force, and punishes servicemen or civil servants when they refuse to back it.

The brutal and corrupt dictatorial regime of the Thieu clique has made life harder than ever for the people in the Saigon-held areas. Millions of people are in concentration camps and hundreds of thousands of political prisoners are still behind bars. The population has to pay high taxes, prices are soaring, the cost of living, unemployment and poverty are on the rise. Social hardships and a depraved culture are the rule, and life becomes ever more intolerable.

The population can no longer put up with this state of affairs. The movement for peace, prosperity, democratic liberties, national reconciliation and concord, for the implementation of the Paris agreement and the overthrow of the corrupt Thieu dictatorship is growing in the Saigon-controlled towns and villages.

Everyone realizes that so long as Thieu is in power the war, repression, terror, exploitation, corruption, sorrow, poverty, hatred and division will be there. This is why a pressing universal demand is to overthrow Thieu and form in Saigon an administration advocating peace and national concord and properly implementing the Paris agreement on Vietnam. It is a perfectly legitimate demand in line with the Paris agreement and the six-point proposals put forward by the PRG RSV on March 22, 1974. The PRG supports it unreservedly.

The PRG fully respects and unfailingly carries out the Paris agreement. As regards the United States, it goes on violating the agreement while the Thieu administration, which is subservient to U.S. militarism, continues the war, wrecks negotiations and commits more and more crimes against the population.

It is clear that so long as U.S. military involvement and interference in the internal affairs of South Vietnam continue and Thieu and his underlings keep power in Saigon, violations of the Paris agreement will go on and there will be neither peace nor national concord in South Vietnam.

With a view to meeting the pressing demands of various sections of the South Vietnam population and to paving the way for an early solution of South Vietnam's domestic problems on the basis of the Paris agreement, the PRG RSV emphatically states the following:

— The United States must stop all military involvement and all interference in the domestic affairs of South Vietnam and withdraw, in accordance with the Paris agreement, all its military personnel staying there under the guise of civilian employees.

— Thieu and his underlings must be overthrown because they are the main obstacle to the solution of South Vietnam's current political problems. It is necessary to form in Saigon an administration advocating peace, national concord and proper implementation of the Paris agreement on Vietnam.

The PRG is always ready to negotiate with such an administration in order to bring about an early solution of the problems of South Vietnam. It is only an administration of this kind that could enter into genuine negotiations with the PRG to carry out the Paris agreement and meet the innermost aspirations of the South Vietnam population, namely, peace, independence, democracy, a better life and national concord.

Dear compatriots, the struggle which our population is carrying on for the implementation of the Paris agreement is still hard and complicated but it registers ever more important gains as it goes on. The U.S. imperialists and the Thieu clique in their pay suffer telling setbacks and encounter numerous difficulties. These are the fundamental conditions enabling our population to step up the struggle for their legitimate interests.

Continue our nation's tradition of unrelenting struggle, strengthen your alliance, act firmly to frustrate all the treacherous intrigues of the United States and the Thieu clique, fight for peace, freedom, prosperity and the right to self-determination.

Political, social and religious leaders and organizations of South Vietnam, the PRG highly appreciates words and deeds which benefit peace, independence and democracy in South Vietnam. It calls on all forces irrespective of political convictions or religious beliefs, all people irrespective of their past record, who sincerely seek an end to

the war and want peace and national concord, to unite and act together against U.S. military involvement and interference in South Vietnam, for the overthrow of Thieu and his underlings, and for a speedy formation in Saigon of an administration that will earnestly carry out the Paris agreement. This is a sure way to end the suffering and hardships of our population.

Men and officers and civil servants of the Saigon administration, the struggle which various sections of the population are carrying on for peace, prosperity, freedom, democracy and national concord is a struggle for the interests of all, including your own. You should be fully aware of the secret maneuvers of U.S. imperialism and the brutality of Thieu and his henchmen. They are pushing you to a senseless death. You should have the courage to side with the people. Join efforts with the population to overthrow the Thieu clique and win the right to life and well-being.

In spite of its failure, U.S. imperialism persists in its treachery. Using the CIA, it has planted a number of agents in the popular movement in an effort to control and direct it in its own favor. However, our population will use the experience gained in long years of struggle, redouble its vigilance, foil all the conspiracies of U.S. imperialism and its flunkies and win its legitimate rights.

The PRG RSV is sure that the governments and peoples of fraternal and friendly countries, international democratic organizations and the peoples of the world striving for peace and justice, including the American people, will increase their support of the just cause of the people of South Vietnam.

The Paris agreement shall be put into effect.

Peace and national concord shall triumph.

Our people shall win.

STATEMENT BY PRG RSV DELEGATION IN PARIS

The following statement, published in Paris on October 7, 1974, was made by the PRG RSV delegation at a consultative meeting in La Celle-St. Cloud.

On October 5, Saigon's "foreign minister" Vuong Van Bac said on coming out of the White House that Gerald Ford had assured him that the American government would extend maximum military and economic aid to the Thieu regime.

Ford has proceeded on these lines ever since he took over at the White House. On September 12 he personally asked Congress to increase aid to Thieu. He sent CIA Director William Colby, then William Clements, deputy head of the Pentagon, and lastly other American officials to Saigon to assure Thieu of continued U.S. support.

Ford himself, as well as other American leaders, including James Schlesinger, did not mind sounding ridiculous by repeating the habitual slanders about the PRG and the DRV.

Hence the audience granted to Vuong Van Bac was in keeping with the policy of the Ford administration which tries to use the bellicose Thieu group for continuing to "Vietnamize" the war in blatant violation of the Paris agreement.

In these circumstances, it is not surprising that the Thieu group is stepping up hostilities as well as repression against the population and, indeed, has announced that martial law is still in force.

The PRG RSV delegation at the La Celle-St. Cloud meeting calls public attention to the grave fact that Gerald Ford himself assured the bellicose Thieu group of U.S. support at a time when the entire population of the Saigon-held areas is fighting with determination to overthrow Thieu and bring about a government willing to unfailingly implement the Paris agreement so as to achieve peace, reconciliation and national concord in South Vietnam.

This is, undoubtedly, a brazen challenge to the Vietnamese people and the U.S. and world public on the part of the Ford administration. The statements and moves of the Ford administration show only too plainly that it is adding oil to the fire.

The PRG RSV delegation declares once again that in this situation the PRG and the population of South Vietnam, being resolved to respect and unfailingly carry out the Paris agreement, reserve themselves the right to rebuff the military activity of the United States and the Thieu group so as to uphold the gains of their revolutionary struggle, protect the lives and property of the people and maintain the Paris agreement.

FACTS ABOUT THE SITUATION IN SOUTH VIETNAM

1. *American aid to the Saigon Regime*

In the 1972/1973 fiscal year, when the war in Vietnam reached its height, U.S. military aid to Southeast Asia, chiefly to the Thieu administration, amounted to \$2,735m. Former U.S. Secretary of Defense Richardson admitted that in the 1973/1974 fiscal year that aid

rose to \$4,069m. In the current fiscal year Thieu has obtained only \$1,126m according to official statistics. However, the U.S. Senate armed services Committee said in a report (March 28, 1973) that expenditure on the use, maintenance and purchase of arms in South Vietnam in 1973 had risen to \$3,492m. On March 30, 1974, Senator Edward Kennedy pointed out that this year aid to the Saigon administration will cost U.S. tax payers \$3,000m.

