

# INFORMA



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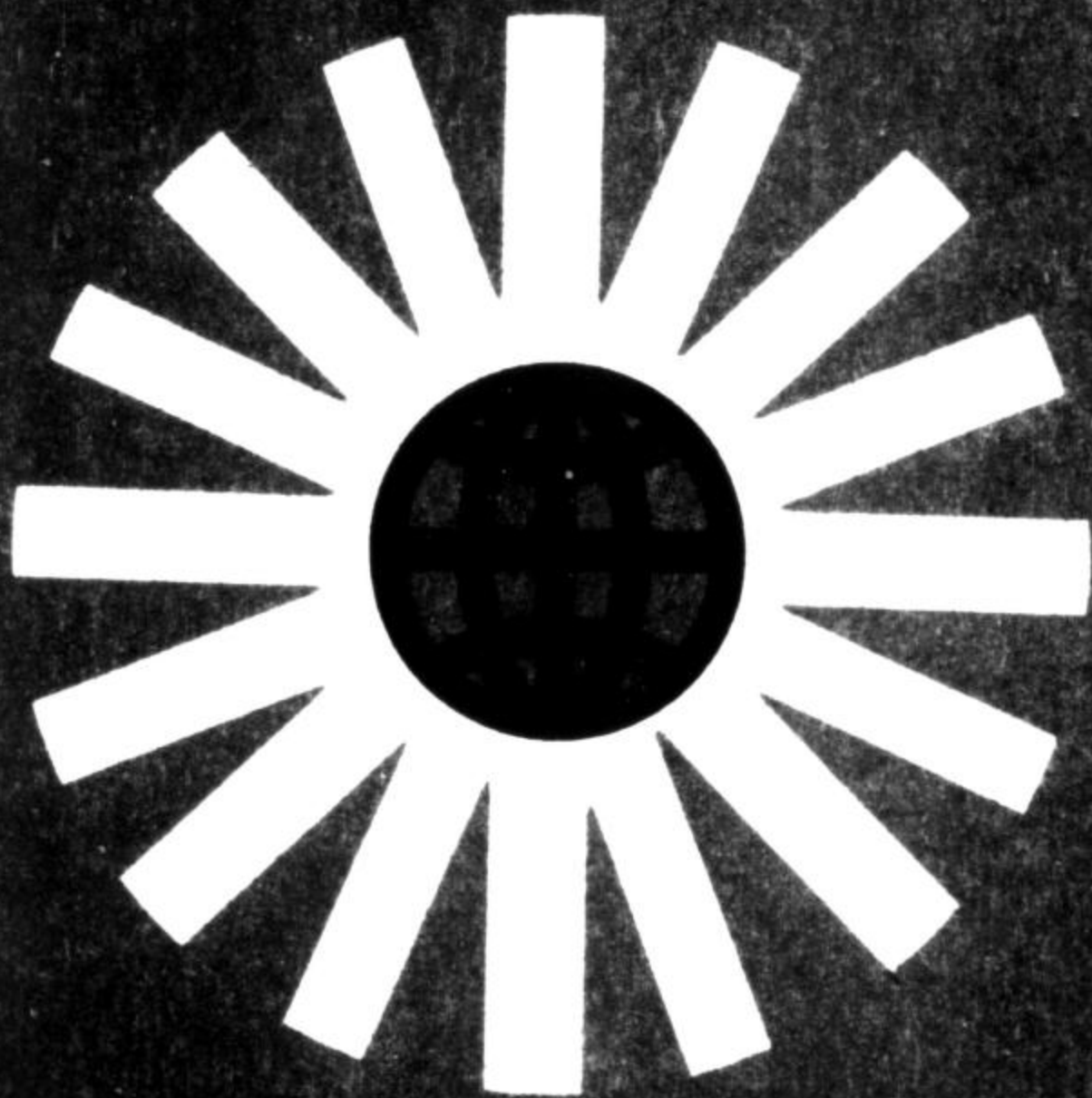
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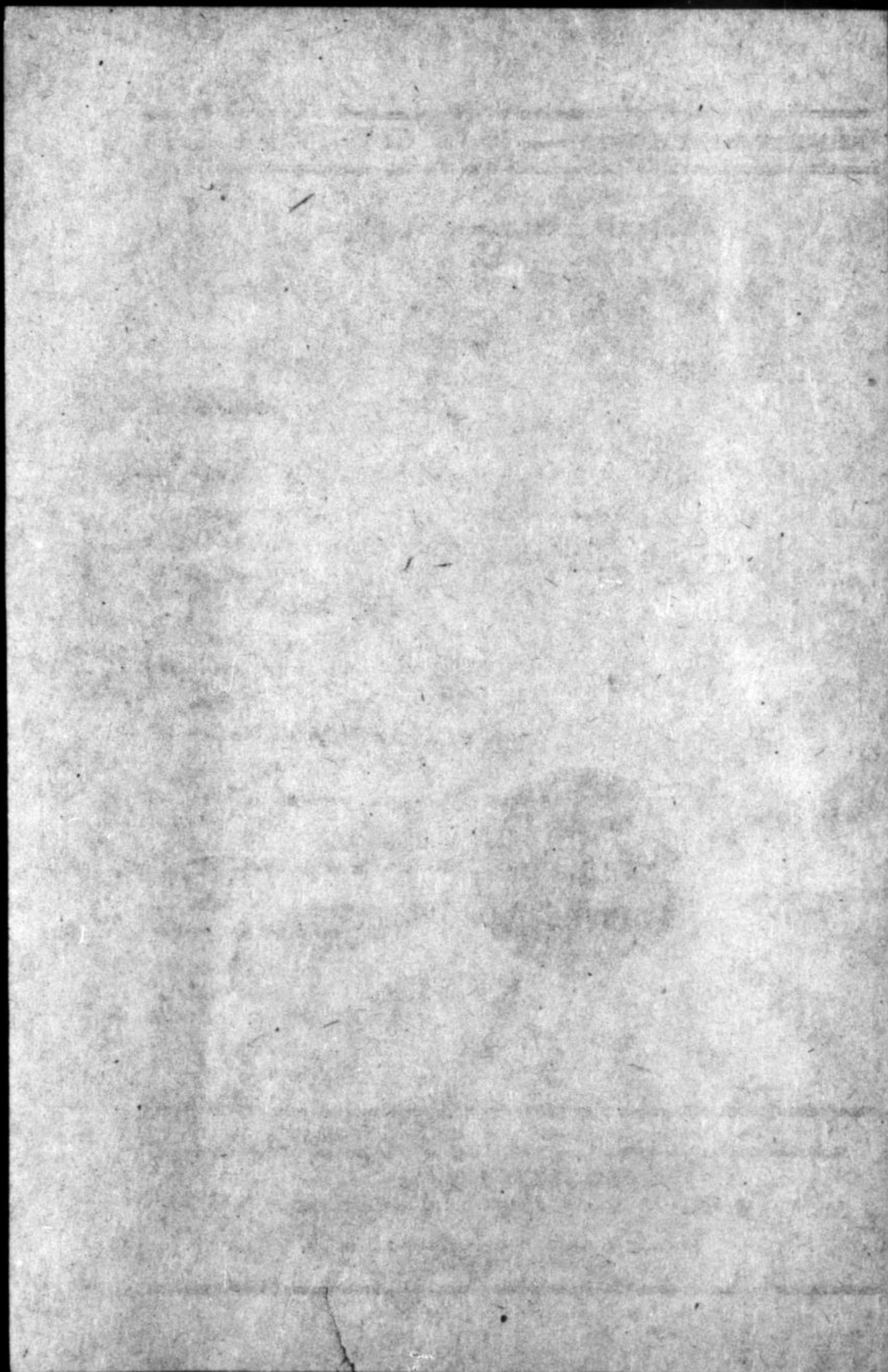
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**SPEECH BY  
FIDEL CASTRO**

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**ON MAOIST  
IDEOLOGY**

## 15-16

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#### **BILATERAL MEETINGS 100**

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## **A FRIENDLY MEETING\***

A meeting of the leaders of the Communist and Workers' Parties of socialist countries took place in the Crimea on July 30-31. It was attended by T. Zhivkov, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party and Chairman of the State Council of the People's Republic of Bulgaria; J. Kadar, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party; E. Honecker, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany; Y. Tsedenbal, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party and Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Mongolian People's Republic; E. Gierek, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers' Party; N. Ceausescu, General Secretary of the Rumanian Communist Party and Chairman of the State Council of the Socialist Republic of Rumania; L. I. Brezhnev, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, and G. Husak, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, and also A. A. Gromyko, member of the Political Bureau of the CPSU Central Committee and Minister of Foreign Affairs of the USSR; B. N. Ponomaryov, alternate member of the Political Bureau and Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and K. F. Katushev, Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee.

The participants in the meeting informed one another of the life and activities of their Parties, and of the advance of their socialist states. Questions pertaining to political, economic and ideological cooperation between the fraternal parties and countries were discussed. There was also an extensive exchange of views on topical international problems.

### **II.**

The leaders of the Bulgarian Communist Party, the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, the Socialist Unity Party of Germany, the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party, the Polish United Workers' Party, the Rumanian Communist Party, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia stated that in the period since the July 1972 Crimea meeting considerable successes have been achieved in furthering the foreign policy aims set forth in the statements of the Political

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\**Pravda*, August 1, 1973.



Consultative Committee of the Warsaw Treaty Organization, in the decisions of the congresses of the fraternal Parties, and in the Peace Program of the 24th CPSU Congress. The ending of the war in Vietnam, the full recognition of the German Democratic Republic under international law, the accommodation between Czechoslovakia and the Federal Republic of Germany, the reinforcement of the international positions of Cuba, and the successful start of the all-European Conference on Security and Cooperation—all this reflects the growing influence of the peace-loving policy of the countries of the socialist community.

A big part in the promotion of this policy, in the improvement of the entire international situation has been played by the meetings and talks which the leaders of the fraternal Parties and socialist countries have had in recent times with representatives of the capitalist states.

L. I. Brezhnev told about the foreign policy activity of the CPSU Central Committee in implementing the Peace Program adopted by the 24th Congress, the recent visits to the United States of America, the Federal Republic of Germany and France, and about the talks which took place and the agreements which were concluded, including the Soviet-American Agreement on the Prevention of Nuclear War. The leaders of the fraternal Parties highly assessed the Leninist foreign policy of the CPSU, and the personal contribution of L. I. Brezhnev, General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, in promoting this policy, a policy of major international importance.

A general conclusion was reached that substantial positive changes have taken place in the international situation as a whole; the principles of peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems are winning ever wider international recognition; mutually beneficial economic ties are expanding between the socialist and capitalist countries; more favorable prospects are opening for new constructive steps towards consolidating peace and international security.

It was underlined that it is important, by joint efforts of all the states concerned, to secure positive shifts on the international scene, consistently implement the concluded agreements and treaties, and steadily advance to the main goal, that of ensuring universal peace.

The determination was unanimously expressed to develop active cooperation of the socialist countries towards this end, and their readiness to contribute to the success of the all-European Conference on Security and Cooperation was confirmed. Evaluating favorably the main results of the preparatory consultations and the first phase of the all-European Conference — the meetings of Ministers of Foreign Affairs — conducted in Helsinki, the leaders of the frat-



ernal Parties express the conviction that the work of this Conference, on which the nations pin great hopes for the establishment of a truly lasting peace in Europe, can, given the goodwill of its participants, be completed already this year. With a view to imparting the greatest political authority to the decisions of the Conference, its concluding phase should be conducted at top level.

The socialist countries are working for the development of large-scale and long-term economic ties between European states, free from discrimination and inequality, for extensive and diverse contacts between the public in all the countries, for the encouragement of tourism, sports bonds, for the development of cultural ties and exchanges of spiritual values in the name of peace and mutual understanding among the nations. The socialist countries proceed from the assumption that such cooperation must develop within the framework of strict respect for the sovereignty of every state and non-interference in its domestic affairs, observance of the laws, customs and traditions of every country. This cooperation will conform to the interests of all the European peoples, collectively and severally.

The participants were gratified to note the present activization of the efforts of the public forces that can play an important part in the solution of the historic problem of turning Europe into a continent of peace and in the consolidation of the peace on earth.

The socialist countries are consistently working for political détente being supplemented by military détente, facilitating disarmament. They attach great importance to the talks on cuts in arms and troops in Central Europe which are to take place in Vienna in October this year.

The socialist countries consider it necessary to expand the zone of détente and extend it to the entire world. This primarily calls for urgently settling the conflict situations engendered by the imperialist aggression.

The meeting reaffirmed the invariable support for the stand of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Vietnam demanding an unflinching observance by all the sides of the Paris Agreement; the need for providing the peoples of Indochina with an opportunity to settle their own future and for establishing a just peace in the whole of Indochina; internationalist solidarity was expressed with the Vietnamese people, as well as readiness to render them the necessary aid and to strengthen fraternal cooperation with the DRV.

One of the most acute problems is still the situation in the Middle East, which must be settled on the basis of a complete pull-out of the Israeli troops from the occupied Arab territories, and respect for the independence and lawful rights of the states and



peoples of that area, including the Arab people of Palestine.

The policy of détente and development of peaceful cooperation of states meets with the ardent support of the nations, of the entire progressive and peace-loving public of the world. But, there are still forces which, acting in the spirit of the cold war, oppose international détente and come out for the build-up of military preparations and expansion of military budgets. It is necessary to show constant vigilance with respect to the policies of these forces, oppose their attempts to mislead world public opinion, to spread feelings of distrust and hostility between nations and to use détente for undermining the positions of socialism.

The socialist states are pursuing a principled class foreign policy, whose inseparable components are the course of strengthening peace and international security, showing solidarity with the liberation struggle of the peoples of all countries and continents, and giving rebuff to the encroachments on their freedom and independence, on their right to shape their own future.

In view of the immense significance of the economic cooperation of the socialist countries for successful socialist and communist construction and for a constant growth of the living and cultural standards of the peoples of these countries, there was a discussion of the progress made in implementing the Comprehensive Program of Socialist Economic Integration and the basic trends of the further improvement of the activities of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance. It was reaffirmed that these issues must remain in the focus of attention of the Communist and Workers' Parties of the CMEA countries.

The meeting stressed that the successes of the cause of peace and social progress are facilitated by the growing unity of the Communist and Workers' Parties, of all the anti-imperialist forces. The assurance was expressed that the steady growth of the cohesion of the international Communist movement on the basis of the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, the close fraternal cooperation of the Communists of all countries would continue to play an outstanding part in the consolidation of détente and the triumph of the ideals of peace and socialism.

### III.

The leaders of all the fraternal Parties participating in the meeting unanimously emphasized the desire to develop all-round cooperation among the socialist countries, to coordinate actions in the international arena in the interests of socialism and consolidation of peace.

The meeting passed in a friendly and cordial atmosphere.



## **L. I. BREZHNEV MEETS LE DUAN\***

Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, General Secretary, CC, Communist Party of the Soviet Union, met Comrade Le Duan, First Secretary, CC, Working People's Party of Vietnam, in the Crimea on August 4.

In line with the joint Soviet-Vietnamese statement of July 17,\*\* the leaders of the two fraternal parties discussed the further development of relations between the CPSU and WPPV, and between the Soviet Union and the Democratic Republic of Vietnam. Comrade Brezhnev informed Comrade Le Duan of the results of the recent friendly meeting of leaders of fraternal parties. Comrade Le Duan expressed a positive view of the position of the socialist countries, collectively framed at that meeting, and warmly thanked the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries for their active and unfailing support of the people of Vietnam in its struggle for freedom, independence and socialism.

A cordial and friendly atmosphere prevailed at the meeting.

## **AT THE CPSU CENTRAL COMMITTEE\*\*\***

The Political Bureau of the CPSU Central Committee, having examined the results of the friendly meeting of the leaders of the Communist and Workers' Parties of the socialist countries held on July 30 and 31 this year in the Crimea, highly assesses its significance for the all-round consolidation of the socialist community's positions, the closer unity of the fraternal Parties, and the further development of cooperation and coordination of the foreign policy of the socialist states, and fully approves the activity of the CPSU delegation headed by Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee.

The Political Bureau of the CPSU Central Committee undeviatingly proceeds from the fact that the solidarity and unity of the countries of the socialist community is a most important factor in strengthening peace and international security, and in achieving the objectives advanced in the Peace Program of the 24th CPSU Congress, the decisions of the congresses of other fraternal Parties, the statements of the Political Consultative Committee of the Warsaw Treaty Organization and the documents of the International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties in 1969.

As the communique of the Crimea meeting stresses, it is now important to consolidate the positive shifts in the international arena, to fill the concluded agreements and treaties with real content, and prepare the ground for new steps towards a secure peace. This would be promoted by the successful completion of the work

\**Pravda*, August 5, 1973.

\*\*See *IB*, No. 14, 1973.—Ed.

\*\*\**Pravda*, August 4, 1973.



of the all-European Conference, by supplementing political détente with measures for military détente, by settling without delay conflicts caused by imperialist aggression. The Political Bureau of the CPSU Central Committee emphasizes the determination of the Soviet Union jointly with the fraternal countries to make a constructive contribution to the settlement of pressing international problems.