For the 1974/1975 fiscal year the Nixon administration asked Congress to grant the Saigon administration \$1,600m. in military aid, \$750m. in economic aid and \$183m. under the Food for Peace program. Nevertheless, the financial report for 1975 submitted to Congress by the U.S. International Development Board in April 1974 reveals that U.S. military aid to Indochina, chiefly to the Thieu administration, has risen to \$3,668m., whereas aid to other areas of the world adds up to only \$2,964m. (the population of Indochina makes up a scant 0.8 per cent of the world's population).

These are official figures. In reality, U.S. aid to the Thieu clique is much greater. The U.S. government resorts to various stratagems to increase aid, primarily military aid, to the Thieu clique. On February 16, 1974, the *Los Angeles Times* reported that America's "humane" Food for Peace program had added 27 per cent to direct U.S. military aid to the Thieu clique and made up one-third of the salaries paid to Saigon's mercenaries in the army and the police.

On September 13, 1973, the head of the American Research Center for Indochina Problems said in his report to the House subcommittee on Southeast Asia and the Pacific that 90 per cent of the Saigon administration's budget appropriations had been allocated by the United States to maintain a million-strong army and a police force of over 120,000, as well as to run the Thieu regime's 600 prisons.

On June 6, 1974 Thieu himself used a figure of speech to reveal the nature of the U.S. policy of "Vietnamizing" the war. "What South Vietnam is short of is not bones nor blood but American dollars, arms and ammunition," he said cynically.

In accordance with the U.S. plan for long-term aid to the Saigon administration, the International Bank pointed out in a report submitted on January 18, 1974, that by 1980 the Thieu administration would still need an annual \$770m. in economic aid and that Saigon would depend for an indefinite time on foreign economic aid.

2. How Thieu used U.S. aid

From the time the Paris agreement came into effect to early August 1974 the Thieu clique, controlled and instigated by the United States, violated the ceasefire more than 420,000 times. In 18 months alone (before August 1974), the Saigon air force made about 40,000 raids, dropping more than 105,000 bombs; over five million shells were fired and upwards of 20,000 civilians were killed or wounded. The regime arrested and tortured more than 70,000 people, sent over 1,600,000 people to concentration camps and destroyed some 1,700 villages, 200 of which were razed to the ground.

On October 11, 1974 a spokesman of the Foreign Ministry of the PRG RSV released the following communique:

From October 1-10 the Thieu administration violated the ceasefire 5,558 times, in particular by launching 395 operations to seize territory, carrying out 4,587 police raids and round-ups for "pacification" purposes, 232 shellings and 344 reconnaissance flights and bombing raids, including two spying missions by American pilotless aircraft and one by an SR-71 plane over an area held by the PRG.

Ceasefire violations committed by the Saigon administration between January 28, 1973 and October 10, 1974 totalled 454,637, including 54,233 invasions, 332,052 police actions and "pacification" operations, 42,205 shellings and 25,147 reconnaissance flights and bombings.

At a press conference on October 5, 1974, the military delegation of the PRG RSV circulated among the Vietnamese and foreign journalists a memorandum concerning the return of military and civilian personnel taken prisoner and still being held.

The memorandum notes that since March 1974 the Saigon administration has repeatedly declared that it no longer detains the military and civilian personnel which it has to turn over to the PRG RSV under the Paris agreement, the protocol attached to it and the joint communique of June 13, 1974.

In fact, 20 months after the signing of the Paris agreement, the Saigon administration detains over 15,000 military personnel and more than 200,000 civilian personnel from the areas controlled by the PRG RSV, all this personnel having been seized before the Paris agreement was signed. The Saigon administration has so far returned only two per cent of the civilian personnel seized by it.

In the period mentioned above, the Saigon administration has ar-

rested more than 50,000 persons who demanded peace, independence, a better life and national concord.

STATEMENT BY THE DRV GOVERNMENT

On October 11, 1974, the government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam published the following statement on the situation in South Vietnam.

In the urban and rural areas of South Vietnam controlled by the Saigon administration, a vast and powerful movement is unfolding which involves people belonging to diverse social strata, political trends and religions and even some representatives of the Saigon "parliament," administration and army, all of whom want peace, prosperity for all, democratic freedoms, national reconciliation and concord, implementation of the Paris agreement and the overthrow of Thieu, that venal dictator and militarist.

As the PRG RSV noted in its statement on October 8, 1974, this movement owes its strength to the fact that in the areas controlled by them, the United States and Thieu have made the people's condition unbearable and everyone realizes that so long as Thieu is in power the war, tyranny and terror, exploitation and corruption, sorrow and poverty, enmity and division will continue.

The perfectly legitimate and urgent demands of the people of South Vietnam fully accord with the Paris agreement on Vietnam and with the six-point proposals advanced by the PRG RSV on March 22, 1974.

The people of South Vietnam are fighting because the U.S. government continues to apply the "Nixon doctrine" in Vietnam and other areas of Indochina and Southeast Asia. Violating its commitments under the Paris agreement, the U.S. government persists in its military involvement and interference in the internal affairs of South Vietnam and tries to use the Thieu clique as a tool, hoping to impose U.S. neo-colonialism on South Vietnam. Tens of thousands of U.S. military men disguised as civilians are still in South Vietnam or arrived there recently to help the Thieu clique in torpedoing peace and the Paris agreement. Thousands of millions of dollars in U.S. aid flow into South Vietnam and so do millions of tons of arms, ammunition and other military supplies. In the 1974 fiscal year alone appropriations for military and economic aid to the Thieu clique, which is encouraged to carry on the war, made up over one-third of all U.S.

military and economic aid to other countries.

As for North Vietnam, the U.S. has repeatedly sent military aircraft and warships into the air space and territorial waters of the DRV, refusing to honor its commitment to help the DRV in recovering from the war ravages as provided for by Article 21 of the Paris agreement.

The U.S. government also continues its military involvement and interference in Laos and Cambodia and keeps large air and naval forces in Thailand and other areas of Southeast Asia in an attempt to intimidate the people of Vietnam and other peoples of Indochina.

Neither America's shameless slander against the DRV, nor the vicious "anti-communist" attacks of Thieu and his hangers-on in South Vietnam can conceal the real cause of the ever more powerful struggle of various sections of the people of South Vietnam.

The DRV government fully supports the stand of the PRG RSV as set out in its statement of October 8, 1974.

The DRV government insists on the U.S. government respecting and scrupulously carrying out the Paris agreement on Vietnam, respecting the Vietnamese people's right to self-determination, refraining from attempts to impose any political trends or political leaders on the people of South Vietnam, immediately discontinuing all violations of the air space and territorial waters of the DRV and honoring its commitment to contribute to the post-war rehabilitation of the DRV.

The DRV government appeals to the people of North Vietnam earnestly to support and unite with their kin in the South in campaigning for strict adherence to the Paris agreement, to do all in their power to exceed the state plan for 1974, speed economic rehabilitation and development as well as socialist construction in the North according to the resolution of the 22nd Plenum of the Central Committee of the Working People's Party of Vietnam, and actively fulfil their internationalist duty toward the fraternal peoples of Laos and Cambodia.

The PRG RSV statement of October 8, 1974 is prompted by the South Vietnamese people's sincere desire for peace, democracy, a better life, national reconciliation and concord. It is in keeping with the desire of the peoples of the world, including the American people, for peace and fully accords with the spirit and letter of the Paris agreement. The statement, which the whole people of Vietnam fully support, will undoubtedly have the heartfelt sympathy of all who cherish peace and justice, including progressive Americans.

STOP REPRESSION IN INDONESIA. FREEDOM FOR POLITICAL PRISONERS

For over nine years Indonesia's reactionaries, who are led by right-wing generals and have the U.S. imperialists' blessing, have maintained a monstrous reign of terror against patriots. Their victims number about one million Communists and democrats and members of their families. Hundreds of thousands of fighters for a just cause are still in jail or camp (there are 46 concentration camps). Patriots are tortured or killed for their loyalty to the national interest and their uncompromising anti-imperialism. The authorities brutally suppress recurrent prison revolts.

The anti-popular regime has divided all political prisoners into groups A, B and C. Group A prisoners — leaders of the CPI, democratic parties and revolutionary mass organizations — are sentenced to death or life imprisonment. Trials are generally held when a mass protest movement develops against a deteriorating life, the domination of foreign capital and the regime's corruption and arbitrary practices. The purpose of the trials is to divert the people's attention from their social and economic plight and whip up anti-Communist hysteria.

Group B prisoners are confined in the impassable jungle and malarial swamps of the island of Buru. They comprise intellectuals, members of the left-wing student movement and progressive public figures. Undernourishment, back-breaking work and diseases have killed many inmates of this death camp, set up in 1969.

The lot of Group C detainees is hard too. The group comprises rank and file members of left-wing and democratic organizations and their kin. Those who have come out of prison or camp are denied suffrage, the right to education and association and other civil liberties. The families of political prisoners are a standing object of discrimination.

The Suharto regime is deaf to the voice of international and Indonesian opinion, which demands the release of political prisoners. It continues repression against all dissenters, all patriots loyal to the ideals of democracy, justice and progress — workers, peasants, intellectuals, students and some religious leaders. All new political prisoners are put in the so-called X Group. The group is growing from day to day and its members are maltreated and tortured like everyone else.

However, no amount of persecution or terror can stem the people's mounting anger. The regime's opponents include many of those who once helped it to power but have been opposed to it ever since they saw through its anti-nationalism.

The CPI denounces the reign of terror against the people. It demands an immediate end to repression and the release of all political prisoners. The authorities' police practices are a crying violation of the basic human rights laid down in the UN Charter. They injure the democratic and progressive movement in Indonesia and the peoples' worldwide struggle against imperialism and reaction, for independence, democracy, peace, progress and socialism. All men of goodwill condemn the Indonesian reactionaries' repressive policy.

The Communists of Indonesia realize that the campaign against terror and persecution will bear fruit only if backed by large sections of the Indonesian people and the democratic and progressive forces of the world. The CPI is working for the national unity of all patriots. It calls for international solidarity.

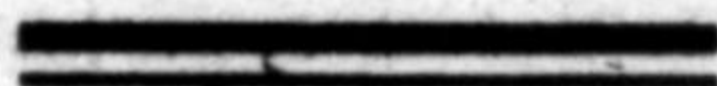
Stop political repression in Indonesia at once!

Free all political prisoners!

Long live the unity of patriotic forces!

Long live the international solidarity of Communists, democrats and anti-imperialists!

Leadership of the Communist Party of Indonesia



DECLARATION ON STRENGTHENING FRIENDSHIP AND EXPANDING FRATERNAL COOPERATION BETWEEN THE CPC AND SUPG AND BETWEEN THE CSSR AND GDR

At the invitation of the CC CPC and the government of Czechoslovakia, a Party and government delegation of the GDR headed by First Secretary of the CC SUPG Erich Honecker paid an official friendly visit to Czechoslovakia October 14 to 17. After the visit and negotiations, a Communique and Declaration on Strengthening Friendship and Expanding Fraternal Cooperation between the CPC and SUPG and between the CSSR and GDR were published. Below follows the full text of the Declaration published October 19 in the newspapers *Rude Pravo* and *Neues Deutschland*.

On the basis of negotiations held from October 14 to 17, 1974 between the Party and government delegations of the CSSR and GDR, the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic and the German Democratic Republic:

— Proceeding from the reality that, within the historically brief period since the defeat of Hitler fascism and liberation by the glorious Soviet Army, the working people of both countries, under the leadership of their Marxist-Leninist parties have achieved great successes in building a socialist society;

— Noting with deep satisfaction that, in the process of socialist construction, close bonds of sincere friendship, fraternal relations and all-round cooperation based on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and socialist internationalism have formed between the peoples of both countries;

— Guided by the desire indefatigably to strengthen their inviolable fraternal alliance with the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and unswerving friendship with the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the main force of socialism, peace and social progress all over the world, as well as with other fraternal socialist countries;

— Resolved to continue actively to promote the might and influence of the countries of the socialist community, the consolidation of their unity and cohesion, as well as the more intensive de-

velopment of socialist economic integration and ideological cooperation;

— Guided by the decisions of the 14th Congress of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia and the Eighth Congress of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany, the conclusions of the 1969 Moscow International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties, and the common coordinated line of the member-states of the Warsaw Treaty and the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance;

— Striving to continue to deepen and strengthen fraternal relations and mutual cooperation between the two Marxist-Leninist parties and between the CSSR and GDR, which have entered upon a qualitatively new stage in their development;

Deeply convinced that these objectives serve the vital interests of both countries, as well as the strengthening of socialism and preservation of peace;

— Decided to issue the following joint declaration:

I

The basic and decisive force of all-round development of relations between the two countries and their peoples is fraternal cohesion and close cooperation between the CPC and SUPG.

In the planned development of their relations both parties will give special consideration to ideological cooperation.

True to the Czechoslovak and German working classes' traditions of joint revolutionary struggle, the CPC and SUPG will expand mutual consultations and deepen comradely relations with the CPSU and other brother parties of the socialist community in all spheres.

In the struggle for the triumph of socialism and the preservation of peace they will strive to strengthen united action and ideological unity of Communist and Workers' parties on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, and will develop and strengthen their relations with other fraternal parties.

Guided by the desire to make the utmost contribution to the further elaboration of joint strategy and tactics, they will continue to take an active part in meetings of Communist and Workers' parties.

II

The CPC and SUPG, as well as the governments of the CSSR and GDR, declare their unswerving will to continue to strengthen allied relations between the two countries and friendship between their peoples, to promote the historic process of bringing them closer

together. In this both sides attach special attention to educating the youth in the spirit of proletarian internationalism and socialist patriotism and creating opportunities for the youth's active participation in the all-round expansion and deepening of cooperation and friendship between our countries.

The CSSR and GDR will expand cooperation in all spheres of political, economic and public life, in science, culture, education, public health and sport. Both sides will purposefully support and deepen relations of friendship and cooperation between regions and districts, between trade unions and other public organizations, schools and other institutions.

Both parties will primarily promote the expansion of close friendly relations between workers and young people with the aim of more deeply explaining common revolutionary and cultural traditions and mutually enriching the socialist way of life in both countries.

The CSSR and GDR note with satisfaction that economic ties between them are developing dynamically on the basis of the decisions of the 14th CPC Congress and the Eighth SUPG Congress, in full accordance with the objectives of the Comprehensive Program of Socialist Economic Integration of the CMEA member-countries.

Both sides use all opportunities to make mutually beneficial economic, scientific and technological cooperation even more intensive, to contribute to an even greater extent to raising the material and cultural standards of the peoples of both countries, the further development of the productive forces and the achievement of a higher scientific and technological level.

On the basis of the rich experience of many years of cooperation, both countries, in accordance with the Comprehensive Program of Socialist Economic Integration of CMEA member-countries, will intensively support the expansion of reciprocal ties between their national economies on the basis of the swiftest possible expansion and all-round utilization of the socialist division of labor and cooperation in production and long-term research.