The results of the Crimea meeting show that the organic combination of the struggle for peace and international security with the struggle for the freedom and independence of all peoples, for their sacred right to decide their own destiny remains the invariable basis of the concerted foreign policy of the socialist states. In present international conditions vigilance must be maintained as before against the intrigues of the reactionary forces trying to impede the consolidation of positive shifts in the world arena. The foreign policy of the socialist states is a principled class policy.

The Political Bureau of the CPSU Central Committee attaches great importance to the fact that at the Crimea meeting the Communist and Workers' Parties of the socialist states again showed their determination steadily to coordinate their action with the activities of other fraternal parties and to cement the cohesion of the world Communist movement on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. The important processes taking place in the international arena, the tasks of the struggle against anti-communism, bourgeois ideology, as also against the "Left"-wing and Right-wing opportunist trends hostile to scientific communism accentuate the need of further intensifying the interaction of the Communist Parties and collectively analyzing the vital theoretical and political problems of our times.

The new meeting in the Crimea provided an opportunity for holding a broad exchange of information on the course of socialist and communist construction and for defining in common the main lines of the further development of the all-round cooperation of the socialist states in all important spheres. The Political Bureau of the CPSU Central Committee expresses its deep conviction that this cooperation creates the necessary prerequisites for new achievements of the countries of socialism, the successful realization of the tasks of boosting the effectiveness of social production, combining the achievements of scientific and technological progress with the advantages of the socialist economic system, and steadily raising the working people's living standards.

The readiness expressed during the Crimea meeting by its participants to take further steps to develop political, economic and ideological cooperation between the socialist states, and the measures projected in this direction, including the problems of improving the activity of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance,



will strengthen the international positions of socialism to an even greater extent.

The Political Bureau of the CPSU Central Committee stresses that the development of all-round cooperation with the fraternal countries is the most important aspect of the Soviet state's foreign-policy activities. Together with the Marxist-Leninist Communist and Workers' Parties the CPSU will continue to multiply its efforts for strengthening the international solidarity of the socialist countries, their close interaction in socialist and communist construction, in the struggle for a stable peace.

Highly assessing the results of the Crimea meeting, the Political Bureau of the CPSU Central Committee notes with especial gratification the unshakable will demonstrated at the meeting to develop all-round cooperation between the socialist states and the coordination of actions in the international arena in the interests of the cause of socialism and strengthening peace. This meeting showed again that direct, comradely contacts between the leaders of the fraternal Parties help strengthen the unity of the Communist and Workers' Parties of the socialist countries.

The Political Bureau of the CPSU Central Committee adopted a decision defining practical measures for putting into effect the conclusions drawn by the Crimea meeting.

## **PRAISEFUL COMMENT**

The Executive Committee of the CC RCP, the Political Bureau of the CC SUPG, the Political Bureau of the CC BCP and the Political Bureau of the CC MPRP expressed high praise of the results of the friendly meeting in the Crimea in special resolutions adopted in the first ten days of August. They stressed the importance of the Crimea meeting for the further consolidation of the socialist community, the unity of the fraternal parties, and for their cooperation and coordination of action. The resolutions also listed practical measures to promote the implementation of the objectives of the joint communique.

The CC PUWP convened a conference of Party activists on August 3, at which R. Frelek, member of the Secretariat of the CC PUWP, and F. Szlachcic, member of the Political Bureau and Secretary of the CC PUWP, presented an account of the Crimea meeting. The speakers and the conference described the results of the meeting as of exceptional importance for the further strengthening of the unity of the socialist countries.

In Hungary and Czechoslovakia, the central newspapers of the HSWP and CPC published editorial and other articles, acclaiming the results of the friendly meeting in the Crimea and stressing their great importance for the further consolidation of socialism.



## **PLENARY MEETINGS**

### **WHY UNITY NOW IS VITAL**

At its meeting on July 15, 1973, the British CP Executive discussed and approved a report on the political situation, presented by Gerry Cohen, London district secretary. Below is a reprint of the report as it appeared in the **Morning Star**, July 16, 1973.

Mr. Gerry Cohen declared that the situation in which a powerful but weakened capitalism sought to maintain itself in power, made unity essential.

The Tories and capitalism could be defeated "by the massive potential strength of the organized working class and its allies being exercised in unity against them."

Communists offered a program for a united left as a basis for discussion. "We do not seek to impose our own ideas, and we are ready to discuss all alternatives."

### **SUSTAINED**

A renewed drive for unity discussions and action at national, district and branch level was required.

The movement must win the return of a Labor government committed by the power of the mass movement to operate left policies.

Mr. Cohen called for a sustained rebuttal of those in positions of leadership in the trade union and labor movement who attack and undermine decisions they should be giving leadership in carrying out.

The thousands of trade union branches and district committees should insist that their views be heard in the constituency Labor parties and trades councils, and that they in turn, with the shop stewards committees, get discussion and action at every level of the trade union and Labor movement in support of their demands.

The British Labor movement was approaching a vital new stage. "What happens in this period will determine both the outcome of the next general election and which class will advance in the years following it."

### **NO SOLUTION**

While the Tory press and mass media distorted the situation, said Mr. Cohen, divisions did exist in the Labor movement, they were part of long-standing differences between left and right.

There were right-wing leaders who did not want Socialism and



who would do everything to impede its achievement. They were dedicated to permanently managing capitalism and had no solution to the people's problems.

These problems could only be tackled by generating a mighty mass movement, united and determined.

### DEMOCRACY

The challenge to right-wing leadership was a struggle for the heart and mind of the labor movement. "Either forward to Socialism with unity of the left, or backwards to a more serious capitalism with the Tories and the right wing holding back the working class movement for decades to come."

The Communist Party was "a key section of the British labor movement," advancing policies, issuing hundreds of thousands of leaflets, pamphlets and holding public meetings. It bore responsibility for producing the *Morning Star*, "the only national daily paper of the movement."

Because of this we feel it is our duty to speak to our class brothers and sisters on the issue of democracy in the labor movement, Mr. Cohen said.

Labor's program for Britain, he added, was the most important policy statement to be presented to a Labor conference since 1945.

It proclaimed the aim: "To bring about a fundamental and irreversible shift in the balance of power and wealth in favor of the working people and their families."

### STRATEGY

Much in it reflected the left's growing strength, although many of its policies reflected the right's still powerful grip.

As well as pledges to repeal the Industrial Relations Act there were unsavory proposals for an incomes policy which had to be resisted.

The program said the choice was "either for a great contract between government, industry and the trade unions, with all three parts prepared to make sacrifices to achieve agreement on a strategy to deal with the problem of rising prices, or else interminable debilitating inflation which will help nobody."

"When has 'industry' ever been prepared to make sacrifices?" Mr. Cohen asked.

Repeal of the Housing Finance Act was promised, but no solution offered for the exorbitantly high interest rates local authorities paid on loans, nor for massive provision of low rental council housing.

On nationalization he said the question of the 25 was not the



real crux of the matter. "The essence of the argument must be, whether a new Labor government will make decisive inroads into the power of monopoly capitalism, or not, whether it will make abortive efforts to manage capitalism or set out to do away with it."

The case for public ownership was not efficiency or inefficiency. "The case is because it is capitalist its function is exploitation."

Therefore steady extension of nationalization, ensuring full participation of workers and trade unions in management, and with compensation limited, must be at the center of any program for Socialism.

Society could not be radically reorganized as long as the commanding heights of industry remained in private hands.

As for the Common Market, the program failed to recognize that the EEC was designed to strengthen monopoly capitalism and was an agency of the multinational firms to step up exploitation.

What was needed was not renegotiation of terms and a referendum, but a clear commitment that Labor would take Britain out.

Left pressure was reflected in the foreign policy statement but lacking was any proposal to do away with NATO, to recognize the tremendous changes that have taken place in the world balance of forces or the paramount importance of achieving harmony between Britain and the Socialist countries.

Thus the program was a product of the present stage of the struggle between left and right. "What policies ultimately emerge will depend on the battle conducted by the left both now and in the coming period."

It was imperative that this battle was joined by all who wanted to see the TUC in September and the Labor Party conference in October won for left policies.

This campaign had to be accompanied by efforts to ensure that gains in *Morning Star* circulation were maintained and increased to strengthen the left's capacity in the fight against the right.

Mr. Cohen stressed the importance of maintaining *Morning Star* readership during the period of the key policy-making conferences.

Supremacy of Labor Party conference decisions was significant. It was a distortion of democracy for a Labor executive decision to be endorsed by the conference and then blatantly ignored by the shadow cabinet.

### CONSIDERABLE

The Communist Party executive welcomed the stand taken by the *Tribune* group and others denouncing Mr. Wilson's claim to the right of veto.

The Communist Party's place in the labor movement gave it the



right to insist that policies democratically arrived at should be operated by a Labor government.

Emphasizing the need for unity, Mr. Cohen said that while some important unions propagated a left line, the right wing remained a considerable force inside the unions and had dominant positions at all levels of the Labor Party.

There were sometimes disagreements on tactics on the left — the TUC-government talks were an example. Such talks, said Mr. Cohen, could only give credence to the false idea that it was possible to discuss with the Tory government policies which could lead to improvements in working class life.

"All our experience teaches us that these discussions are harmful to the movement. There are those prominent on the left who disagree with us and in fact disagree with the decisions of their own organizations on this issue."

But such disagreement should not call into question the need for a basic alliance and unity in the fight for common objectives. It was a tactical question and no reason for failing to continue discussions between all on the left.

Mr. Cohen reported that the Communist Party would for the first time for many years go to its national congress in November with a higher membership than at the previous congress and if the fight was maintained, with an increased *Morning Star* circulation.

The victory of the left in the battle against the right "can only be assured by a bigger, stronger Communist Party and a greatly increased circulation for the *Morning Star*."

These were necessary for the conduct of the ideological battle and to involve masses of workers in struggle around the issues of the day.

"The labor movement can and must inspire active hostility to Toryism; it can and must inspire conscious determination to end capitalism.

"The Tories are not concerned about whether an industry or enterprise is efficient or whether it serves the interests of the 'nation'. They are concerned with which class owns and controls. So, too, are we. We want our class to own and control."

The Executive also decided to give full support to the old age pensioners' lobby planned for the eve of the Trades Union Congress, which opens in Blackpool on September 3-7.

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## PLENUM OF THE CC CP CZECHOSLOVAKIA

At the Plenum of the CC CPC held in Prague on July 3-4, 1973, General Secretary Gustav Husak, in his opening statement summarized the documents before the meeting on inner-Party matters and measures adopted on cadres by the Presidium of the CC CPC since the Plenum of February 1973.

The documents and measures adopted were unanimously approved.

The Plenum then discussed the report of the Presidium presented by Jan Fojtik, CC Secretary, on "Socialist Education of the Young Generation and Its Preparation for Life and Work in Conditions of Developed Socialist Society." There were 25 contributions to the discussion on this report and other matters.

On the second day, Lubomir Strougal, Presidium member and Chairman of the Government of the CSSR, reported on the results of the 27th Session of CMEA held in Prague. He stressed that the session helped to deepen and expand comprehensive socialist integration and brought forth fresh ideas and proposals that would further strengthen the community of the socialist states. He also dealt with the prospects for economic cooperation between the CMEA countries and advanced capitalist countries, including the EEC.

The Plenum adopted an appropriate resolution on this matter.

In his concluding speech, General Secretary Gustav Husak highly praised the results of the Plenum which, he said, set the Party and society towards the fulfillment of important tasks in the period up to the 15th Party Congress.

Below is the resolution adopted at the Plenum and published in *Rude Pravo* on July 6th, 1973.

### RESOLUTION OF THE PLENUM OF THE CC CPC

In accordance with the decision of the 14th Congress the Plenum of the CC CPC held on July 3-4 considered the current problems in the education of young people and school policy. The Plenum also discussed the progress and results of the annual election meetings of the basic Party units, district and regional Party conferences, and the implementation of the CC directives on further improvement in the composition of Party members. The Plenum also heard a report on current international problems and the results of the 27th CMEA Session.



## I.

Following an evaluation of the results of the annual election meetings of basic Party units, district and regional conferences, the CC CPC records that practice has proved the correctness of the decisions adopted at the 14th Congress. In the course of their execution, unity in action and the ideological and organizational unity of the Party have been strengthened. The principled policy carried out in the interests of the working people has even further strengthened the links between the Party and the people, and the political and productive activity of the community has increased. The election meetings and conferences paid high tribute to the policy and practical steps undertaken by the CC CPC in this sphere.

The conferences again demonstrated that the successful growth of socialist society depends directly on the standard of work of the Communist Party. There was confirmation of the correctness of the efforts made towards a further deepening of inner-Party life which is the coping stone for effective exercise by the Party of its leading role and reinforcing its ties with the working people.

All the meetings and conferences were imbued with a spirit of unbreakable friendship and close cooperation with the countries of the socialist community, in the first place with the Soviet Union.

In order to ensure further successes in putting into effect the decisions of the 14th Congress and in accordance with the results of the recent meetings and conferences, the CC regards it as essential to concentrate the Party's attention in the coming period on the solution of the following tasks:

- in line with the spirit of the Party Rules to strengthen unity and the capacity for active action by the entire Party membership, to systematically improve its composition and raise still further the Party's leading role in all spheres of life.

- on the basis of the successes achieved in the national economy, to intensify the politico-organizational work of the Party, economic, trade union and youth organizations, and to continue to develop the initiative of the working people in fulfilling the plan for 1973, and to create conditions for achieving the tasks of 1974 and the five-year plan in its entirety.

- in line with the conclusions arrived at at the October 1972 Plenum, to broaden the ideological work of the Party and raise the level of Marxist-Leninist education and awareness of Communists, to show concern for the socialist education of the working people, and work to ensure that the young generation should be well prepared for life and work in a socialist society.

- ceaselessly to strengthen the Party's close links with the working people, promote the activity of Party organizations and



involve them in an ever more active and conscious realization of Party policy.

## II.

The CC states that the foreign policy laid down at the 14th Congress is being successfully carried out by the Presidium. This policy fully corresponds to the interests of all Czechoslovak people and its implementation follows logically on the coordinated course of action mutually agreed upon by the socialist countries. The results achieved have considerably enhanced the world prestige of socialist Czechoslovakia and are clear proof of its active participation in the present process of easing international tension.

The CC approved the work of the Presidium in preparing the treaty on mutual relations between the CSSR and the FRG which was approved by the Federal Government of the CSSR and initialled in Bonn on June 20. This treaty, which confirms the nullity of the so-called Munich agreement of September 29, 1938, creates conditions for the growth of good mutually advantageous relations between the two countries. The treaty on mutual relations between the CSSR and the FRG represents a significant contribution to strengthening trust between the CSSR and FRG, and to peace and security in Europe.

The CC also expresses deep satisfaction that the Helsinki Conference which commenced on July 3, 1973 on problems of European security and cooperation will eventually adopt decisions whose realization will assist the transformation of the European continent into an area of peace and constructive cooperation founded on the inviolability of frontiers, sovereignty, non-interference, equality, renunciation of force, peaceful solution of disputed problems, mutually advantageous cooperation and other important principles of the peoples' security. In its foreign policy the CSSR, together with the USSR and other socialist allies, will in the future too do everything possible to achieve these noble aims in full.

The CC regards the main task of Czechoslovak foreign policy to be further endeavors, in the spirit of the decisions of the 14th Congress, to strengthen the unity and cohesion of the socialist community based on Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism.

The CC highly assesses the results of the visit of General Secretary of the CC CPSU, Comrade L. I. Brezhnev and his talks with U.S. President R. Nixon, which were reflected in the signing of joint Soviet-American documents of far-reaching political significance. These agreements, which denote the great success of the foreign policy of the USSR and the CPSU, fully accord with the vital interests of the whole of peace-loving and progressive



mankind. They confirm the correctness of the principles of peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems and open up the perspective for world peace.

### III.

The favorable changes in the international situation are also largely a result of the uninterrupted growth of the economic potential of the socialist countries, in particular of the Soviet Union. The further increase in the socialist countries' share of world industrial output will still further aid the process of easing world tension.

There is a considerable strengthening and deepening of the relations of comradely cooperation between the CSSR and the USSR, as well as other socialist countries. The decisions adopted at the 27th Session of CMEA in June of this year in Prague are of fundamental importance for their further expansion and for accelerating the process of socialist economic integration and for realization of the decisions of the 14th Congress of the CPC on foreign economic ties.

The CC approves the activity of the CC CPC Presidium and the Government of the CSSR in preparing for the 27th CMEA Session and in the course of the Session, as well as in implementing the tasks flowing from its decisions.

### IV.

The CC CPC discussed the standard of education of the young generation, its preparation for life and work in socialist society and states that the Party, state organs and public organizations are paying greater attention to these questions. As a result of the purposeful socialist education of the young people there has been considerable progress in their outlook, in their attitude to work, and their greater participation in political life. The desire of young people to enter the ranks of the Communist Party has grown accordingly.

This positive trend, achieved while carrying out the decisions of the 14th Congress of the CPC, must be developed in the future. The accomplishment of current and future tasks demands that all Party and state organs, public organizations and their functionaries concentrate their attention and efforts to achieve greater progress in the socialist education of the younger generation. The aim of such education must be to ensure that all young people identify their life and work with the ideals of socialism and that they play an increasing role in creating the socialist present and Communist future of our country.

The schools have played a considerable part in the socialist edu-



caiton of the young people for, in the course of the implementation of the principles of school policy defined by the 14th Congress, their development has followed a positive course.