Both states will systematically expand and improve economic, scientific and technological cooperation:

- Coordination of national economic plans;
- Coordination of some investment guidelines, as well as cooperation in expanding, and occasionally building, new enterprises in the interests of full rational utilization and development of the productive forces of both countries;
- Expansion of cooperation in the metalworking, chemical and

light industries, especially expansion of cooperation and specialization;

— Expansion of cooperation in the reconstruction of individual enterprises and development of highly productive technological processes, machinery and equipment;

— Coordination of plans in the development of science and technology with the aim of their early use in industry;

— Ensuring of continued stable, uninterrupted expansion of trade between the two countries;

— Further promotion of the division of labor in the light industry and the expansion of the range of commodities to enrich the domestic markets of both countries.

III

The CSSR and GDR will expand all-round cooperation in the sphere of international relations. They are resolved to make a constructive contribution, together with the other fraternal countries, toward the realization of the Peace Program adopted by the 24th Congress of the CPSU, so that the positive changes in international relations acquire a universal and irreversible character. They will support and promote cooperation among all anti-imperialist, peace-loving and progressive forces and come out resolutely against all opponents of détente in the world.

Both sides proceed from the firm conviction that the constructive diplomatic activity of the socialist countries, the Soviet Union in the first place, is of decisive importance for continuing the process of international détente. In this connection they emphasized the role of the Warsaw Treaty as a defensive alliance for protecting socialist gains and peace, as well as a center for coordinating the diplomatic activity of the member-states. In view of the fact that the North Atlantic bloc still exists and builds up its military strength, and that as yet no effective measures toward complete and general disarmament have been taken, both states will continue to enhance their defense capabilities within the framework of the Warsaw Treaty.

The CSSR and GDR attach tremendous importance to the successful conclusion of the process of recognizing the results of the Second World War and postwar development in Europe and consider it an important result of the efforts aimed at ensuring European security and easing international tensions. Recognition by the FRG of the contemptibility of the Munich *diktat*, and the worldwide diplomatic

recognition of the GDR are significant components of that development.

Both states will continue to strive for the consistent implementation of the agreements signed between the socialist countries and the FRG, as well as the four-power agreement on West Berlin.

They believe that the European Security and Cooperation Conference is a decisive step toward a period of stable security and peaceful cooperation in the area. Its successful conclusion will strengthen mutual confidence among all European countries and become a point of departure for the development of new mutually beneficial relations between European countries with different social systems. The conference's success will also help substantially to improve the world climate.

The CSSR and GDR consider the Vienna talks on the reduction of armed forces and armaments in Central Europe important for the cause of peace. These talks should complement political détente with military détente.

The CSSR and GDR will continue to spare no effort to normalize relations between countries in Europe and all over the world, to win acceptance of fair principles of international economic cooperation.

Both sides stress their conviction that détente should spread to all parts of the globe. They hold that concern for preserving peace and the desire for active cooperation in resolving international issues in the interests of the peoples is the duty of all states, irrespective of their social systems.

Ever greater importance attaches to the question of setting up a stable security system in Asia. The CSSR and GDR support the relevant proposals of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and all efforts aimed at putting them into effect.

Our countries and peoples will always side with the peoples fighting against imperialist aggression, against colonialism and neo-colonialism, racism and fascist barbarity. Therefore we shall continue to give internationalist support to the peoples of Vietnam, Indochina, the Arab peoples of the Middle East, the people of Cyprus, the African peoples, the people of Chile.

Both sides will support the just struggle of Asian, African and Latin American countries for consolidating their political and economic independence, for social and cultural progress, for full recognition of their inalienable right to make use of their own natural resources. Both countries will continue, as before, mutually beneficial cooperation with these countries.

The firm fraternal alliance between the CPC and SUPG, between the CSSR and the GDR, is strong and unbreakable. True to the principles of Marxism-Leninism and socialist internationalism, united by common views and goals, the CPC and SUPG, the CSSR and GDR will do everything to further expand all-round cooperation, for the triumph of the ideas of socialism and peace.

Prague, October 17, 1974.

For the Czechoslovak
Socialist Republic:
Gustav Husak
General Secretary,
CC Communist Party of
Czechoslovakia;
Lubomir Strougal
Chairman of the Government,
Czechoslovak Socialist
Republic

For the German
Democratic Republic:
Erich Honecker
First Secretary,
CC Socialist Unity Party
of Germany;
Horst Sindermann
Chairman of the Council of
Ministers
German Democratic Republic

IN BRIEF

ARGENTINA

On October 1, 1974, *Nuestra Palabra*, the Communist daily, wrote editorially that the domestic situation was characterized by stepped-up terror, which had assumed alarming proportions, and by a dangerously increased threat of a coup à la Pinochet. It pointed to numerous monstrous crimes perpetrated by the Anti-Communist Alliance of Argentina, an organization subsidized by the CIA.

Nuestra Palabra condemned the government's indecision and steps back, as well as the ultra-leftists' terror, an activity completely negating revolutionary methods.

The paper said in conclusion that a most important task of the hour was to stop the offensive of reaction and launch a democratic and anti-imperialist counter-offensive.

On October 4 *Pravda*, the CC CPSU daily, carried a summary of an interview with Jeronimo Arnedo Alvarez, General Secretary of the

CC CPA, who stressed that the new Argentine authorities had taken important steps undermining, if not completely, the domination of imperialist monopolies and the oligarchy.

Now that Argentina had set out to advance its economy, it was particularly important to develop business contacts and relations with the Soviet Union and other members of the socialist community.

The changes taking place in the country had prompted reaction to sharply step up its activity. The imperialist monopolies, landed oligarchs, reactionaries and ultras carefully coordinated their efforts. A full-fledged conspiracy against the people and the liberation movement might be said to be in the making. Operating in Argentina were hundreds of CIA agents who had been in Chile before and who now drew on the "experience" gained there to disrupt the Argentine economy, bring on shortages, create a black market and an atmosphere of discontent.

There were forces capable of countering the conspiracy, foiling the plans of imperialism and oligarchy and taking the counter-offensive. The key to all this was to mobilize the masses and coordinate their attacks. This necessitated the formation of a patriotic national liberation front. Unity to this end could be achieved.

J. Arnedo Alvarez expressed confidence that widespread action based on unity and closer cooperation of the democratic and patriotic forces would bring the Argentines victory in the struggle against foreign dependence, for national and social liberation.

On November 2 the Executive Committee of the CC CPA published a statement protesting against growing rightist and ultra-leftist terror, emphatically condemning the attempt on the life of General Alberto Villar, chief of the Federal police, and calling on the people to do all in their power to frustrate the reactionary conspiracy.

BRITAIN

On October 12 the Political Committee of the CPGB Executive released a statement about the outcome of the general election. It listed the reasons for the fact that the Labour Party had won only an insignificant majority, and stressed that the working people must fight in unity for their demands and for a swing to the left in the policies of the new Labour government.

CUBA

On October 19 Fidel Castro, First Secretary of CC CPC, Prime

Minister of the Revolutionary Government, addressed delegates to the 25th Session of the WFTU General Council held in Havana.

F. Castro pointed to the increased activity of the continental movement for independence and closer relations with socialist countries, against monopoly interference in the affairs of Latin American countries. The fact that the economic blockade and diplomatic isolation of Cuba had failed was evidence of the changes taking place on the continent. Imperialism tried to stop this movement by setting up dictatorial regimes. The fascist coup in Chile was a case in point.