The number of teachers, who carry out their educational task responsibly and are active in political and social life, is growing. A good political atmosphere in society affects positively the attitude and behavior of growing numbers of students and pupils, improves their discipline, and leads to their greater participation in social work.

The schools must concentrate on further improvements in the upbringing and education of young people, on the formation of a socialist awareness in pupils and students; schools must in the future, too, carry deeper their educational function, their socialist character, their links with the creative practices of our socialist society. They must perfect the content of their educational work in accordance with the demands of the scientific-technological revolution, and modernize methods of upbringing and education.

The teacher is the decisive link in education and upbringing. The Communist Party holds in high respect all honest and devoted teachers who, by their example in transmitting revolutionary and progressive traditions, have educated our young people to be loyal socialist citizens, builders of socialist society.

The CC CPC is confident that all teachers will achieve a still higher level of socialist consciousness and general education of the youth in accordance with the needs of society.

In order to increase a purposeful influence on the education of the younger generation, the CC CPC proposes:

1. That the CC of the Communist Party of Slovakia, regional and district committees and the basic Party organizations should:

—ensure that all Communists regard work among young people and their education as a paramount and important Party duty. It is essential that at all levels, state and economic organs and public organizations view the education of young people as an organic part of their daily activities. It is vital to create conditions for the active participation of youth in building and managing socialist society, to support its initiatives and give all-round assistance to the Czechoslovak Socialist Youth League and the Pioneer Organization;

—develop the activities of the Commissions set up in Party organizations for work among the youth so that they more actively assist in the organization and coordination of the educational work being carried out by all state and public bodies;

—hold Communists responsible for the exemplary education of their children at home;

—more broadly assign responsible functions to young Commu-



nists, older experienced comrades, and all who have special qualifications for work with young people in organizations of the Socialist Youth League and its Pioneer Organization, the Czechoslovak Union of Physical Culture, and the League of Friends of the Army. This work must be regarded as an important Party duty:

- ensure the realization of the results of this Plenum on school problems in the districts, regions and towns, commencing with the 1973-74 school year;

- intensify the leading role and increase the influence of the Party in schools of all grades, and where conditions permit, set up basic units of the Party in ten-year schools. Where no such conditions exist, the direct influence by the district Party committee should be ensured through the participation of Communists in the work of trade union bodies, the Socialist Youth League and school management;

- in all work with young people conditions to be created for preparing their best representatives to become candidate members of the Party, so that admission to the CPC should be seen as a matter of honor, the highest assessment of active, conscious and honest work for the good of socialist society.

Paragraphs 2-7 of the decision lay down the concrete tasks of Communists working in state organs of the CSSR, the Czech Socialist Republic and the Slovak Socialist Republic, in the people's committees, schools, in the Socialist Youth League, the trade unions, the Czechoslovak Union of Physical Culture and the League of Friends of the Army, in the organizations of the Popular Front and other public organizations.

In conclusion, the fourth section states:

The solution of the problems of the youth and schools signifies an important step by the Party towards realization of the decisions of the 14th Congress on the education of young people, their conscious and active work in order to develop our socialist society.

The consistent preparation of young people for life and work in a developed socialist society demonstrates the responsible attitude that the entire Party, every Party organization, all Communists and the whole of our society adopt to our successors, to the future of the socialist system and of our Communist Party.

### **THE CPC CENTRAL COMMITTEE**

#### **1. Approves:**

##### **a) The steps taken by the Presidium of the CC CPC**

- in the general guidance of the foreign policy of the state and the international work of the Party in accordance with the decisions of the 14th Congress of the CPC;

- in preparing the treaty on mutual relations between the CSSR



and the FRG, which has been approved by the Government of the CSSR and initialled on June 20th, 1973 in Bonn;

—in preparing and conducting the 27th CMEA session in Prague and in accomplishing the tasks arising from its decisions;

—in the school policy.

b) the report on the work of the CC organs since the February 1973 Plenum of the CC CPC.

c) The proposals relating to cadres.

2. *Expresses its agreement* with the document on "The Development, Present Situation and Further Tasks of Czechoslovak Education" as a guide line for future action in accomplishing the decisions of the 14th Congress and a basis for preparing a project on comprehensive solution of educational problems, which will be discussed at the 15th Congress of the CPC.

3. *Takes note of*

—the information about the election meetings of the basic, district and regional conferences of the CPC;

—the report on the fulfilment of the CC CPC's directives relating to the systematic improvement in the composition of the Party.

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## PLENARY MEETING OF CC PORTUGUESE CP COMMUNIQUE

A plenary meeting of the Central Committee of the Portuguese Communist Party, which convened in July, analyzed international developments and the political situation in Portugal, noting the expansion of the popular struggle in different sectors and fronts. The plenum discussed ways and means of further consolidating the Party. It issued a document, "For a Broad Political Mass Campaign (For Freedom, For Ending the Colonial War, For a Better Life)\*, as a guideline in the present political situation, and also adopted an Appeal to the People of Portugal.

Resolutions passed by the plenary meeting are designed to fortify the Party.

The Central Committee adopted a message to all Communist political prisoners.

## APPEAL TO THE PEOPLE OF PORTUGAL FORWARD! FOR A BROAD MASS CAMPAIGN!

A great political battle is in the offing. Fascism is preparing an-

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\*See subsequent issues of this Bulletin.—Ed.



other masquerade election. The popular and democratic movement is preparing for the final and decisive battle, in order to go over to the offensive in earnest.

The Portuguese Communist Party calls on all working people and the entire people of Portugal to mount a broad political campaign.

### **THE TRULY MILITANT VANGUARD**

The fascist regime has not been able to cope with its difficulties and contradictions. The economic situation is deteriorating. Conflicts and differences are proliferating in the fascist camp. Its isolation at home and abroad has never been so great. The living conditions of the people are growing worse. The people demand an end to the colonial war and a political solution for all the vital problems. The regime's chances for a compromise solution are reduced by its own crisis and by the intensification of repressions. Discontent is mounting. The opposition of the Portuguese people is ever greater.

The popular struggle is unfolding on numerous fronts and has attained a new and definite uplift. A dynamic popular movement against the colonial war is part of this struggle. The democratic movement, too, is making rapid progress. The working people are putting up a fight for their legitimate demands, combining the struggle for economic demands with the struggle for political demands. The trade unions are staunchly resisting repressions and have achieved new successes. The working youth is taking part in the struggle in different sections and is extending the scope of its initiatives. The students, too, have joined in. The women's movement is making headway. Numerous signs speak of mounting discontent in the armed forces. New actions have been taken by peasants, intellectuals, the trading community and other sections of the population.

The radically changed international and political situation, the détente and peaceful coexistence, and progress towards European security, offer new and favorable prospects for the struggle of the Portuguese people, for the still fuller isolation of fascism and colonialism at home and abroad.

A favorable situation is arising for a mass campaign for concrete aims on all fronts, for the strengthening of our militant vanguard.

### **A BATTLE FOR LEGALIZATION**

Fascism has banned and outlawed the Election Commissions, falsified election tickets, and prohibited public gatherings. Fascism subjects democrats to torture, and is maneuvering to split the ranks



of the opposition. It has openly announced that it intends to prevent the nomination of opposition candidates, that it means to gag the opposition.

Despite all this, the democratic movement is rapidly gaining strength. The campaign for expansion has far-flung popular backing. This year's Aveiro Congress\* is yet another proof of its dynamism, influence and strength. Large assemblies and plenary meetings are taking place. The democratic movement is, indeed, poised to intervene in the fascist "elections," and to nominate its own candidates.

In these circumstances it is quite possible to mount a large-scale political mass campaign for the fundamental aims of the democratic movement:

- struggle for democratic freedoms;
- struggle against repressions and for a sweeping amnesty;
- struggle for the termination of the colonial war;
- struggle for higher wages, and against the high cost of living and high taxes;
- struggle against monopoly omnipotence and subordination to imperialism.

If this campaign is to succeed, it must be well organized. The movement must be broadened and strengthened. The necessity for unity must be made known to all. Everybody who wishes to take part, must be enlisted in the battle.

Rallying the working people and the popular masses for resolute action for concrete aims, the Portuguese Communist Party underscores the importance and urgency:

- of consolidating positions for the continuing struggle;
  - of achieving permanent legality for the democratic structures.
- Workers! Working People! Peasants! Soldiers and Officers! Intellectuals! Youth! Women! Democrats!**

Waste no time and demand:

- freedom of organization for the democratic movement;
- an end to all repressive measures against your leaders, activists, and the popular masses;
- freedom of assembly and propaganda;
- the use of mass information media, public places and premises belonging to the state, municipalities, and other public bodies;
- revision of election rules and confirmation of model election tickets, the guaranteed right of public denial, and participation of opposition controllers in all phases of the "electoral" process.

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\*This was the second congress of the opposition forces, and the first to take place on Portuguese soil.—Ed.



By means of a broad and powerful mass movement, fascism must be compelled:

—to provide freedom for workers' gatherings and propaganda assemblies;

—to set up control posts;

—to issue and circulate documents;

—to permit the democratic opposition to nominate its own candidates;

—to assure the right to demonstrations.

Fascism intends to deter democratic activity, impede mass action, and perform yet another electoral farce. The democratic and popular movement is strong enough and influential enough to counter fascism with its own aims and objectives, and to build up a broad and massive campaign with the active political participation of hundreds and thousands of Portuguese.

For better living conditions! For an end to the colonial war! Forward, for freedom!

July 1973

Central Committee  
Portuguese Communist Party

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## CC OF CP INDIA REVIEWS PRESENT SITUATION AND OUTLINES TASKS\*

The Central Executive Committee of the Communist Party of India notes that outstanding positive developments have taken place in the international arena strengthening the cause of world peace and peaceful coexistence and creating an altogether new climate of international relations in the period since the last National Council meeting (March-April, 1973.—Ed.) Among these developments are the joint communique on Vietnam signed in Paris on June 13 to consolidate the cease-fire which was being flagrantly violated by Washington and Saigon and the historic agreements concluded and joint statements issued at the end of L. I. Brezhnev's visits to the FRG and USA.

The relaxation of international tensions and strengthening of the international climate of peaceful coexistence will severely limit and restrict the scope of imperialism, neo-colonialism and reaction and create more favorable conditions for the anti-imperialist and class struggles throughout the world.

India can play its rightful role in the present favorable world

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\*Excerpts from CPI Central Executive Resolution adopted July 1-4. *New Age*, July 15, 1973.



climate only by strengthening still further friendship and cooperation with the socialist and other peaceloving nations.

The attempt to talk in terms of "big powers" versus "small powers," the attempt to equate the socialist USSR with the imperialist USA under the general term "the two super-powers," goes against the realities of Indian and world experience and is harmful to our cause.

Improvement of Indo-American relations today primarily depends upon the USA giving up its neo-colonialist designs and maneuvers in this sub-continent, especially the policy of arming Pakistan, Iran, Saudi Arabia, activizing CENTO, etc.

That is why India can safeguard its own national interests as well as strengthen still further the cause of world peace, not by talking of uniting with other countries of the third world as against the "domination of the big powers," but by strengthening friendship and cooperation with the socialist and all other peace-loving countries and maintaining vigilance against imperialism and neo-colonialism.

The massive rearming of Pakistan, Iran, Kuwait and Saudi Arabia by U.S. imperialism, the activizing of CENTO, the joint defense exercises by Iran and Pakistan, the creation of new war bases in the Indian Ocean by U.S. imperialism (as on the Diego Garcia island), the open support given by Maoist China to all these moves, are all calculated to strengthen the revanchist anti-India forces inside Pakistan and weaken India and thus hamper the process of normalization on this sub-continent.

The CEC calls upon all Party units to launch a massive campaign of exposure of the new neo-colonialist conspiracies of U.S. imperialism in this sub-continent and to support all initiatives undertaken to help forward the cause of normalization of relations among India, Bangladesh and Pakistan.

### **DETERIORATING INTERNAL SITUATION**

Inside the country, during the period since the last National Council meeting, all the basic features pointed out in the last National Council resolution have become more sharpened and aggravated. The rise in prices of foodgrains and all other essential commodities which has reached unprecedented levels has given rise to acute mass discontent and mass protest actions throughout the country. The vested interests and right reactionary forces, linking up with the rightwing inside the Congress, are continuing their counteroffensive. Factionalism and conflicts between different power-groups inside the ruling party have come to a head in many states, virtually paralyzing the administration.

The sharp all-round deterioration of the general economic situa-



tion is accompanied by political instability of a *specific nature*, helpful for right reaction and other divisive, fissiparous and disruptive forces. For the first time since independence, the party having massive majorities by itself inside state assemblies, cannot even ensure the normal functioning of the Constitution and cannot provide popular ministries, but has to go in for President's rule, for shorter or longer periods. Such a state of affairs is extremely serious and is bound to undermine people's faith in the working of parliamentary institutions themselves.

Sharpening economic crisis is getting intertwined with growing political crisis of a specific type which has dangerous implications for the nation.

The responsibility for this should be squarely fixed on bourgeois rule in general and on the ruling Congress Party in particular. Its theories of "stability," freely propagated during the 1972 election campaign, have been blown sky-high. Its policies of consolidation of the vested interests, of concessions to the monopolists and landlords, of giving free scope to rightists, reactionaries and opportunists to enter it and buttress its rightwing inside, its policy of status quo and so-called "pragmatism" especially in the states, its total inability even to make its state government implement some radical policy decisions made by the center—these and these alone are responsible for the present situation.

The Congress high command yielded to reactionary pressures by dissolving the Socialist Forum. Today anybody can see to what state the ruling party has been reduced.

Experience has amply shown that unless there is a decisive shift to the left at the government and policy plane and joint activities on the basis of left and democratic unity to implement this policy effectively, what has happened in Uttar Pradesh, Bihar, Orissa, Gujarat, etc., will inevitably happen again and again.

The all-round unchecked rise in prices has created a most alarming situation for the common people and for the national economy. The fifth five-year plan itself is in jeopardy, it is already drastically slashed in physical terms due to the rise in prices and food and other imports will give it still more knockout blows. The wholesale prices have increased within a year from a minimum of 20 per cent to as much as 200 per cent in regard to certain commodities. The government's own statistics show that the real earnings of the industrial working class and of the white-collar workers have fallen more sharply during the last 18 months than they did during the two previous decades.

The unemployment and the foreign exchange positions have also worsened sharply.

In such a situation, new and disturbing compromising trends have



appeared in the government's economic policies. The moves to bring in Japanese collaboration into the fertilizer industry, further liberalization of licensing to suit the interests of monopoly houses, delay the formulation of a democratic industrial relations policy, deliberate non-implementation of even existing taxation measures as wealth tax on agricultural wealth tax on agricultural wealth are only a few examples.

At the same time, closer tie-up is growing of the big business houses with certain influential elements in the government and ruling party, both at the center and at the state level, a menacing phenomenon which is causing widespread concern and apprehension among progressive-minded congressmen themselves.

Taking advantage of the loopholes and weaknesses deliberately left in the scheme by the Union Ministry of Agriculture, the wholesale traders, landlords and rich peasants have combined to successfully defeat the scheme of state takeover of wholesale trade in wheat by sabotaging procurement.

The result has been that out of a procurement target of 8.1 million tons, a little more than 4 million tons has been procured. And now there is serious talk of import of 6.5 million tons of wheat this year from the USA, Canada and Argentina, thus throwing open India to the dangers of neo-colonialist pressures of U.S. imperialism.

### **CONTRADICTIONS IN THE NATIONAL CONGRESS**

As the crisis deepens and the bankruptcy of centrism stands increasingly revealed, policy conflicts have developed inside the Congress on a wide range of issues such as the state takeover of wholesale trade in rice and coarse foodgrains, agrarian reforms, takeover of foreign oil companies, direction of foreign trade policy, united action with the CPI, etc. Such conflicts are bound to develop further in the coming period under the impact of rising people's discontent and mass actions and constitute an important factor in the whole situation.

Abandonment of the policy of state takeover of wholesale trade in all foodgrains and essential commodities or failure to implement it effectively would not only send prices rocketing still higher but it would signify a strategic victory for the vested interests on the economic front and provide them with a big fillip in their political counteroffensive, both at the center and in the states, for which they are busily preparing in anticipation of the UP and Orissa elections, as well as the coming presidential election in 1974.

Retreat on the food front has been accompanied by sabotage of agrarian reforms. The tall talk about a time-bound program of implementation of amended land ceiling laws has been quietly for-



gotten and nowhere have these laws been even formally implemented except in Kerala where a coalition ministry headed by CPI leader C. Achutha Menon is in office. As a matter of fact, in all the Congress-ruled states, a bloody offensive is on to evict the sharecroppers from their cultivating possession and to turn out the landless laborers even from their existing tiny homesteads. As a result, the monopoly of landownership in the hands of a tiny group of landlords and kulaks has got strengthened, thereby strengthening the monopoly of marketable stocks of foodgrains in the hands of the rural rich who have utilized their power and position inside the ruling Congress and the administration to sabotage state trading in wheat. This same phenomenon is bound to be repeated in the case of rice on an even bigger scale because it is precisely in the rice-producing areas that the greatest concentration of landownership, accompanied by widespread practice of sharecropping, exists. Failure on the agrarian front constitutes the economic foundation of failure on the food front.

The revolt of the armed PAC and the imposition of President's rule in UP; the collapse of the Kedar Pande ministry in Bihar; the overthrow of Oza in Gujarat; the collapse of the Congress in Andhra Pradesh—these are symptoms of the deep malaise affecting the Congress organization as a result of its bankruptcy in implementing the radical promises and declarations of the 1969-71 period.

The militant mass actions organized and led by our Party in Bihar in defense of the interests of the working people and against the anti-democratic repressive policies of the Kedar Pande ministry played a big role in bringing about the downfall of this hated ministry. The Party in Bihar has played an inspiring role to project our independent fighting image on a national plane and has applied the tactical line of unity and struggle in a very effective manner.

The resolution passed by the National Council at its last session of March-April 1973 had stated:

"The demand for creating mass guarantees from below for implementation of radical measures, the demand for changing the structure of the Congress organization, for purging the Congress of reactionary and opportunist sections, has been again raised at the recent Congress conference held in Punjab.

"But the progressive sections inside the Congress have done nothing so far to create such mass sanctions for implementation or even to build up mass bases under their leadership."

Mass discontent has mounted up in the recent months against government policies, particularly on the question of the unbearable burden of rising prices and has erupted into mass actions. Our Party and trade unions have played a significant role in leading mass actions in Punjab, Bihar, Madhya Pradesh, West Bengal, Assam, Maharashtra, Karnatak, Andhra Pradesh and other states.



Generally speaking, the results of the elections that have taken place in the recent period register fast-growing people's discontent against the Congress government policies and a swing away from the 1971 and 1972 trends. But it is an ominous fact that in most places it is the right-reactionary parties which are yet capitalizing most on the erosion in Congress influence. The Party must take serious note of this.

The report adopted by the Bihar state council of the Party at its May 1973 meeting on the recent by-election in Bihar, correctly points out:

"The menacing trend of the masses breaking away from the Congress to gravitate towards reaction is a matter of grave concern. If this trend is not halted, then the democratic policies initiated ever since 1969 will be seriously threatened with the danger of reversal. But this trend cannot be halted merely by verbal criticism of the inadequacies of the policies and practices of the Congress, or by speeches exposing the reactionary content of the line of the rightists and the left opportunists. This dangerous trend can be halted only through direct action for food, for coal, for drinking water, through mass struggles against hoarders, profiteers, corrupt officials, moneylenders and landlords."

### **THE PATH OF MASS ACTION**

In the period ahead, the Party and all its mass organizations have to move the masses into action on the widest front against rising prices and against the hoarders and black-marketeers, in the form of strike actions of the working class, bandhs, gheraos, mass dehoarding campaigns and actions. We must press for state takeover of ALL FOODGRAINS trade as the first step to takeover of all ESSENTIAL COMMODITIES on the basis of monopoly procurement and a graded levy. We must fight for checking inflation and deficit-financing, for unearthing and fighting the evil of black money, for ending monopoly control over consumer industries.

An all-India Anti-Price-Rise and Dehoarding Week will be observed by the Party and mass organizations together throughout the country, from August 1 to August 7.

The working class and the trade unions must be moved into action against the rise in prices as their foremost political task. If their fight remains confined to the fight for higher wages and DA alone (which, of course, is a legitimate fight so long as the government does not take effective steps to control prices) they can never get out of the rut of wages chasing prices endlessly. That is why the fight against price rise, the fight to secure foodgrains and other essential commodities at controlled prices, faces the working class and the trade unions as a key political task today.



The Party must head the discontent of the masses, lead them into united mass actions and thus giving the popular discontent a proper militant political direction.

The people's fight today is threefold. First, it is a fight for implementation of radical policies where such policies can only be implemented by direct mass action and not by reliance on the government or the bureaucracy. Second is the fight over policy issues, the fight against anti-people and anti-democratic policies of the government and the fight for popularization of the Party's alternative policies. Third is the fight against the parties and forces of right reaction, who seek to utilize the mounting mass discontent to sabotage and reverse progressive policies and to make their counter-revolutionary bid for power.

In all these mass actions, the Party and the mass organizations seek the cooperation of all those radical sections of congressmen, as well as Congress masses who are prepared to cooperate in these mass actions.

At the same time, recent experience has shown that the possibility has opened up in certain states in this period of joint action on urgent mass issues such as price rise with other left forces such as the CPM.

Our Party must, therefore, utilize all initiatives to unite in the mass actions on the price issue with left-minded congressmen and Congress masses as well as with other left forces, particularly the CPM. Our approach towards the CPM will be on the common basis of support to the principle of state takeover of wholesale trade in foodgrains and ensuring that the platform of joint action is not utilized by the CPM to project its sectarian positions of building up an anti-Congress political front.

In this connection, the Party notes the statement of the polit-bureau of the CPM of May 9, 1973 dissociating itself from the line of the Socialist Party and the SSP of "continuing to seek understanding and alliances with the reactionary parties like the Jana Sangh and Cong-O." This statement, if seriously implemented, would mark a welcome beginning of serious rethinking inside the CPM. While taking note of this, it has to be realized that the need for a political-ideological campaign against the basic CPM positions continues.

The path of maximum independent mass mobilization and mass action pursued by the Party, concentrated in the coming period on the issue of rising prices, can undoubtedly help forward the process of polarization inside the Congress and move sections of Congress masses into joint action with us, as well as masses of other left parties. This is the path of defeating the rightists, of putting an end to the policies of compromise and status quo and replacing it by a general shift to the left.



The Central Executive Committee of the Communist Party of India appeals for the cooperation of all left and democratic forces in the country, both inside the Congress as well as outside, in this urgent task.

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## REPORT BY ENRICO BERLINGUER TO CC PLENUM OF ITALIAN CP

Below are excerpts from a report delivered by Enrico Berlinguer, General Secretary of the Italian Communist Party, at a Central Committee meeting on July 26. The newspaper *Unita* supplied it with the following heading: "Make Changing Tendencies More Effective in Order to Achieve a General-Democratic Turn."

We are holding our Plenum in a new political situation. Due to the course set by the preceding Plenum and the decisions it adopted, the struggle against the right-center government has become more acute in the country and in Parliament. Together with the actions of our Socialist comrades and other democratic forces, this struggle has dealt the final blow to the right-center: it collapsed as a result of the broad political clash and not of a mere top-level operation.

Decisive in the struggle against the right-center was the fact that the reasons for the shift to the right were realistically analyzed and pin-pointed, and that attempts were made to do away with the former limitations and shortcomings. In this sense, a positive role was played by our Central Committee meetings and preparations for our 13th Congress. The trade unions, peasant associations, cooperatives and other mass organizations have drawn a useful lesson from the rich experience of the struggle of these years.

As a result, a leftward move was achieved in the country; though it is still a limited shift, it has helped to create a situation in parliament and in relations between the political forces including the Christian Democratic Party that rules out the policy of the right-center and ultimately required the elimination of the Andreotti government.

The struggle against the right-center helped to strengthen the influence and authority of our Party as a serious force capable of proposing and carrying out a correct and responsible line to solve the country's fundamental problems, including the most difficult and complex, and in the solution of which the workers' movement was not yet fully involved. The Party has also become stronger organi-



zationally, with 1,604,211 members, or 20,000 more than at the end of last year after it absorbed the comrades of the Italian Socialist Party of Proletarian Unity. The Italian Communist Youth Federation has also increased its membership as compared with the end of 1972.

Behind our efforts in recent years and the struggle to free the country of the ruinous policy of the right-center was the desire to consistently follow our fundamental and guiding principle: we associate the future of the workers' movement, the Communist Party and the very prospects of the movement along the socialist path with a positive solution of the problem of the people and the country, with the struggle for the advancement of the entire national society in order to ensure its democratic progress. The working class and broad masses of working people want to see the Communist Party following this path, and that is the main reason for their faith in us. It is no accident that the reactionary groups — and apparently those who say they want to be more left than we are, do not understand this — place their hopes on an aggravation of the problems, a worsening of economic and civil life, on the confusion and upheaval that this could bring about.

Some maintain that our policy might strengthen the capitalist regime. Such individuals are obviously more optimistic in their judgments than we are concerning the present economic and social system and the opportunities for improving it, and do not understand the sense and scale of the present general crisis.

Such a policy does not weaken the proletarian struggle; on the contrary, it increases its strength and militancy. It neither obscures nor postpones the socialist perspective, but advances it and builds it day after day.

The spirit of national responsibility and support of the working people's demands which inspired us in the struggle to depose the right-center, must be the basis of our policy in the new stage as well, though it requires different tactics and other political goals, which, however, are imbued with one and the same idea.

We have already pointed out, even in the parliamentary debates, the positive signs we observe in the political situation in the country today, partially reflected in the composition and orientation of the new government, certain paragraphs in its program, its promise to struggle against fascism, and also the fact that certain sections of the government majority are apparently beginning to understand the need for a more correct and serious approach to establishing political relations with the communist opposition. This prompts us to take a different stand than we had earlier taken in relation to the right-center. For a long time, the country has been sliding down an incline. This has been stopped. The economic, social and political crisis, however, is very serious and the harm caused by



the Andreotti government will not be easy to remedy. The new government as such is no guarantee that these evils will be rectified, that the country's most sweeping crisis will be resolved positively or even that it will be able to effectively cope with the most urgent economic and political problems.

All these elements enable us to take up an appropriate position in the existing situation. On the one hand, we shall work as an independent opposition force totally different from the present majority and careful not to become inveigled in its mistakes. On the other hand, we shall do our utmost for a positive solution of the most urgent economic and political problems, and for the resolution of the country's general crisis through a renewal of society. We shall focus all our activity and struggle on the attainment of this goal.

We urge the Party and the people to fully comprehend the novelty of the situation. Not only was a certain government defeated, but a policy designed to assure a long-term shift to the right in the country's leadership was also defeated. We must advance a policy that is truly new in all respects. For this we need not an armistice or benevolent temporizing, but a determined, constructive and democratic opposition backed by measures activating the broad masses. This opposition, which only we, Communists, are capable of, deals with the main problems of the Italian crisis and aims at their radical and positive solution.

Invigoration and renewal could be started by tackling the methods of approach to the immediate and urgent problems — the economic and social policy, combating neo-fascism and reactionary intrigues, firm defense and development of the democratic system, and international relations.

The main aim of a serious economic and social policy consonant with the country's general interests, should be a gradual but consistent struggle with the flaws which, as we have already noted, are characteristic of Italy's social structure — the shrinking of the production base and a disproportion in remuneration to the detriment of the productive categories. This aim should also guide us in matters of a more immediate nature.

Today the most serious and urgent problem is the struggle against inflation. It has the greatest bearing on the working people's living conditions, the country's future, and even the fate of democracy.

We are aware that inflation is also caused by such international factors as American policy, the world monetary crisis, the crisis in relations between the capitalist countries, and speculation.

Touching on the methods of struggle against neo-fascism and the activities of reactionary groups, Enrico Berlinguer said that the



right-center kindled hopes in the Italian Social Movement of being directly included in the political game and even of influencing the government. For this reason the defeat suffered by the Andreotti government was also a serious blow to this movement.

The new government expressed its intention of combating neo-fascism and upholding democratic rule of law. This undertaking could channel the work of the entire government machine along a correct line, prompting it to end the chicanery and tolerance of recent years, and establish a totally different atmosphere in all the state bodies. But the most important are the facts, the most important is the determination to suppress all neo-fascist activity.

For our part, we know that to defeat the probable counter-offensive, which the Right forces will attempt to start in various areas, decisive importance as always attaches to vigilance and the broadest possible mobilization of the people, trade unions, democratic and anti-fascist forces.

To protect Italy from the danger of authoritarian regression, it is high time to begin a general democratization of the government apparatus and an improvement of public life. We saw the reaction to our proposals concerning the police and the armed forces. Our suggestions on introducing broader democracy in schools and school management are also widely known. It is necessary that now we continue our work on these problems in Parliament (there is an opportunity for an early decision on reducing the term of military service) and the country at large among those directly interested in proposing that these problems be reviewed by people's organizations and local bodies of self-government.

And, finally, we must put a stop to neo-fascist subversive activity, paralyze their inspirers and accomplices, prevent or frustrate the demagogic maneuvering of the Italian Social Movement among certain segments of the population, and make the democratic system more viable in order to reduce mistrust and prevent a shift to rightist positions.

There is no need for a detailed analysis of the international situation, Berlinguer said, because it was discussed at great length at the previous Plenum and because subsequent events confirmed our conclusions. Comrade Brezhnev's trips to the FRG and the United States aroused considerable interest and were of signal importance, as were the agreements with the American leaders. Special significance attaches to the Agreement on the Prevention of Nuclear War, and the Basic Principles of Negotiations on the Further Limitation of Strategic Offensive Arms. The first phase of the Conference on European Security and Cooperation has taken place in Helsinki, to be followed by the second in Geneva, and somewhat later by the third phase, in the form of a summit meet-



ing. Agreement has been reached in Vienna on opening negotiations to reduce armed forces and armaments in Central Europe. Also important is the agreement reached between Bonn and Prague annulling the Munich Pact. All these facts merge into a positive line of developments, opening up new scope for initiatives by different countries, including Italy. It is most important to be a participant in the processes which, though often "bi-polar" in substance, can be "multi-polar" from the viewpoint of their consequences.

In our country and in a certain section of the press a surreptitious campaign is being waged to portray the progress of international détente as something negative. Behind this campaign are the conservative groups, who wish that nothing should change in the world because they wish that nothing should change in our country. They know the interdependence — undoubtedly real and not automatic — between the various processes, and that, say, there is a connection, which we always accentuated, between the process of establishing new relations of security and cooperation in Europe, with the long-term prospect of gradually abolishing blocs, and the opportunity for each country to advance towards social renovation and democratic progress. What other idea can there be at back of the appeal in a Turin newspaper recently to stop the process of international détente "before it has gone too far."

The negative elements on the international and European scene are to be found elsewhere, for instance in the French nuclear bomb tests carried out in spite of worldwide protests, or in the appeals of the conservative and reactionary groups for a joint re-arming of the Common Market countries. It will be a tragedy for Italy if it follows this path and not the path of a gradual and balanced reduction of armed forces, including the armed forces of the great powers.

The international monetary crisis is another source of ever more acute problems for Europe. The disagreement between Common Market Europe and the United States is becoming broader and deeper, and now concerns not only financial, but also economic, trade, political and military relations. Common Market Europe is still searching for a policy that would assert its independence. The directions followed so far have led it into a deep crisis, with the interests of large monopoly groups predominating. The need for change is felt ever more strongly.

That is why there is such need today for unity and concord among the Left forces in order to work out a common line of struggle that would ensure the interests of the masses in each country and in the Community as a whole. The Common Market countries should not enter on a confrontation with the United States singly, but follow democratically agreed guidelines in order



to deliver this part of our continent from the subordinate position it has in effect occupied since the beginning of the cold war, and establish new relations based on independence and equality with both the United States and the USSR and the other socialist countries, and also extend relations with the developing states.

Some new elements have appeared in the government's program statement on the principles of its foreign policy.

Words should be followed by deeds which would actively involve Italy in the process of relaxing tensions, guaranteeing security and reducing armaments in Europe, and simultaneously spark a similar process in the Mediterranean.

In foreign policy, too, we demand a clear, consistent, anti-fascist, anti-colonialist and anti-racist line as envisaged in the republican constitution which originated in the Resistance Movement. This spirit should materialize in the rejection of all political and military compromises with the fascist regimes in Spain, Greece and Portugal both in bi-lateral relations and at various international levels; in the support of nations fighting for freedom and independence, and particularly the liberation movements in Mozambique, Angola and Guinea (Bissau); in strong condemnation of the Portuguese colonial war marked by brutal crimes that have recently stirred and outraged the civic sense of people throughout the world. The time has come, as the United Nations has shown, for these movements to be recognized as the lawful representatives of their people and countries, just as the time has come to establish relations with the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Vietnam, and also at last to recognize the Korean People's Democratic Republic. It is also time for Italy to make its contribution to the policy of limiting the military confrontation and to consider the ratification of the nuclear non-proliferation treaty.

Good opportunities are opening up for our country and its foreign policy in politics, economy, trade and cooperation. This was apparent during the many important international contacts which our Party has had recently — with Comrade Brezhnev in Moscow, with all the main political forces in the Middle East (Iraqi, Syrian, Lebanese, Palestinian, Algerian and, a few days ago as a result of a visit by our delegation to Israel), and with Communist parties and other political forces in many Latin American countries. These and other meetings showed not only that our Party enjoys considerable prestige everywhere, but also that people are interested in our country and that more energetic and independent activity is expected from it in international affairs. We have never considered our international contacts as something that concerns our Party alone. We have always been motivated by a sense of responsibility for national interests. This applies in like measure to Eastern



policy, European security, Vietnam, the Mediterranean and Middle East, and the problems of the Third World.

And it was precisely in this spirit that we conducted the discussions with comrades from the socialist countries, and with representatives of European Communist, Socialist and Social-Democratic parties. Particularly important in our international activities was Comrade Marchais' visit and the full accord between our two parties displayed so vividly during the big demonstration in Bologna, the meeting between Marchais and De Martino, and our meeting with Mitterand, the secretary of the French Socialist Party. The relations between the Italian and French Communists and Socialists are important for the development of a dialogue and concord in an atmosphere of mutual respect for independence between all the forces in Western Europe working for a deep-going democratic renovation, for social progress, for a policy of peace, security and cooperation. We shall follow this road, acting with new initiative at the West European and the all-European levels.