The World Federation of Trade Unions had called on the working people to make the next year a year of solidarity with the Chilean people and other Latin American peoples who had become victims of fascism. The working people of the world, Fidel Castro said, must act to contribute to the further international isolation of the junta and help to save the lives of Chile's patriots now in prison or concentration camp.

CYPRUS

At a press conference in Nicosia on October 2, Ezekias Papaioannou, General Secretary of AKEL, spoke of the results of the AKEL delegation's visit to Moscow, where the Cyprus problem was discussed with a CPSU delegation.

The Soviet Union, he said, declares consistently for the withdrawal of all foreign troops from Cyprus and for measures to safeguard the security, sovereignty and territorial integrity of the Cyprus Republic.

Commenting on the situation in Cyprus, Papaioannou said that a pressing and imperative task facing the government was to disarm all who were responsible for the July 15 coup and all who carry arms illicitly, and re-establish constitutional order in Cyprus and fully democratize the security service and government agencies.

GREECE

In view of the general election set for November 18, the Communist Party of Greece, United Democratic Left (EDA) and other democratic organizations and left-wing groups formed a political bloc called the United Left (UL). On October 25 the UL published a list of its candidates comprising Harilaos Florakis, First Secretary of the CC CPG, members of the CC CPG Political Bureau and the UL leadership, as well as many other noted fighters against the military dictatorship.

The UL electoral program urges the people to unite in struggle to

eliminate the fascist danger and democratize life in the country, prevent the restoration of the monarchy and build up democracy.

The UL demands the repeal of shackling international treaties, in particular the Greek-U.S. agreement of 1953, and the pursuit of an independent foreign policy for peace, friendship and cooperation with all nations. Its program stresses the need to set up a nuclear-free zone in the Balkans and Mediterranean, uphold the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of Cyprus and remove all foreign troops from the island.

GUINEA-BISSAU

On October 19 the leaders of the Republic of Guinea-Bissau arrived in the city of Bissau, which is to become the seat of the government. Thousands of people came out into the streets to welcome Aristides Pereira, General Secretary of the African Independence Party of Guinea and the Cape Verde Islands (PAIGC), Luis Cabral, Chairman of the Council of State, Francisco Mendes, Chief State Commissioner, and Joao Vieira, Chairman of the National People's Assembly.

At a meeting in the main square, the audience paid silent tribute to the memory of Amilcar Cabral, founder of the PAIGC, and other fallen fighters.

Luis Cabral, who addressed the meeting, called on the people to unite and work with devotion for the good of the country.

INDIA

The reactionaries are stepping up their attacks on leftists and democrats. Specifically, the past six months in the State of Bihar have seen continuous rightist attempts to disrupt the functioning of the local legislative assembly and government agencies and suppress the activity of left-wing and democratic forces, first of all the Communist Party. The rightists have gone so far as to demand the resignation of the national government under Indira Gandhi.

Late in October Rajeshwara Rao, General Secretary of the CPI National Council, pointed out at a press conference in Delhi that at the back of the riots were profiteers, monopolies and reactionary and pro-imperialist parties, such as Jana Sangh.

To strengthen resistance to reaction and mobilize the masses for struggle, the Central Secretariat of the CPI called on all Party organizations to mark November 2 as a "day of struggle against reactionary conspiracies." In response to the Party's appeal, preparations for

protest meetings and mass demonstrations against rightist plots are going on throughout the country.

ITALY

The Italian Communist Party has launched its regular campaign to exchange membership cards and win new members.

On October 20 *L'Unita* published an appeal of the ICP Leadership to all Party organizations, Communists and Young Communists to participate actively in publicizing Party policy among the people. Mass meetings and discussions will be held by Party federations, regional committees, branches and sections between November 1 and 10.

On October 28 the ICP Political Bureau published a statement on the domestic situation in connection with the government crisis. It noted the gravity of the economic situation, growing prices and unemployment, and persistent tensions due to fascist provocations and the conspiracies of subversive elements against the democratic republican order. These facts were a further confirmation of the imperative need of democratic change in government. The new social and economic policy should be based on the cooperation of all democratic forces.

The Political Bureau called on all Communists, working people, democrats and anti-fascists to be more vigilant and mobilize the people for struggle against rightist maneuvers, for the solution of the urgent problems facing the working people and the country.

JAPAN

The Chinese Embassy in Tokyo refused an entry visa to China for M. Umeda, Communist MP, member of a Japanese delegation.

M. Kaneko, member of the CC CPJ Presidium, made a statement condemning the Chinese stance, according to an *Akahata* report dated September 20. That stance, he said, has again revealed the fact that China, while talking of establishing relations of "everlasting peace and friendship" between the two countries, continues to give priority to attacks on the CPJ and to great-power meddling in the domestic affairs of Japan.

LEBANON

On October 28 the Communists and progressive public of Lebanon

and other countries commemorated the 50th anniversary of the Lebanese Communist Party. By decision of the Party leadership, mass rallies and meetings, exhibitions and other events were held in the country between October 19 and 27 to elucidate the Party's home and foreign policy and increase its influence among the working people.

PERU

A statement released by the CC PCP speaks favorably of the message directed by President Juan Velasco Alvarado to the people on October 9 in connection with the sixth anniversary of the Peruvian revolution and National Dignity Day.

The revolutionary changes in progress, the statement says, are aimed at achieving genuine national independence, doing away with the economic and political domination of imperialism and oligarchy and solving difficult social problems inherited from the past. These changes met the Peruvian people's pressing aspirations and therefore enjoyed their growing support.

The CC PCP expressed support for the government's independent, peace-loving foreign policy, its resolute measures against imperialist acts of aggression and its policy of solidarity with the peoples striving for national liberation.

The Communist Party urged all revolutionary and patriotic forces to raise their vigilance in view of the growing intrigues of home and foreign reaction, and to expose and resist the pseudo-revolutionary, subversive activity of ultra-leftists and the frankly hostile action of rightists, who tried to frustrate progressive measures in the country.

PHILIPPINES

On October 12 the press reported a meeting between President Ferdinand Marcos and the Communist Party leadership. The CPP group was led by Felicisimo Macapagal, General Secretary of the CC.

The CPP leaders discussed with the President the possibility of cooperation in carrying out radical social and economic changes in the people's interests. The President is reported to have taken a favorable view of the idea and ordered preparations for amnestying all Communists, including those now in detention.

SOVIET UNION

On October 13 the press carried the appeals launched by the CC CPSU on the occasion of the 57th anniversary of the Great October

Socialist Revolution. Many of the appeals are expressive of the Party's international policy. The first reads:

"Fraternal greetings to the Communist and Workers' parties, the militant Marxist-Leninist vanguard of the working class and other working people, staunch fighters against imperialism, for peace, democracy, national independence and socialism."

A joint meeting of the CC CPM and the Supreme Soviet of the Moldavian SSR devoted to the 50th anniversary of the founding of the republic and its Communist Party took place in Kishinev on October 11. It was addressed by L.I. Brezhnev, General Secretary of the CC CPSU.

A joint meeting of the CC CPU and the Supreme Soviet of the Uzbek SSR devoted to the 50th anniversary of the founding of the republic and its Communist Party took place in Tashkent on October 22. It was addressed by M.A. Suslov, member of the Political Bureau and Secretary of the CC CPSU.

A joint meeting of the CC CPK and the Supreme Soviet of the Kirghiz SSR devoted to the 50th anniversary of the founding of the republic and its Communist Party took place in Frunze on November 2. It was addressed by A.N. Kosygin, member, Political Bureau of the CC CPSU, Chairman, Council of Ministers of the USSR.

SWITZERLAND

"Curb inflation, stop the irresistible growth of prices" — this is the motto under which the Swiss Party of Labor is campaigning among the population. To stave off an economic crisis, greater unemployment and higher cost of living, the Communists demand government control over prices, incomes, investments and capital imports and exports. The SPL insists on restricting the power of cartels and monopolies to the point of nationalizing them.

On October 16 it was 30 years since the founding of the Swiss Party of Labor, formed by merging the Communist Party of Switzerland with a Left Social-Democratic group.

Voix Ouvrière, the SPL newspaper, devoted its first page to the memorable anniversary.

"We are happy and proud," wrote Party Chairman Jean Vincent, "to be in the same ranks with the great and powerful Communist and

working-class movement, which transformed the world after the October Revolution and has been carrying on this process ever since. In these ranks, we are alongside the Soviet Union and other socialist countries."

SYRIA

On October 27 the Syrian Communist Party was 50 years old. The Communists and progressive public of Syria and other countries widely commemorated the jubilee. In line with the decisions of their recent Fourth Congress, which approved the Party Program and laid the foundations for Party unity, the Communists see one of their main objectives in uniting the anti-imperialist forces of Syria and other Arab countries. In common with the Arab Socialist Baath Party and other patriotic organizations affiliated with the Progressive National Front, the SCP contributes actively to the consolidation and development of the country's progressive regime and fights for the liberation of the territories occupied by Israel and for a just and durable peace in the Middle East.

URUGUAY

On October 9, *Nuestra Palabra*, the Argentine Communist paper, reported that Rodolfo Ghioldi, member of the EE CC, Communist Party of Argentina, had gone to see Rodney Arismendi, First Secretary of the CC CPU, in his place of detention. Ghioldi says that although Arismendi is ill the imprisonment has not affected his morale. "I satisfied myself," he points out, "that he is as firm, calm and discerning as ever."

On October 24 the Uruguayan authorities arrested Jaime Pérez, Secretary of the CC CPU. Pérez had headed the Montevideo Party organization for years and had been acting First Secretary of the Party ever since the arrest of Rodney Arismendi. The authorities arrested him in an added effort to deprive the Party of leadership. They also seized Jorge Massarovich, member of the CC CPU Executive.

In October the Communists of Uruguay started an underground theoretical journal, *Ensayos*, which takes the place of *Estudios*, with an editorial entitled "For Popular Unity to Overthrow the Dictatorship."

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number 20-21, 1974 77

BILATERAL MEETINGS

JOINT COMMUNIQUE ON TALKS BETWEEN DELEGATIONS OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE SOVIET UNION AND THE SOCIALIST PARTY OF JAPAN

A delegation of the Central Executive Committee of the Socialist Party of Japan stayed in the Soviet Union from October 5 to October 11 at the invitation of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. Talks took place between the delegation of the Socialist Party of Japan and a delegation of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. The CPSU delegation included M.A. Suslov, member of the Politbureau and Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee; B.N. Ponomarev, alternate member of the Politbureau and Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee; V.I. Konotop, member of the CPSU Central Committee, First Secretary of the Moscow Regional Committee of the CPSU; P.N. Fedoseyev, member of the CPSU Central Committee and Vice-President of the USSR Academy of Sciences; Y.I. Kuskov, member of the Central Auditing Commission of the CPSU and deputy head of the International Department of the CPSU Central Committee; and I.I. Kovalenko, sector head of the International Department of the CPSU Central Committee. The delegation of the Socialist Party of Japan included M. Ishibashi, General Secretary of the Central Executive Committee; S. Sapo, member of the CEC and head of the CEC Bureau for the Affairs of Small and Medium-Sized Enterprises; T. Yokoyama, member of the CEC and head of the CEC Bureau for the People's Problems; S. Tsukada, Secretary of the SPJ Committee on Japanese-Soviet Relations; S. Sugiyama, deputy head of the International Department of the CEC; and Y. Ozaki, and official of the CEC Bureau for Press Organs.

During the talks, held in a comradely atmosphere, the two sides exchanged views on a number of pressing problems of the prevailing international situation and on some questions relating to Soviet-

Japanese relations and to mutual relations between the CPSU and the SPJ.

In the course of the talks the CPSU delegation informed the SPJ representatives of the Soviet people's achievements in fulfilling the plans adopted by the 24th Party Congress for economic and cultural development and for improving the welfare of the Soviet people, as well as of the foreign-policy activities of the CPSU Central Committee and the Soviet government in implementing the Peace Program drawn up by the Congress. The SPJ delegation paid high tribute to the successes of the Soviet Union in communist construction and noted its important contribution to strengthening peace and international security.

The representatives of the SPJ described the political situation in Japan and the struggle waged by the Japanese working people against monopoly oppression, in defense of the democratic rights and vital interests of the people, and for Japan to pursue a peaceable foreign policy.

The CPSU delegation declared the unfailing solidarity of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and all Soviet people with the struggle of the Japanese people for peace and social progress and pointed to the important role of the Socialist Party of Japan which in this struggle acts from anti-imperialist and anti-monopoly positions conforming to the interests of the country's working people.

The talks have shown that in spite of some differences in views the positions held by the CPSU and the SPJ on many key problems of our time coincide or are close to one another.

The sides stated that, as a result of the further strengthening of the forces of socialism, the international working-class and national liberation movement, conditions were shaping for asserting the principles of peaceful coexistence and cooperation between states with different social systems. It was noted that détente was promoting the peoples' advance along the road of social progress. The sides assessed the current democratization of public life in Portugal, the granting of independence to the former Portuguese colonies in Africa and the collapse of the dictatorial regimes in Thailand and Greece as an important victory in the struggle against extreme-right reaction and colonialism.

At the same time, they pointed to the attempts of international reaction to oppose the policy of international détente. The delegations of the CPSU and the SPJ expressed deep concern about the violation of the Paris agreement on Vietnam by the Saigon administration,

continued imperialist interference in the domestic affairs of Cambodia, the preservation of tensions in the Middle East, and the events in Cyprus. Both sides strongly condemned the outrages of reaction in Chile and declared solidarity with the Chilean democratic forces resolutely resisting the fascist regime.

The talks revealed the identity of attitudes of the two parties on the situation in the Korean Peninsula. The CPSU and the SPJ support the constructive proposals of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea for a peaceful democratic unification of Korea and demand the withdrawal of foreign troops from South Korea.

The delegations of the CPSU and the SPJ declared their unfailing support for the just struggle of the Vietnamese people and expressed the opinion that the precise and complete fulfilment of the 1973 Paris agreement can guarantee a lasting and just peace in Vietnam. Both sides expressed satisfaction with progress achieved in the political settlement of the Laotian problems. They come out in support of the Royal Government of National Unity and for the earliest possible solution of the Cambodian question in accordance with the national interests of the Cambodian people.

Both sides emphasized that a lasting and just peace in the Middle East can be established only on the basis of the withdrawal of Israeli troops from all Arab territories occupied in 1967 and the guaranteeing of the legitimate rights of the Arab people of Palestine.

The sides proclaimed the solidarity of the two Parties with all peoples struggling against imperialism, colonialism, neo-colonialism and racism, for freedom and independence, peace, democracy and social progress, and indicated the necessity for the further strengthening of the cohesion of all anti-imperialist forces.

The delegations of the CPSU and the SPJ came out for the abrogation of military-political blocs. They believe it imperative that effective measures should be carried out to end the arms race and bring about general and complete disarmament, embracing both nuclear and conventional arms, under appropriate international supervision.