Persistent and concerted popular action is necessary for Italy's foreign policy to measure up to the existing opportunities and demands. The efforts for the strict fulfilment of the agreement for peace and the restoration of Vietnam, the opposition to U.S. interference in Cambodia, solidarity with the liberation movements in countries oppressed by Portuguese colonialism, and likewise with the peoples fighting fascist regimes and dictatorships, the Mediterranean and Middle East problems, and disarmament — these are all problems which could unite the popular forces: the Communists, Socialists, Catholics and Christian-Democrats. The big problems facing all of mankind in these last several decades of the 20th century — creating a world without imperialism, colonialism, hunger, and backwardness are the ground for a broad comparison of opinions and closer understanding. Our cherished wish, our goal, is to facilitate a complete change in Italy's foreign policy by our political initiatives, and the joint action and struggle of the people, so that it would reflect the ideas of all the main political forces adhering to the republican constitution and would be a factor of unity for our people.

It should be recalled that national political life and its outlook are influenced by the divorce referendum which, irrespective of the results will, in itself, cause deep negative changes in the country's political life by casting doubt on even the goals, line of action and prospects of the democratic development we have just referred to. Naturally, by saying so we are not placing in question the relevance of the divorce referendum. But we do take a negative view of its political timing and consequences, because the campaign preceding the "for" or "against" divorce vote can be harmful and even



dangerous for the Italian people's religious world, for the unity of the masses, for the future of the Italian democratic system and for the renovation and progress of our society.

We therefore reaffirm the line we have consistently followed on this sensitive and important problem: to work for an agreement between the democratic and anti-fascist forces, secular and Catholic, which would allow us to simultaneously preserve such a civic achievement of freedom as the institution of divorce and avoid excessive bitterness and division. By renewing the law we could therefore avoid a referendum — and not by resorting to trickery, but through a political solution with the strictest respect for rights and constitutional standards, by democratic methods and in the interests of democracy. Nevertheless we say that our Party intends making full use of its tremendous organized force and its influence among the people during the referendum campaign in order to defeat those opposing divorce.

It is probably appropriate now to summarize our political prospects and aims based on an analysis of the existing situation.

In connection with the general political picture, which is an obvious step forward, it is our prime task to consolidate our success in defeating the right-center operation and to contribute to the required extent to its isolation, and to the prevention of any attempts to return to the past. We should therefore, encourage the development of the changing tendencies, make it as concrete as possible both in government activity and in political relations.

Naturally, we do not deceive ourselves, and do not hide from the country, that there are limits to this new political stage as reflected in the present government coalition. We have already said that in view of our general political course and because of the balance of the various forces in the majority, the new government is incapable of coping with the country's serious crisis and cannot meet the consequent demands for deep changes. Therefore conditions must be created for a general turn in a democratic direction which is our main goal, based on contact and cooperation between the popular forces — the Communists, Catholics, Socialists, and others.

The most important thing is to succeed in tilting still further to the left the balance of forces in the country, and change appropriately the orientation of the people.

The catastrophic and dangerous experience of the right-center, the mounting crisis in the country, the aggressive rebirth of neo-fascism, and the signs of a sinister subversive conspiracy have also prompted other forces to face up more seriously to the necessity of changing their relations with the Communist Party.

We must recognize all the definitely positive aspects in the posi-



tion of distant and even mutually hostile forces in the sense of their recognition of our growing weight and our democratic role and to induce them to draw the appropriate conclusions. We should also present factual proof and confirm in ideological struggle that we are true to ourselves and to our historical task as the revolutionary part of the working class, our ability and intention of working for working class hegemony without any claim to integralism or totalitarianism.

It is precisely from these positions that we appraise the Socialist Party, the CDP and other political and democratic forces. We believe the role of the ISP is indispensable in the country's democratic renewal.

The CDP Congress launched a new stage in the life of that party. A big role in this was apparently played by the desire to avoid an atomization of its forces and positions, and regain a unified image. This desire was undoubtedly influenced by the growing awareness among Left trends and in other quarters too, of the acute sense of danger to the democratic regime, and the sense that it must be strengthened.

The most responsible forces in the CDP are faced with the task of deciding in favor of strengthening the democratic regime. They must understand that for this the democratic institutions must work correctly with full respect for the principles and rules of democracy and no claims to exclusiveness and privileges, on the one hand, and that concrete reforms are needed, and a clear and firm policy of social and political renewal, on the other.

In its work our Party cannot ignore the fact that the political situation has changed significantly, Berlinguer said in conclusion.

The conditions in which we work are more favorable, though more complicated. In this unstable situation where the most different developments are still possible, any mistake and any careless action could give rise to regression in a reactionary direction or, at any rate, could slow down the movement to the Left, which is possible and necessary.

The most important thing are ties with the masses and the development of mass initiative together with the Party.

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## VENEZUELA: COMMUNISTS IN THE PRESENT POLITICAL SITUATION

The Ninth Plenum of the CC CP of Venezuela met in Caracas July 3-5. Guillermo Garcia Ponce delivered the report of the Political Bureau.

Following a thorough debate, the report was adopted as a Political Resolution of the CC CPV.

The following is a summary of the Political Resolution. The full text appeared in a *Tribuna Popular* special supplement on July 10.

The Politbureau convened the Central Committee to discuss the Party's policy and its prospects in the coming elections.

1. The December elections are of tremendous importance for the country. Key government positions will be contested, primarily the post of president. This has a bearing on the political and economic interests of different social classes. The elections will in large measure determine Venezuela's home and foreign policy for the years to come.

2. The Party will strive for the following aims during the elections:

a) to restore its strength and fortify its ties with the masses, greatly weakened in the brutal reprisals of previous governments, by setbacks and mistakes made during the armed struggle;

b) to present an alternative power differing from that represented by the COPEI and AD parties;

c) to overcome the suicidal fragmentation in the popular movement and Left forces, follow a policy of unity as the basis for changing the balance of strength in favor of the people, the struggle against imperialism, and for socialism.

3. The bloody reprisals of the Leoni Betancourt period, which have cost the lives of hundreds of comrades, including members of the Central Committee, regional and local Party committees and Communist Youth organizations, following the defeat of the armed uprising and as a result of the mistakes of this period, were a terrible blow to our Party, its internal life, ability to mobilize, its political influence and ties with the masses; these reprisals reduced Party membership to a minimum and caused serious demoralization.

But the wounds had not yet healed and we had just won our legality, when we were forced to cope with the disintegration, defeatism and desertion introduced by the renegades Petkoff and Pompeyo Marquez, which paralyzed the Party for almost two years.

The Party is in a different situation today. Compared with January 1971, the time of our Fourth Congress, we have increased



Party membership sevenfold and the number of Party cells 3.5-fold. The Communist Youth organization has multiplied its ranks sixfold. The Party has raised its political influence and strengthened its ties with the masses. Party members possess a good fighting spirit and deep faith in our just cause, something which in the recent past had all but disappeared as a result of the anti-Party activities of the group of splitters.

• We owe these successes to our correct policy inspired by the needs of the masses; to the sound principled atmosphere restored in the Party; to the fact that we Communists are moved by but one desire: fully and consistently to serve the interests of the working class, the Communist cause.

We are well aware of the price the Party has paid for the "Left" and Right sectarian mistakes. Today we are doing our best to assure that the Party's activity should be based on a realistic, class analysis of the home and foreign situation.

4. We have made good gains in popularizing the alternative of an anti-imperialist, popular regime.

The trend seeking an alternative to the policy of the reactionary camarillas in order to achieve changes that the masses no longer associate with a simple reshuffle of personalities in the government, but with changes in the system, has grown stronger throughout the country.

An important advance in this direction is the establishment of the New Force bloc.

The political work of the CPV aided the development of the movement for effective changes and a power alternative.

5. Our Party's Fourth Congress stated that unity of the people's forces is essential for them to assume the leading role in Venezuelan society in order to institute anti-imperialist changes and advance towards socialism.

The Fourth Congress also stated that a split in the popular movement is the main obstacle preventing the progressive forces from coming to power.

By popular unity the CPV means a broad grouping of anti-imperialist forces, supporters of the alternative of people's power accepting socialism. This idea also stems from the Fourth Congress; at this stage the aim of the Venezuelan revolution is to remove from power the camarillas subservient to North American imperialism, to gain national liberation and advance towards socialism . . . "establish a patriotic government capable of abolishing dependence and effecting a program of political and social changes that would raise the people's living standard, ensure their rights and guarantee popular power in respect to all aspects of national life" (From documents of the Fourth Congress.—Ed.)



The working class must gain the chief role in the guidance and development of the revolution; the Left forces must continue their energetic advance towards popular unity; in accordance with the resolutions of the Fourth Congress this means that our Party should follow a policy of mutual understanding with all strata and all public figures prepared to cooperate in eliminating Venezuela's neo-colonial dependence.

The CPV's unitarian policy is based on the proletariat's class interests. Only unity of most of the popular and progressive forces can lead to the isolation and defeat of the main enemy — imperialism and its ally, the oligarchy — weaken the power of capital and open the way for the working class to conquer key positions of power.

The unity of popular forces which our Party is working for could help end the splitting activities of reaction and its influence on the masses, assure working-class guidance of the masses and achieve substantial changes in the life of the country.

Proceeding from these basic ideas our Party has consistently and actively championed popular unity.

From the beginning our Party has done its utmost for the New Force bloc to include the People's Election Movement (MEP), the Republican-Democratic Union (URD), the Communist Party of Venezuela (CPV), the People's Democratic Forces (FDP) and the broadest groups of Left independents.

We do not now and have never opposed including the Movement Towards Socialism (MAS) or the Left Revolutionary Movement (MIR), or any other Popular Unity groups in this bloc.

Such a front should unite all of today's main popular trends. We must do our best to sway the millions of non-affiliated Venezuelans and make them supporters of this policy.

6. Imperialism and the dependent national bourgeoisie are working to win the elections and retain control over the country's political and economic affairs, and to continue to exploit the working people.

For this they intend to divide the nation, obstruct the formation of the broadest popular unity and at all costs keep the popular forces fragmented.

7. In spite of the maneuvering against popular unity, the New Force has been able to build up a strong mass movement.

Today, the New Force reposes on the alliance of the MEP, CPV, the recently created Left Popular Union (UPI) and People's Democratic Party (PPD), and broad sections of independents. The New Force program contains sweeping democratic demands and aspires to national liberation and socialism.

The existence of the New Force and the successes achieved in



mobilizing the people in support of election candidate Paz Gallarragi shows the rising tide in favor of popular unity.

Our Party must lean on these forces in order to carry through its policy and protect popular unity from enemy intrigues, strengthen and develop the New Force, and help it to grow.

8. We were not able to unite all sections of the Left and the people of Venezuela under the Popular Unity banner, but this is not the fault of the Communists.

Responsible for this are the men who were influenced by opportunism, who placed wretched sectarian, caudillist and bureaucratic ambitions above the people's interests. The leadership of the MAS party and its candidate Jose Vicente Rangel are doubly responsible, because they are inclined to play up to the COPEI and AD parties.

The other mistakes and bottlenecks, as we see it, are:

1) Anti-communist prejudices and sectarianism, which restrict the opportunities for unity.

2) Failure to apply unitarian principles in the trade-union, peasant and student movements, thus weakening popular unity.

3) Failure of the New Force to participate in the people's struggle for urgent demands.

4) The drawn-out process of establishing people's committees, which has dampened mass participation in the Front (New Force).

9. We Communists are aware of these shortcomings and are determined to overcome them.

We have always sought to fortify and broaden Popular Unity.

We propose to carry out through the New Force a policy of concrete agreements to advance trade-union unity, to assure joint action by the CPV, MEP and other forces in the trade unions and in enterprises.

We believe that effective and militant measures should be taken at all levels, particularly at district level, to place the New Force at the head of the mass struggle on such urgent issues as the cost of living, transportation, hospitals and health facilities, unemployment, wages, housing, family aid, etc.

10. We Communists hold that the basis of the New Force is fraternal unitarian action by the CPV and MEP.

In recent months circles subservient to imperialism and the bourgeoisie have launched a campaign of intrigues to create difficulties for the New Force, and especially between the CPV and MEP.

Defending the MEP-CPV alliance, and likewise the alliance with the UPI and other groups is part of our popular unity policy. It is not only an election campaign alternative for us, but also a long-term policy.



After the elections, too, Popular Unity must strive to play its part in the people's struggle for national liberation and socialism.

We call on our comrades and allies to fortify unity in all directions, avoiding hidden obstacles, strengthening unitarian positions and principles, and avoiding sectarianism and prejudices.

11. The election campaign is unfolding against the backdrop of visible gains made by the ideas of socialism and resistance to imperialism.

The prestige of socialist ideas is so great among the working masses and the youth that no politician can afford to overlook it.

Obviously, not everything the voters hear is truly socialist. MAS and its candidate Jose Vicente Ranjel are a case in point. This group expounds a petty-bourgeois rightist "socialism" and wishes to take advantage of the prestige socialism has won thanks to the achievements of the Soviet Union, the socialist camp and the international Communist movement, in its own opportunist interests.

Instead of the working class the MAS "socialists" speak of the "poor," seeking in this way to downgrade the role of the working class, its very existence as a class, and to dissolve it in this heterogeneous concept of poor masses.

By calling the "rich" instead of the imperialists and the bourgeoisie, the main enemies, they obscure the true class character of exploitation and domination over the working masses.

This petty-bourgeois, and populist MAS vocabulary only makes it more difficult for the workers to become class conscious.

What is important is not that the workers should realize that they are "the poor," but that they should understand that they are part of the working class and that they should know their mission as a class. It is important to stress the effects of capitalist and monopoly ownership of the means of production, the role of the bourgeoisie and the imperialists as the class basis of the existing system, and not the misleading conception of "rich," which obscures the class essence of bourgeois and imperialist domination.

They also suggest other concepts, such as "socialism with the right to strike," "humane socialism" — all part of petty-bourgeois intellectual rhetoric — in order to produce a version of "socialism" fancied by the bourgeoisie and the erotic Left, and in order to counter proletarian socialism, the program of the Communist Party, socialist practice in the USSR and the other socialist countries, which have built the only realistic and concrete socialism, liberating half the world from the anti-humane, anti-democratic bourgeois system.

12. The decisive factor in the progress of socialist ideas and resistance to imperialism is the changes taking place in the world



thanks to the socialist camp, particularly the political influence of the CPSU and the Soviet government.

The USSR and the socialist camp are of ever greater significance in world events.

The firm policy of the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries has forced the ruling circles in the capitalist world to negotiate and conclude numerous international agreements that benefit the peace and greatly ease international tension.

Thanks to the might and influence of the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries, the imperialists can no longer carry out their plans how and where they wish, as they could only a few years ago. They have been forced to retreat under the pressure of the peoples aspiring to peace, national independence and socialism.

The world positions of North American imperialism have been seriously weakened. Economic and political contradictions in the United States are growing more acute. The countries of the capitalist world, previously obedient to U.S. imperialism, have begun to take independent decisions, which often run counter to the wishes of the United States.

We Venezuelan Communists support the policy followed by the Soviet Union to establish contacts between the leaders of the two great powers and reach agreements leading to a dependable peace.

In this context, we express our support for the negotiations between the Soviet Union and the capitalist powers, particularly the talks started in Moscow during President Nixon's visit to the USSR and continued during L. I. Brezhnev's visit to the United States.

Imperialist quarters had hoped that obstruction by the Chinese leaders, who are blinded by anti-Sovietism and follow the ridiculous policy of opposing every Soviet initiative, would check the Soviet Union's foreign policy efforts towards lessening tensions, ending the criminal Yankee intervention in Indochina and creating an international climate conducive to a final consolidation of world peace.

But the Soviet Union's progress and firm policy of safeguarding world peace and socialism, as well as the objective reality of capitalism's general crisis, with imperialist power beginning to crack, proved stronger.

All this came about in spite of the Chinese leaders' activity.

The changes in Latin America are evident to everyone. They are not confined to the consolidation of the Cuban revolution. There is also the victory of People's Unity in Chile, the anti-imperialist gains in Peru and Panama, and the increased strength of Communist parties and popular movements.

These changes, coupled with the existence of several progressive



governments, led to a notable change in the balance of forces on the continent.

The Andes Pact was a positive step providing opportunities to fight imperialist penetration and favorable for an alliance of our countries against the predatory monopolies.

The present situation necessitates closer unity of the working class and the revolutionary and national liberation movement to consolidate on a continental scale the headway made, extend the positions won by anti-imperialist resistance and deliver new blows to U.S. monopolies.

It is also very important to promote opportunities for agreement at all levels, in particular at government level, so as to establish a common front of struggle for the solution of such problems as economic integration and international trade, the arms race, the price of raw materials, de-colonization, and so on.

The CPV proposes to extend and improve its fraternal relations with all the Communist and Workers' parties of the continent, so that the cause of peace, national independence and socialism may be furthered in common.

Our Party reaffirms its solidarity and friendship with our brothers, the working people of Colombia, Guyana and the Antilles, and its resolve to combat all reckless moves and all attempts to settle border conflicts between our countries by force.

13. The worldwide achievements of socialism and the setback of U.S. imperialism are unquestionably a determining factor of the growing popularity of socialist ideas and resistance to imperialism in our country.

Certain influential leaders and groups have reconsidered, or are reconsidering, their views under the impact of the changes that are now taking place in the world.