Both delegations stress the determination of the CPSU and the SPJ to continue to work to strengthen peace and security in Asia and throughout the world. They maintain that an effective means to achieve these aims is a system of safeguarding peace and security in Asia. This system can be brought about both through collective and bilateral efforts of states and should be based on the renunciation of the use of force, mutual respect for sovereignty and inviolability of borders, non-interference in each other's affairs, and the development

of mutually advantageous economic, cultural and scientific-technical cooperation. It was noted that the maintenance of peace and security on the Asian continent by collective efforts, as well as on the basis of bilateral treaties and agreements would accord with the interests of the peoples in that part of the world, would strengthen the political and economic independence of Asian countries, and would facilitate large-scale socio-economic reforms within them.

The sides stated their positions on topical questions of Soviet-Japanese relations.

They stressed the importance of developing good-neighborly friendly relations between the Soviet and the Japanese peoples. The sides made a positive assessment of the current stage in the development of cooperation between the USSR and Japan in the economic and cultural fields. While noting the mutually advantageous character of this cooperation, they stand for continued development and deepening of all-round contacts between the two states.

The two Parties share the common view that the strengthening of relations of good-neighborliness and cooperation between the USSR and Japan would correspond to the interests of peace and security in Asia, the Far East and the Pacific Ocean.

The sides expressed satisfaction with the existing relations between the CPSU and the SPJ, regarding them as an important contribution to the establishment of trust and understanding between the peoples of the USSR and Japan, and stressed their readiness to do their best to ensure further development of these relations for the benefit of their joint struggle against imperialism and for peace and friendship between the peoples of the USSR and Japan.

Pravda, October 11, 1974.

MEETING BETWEEN DELEGATIONS OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE SOVIET UNION AND THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF SPAIN

A meeting between delegations of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Communist Party of Spain took place at the CPSU Central Committee.

number 20-21, 1974 81

It was attended, for the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, by CC Politbureau member and CC Secretary M.A. Suslov, Politbureau member A.J. Pelshe, Politbureau alternate member and CC secretary B.N. Ponomaryov, and V.V. Zagladin, member of the CPSU Central Auditing Commission and deputy head of the CC International Department.

The Communist Party of Spain was represented by its Chairman Dolores Ibarruri, General Secretary S. Carrillo, CC Executive and Secretariat members I. Gallego and M. Azcarate, and CC Executive members G. Lopez Raimundo and F. Melchor.

The CPSU delegation told the guests of the Party's consistent efforts aimed at implementing the decisions of its 24th congress, of progress in building communism and carrying out the Peace Program.

The CPS delegation expressed its deep satisfaction with the Soviet Union's achievements and hailed the growth of the USSR's prestige on the world arena. The CPS supports the Soviet policy of peace and peaceful coexistence of states, of help to the peoples fighting against imperialism for national independence. It has a high opinion of the CPSU's role in promoting this policy and of its important contribution to the development of the world revolutionary process.

The CPS delegation informed the CPSU delegation of the situation in Spain, which is characterized by an upsurge in the struggle of the masses, the working class in the first place, against the fascist regime, for a democratic alternative; progress in bringing together and establishing an alliance of different socio-political forces, as expressed in the formation of the Democratic Junta of Spain; and strengthening of the positions of the Communist Party of Spain.

The CPSU delegation expressed the fraternal solidarity of Soviet Communists and all Soviet people with the working class, all working people and the Communist Party of Spain fighting in the face of repression for the overthrow of the Franco dictatorship and the establishment of a democratic regime. The delegation voiced the opinion that the growth of the Party's influence and achievement of an alliance of all democratic forces could become important factors in promoting the struggle for democracy and social progress.

In present-day conditions the existence of the Franco regime in Spain is an anachronism poisoning the atmosphere in Europe. The delegations of both parties call for greater international solidarity with the Spanish people's struggle, in which Communists, Socialists, Catholics and other democratic forces are taking part.

Expressing the sentiments of the Soviet People, the CPSU calls for

the immediate release of Comrades Romero Marin, Sanchez Montero, Inguanzo, Lobato, worker commission leaders Marcelino Camacho and his associates, and of all Spanish political prisoners.

Both delegations stressed that a characteristic feature of the present international situation is the further development and strengthening of the socialist countries and worldwide growth of the attraction of socialism, stepped up activity of the international workers' movement, and expansion of the peoples' national-liberation movement. The CPSU and CPS representatives noted that, as a result of the struggle of peace-loving forces against the forces of reaction and aggression, a turn is taking place in international relations from cold war to détente, to the assertion of the principles of peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems. The new, more favorable situation taking shape on the international arena is, first and foremost, a consequence of the change in the correlation of forces in favor of socialism, peace and progress, a result of the deepening of the general crisis of capitalism. New conditions are appearing for further victories of the anti-imperialist forces.

Both parties declare their unbreakable solidarity with all peoples fighting against imperialism, reaction and fascism, and especially with the heroic people of Vietnam. They demand an end to the persecution of Chilean and Uruguayan democrats and immediate freedom for General Secretary of the Communist Party of Chile Luis Corvalan, First Secretary of the Communist Party of Uruguay Rodney Arismendi and all political prisoners.

Both parties support the developing countries' struggle for full political and economic independence.

The delegations of both parties enthusiastically hail the Portuguese people's victory over the fascist regime and express their solidarity with the Portuguese Communist Party and all Portuguese democrats. Both parties hail the overthrow of the fascist dictatorship in Greece.

The CPSU and the CPS regard adherence to the principle of peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems and rejection of the use of force or the threat of force in relations between states as an essential basis of international security. Both parties proceed from the consideration that realization of the principle of peaceful coexistence means neither preservation of the status quo nor relaxation of ideological struggle, that, far from impeding the class struggle or Communist Party activity in capitalist countries, it creates more favorable conditions for their development.

The CPSU and the CPS attach great importance to the establishment of a European security and cooperation system. Both parties consider it necessary to step up the mobilization of peace-loving forces and public opinion so as to bring the all-European Security and Cooperation Conference to a successful conclusion. The final and complete assertion of the sovereign rights of the socialist German Democratic Republic is of historic significance.

Both parties declared for effective measures aimed at halting the arms race, simultaneous dissolution of military blocs, dismantling of military bases on foreign territories, including the territory of Spain, and at disarmament. The CPS supports the Soviet Union's proposals on these questions.

The CPSU and CPS representatives exchanged views on the situation in the international communist movement and reaffirmed the need for a most resolute struggle against any distortions of Marxism-Leninism.

Taking into account that imperialism is most interested in splitting and weakening the international communist movement, the democratic and anti-monopoly forces, the CPS and the CPSU reaffirm that anti-communism and anti-Sovietism, from whatever quarter they emanate, are contrary to the interests of the working class, proletarian internationalism and the worldwide struggle against imperialism.

Proceeding from the consideration that the strength and cohesion of each Communist Party is of major importance both for the people's struggle in each country and the international communist movement, the CPSU and the CPS denounce all splitting actions aimed at undermining the unity of fraternal party ranks.

Both parties reassert their resolve to strive for the restoration of the unity and strengthening the cohesion of the international communist movement, for the establishment of a common front of all anti-imperialist forces. Both parties positively assess the results of the conference of fraternal parties of European capitalist countries in Brussels and voice support for the idea of convening an all-European conference of Communist and workers' parties.