This is a time when we must form alliances or reach mutual understanding with the broadest possible strata, as distinct from a few years ago, when conditions abroad and at home were different.

It is important to realize this and discard the hard-and-fast patterns we used earlier in approaching people and social strata. This is why we take a favorable view of those who have changed their opinion of the Soviet Union, the Communist party and socialism.

14. We admit — and the Central Committee said so at its Eighth Plenum — that in regard to our Party the COPEI government has taken a stand differing from the rabidly anti-Communist and repressive attitude typical of AD governments.

Furthermore, the official attitude to socialist countries, certain other aspects of Venezuela's foreign policy and official reaction



to the pressure of the oil companies show certain changes that set them apart from the traditional policy of unqualified subservience to the U.S. even if the position of those responsible for these changes is not entirely firm and is not devoid of contradictions. The trend towards resisting imperialism has also become stronger.

The election campaign is going on against the background of a sharpening of the problems facing the masses. Human rights are often violated. The CPV has opposed, and will continue to oppose, arbitrary police brutality and violations of the Constitution and law by various police and security agencies.

The working people's standard of life has greatly deteriorated in recent years. Wages have lost much of their purchasing power. Working-class families find it ever more difficult to satisfy their elementary needs.

More children are not going to school. Hospital facilities are woefully short of the demand. The housing problem and the slum problem are still unsolved. Secondary and higher education is inadequate.

In agriculture, the crisis has reached a limit impermissible even from the official standpoint. The high prices of farm produce and the low productivity of agriculture reveal the falsehood and utopian character of the agrarian "reform" which AD and COPEI governments have been carrying out in recent years. More peasants are being evicted from the land under the present government than formerly.

The high cost of living, unemployment, crime, lack of social security, hospitals and housing, the acute problems of jobs and living conditions besetting the poor and the working population have led to mounting discontent and protest mostly in urban neighborhoods and among the youth.

At the same time, the more powerful imperialist groups and the national bourgeoisie dependent on them are amassing more and more wealth. The oil companies have announced bigger profits. The banks make fat profits too. Privileged clans and the mercenary top bureaucrats have grown richer.

We Communists hold that responsibility for this situation must be borne primarily by the national government, which has shown itself to be incapable of pursuing a policy meeting the elementary needs of the population.

The Party must campaign with the greatest determination and militancy for the solution of specific problems and expose the exploitation of the working people in town and country.

Wherever the masses are confronted with difficulties and problems, Communists must help them to organize and must guide their struggle for satisfactory solutions. Priority should go to the



struggle of the working class and its unions. Nothing should make us overlook the class character of our Party and its duty to the working class.

15. The bourgeoisie will not go to the polls as a united force. Its main contingents are divided between Lorenzo Fernandez, the COPEI candidate, and Carlos Andres Perez, the AD candidate.

Both the AD and COPEI are parties of the big bourgeoisie. However, they include strata and groups linked with the economy in different ways, maintaining definite relations with various monopoly groups and even holding different views about the ways and means of solving today's problems, such as the attitude to communism, democratic rights, the socialist countries, the labor movement, and so on.

We Communists know that some bourgeois circles see an effective method of saving capitalism in Brazilian-type regimes or in the import of fascist formulas, while others believe that capitalism can be saved by "reforms," "easing" conflicts and "reconciling" antagonisms. In all cases, however, the aim is to save capitalism.

But the fact that the two groups use dissimilar forms and methods to attain their objectives is highly important to the Communist Party. Our Party does not underrate this difference or contrast.

16. However, the most important task in the coming election is to carry deeper the fundamental contradiction, that between the masses and the system of subservience to imperialism; between the workers, peasants, middle strata and progressives, on the one hand, and the imperialist camp and the capitalists allied with it, on the other.

To the extent that this contradiction becomes deeper, the Venezuelan revolution will either make progress or mark time.

Popular unity and the nomination of Paz Galarragi are the alternative to dependence on imperialism, the road to far-reaching changes in the economic structures. If victorious, Popular Unity will bring the working class into the government and open the way to socialism.

Popular Unity and the nomination of Paz Galarragi represent the interests of the workers, peasants and middle strata, which are contrary to those of the big bourgeoisie, landed proprietors and imperialist quarters.

Our active and consistent support of Paz Galarragi for President is prompted by the conviction that the program and character of the New Force represent the only alternative if progress is to be made towards freedom and socialism.

This road has never been easy for us, any more than it is easy now. The election campaign is taking place in conditions favoring the AD and COPEI due, first of all, to the division of the popular



movement and the Left, and also because both these parties are in a position to influence the electorate politically and economically and have vast financial resources guaranteeing their almost absolute control of the mass media.

We are heading for the election inspired by our communist ideas. Popular Unity is the strength of the masses, who have already won considerable influence in national life. Its ranks are growing, which makes the outlook for it ever more promising. We know that whatever the obstacles, the objective evolution of the class struggle in our country is bringing the progressive forces nearer to power.

18. The candidature of Carlos Andres Perez has the political and financial backing of CREOLE and other monopolies, the Zionists, and the more powerful oligarchic groups which dominate the National Congress. Its foreign supporters include Cuban counter-revolutionaries, who have even set up committees to support it.

What is behind this attitude?

The majority of the followers of the more reactionary bourgeois and pro-imperialist trends expect the alternative represented by Andres Perez to contain the spread of socialist ideas and curb resistance to imperialism.

Andres Perez's anti-communist and repressive activity in the past and his promise to form a government of "vigorous democracy" and bring about the "emancipation of power" reveal the lines along which the reactionaries would like the country to move in contrast to the alternative of Popular Unity, development of the popular movement and the changes under way in Latin America.

19. The prime purpose of the more reactionary circles of imperialism and oligarchy is to defeat Popular Unity. They want to stamp out all resistance, to take a step back in regard to democratic liberties, go on robbing the country of its natural resources and stop the spread of socialist ideas. They need a government that would exert an adverse influence on the change in Latin America and to turn it against Cuba, Chile, Peru and Panama.

Needless to say, the imperialists and ultras have been fully using their influence to secure election returns meeting their interests. This is seen in their sustained campaign against Popular Unity, their encouragement of splitters among the popular forces and their plotting against unitarian links between the CPV and MEP.

We must be on our guard against provocations aimed at creating an atmosphere of violence and repression that would seemingly justify reactionary, anti-communist policies. When intimidation, fear and confusion gain scope, the masses tend to refrain from action.

The imperialists and ultras are bent on creating a situation in which a "strong, authoritative government" that could establish "order" would seem "indispensable" and "inevitable."



The popular forces want an election in which democratic liberties will be guaranteed. The ultras and imperialists, however, want it to be accompanied by repression. An atmosphere of fear and inaction makes political, economic and police coercion of the electorate easier and inclines it to vote for candidates upholding the prevailing system.

Groups and individuals who want the election to be held in conditions of repression are to be found outside the government as well. They may be found in the "opposition," and, what is more, are carefully camouflaged as "revolutionaries." Certain of the "student actions" are their handiwork.

It is wrong to contend that to solve Venezuela's problems it is necessary to import the Brazilian model and hand power to reactionary anti-communist camarillas.

We will not allow ourselves to be blackmailed by "ultra-leftist" talk. We take resolute action against those who try through provocations to create a political climate propitious for the worst enemies of the people's revolutionary movement.

Our criticism and opposition to the adventurist anarchist theses and actions, does not mean that we are going back on our solidarity with the political prisoners. We shall never stop denouncing the repressive methods and torture by the "gangsters" of Digepol and Sifa.

20. Popular Unity cannot take over and meet all the needs of the masses, achieve national liberation and open up the way to socialism, until it removes from power the COPEI party and prevents the return of the AD.

Our policy is designed to defeat both these parties. We shall vote against Lorenzo Fernandez and Carlos Andres Perez, our main adversaries. We shall give each of them his due in conformance with our own independent class analysis, defying all intimidation.

There is no other way for the Party, and this not only for today but also for tomorrow. It is by its clarity of action from a class standpoint that the Party wins prestige and confidence, and becomes the vanguard and leader of the masses.

21. The MAS party and its candidate, Jose Vicente Rangel are the main factors behind the confusion and division in the present election campaign. Objectively, they are helping the AD and COPEI, diverting part of the electorate from Popular Unity. On the oil question, MAS merely repeats the theses of Romulo Betancourt. And in practical matters, the positions of AD and MAS coincide more and more on such issues as anti-Sovietism, the university, the student movement, the trade unions, and so on. The Masists have openly embarked on anti-Sovietism, and their newspapers spread all kinds of CIA-fabricated lies about the Soviet Union.



We must expose the "socialist" promises handed out by MAS and Ranjel. Many petty-bourgeois groups have won influence among the youth and the lumpenproletariat, chiefly in Caracas. Wavering ideologically between the ideas of the bourgeoisie and the working class, these groups are easy prey to seemingly radical rhetoric, being blind to the depth and class character of the problems facing the revolutionary movement.

The Party must carry on the ideological struggle against the opportunist conceptions of the MAS party and the divisive aims connected with Ranjel's nomination. The key role in this belongs to the Communist youth organization operating among students and the youth in general: it must expose the group of renegades masquerading as the "Left" and using Left terminology.

22. Our line in the election campaign reflects the proletarian, class and revolutionary character of our opposition to the present government. Yet we came out actively against the reactionary imperialist and oligarchic attempts to saddle the country with an anti-communist repressive government.

The CP of Venezuela is active throughout the country in the election campaign. We have held hundreds of large and small meetings and assemblies throughout Venezuela. Samples of our ballot—a red ticket with the picture of a rooster—and the text of the communist appeal have been distributed to hundreds of thousands of people.

However, our campaign had two serious flaws.

23. Firstly, the Party cells and the district and regional committees displayed insufficient initiative.

24. The Party has two new ways of mobilizing the masses: legislation on a general wage increase and on waiving peasants' debts introduced in the legislative chambers on the initiative of the New Force Communists.

We must make the most of these two Communist parliamentary initiatives; this applies primarily to the Party cells and organizations in villages and factories.

25. The second big flaw is the shortage of funds. And here, too, we are showing a lack of initiative. The only way to cover expenses in the campaign is by getting aid from the working people.

26. Everything depends on the Party's vigor and militancy in the several weeks before the elections. We must redouble our effort, persuade people, and gain tens of thousands of votes. Nothing should be left to chance.

The Communist youth should contribute extensively to the election campaign. We must bear in mind that more than a million new electors will go to the polls. So, the communist youth must rally and establish contacts with young people voting for the first time.



No political force other than the Communists can offer the Venezuelan youth the alternative of true social reconstruction. Capitalist society does not reckon with the youth. Hence, there is nothing better for the younger generations than to join hands with the Communists, with decent men and champions of the people, and fight for the liberation of Venezuela from neo-colonialist oppression and plunder, and for opening the way to a new life, to socialism and communism.

In past elections women made up a considerable percentage of the electorate. And the outcome of the December elections will also depend very largely on the mood prevailing among women. We have not done enough to persuade women to vote for Popular Unity. This must be remedied.

The presence of our Party's representatives at polling stations will be of the utmost significance. We need something like 14,000 such observers; who would come out on election day and defend our Party and the votes cast for it.

At this Plenum we must again affirm our intention to run candidates in all districts and states.

27. Comrades, we must display the courage and determination of true Communists in fighting for Red ballots, for the victory of the New Force and its candidate, Paz Galarragi.

The election campaign must be used to the utmost to weaken the influence of the reactionary camarillas.

It is of the utmost importance for this campaign to strengthen the Communist Party. We Venezuelan Communists know perfectly well that a strong and massive CPV is the best guarantee for the advancement of Popular Unity, for the interests of workers, peasants, the youth and the people as a whole.

Today, it is the Communists' main task to win votes for the CP of Venezuela and Paz Galarragi.

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## **STATEMENTS AND SPEECHES**

### **SPEECH BY FIDEL CASTRO**

A mass meeting on the 20th anniversary of the assault on the Moncada barracks in Santiago de Cuba on July 26 was addressed by Fidel Castro, First Secretary, CC Communist Party of Cuba and Prime Minister of the Revolutionary Government. Here is a summary of his speech, released on the same day by *Prensa Latina*.

Fidel Castro thanked the numerous high level delegations that arrived from various continents to mark this national holiday with the people of Cuba.

The assault on the Moncada barracks, said Fidel Castro, was carried out in order to dispel "the myth that an uprising against the established military machine was impossible." The assault was meant to start a popular uprising against the Batista dictatorship, which had ruled Cuba since the 1952 coup d'état. At that time the country was in the grip of "McCarthyism, dyed-in-the-wool anti-communism," and was everlastingly oriented on Washington. "Were there objective conditions for a revolutionary struggle?" asked Fidel Castro. "We believe there were," he said. "However," he continued, "no single group of individuals working in isolation could reach a theoretical and practical solution of the problem," because a revolution is the "result of conscious and consistent efforts confirming with the laws of history and society." He amplified: The Cuban revolution is the result of the scientific laws of social development combining with the historical example of predecessors who had fought against Spanish colonial rule in the last century. This applies to tactics, as well as concepts.

"The exploited classes," Fidel Castro went on to say, "took a good look at existing conditions and arrived at their own ideology. This was not the ideology of the bourgeoisie, the landowners and other exploiters. This was the revolutionary ideology of the proletariat — Marxism-Leninism." From Marx Cuban revolutionaries learned of the historical mission of the working class as the only truly revolutionary force. From Lenin they learned how to create a revolutionary power that will crush the oppressors and build a new society. "Marxism-Leninism," he added, "has taught us a good deal."

"The socialist countries," Fidel Castro said, "are Cuba's true allies." When the United States started its criminal economic



blockade of Cuba, and the governments of Latin American countries began isolating Cuba on orders from Yankee imperialism, he recalled, it was the socialist camp, Lenin's great country — the Soviet Union — that extended friendly and generous aid to the Cuban revolution. "That is where we received internationalist aid and fraternal support," he concluded.

Elsewhere in his speech Fidel Castro analyzed the situation in Latin America and United States policy in the Organization of American States.

Concerning the provinces in Haiti, the Dominican Republic, Guatemala and other Central American countries, ruled by satraps left behind the U.S. Marines, Fidel Castro said that these countries are, like "the governments of Brazil, Bolivia, Paraguay and Uruguay, citadels of counter-revolution which imperialism intends using to isolate the fraternal peoples of Chile, Peru, Argentina and Panama." "The hand of the United States and Brazil can be seen unmistakably behind the strategy of the coup in Uruguay."

"It is precisely for this reason," said Fidel Castro, "that we do not understand the strange thesis claiming the existence of two imperialisms, a thesis picked up by certain leaders who consider themselves to be part of the Third World and seek to identify the USSR and the USA. By doing so they are aiding the only and true imperialism, and isolating their own peoples."

"This thesis is reactionary at its very core," he said, "and is the fruit of the ideology and intrigues of bourgeois and imperialist theorists who wish to create mistrust and to split the revolutionary forces on an international level, and tear the liberation movement away from the socialist countries."

"We must never forget," the speaker stressed, "that the arms Cuba used to defeat the mercenaries of the Bay of Pigs and protect itself from the United States, the arms in the hands of the Arab peoples resisting imperialist aggression, the arms used by the African patriots against Portuguese colonialism and the arms of the Vietnamese in their courageous, unparalleled and victorious struggle came from the socialist countries, and mainly from the Soviet Union."

"To separate the peoples from their natural allies means to disarm them, isolate them and doom them to defeat." "This is an ostrich policy," said the speaker, "and nothing could be worse for the cause of national liberation."

"More and more countries in Latin America," Castro said, "are acting independently of the United States, and are following a policy of radical changes. But these countries still have formidable difficulties to overcome."

"No one," said Fidel Castro, "is capable of containing the



liberation process for long, because for the Latin American peoples there is but one road towards liberation from imperialist domination and that is to carry out a revolution and unite." "Only this," he stressed, "will allow us to occupy our rightful place in the world among the great communities of people. Only this will give us the strength to cope with the tremendous food, economic, social and human problems facing a population that in 25 years will number 600 million. Only this will make possible Latin America's participation in the science-technological revolution shaping the life of the future."

Failing this, he said, "our natural wealth will be exhausted, yielding benefits only to the capitalist consumer societies, while we will be the outcasts of the world of tomorrow, outside the pale of civilization."

Fidel Castro called on the people to work for these goals, saying that "this should be the task of a corresponding regional organization." "No matter what reforms are made in the OAS, even if the name is changed," he said, "it will always remain the OAS. As long as the United States is a member of our peoples' regional organization, pulling its puppets by the strings, applying powerful economic pressure on some of the governments, intriguing, plotting and usurping the right to do as it pleases in its own interests, we shall always have one and the same OAS. . . . A regional organization has a right to exist only as a representative of our peoples, defending their interests from imperialist encroachments. . . . For the family as a whole, to do business with the United States it is not at all necessary to have that empire within the family." He added: "The OAS will die a natural death."

"The tyrannical governments of Latin America," Castro said, "justify their brutalities against the people and the operations against the rebel movement by the need to maintain law and order, because for them revolutions are synonymous with anarchy and chaos."

To this he contrasted the situation in Cuba, which he described as a country of "internal peace and exemplary order," a result of the conscious discipline and "full support for the revolution of the workers, peasants, students, intelligentsia, men and women, young and old, making it possible for us to dedicate ourselves completely to creative labor." The speaker praised the Cuban Armed Forces, describing them as "the pride of the people and a model of discipline, modesty, courage and loyalty to the revolution, the Party and the homeland."

Comparing the situation in Cuba with the capitalist and most of the Latin American countries, which are constantly experiencing upheavals, Castro said that "thought should be given to the ex-



tremely important moral progress achieved by our country as a result of the complete eradication of the capitalist system of production and all exploitation of man by man."

The strength of the Cuban revolution "stems from its socialist character," he said, and speaking of its achievements, noted that there was no longer any unemployment, while the health service, education and the system of social security "are on a higher level than in the other Latin American countries." Conditions had been created, he said, for constant and enduring economic achievements.

In the immediate future, he added, Cuba must "make the maximum use of our economic and human resources." Enumerating Cuba's main goals, Castro noted, that it was necessary to "scrupulously account for expenditures and costs" and to take "bold measures" to rectify what he described as "mistakes made in managing the economy as a result of idealism."

"It is our great dream to build a communist society," he said. "But practical opportunities to divide the fruits of socialist production in accordance with the wonderful principle of communism could be the result only of a communist upbringing of the new generations and the development of the productive forces." At the present time Cuba is in the socialist stage of the revolution, in which, due to the material conditions of a society that has recently emerged from the capitalist system, we practice the principle set forth by Marx in his "Critique of the Gotha Program": from each according to his ability, to each according to his work.

Castro said that today many Cuban workers represent a "vanguard that all society will become one fine day." He warned, however, that it would be idealistic to believe or to proceed on the assumption that all members of society already behave in this manner. Besides moral encouragement, he added, "we still have to resort to material incentives, without abusing either, because in the first case we arrive at idealism, while in the second we would be cultivating money-grubbing. We must see to it that economic incentives should not become the exclusive motive force of the individual. At the same time, moral encouragement should not become a pretext for some to live off the labor of others."

According to the tasks facing the Cuban revolution in the coming decade, Fidel Castro cited the following:

- Economic growth with an average annual rate of not less than six per cent;

- Improving the health services continuously;

- Developing the system of education and making the wonderful new schools we are building on a mass scale available to hundreds of thousands of young Cubans, combining study and labor;

- Gradually improving supplies of food, clothes and footwear;



—Enlarging and increasing the rate of house-building to satisfy the population's basic needs;

—Improving the transport system and the community services.

These goals, Fidel Castro said, are quite feasible.

"If before," he continued, "our political apparatus was made up of a small number of experienced cadres and we numbered just a few hundred, today we have a party uniting over 100,000 members and thousands of fine, staunch, Party cadres."

"We are entering on a new road devoid of 'leader cults' and factional division, in a country where division and conflict between separate leaders was traditionally the main reason of political defeat."

As a revolutionary party, as a party of independence, Castro said, the Communist Party of Cuba is now directing the revolution. "To be a member of the Party does not mean enjoying privileges," he said. "It means making sacrifices and dedicating oneself to the revolution." The Party's roots, he went on, are the best traditions of our people's history, its ideology — Marxism-Leninism — the ideology of the working class. Political power is in its hands and today and in the future it guarantees the purity, strength, continuation and success of the revolution."

Speaking of the Party, Fidel Castro said, "it is the sacred duty of all revolutionaries to strengthen the Party, raise its authority, cement its discipline, improve methods of Party leadership and its democratism, and raise the cultural and political level of the leadership and members."

"I now appeal particularly to the youth," he said. "The main efforts of the revolution were made for them and it is placing its highest hopes on them. On behalf of the new generation we are working with great enthusiasm, and the revolution is being carried out primarily for them. The young people who fell in the storming of the Moncada barracks shed their pure blood for those who were not yet born on July 26, 1953."

In conclusion, amid thunderous applause, the speaker again turned to the youth and said: "The revolution entrusts you with its purest ideals in the certainty that you will be capable of carrying them forward and relaying them to those who will succeed you and will preserve them until the day when society will be able to inscribe the fraternal and humane principle of communism on its banner."

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# **AN INSENSATE NUCLEAR ARMS RACE**

## **STATEMENT\* OF THE FRENCH COMMUNIST PARTY**

Despite growing concern in the most diverse segments of our people and the protests voiced at home and abroad, the government has just launched new nuclear tests over the Pacific.

Without regard to the immense hazards of the nuclear arms race, the regime persists in an insensate bid for arms of mass destruction at a time when the two major nuclear powers are engaged in arms limitation talks.

The resumption of nuclear tests means scorning the new opportunities for international détente opening up today, tarnishes the prestige of France, prejudices its international relations and constitutes an enormous waste of resources while so many pressing social problems are left unsolved for most Frenchmen.

It is not by following a policy which sets our country against the contemporary trend of world development but by courageously embarking on a policy of peace, independence, collective security and disarmament that the security of France can be assured.

The French Communist Party calls on the working people and all democrats and patriots to protest against the nuclear tests and to demand that the government sign the Moscow Treaty banning nuclear tests, participate in all disarmament talks and renounce its strike force.

The FCP identifies itself with the peoples of Polynesia who are victims of a colonialist policy aggravated by this manner of using their territory.

## **FCP APPEAL\*\* TO THE ARMED FORCES**

In reply to the will for democratic change clearly shown by almost eleven million Frenchmen, the regime resorts to threats. Speaking of national defense, it has dismissed the solutions proposed by the Common Program as "absurd" and described criticisms of its military policy as "criminal defamation" and "subversion."

The French Communist Party has already stressed the gravity of the designs which are behind this kind of talk and the new attacks on democratic freedoms. While calling the attention of all patriots, democrats and working people to this reality, it directs an appeal in the same spirit to the armed forces.

In doing this, the FCP is well aware of its responsibilities as

\*L'Humanite, July 23, 1973.

\*\*L'Humanite, July 24, 1973.



defender of the nation and its independence, and declares explicitly for genuine national defense.

Servicemen, like other citizens, realize the need of a change meeting the country's interests. Yet they cannot express their views freely and publicly without infringing regulations. The situation in which they are placed is anti-democratic.

The regime is trying to perpetuate it for purposes of its own. To win the consent of the armed forces, it appeals to their disinterestedness and their devotion to the country.

At the same time the regime slanders the Left, particularly the FCP.

We know the moral integrity of the vast majority of servicemen. The Communist Party fought in common with many of you for the national independence and liberation of France against fascism and the Vichy regime.

We know of the dramas caused by colonial wars. We are certain that we were right in revealing from the outset how very injurious those wars were to the people of France and overseas countries, and that they ran counter to the de-colonization process without being able to stop it.

A relatively short time ago, selfish interests dragged the armed forces into hopeless ventures, breaking their own commitments in the process, and made the armed forces commit discreditable acts condemned by French military tradition.

Today you witness the disintegration of numerous values which you cherish. Honor is mocked by numerous scandals and patriotism ridiculed in the interest of transnational, cosmopolitan financial and industrial groups.

The causes of this disintegration are the same as those of the difficulties you encounter in your material and social situation, in your professional and family life.

Such questions as "nomadism," housing and the difficulty for servicemen's children to receive an education have been "studied" for years. There is also the problem of pay discrimination, the inadequacy of pay rises for NCOs and the unfair promotion of technical experts. The retired are faced with the problems of securing pension increases, tax reductions and revision of social security dues. On the professional plane, servicemen register with bitterness the constant discrepancy between their daily efforts and the wastefulness they witness.

None of these problems, nor their persistence, is a passing accident. The armed forces cannot be an inaccessible islet unaffected by what goes on within the nation. They feel well only if the nation feels well, and when the orientation of the regime and the system is harmful it also affects military personnel. No amount of half-



measures or demagogical talk can make anyone forget this.

The absolute priority given to nuclear forces likewise poses serious questions. In the specific conditions of France, does the possession of atomic weapons safeguard our security and independence?

First of all, we must note that the only way to stave off the destruction of our country through a nuclear war is to prevent this war, especially in view of the relatively small size of our territory and the density of our population. Hence the reasonable thing to do would be to take initiatives in favor of progress in international détente, peaceful coexistence and disarmament. This is what we advocate. The government, on the contrary, persists in an arms race for weapons of mass destruction, a race fraught with grave danger. Things have gone so far that it is alarmed by the growing international trend towards slowing down and stopping this race.

Another remark concerns the criteria of nuclear deterrence.

Credibility rests on a number of factors, as you know. When one of them is lacking, or when others are delayed for a very long time, there is no credibility. This applies to France, which cannot identify its will for defense with collective suicide.

It is wrong, furthermore, to identify the nuclear strike force with national independence. These nuclear arms are trained on one pre-determined enemy and are as dependent as ever on U.S. observation networks and industries. Plans are laid around them for new military blocs in West Europe and elsewhere under U.S. control, and for the renunciation of sovereignty to the detriment of our people and armed forces.

At the same time, continued nuclear tests breed diplomatic difficulties for France. They reflect on its prestige and isolate it in the international arena.

The measure is prompted, furthermore, by the wrong postulate of the "fatality" of war, a postulate increasingly disproved by progress in peaceful coexistence and international détente.

A feature of the military policy of today is to promote a strategy lagging behind the present stage in history.

It furnishes a pretext for accentuating the authoritarian character of the state. Contrary to the pressing need to extend democracy, power is becoming more personalized and its head has included the armed forces in his own "reserved domain."

Orders for military supplies are mostly placed with big private firms. For these, nuclear and conventional arms are a source of huge profits, which are derived from national defense appropriations and hence come from the pockets of all citizens.

War materiel has become the basis of a vast market which transforms the armed forces into a testing ground, a surplus dump



and, lastly, an apparatus of commercialization. This is detrimental to balanced equipment of our armed forces, nor does it make for a lower overall cost of the weaponry they are supplied with.

These evils are indicative of an internal policy, which is precisely the reason for the difficulties besetting servicemen and their families. You see its consequences — inflation, abusive taxes, a declining standard of life — which hit hard the mass of the population: wage and salary earners, farmers and small traders, young people and pensioners.

Their diverse struggles, including those for a democratic reform of the rules of conscription and military service, reveal the complete falsity of speculations about the "passivity" of the country's living forces. Carried on with a sense of responsibility, these struggles have civic and patriotic value against the small fringe group of society whom the state helps to plunder the nation of its manpower and material resources. The government cannot conceal this state of affairs by resorting to provocation or exploiting the adventurous moves of a negligible minority that serve none but the forces of social retrogression. In view of the growing popular struggle, the campaign tuned in to the armed forces gives cause for concern. It reveals an effort to make the people give in to the threat of bayonets. According to this logic, the armed forces are not part of the nation whose *raison d'être* is to safeguard our territorial integrity. The function being assigned to them is to be prepared to take a stand against the active mass of the French people, seen as a potential enemy.

All this explains the plans which, if carried out, would end the nation's control of the armed forces, undermine their reserves and their links with the people and weaken the national armed forces needed by the country.

There is an imperative need for a new conception of national defense. It is necessary to move on to the genuine changes which the FCP champions.

We know that the information you are given about our Party and its intentions is distorted and contrary to the truth. The big bourgeoisie, after having shouted "better Hitler than the Popular Front," and after 75,000 of our comrades were shot by the Nazis during occupation, continues to spread anti-Communist calumnies on a big scale. This is because the Communist Party's thought and action are evidence of its devotion to the cause of France, the liberties, the independence, growing world influence and future of our country.

Our fundamental proposals are restated today in the Common Government Program signed by the Communist Party, Socialist



Party and Left Radical Movement. We shall therefore confine ourselves here to some considerations.

With regard to national defense, analysis of the state of the world and the development process prompts us to advance the idea: "If you want peace, prepare for peace." The prospect of general and controlled disarmament affords the best guarantee of independence and security.

Mankind has entered a new period of promising international relations. Of course, all nations, including France (which the present government keeps away from important international conferences), will have to make increasing efforts in this sense. This also means that national defense must be adjusted to the imperatives of our time if it is to be effective. We stress that problems of defense cannot be isolated from those of the nation. A requisite of their right solution is an active policy for peace ensuring the country's economic, social and cultural progress, bringing real and lasting improvements for the whole population and enabling citizens through the development of democracy to play a responsible role.

These factors are fundamental if we want a genuine system of national defense. It can exist only to the extent that the military system is entirely in the service of the nation and depends on it alone, and that every component of the nation contributes its share to defense.

This is why we are opposed in principle to the professional type of armed forces, which we do not at all confuse with the necessary existence of a professional and permanent military personnel within the national armed forces.

For this very reason, we call for a new orientation. The only mission of the armed forces is to safeguard, in contact with the population, the territorial integrity for the country against every eventual aggressor. The primary task of the army cadre is to give the people military training. Proceeding from what exists, this implies the need to maintain conscription, renovate military service, and train and use competent reserves. It follows that our proposal for a short-term military service is at once logical and realistic.

The application of these principles, and the necessary structures and armaments, will be decided on with the aid of the permanent cadre of the armed forces and of specialists, who will be able to use their abilities all the more effectively because the country will really control the arms industry as a result of nationalization.

According to our conception, greater civil rights in the armed forces and allegiance of the latter to democratic legality will be important factors in national defense.

Whereas coercive and arbitrary acts doom servicemen to isolation, the loyalty of servicemen, a legitimate exigency of democratic



rule, will be the result of a just government policy and the integration of servicemen into national life. Thus the material and moral conditions for maintaining their dignity will be met. The democratic reform of the Supreme Council of Military Service will extend and enhance its representative character and competence. Regulations for the armed forces will be established by law and not by decree as they are today.

In the final analysis, military service will really be reappraised at last.

It is not a question of urging servicemen to take a partisan stand or engage in psychological action. The problems of the armed forces and their solution are of national significance. This makes it the duty of servicemen and all other citizens to ponder on them and try to see clear in developments.

We Communists propose replacing the policy of a minority in the service of big firms by a grand French policy, as set out by the parties of the Left in the Common Government Program. We have fully committed ourselves to this orientation. We ask you to study our proposals, read our publications (arbitrarily banned in military units) and send us your suggestions, criticisms or comments.

It is only with the people of France and by your own effort that a real defense and national armed forces can be built to safeguard our security and independence. This national effort will fit in with the effort being made in Europe and the world towards planning a durable peace, establishing collective security and bringing about general and controlled disarmament.

New prospects are opening up. They are uniting the forces of progress. Knowing that that is where the future lies, we call on you to serve the cause of the country.

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## **BUILD UP A UNITED PATRIOTIC FRONT**

### **STATEMENT OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE, AFRICAN INDEPENDENCE PARTY OF SENEGAL, MAY 11, 1973.**

For the first time since his last press interview in April 1970, Senghor\* held a press conference on April 12, 1973. Leaving aside the real problems created by the deep crisis of his regime, Senghor concentrated the whole of his attention on an alleged anti-govern-

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\*President of the Republic of Senegal, General Secretary of the ruling Progressive Union of Senegal.—Ed.



ment plot. He maintained that the plotters had joined forces and included "the Left inclined students of Dakar University," "members of the Senegal Teachers Union" (STU), "activitists of the African Independence Party," the "French Communist Party and the CGT."

This mix-up is sufficient to make nonsense of such an assertion.

"Leftism" is a "revolutionary" weed in all latitudes, a petty-bourgeois extremist trend, harmful to the conscious revolutionary struggle. In Senegal too, the "Leftists" will do harm to the organized democratic movement of the masses and, in the final analysis, their adventurism can only serve Senghor's repressive policy. The "Leftist" minority are not the Senegalese students and the mass of young people.

The STU is a democratic mass organization, and everyone knows that it fights on behalf of the teachers and the Senegalese schools which are being undermined as a result of Senghor's educational policy. It is precisely because this union was fighting for a new type of school that it was proscribed.

This is not the first time that Senghor has accused the African Independence Party of plotting or being a "foreign agent." But this worn-out lie has long ago been dead and buried since the AIP is neither a "national" excrescence, nor a conspiratorial party. It is an organization of revolutionary struggle, born on African soil; it bases itself on the working class and other popular forces within the country in the fight for the revolutionary transformation of our society, in solidarity with the world revolutionary movement and all those who fight for progress. This path is not one of plots or political infantilism. It is a difficult, but scientific path of the methodical and purposeful organization of the masses of our country in the struggle for independence, democracy and socialism. It is this that frightens Senghor, and this is the reason for his hostility to the AIP.

As for the French Communist Party and the CGT, they represent the main mass of the working class and the working people of France. The record of their struggle in support of the colonial peoples oppressed by France and the assistance which they continue to render the countries of Africa in the fight against colonialism, completely refute the accusations made by Senghor.

Senghor lied, and deceived no one by his play-acting. Essentially, his press conference only sets the tone for the illegal trials to be announced soon by the illegal Special Tribunal known as the "State Security Court."

The people of Senegal, the democratic forces of Africa and the whole world, must give support to the illegally arrested Senegalese democrats.



The democratic opposition in our country is not misled by the lying statements of Senghor about "national unity." What has to be achieved is the unification of this opposition within a broad front of struggle for the introduction of long overdue democratic changes.

The recent evolution of the political situation in Senegal proves how apposite is the minimum program of the AIP (independence, democracy and social progress) and the vital need for its continued existence in order to build scientific socialism and achieve its maximum program.

The unitary program of the AIP adopted at its Second Congress contains the following propositions on the question of democratization of the political life of the country:

—"The restoration of democratic freedoms which had been wrested from the French colonialists during the course of bitter struggle; freedom of association, of assembly, press and opinion.