The CPSU and the CPS attach great importance to the position set forth in the final document of the 1969 Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties that, in conditions when there is no leading center in the international communist movement, the role of voluntary coordination of actions by fraternal parties becomes especially great. Each party formulates its policies in the specific conditions of its country. It is the internationalist duty of each party to contribute in all possible

ways to the betterment of relations and development of mutual confidence between parties, even when positions on individual issues vary to some extent. Both parties build their relations on the principles of Marxism-Leninism, proletarian internationalism, solidarity and mutual support, respect, equality and independence, and non-interference in each others' internal affairs. Accordingly, the CPSU and the CPS seek to promote mutual ties and contacts in the interests of resolving common fundamental tasks of the working-class movement.

The talk took place in an atmosphere of frankness and mutual understanding.

Pravda, Mundo Obrero, Oct. 16, 1974

FRIENDLY TALK BETWEEN L.I. BREZHNEV AND T. ZHIVKOV

On October 16, L.I. Brezhnev, General Secretary of the CC CPSU, met in the Kremlin with Todor Zhivkov, First Secretary of the CC BCP, Chairman, Council of State of the PRB.

In a cordial, friendly atmosphere, L.I. Brezhnev and T. Zhivkov exchanged information on progress in communist and socialist construction in the Soviet Union and the People's Republic of Bulgaria. They voiced deep satisfaction over the development of all-round cooperation and closer relations between the Soviet Union and PRG and discussed steps to further Soviet-Bulgarian relations in every field.

The leaders of the two brother parties exchanged views on current problems of the international situation and the world Communist and working-class movement. They stressed that a most important task at this stage is to promote the unity and cohesion of the socialist countries and strengthen the international solidarity of the Communists and all working people in struggle for greater détente, for peace, democracy and socialism.

The talk between L.I. Brezhnev and Todor Zhivkov demonstrated complete unity of views between the CPSU and BCP on all the issues discussed.

Pravda, October 17, 1974.

N.V. PODGORNYY MEETS WITH CPF LEADERS

N.V. Podgorny, Political Bureau member of the CC CPSU, leader of the Soviet government delegation staying in Helsinki on the occasion of the 30th anniversary of the Soviet-Finnish Armistice agreement and the 30th anniversary of the Finland-USSR society, met with leaders of the Communist Party of Finland: Taisto Sinisalo and Olavi Hänninen, Vice-Chairmen of the CPF; Arvo Aalto, General Secretary of the Party; Erkki Tuominen, member, Political Bureau of the CC CPF; and Ville Pessi, Honorary Chairman of the CPF.

During the meeting, which proceeded in a warm, comradely atmosphere, the participants dealt with questions concerning the foreign policy of the Soviet Union, Soviet-Finnish relations and inter-party relations between the CPSU and CPF. They also exchanged information on the activity of the CPSU and CPF and on a number of problems of the world Communist and working-class movement.

The meeting was attended by V.S. Shaposhnikov, deputy head, International Department of the CC CPSU, and V.S. Stepanov, Soviet Ambassador to Finland.

MEETINGS AT THE CC CPSU

On October 25, 1974 B.N. Ponomarev, alternate Political Bureau member and Secretary of the CC CPSU, and V.V. Zagladin, member, Central Auditing Commission of the CPSU, deputy head International Department of the CC, met at the CC CPSU with a delegation of the Socialist Unity Party of West Berlin composed of Gerhard Danelius, Chairman of the SUPWB, Erich Ziegler, Vice-Chairman of the SUPWB, and Horst Schmitt, member, Bureau and Secretariat of the SUPWB Executive.

In the course of the meeting, the CPSU delegation told the guests about the Soviet people's achievements in building communism, progress in carrying out the decisions of the 24th Party Congress, the growing economic potential of the Soviet Union, the social, political and cultural advance of Soviet society and the successful implementation of the Peace Program approved by the Party Congress. The West

German comrades spoke highly of the progress made by the Soviet people in building communism and of the contribution to détente in Europe being made by the CPSU and the Soviet state.

The SUPWB delegation told about the current activities of the Party and its struggle for the interests of the working people, primarily of the working class, for peace and democracy. The CPSU delegates wished the Communists of West Berlin further success in their noble effort.

Both delegations stressed the need to step up the campaign to make détente an irreversible process. This would meet the interests of both peace and the struggle for the working people's rights, for social progress. They declared for the unfailing implementation of the four-power agreement on West Berlin.

Both parties maintain that in the present situation the Communist parties' heightened activity, militancy, and initiative, their joint action for the solution of major international problems, and Marxist-Leninist unity of the Communist movement are highly important in defeating reactionary and militarist intrigues and consolidating the positions of the working-class movement and all democratic forces. Both parties have a high opinion of the results of the Warsaw consultative meeting of European Communist and Workers' parties and will contribute in every way to the realization of the recommendations approved by the meeting.

Both sides voiced a desire to continue extending the fraternal relations existing between the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Socialist Unity Party of West Berlin.

The two delegations put it on record that the views of the CPSU and SUPWB fully coincide on all issues.

The meeting proceeded in a warm, friendly atmosphere.

Pravda, October 27, 1974

On October 29, 1974, B.N. Ponomarev, alternate Political Bureau member and Secretary of the CC CPSU, and R.A. Ulyanovsky, deputy head, International Department of the CC CPSU, met at the CC CPSU with A. Muhammed, First Secretary of the CC, Iraqi Communist Party.

During the meeting, which took place in a warm, friendly atmosphere, there was an exchange of views on international problems as well as on Soviet-Iraqi relations and the development of friendly links between the CPSU and ICP.

The Soviet representatives told the guests about the activity of the

CPSU and the Soviet people in carrying out the decisions of the 24th Party Congress and about progress in communist construction in the country. They called special attention to the efforts of the Party and the Soviet government toward implementing the Peace Program of the 24th Party Congress.

A. Muhammed spoke highly of the Soviet people's achievements in building communism and of the Leninist policy of the CPSU aimed at vindicating the principles of peaceful coexistence, lessening tensions, supporting the national liberation movement and promoting world peace and international security.

A. Muhammed, for his part, spoke about the progressive development of the Iraqi Republic and the activity of the ICP in the Progressive National Patriotic Front of Iraq. He expressed satisfaction over the constructive cooperation carried on by the ICP with the ruling Socialist Baath Party in effecting progressive social and economic reforms and solving the Kurdish problem in conformity with the law on the autonomy of Iraqi Kurds.

A. Muhammed thanked the CPSU and the Soviet people for their constant and varied assistance to the Arab peoples fighting against imperialism and reaction, against Israeli aggression.

The spokesmen of the CPSU hailed the Iraqi Communist Party's effort to strengthen the unity of national progressive forces and achieve a fair, democratic solution of the Kurdish problem in the interests of the Iraqi people as a whole, of Arabs and Kurds alike.

The two sides exchanged opinions on the situation in the Middle East. They are agreed that a lasting and just peace can only be established by withdrawing the Israeli troops from all the Arab territories occupied by them and by vindicating the legitimate national rights of the Arab people of Palestine, in particular their right to a national hearth of their own.

Both sides confirmed the necessity for the early and effective resumption of the deliberations of the Geneva conference with the participation of all the sides concerned, including the Palestinians.

The spokesmen of both sides confirmed the importance and need to strengthen the unity of Arab states and peoples fighting against Israeli aggression and to foster their friendship with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries.

The spokesmen of the CPSU and ICP declared for furthering relations of friendship and cooperation between the peoples of the Soviet Union and the Iraqi Republic on the solid foundations of the Soviet-Iraqi treaty, and for closer links between the two brother parties.

Pravda, October 30, 1974.