—"Ending of the Emergency Laws (the Special Tribunal) and abolition of such infamous laws as that forbidding strikes.

—"A general amnesty for political prisoners and people condemned in absentia, and for those deprived of citizen's rights owing to their political beliefs, and all those who have left the country for political reasons.

—"Legality for political parties and banned democratic organizations.

—"A revision of the electoral law as a step to disbanding the existing assemblies which are not truly representative of the country.

—"Action for the gratuity of the parliamentary mandate and travelling and accommodation allowances during parliamentary sessions.

—"Enforcement of positive provisions of the Constitution, notably the rights of an independent opposition."

Since 1970, Senghor's shortsighted and anti-people's policy has aggravated the record of his thirteen-year long rule. The Eighth Congress of the Progressive Union of Senegal once again revealed the reactionary course taken by the regime. The presidential, general and municipal elections which took place on January 28, 1973, fully exposed the unpopularity and anti-democratic nature of the regime.

From January of this year there has been savage repression in Senegal. Basic foodstuffs are in short supply, which is the periodical manifestation of the chronic food crisis. In short, the economic, political and social crisis of the country is deepening.

To illustrate this we will mention only some of the glaring features of the present situation:



1) The crisis has hit every family. There is a shortage of primary necessities: rice, millet, semolina.

The purchasing power of money is very small, but the super-profits of the foreign monopolies remain assured.

2. Wages have been frozen ever since 1968 while prices have never stopped rising. Guaranteed minimum pay, which should never decrease, no longer provides even the subsistence minimum it should. The earnings of Senegal's agricultural producers are invariably behind prices.

This is so because the anti-popular government under Senghor really has no say in financial matters or price-fixing, both being dealt with solely by the French government and French monopolies.

3. "Industrialization will be suspended in the years to come."

Why did Senghor make this statement? Because, in fact, the real centers of Senegalese industry still owned by foreign monopolies, are in the hands of these monopolies. The monopolies established or trying to establish themselves in the country prefer investments likely to yield a profit at an early date. In view of Senegal's increasing political instability, tourism provides them with the surest sphere of application of capital and the key objective at the moment consists merely in the government guaranteeing bigger external outlets for the industrial output of today. The people of Senegal own no part of the foreign industries set up on their national soil.

Senegal has lately become a richer country through the discovery of new iron ore, copper, oil, marble, diamond and phosphate deposits. Five-sixths of the area of sedimentary rocks, which is far from having been fully surveyed, abound in minerals. This holds out real prospects of further industrialization which the Senghor government cannot, however, put to use in our working people's interest, as his industrial strategy shows.

4. Today's shortage of food staples is merely an expression of the chronic lack of food products, which, in turn, is a reflection of the drama of Senegalese agriculture.

There is a periodical shortage of rice, which heads the list of staple cereals and whose output in Senegal is lower than needed.

Last winter's drought could not have been the only cause of the current food shortages, which is what Senghor alleges. Irrespective of whether the crop yield is high or low, Senegal imports 20,000 to 30,000 tons of millet, 150,000 to 200,000 tons of rice, large quantities of dairy products and sugar.

While Senegal is considered an agricultural country, it cultivates barely 10 per cent of its lands. Industrial peanuts take up as large an area as all other food crops put together. Virgin or abandoned lands can be brought under the plough. Our country also has water resources for farming which could have been put to serious use



in the 13 years of independence. In the delta of the Senegal River alone there are 30,000 hectares of land suitable for rice-growing, yet in the period between the first plan and 1965, the government put only 9,800 hectares to use. These facts speak for themselves.

The dividing line is the same everywhere, with the Senghor government and foreign business on one side and superexploited workers, exhausted peasants, overworked clerks and whoever else works hard, never feeling secure, on the other.

What is needed is a different policy and a different government, a national government, capable of solving the big problems of reorganizing and advancing our agriculture: the problem of purchasing prices for farm produce and higher crop yields, the problem of raising food crops to curb the import of agricultural products which we can produce ourselves, the problem of pastures, livestock and reforestation, the more general problem of water and the indispensable fundamental restructuring of agriculture.

Maximum utilization of the industrial potential to be nationalized as far as essential facilities are concerned will promote farming to increase domestic demand, notably in the countryside.

This must be done if Senegal is to meet its basic food requirements and cease to depend on other countries for food products. It is the point at issue.

5. The grave crisis of education makes itself felt all over the country.

The past two years alone have seen the Senghor government expel 114 prospective Senegalese and African engineers from Dakar University definitely or temporarily despite Senghor's declaration that "culture lies at the beginning and end of development." Democratic students are denied the right to form militant trade unions which could uphold their legitimate demands. The outlook for Senegal's students and youth generally (over 70 per cent of the population) is gloomy. Our young people, foreseeing drama, join en masse in the opposition to the regime.

But to make rational use in this struggle of the vast force that our organized youth constitutes, it must expel all "Leftist" adventurers from its ranks, for they present the greatest menace to every organized movement.

The people of Senegal must do their utmost to end the organized subversion of our educational system. The defense of this system could in itself form the program of a struggle for unity.

6. Public funds are misappropriated on an unprecedented scale. This growing trend is a vivid indication of the deep crisis of morals and authority prevailing in higher government echelons. It is illustrated by the amounts that are misappropriated and the social standing of bribe-takers.



Since a normal function of the Assembly of Deputies is to control government policy, the people insist that it exercise its constitutional powers to appoint a committee of inquiry which would also look into the budget.

Bribery has reached high government quarters despite the existence of a General State Inspection and a Budgetary Disciplinary Tribunal. Some day the people will clean out all these Augean stables.

7. France retains its military bases in Senegal under the unequal treaties of 1960. The national army command is dismembered.

In the best colonial tradition, France continues to plant its military technical personnel in the command of Senegal's national army, which has no general staff today. The demands of the national army as a whole have not been met. Alongside it there is a French foreign army over 2,500 strong. The French bases are maintained to protect French interests in Senegal and Africa and to carry on subversion against independent countries.

The Second Congress of the AIP demanded the "removal of French military bases and the abrogation of the 'joint defense' treaties concluded with France." Senghor, on the contrary, insists on preserving the bases and, indeed, on maintaining other treaties on French-Senegalese "cooperation."

### **HOW TO OVERCOME THE CRISIS**

International imperialism is not indifferent to the Senegalese crisis, as the AIP has always stressed. In fact, it follows the evolution of the crisis and takes part in it in various ways.

French imperialism is particularly anxious to assure its neo-colonialist supremacy — with Senghor and his present, reshuffled team or with a team that would succeed it, with Senghor or without him if necessary but always with people committed to French interests. This, needless to say, is not the policy of democratic change expected by the country.

The solution is different. The democratic alternative to the regime lies in setting up and ensuring the victory of a broad patriotic opposition front for democratic change.

The AIP repeats its urgent appeal to Senegal's democratic opposition to bring about this patriotic unity on the basis of a common action program. This is a problem of decisive importance, and steadfast effort is needed to solve it.



## URUGUAY

Following are two documents published in *El Popular*, newspaper of the Communist Party of Uruguay, on July 24 last. They characterize to a degree the domestic situation and the Communist Party's struggle since the coup which President Bordaberry carried out on June 27 with the backing of Rightist generals and other home and foreign reactionaries.

### HOW TO SOLVE URUGUAY'S PROBLEMS

In the drama through which the Republic is passing, the main issues may be stated as follows:

- Who is ruling and in whose interests?
- Shall there be civil freedoms or not?
- Shall the people take part in government or not?

Among the determining factors are the large incomes still pocketed by big exporters due to high world prices and the current economic policy, the existence of an oligarchic group which controls the big banks, the meat packing industry and wood exports, the country's economic dependence on big multinational monopolies, and the fact that 600 families hold more than half the land area of the country.

"Without a minimum program of economic and social changes that would end the present privileges of economically powerful groups and rid the nation of foreign dependence," says the basic document adopted by the Broad Front and the National Party,\* the problems of the Republic cannot be solved. This means that the people must fully enjoy civil liberties, including trade union freedoms, that in the government there must be those who can meet these requirements and carry out a minimum of measures, including restoration of the purchasing capacity of wages and pensions,\*\* and that subsequently the people will have to be consulted "to work out the principles of a new system of institutions which would consolidate democracy and make the necessary structural reforms easier," as the basic document states.

What could be more Uruguayan — bearing in mind Artigas's teachings — than to insist on respecting the people's sovereignty, preventing the sale of the country's wealth, and making the un-

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\*The Broad Front remained active in spite of arrests among its leaders and other repressive measures of the Bordaberry regime. In particular, it adopted an action program in common with the National Party to re-establish a democratic regime.—Ed.

\*\*In inflation rate, Uruguay is high on the world list: the value of the peso has decreased more than a hundred-fold in the past 10 years and market prices have been going up accordingly.—Ed.



fortunate the most privileged, on the Provisional Regulations of the 1815 Campaign and on recognizing that it is a question of choosing between freedom and despotism?

What could be more Uruguayan than to respect the vast majority and take into account the peculiarities and democratic characteristics of the country and Uruguayan history? This history is that of a people who wants to make its own decisions and of a country with political parties and large trade union and popular organizations that have been making modern history.

How can this be foreign? It is patriotic, and as for ideas, it is not a question of their being foreign or not, for they are either good or bad, right or wrong. Artigas was inspired by the greatest ideas of his time while those who called him an exponent of subversive foreign ideas betrayed their country by giving away Cisplatina.\*

What is foreign in our country today is the oligarchic group linked with foreign capitalist oppressors and dreaming of the Brazilian "model" based on shackling foreign dependence and brutal repression, of "solutions" acceptable to Uncle Sam.

More than eighteen months ago, General Seregni\*\* called for the unity of all loyal Uruguayans. His appeal is still valid for people of any profession, including the military. All loyal Uruguayans should unite to find a dignified, patriotic and democratic way out of the situation.

This would really be an "Uruguayan" solution encompassing all the renovating winds that are blowing on this continent.

## THE COMMUNIST PARTY IS GROWING AS IT FIGHTS

One of the most significant characteristics of these days is the growth of the Communist Party.

In accordance with plans approved at the latest major Party forums, such as the National Conference in December 1972 and the National Conference on Organization last January, there is evidence of a considerable political and ideological strengthening of the Marxist-Leninist Party of the working class. The Party is growing stronger numerically, which is particularly important now that difficult battles for democracy, freedom and bread are going on. In these most trying times, the working people's finest sons who have been tried and tested in struggle and know how to transform pain into action and hope, take a big step forward by seeking

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\*Uruguayan province transferred to Portugal in 1821 and subsequently annexed to Brazil.—Ed.

\*\*Former supreme commander of the army. Chairman of the Executive of the Broad Front, a coalition of the progressive parties and organizations which includes the Communist Party. After the June coup General Seregni was unlawfully put in prison.—Ed.



admission to a Party which they see fighting in the front line, showing the right way.

Thus, the Communist Party is steadily growing as it fights, drawing on the living experience of the masses and looking ahead with confidence. The continuity of its struggle stresses that Brecht was right in saying that those who fight all their lives are not only good but also indispensable. It also makes it more evident than ever that a great Communist Party is a cardinal factor in the Uruguayan revolutionary process.

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## STATEMENT OF CC OF CP OF CHILE

This is summary of the statement, published in *El Siglo* on August 9, 1973.

Recent events require the mobilization of the working class and the people in order to prevent further attempts to overthrow the government, avoid a civil war and defend and strengthen the government.

The assassination of Arturo Araya, the President's Naval Adjutant, the numerous acts of terror (destruction of oil pipelines, bridges and railway tracks, bombing the homes of Popular Unity leaders, attacks on truck drivers who continue working, etc.) have created an intolerable situation requiring vigorous steps to ensure the safety of Chileans and to maintain public order.

The working people's most urgent task, the statement goes on to say, is to safeguard the government headed by President Salvador Allende. The people are ready to stop any attempt to overthrow the government. Chile's lawful President cannot be removed or restricted in the fulfilment of his mandate or constitutional prerogatives.

The Central Committee of the CP of Chile stressed that the terror must be stopped and the unlawful strike of truck owners ended by firm measures as required in the country's interests. Reactionary forces, the statement continues, are trying to provoke conflicts between the army and people.

The statement went on: "The homeland is in danger. National independence and security are imperilled."

The Communist Party called for action to stop the fascists and all enemies of the country who would use crime and terror to turn Chile back to the past.

"We call for the unity of all patriots whether they support the government or not," the statement concluded, "in order to defend it



and allow Chile to live in peace. The class conflicts, the social and political struggles, should be waged within the democratic framework, peacefully and avoiding a fratricidal war."

## **JOINT STATEMENT BY POLITICAL COMMISSIONS OF CC CP OF CHILE AND CC SOCIALIST PARTY OF CHILE**

Summary of the joint statement published in *El Siglo* on August 12, 1973.

Attempts by Right forces and imperialist agents to stop the revolution at all costs is the characteristic of the internal political situation of the past few weeks. The working people should realize that the wave of violence, terror and conspiracies against the people's government is designed to destroy the gains of the two-and-a-half years of people's government.

The Socialists, Communists and the entire Popular Unity bloc are confident that the unconquerable strength of the people, the singleness of its aim, and the way in which the Armed Forces and the carabineri corps perform their constitutional duty will frustrate the Rightists' planned coup d'etat and restore an atmosphere conducive to the working people's creative endeavors. It is the duty of the people, the Armed Forces and the Carabineri to combat the subversive activity, that is, to end the strike of the truck owners, fight speculation, and assure fair and democratic distribution of essential goods.

The statement notes the need for changing the arms control bill to avoid a repetition of the tragic mistakes and put a stop to the gigantic imperialist and Rightist conspiracy against Chile. Parliament must pass effective laws to combat economic offences.

The Armed Forces, says the statement, should not be indifferent to the wishes of the people, of which they are a part, and must participate in the advance along the path of independence and national dignity. It is vitally important for Chile to reinforce and continue the transformations based on the nationalization of copper, the agrarian reform and the build-up of a public sector in the economy with the working people's participation in management. The success of these measures, their extension and use to end the under-development of the country's economy and ensure the people's welfare, represent a great and historical goal.

The joint statement stresses that working-class unity, consolidation of the United Trade Union Center, and the fraternal understanding between Socialists and Communists based on joint action by all the Popular Unity parties would defeat the anti-popular reac-



tionary plans and assure the further development of the revolutionary process.

The Socialists and Communists call on the workers to fortify their class unity as the basis for the alliance of all the forces aspiring to democratic and revolutionary development, and which will secure national independence, economic emancipation, security, and social progress, and will enable Chile to begin building socialism.

The Communist and Socialist parties agree with the President's assessment of the new cabinet as a Cabinet of National Security, because behind all the terrorism and reactionary crimes is the hand of the large imperialist monopolies and the U.S. CIA. In this connection, the Communists and Socialists reaffirm their anti-imperialist views and their solidarity with the Cuban revolution.

"We are aware of our responsibility and the discipline and firmness it requires in the struggle against the people's enemies," the statement continued, adding: "It requires militant determination and clarity of purpose at a time when defense of the Chilean people's revolutionary process is our supreme duty."

## NEWS IN BRIEF

1. On August 9 President Allende re-organized the Chilean government. The new government includes the heads of the Army, Navy and Air Force and the Director-General of the Carabineri Corps. The President described the new government as a Cabinet of National Security. Its main duty, he said, is to defend Chile's sovereignty, restore order in the economic and political situation, and outlaw all fascist organizations of the "Patria y Libertad" type.

In the days that followed, the reactionary forces unleashed a frenzied campaign against the new government, President Allende and the normalization of the country's economic and political life. The reactionary opposition in the Chamber of Deputies of the National Congress passed a provocative anti-government document (the so-called "chamber agreement") accusing the Allende government of "violating rule of law" and calling on the Armed Forces to disobey the government.

To help the President in this situation, the National Security Cabinet met in special session on August 24 and placed their posts at the disposal of the President. This conforms with the Constitution. The President accepted the resignation of General Carlos Prats as Minister of National Defense and Commander-in-Chief of the Army, saying, this was useful against those wishing to erect a barrier between the Armed Forces, on the one hand, and the Chilean government and people, on the other.

In a statement to the press on August 24, President Allende cri-



ticized the reactionary majority in the Chamber of Deputies and their "agreement," designed to "create chaos in the country." He pointed out that the document had no legal force and violated provisions of the Constitution. The President said he would perform his duty and ensure democracy and freedom within the framework of the country's revolutionary process.

A day earlier, the National Political Committee of the Popular Unity parties released a statement urging the working people to be ready to defend the government. The statement voices the conviction that the workers, peasants, employees, students and all patriotic citizens of Chile would repulse and defeat any insurgents.

2. A world-wide movement of solidarity with the courageous struggle of the people of Chile is gaining momentum.

The tense situation in Chile is closely connected with the far-reaching plans of imperialist circles and the Latin American oligarchies seeking to stop the liberation movement on the continent and reverse the situation wherever the people had already embarked on independent and democratic development.

Working people's organizations in Argentina, Venezuela, Guyana, Colombia, Peru, Ecuador and other Latin American countries have sent messages of friendship and solidarity to the people of Chile.

The World Federation of Trade Unions has appealed to working people the world over to support the patriotic struggle fought by the working class and people of Chile in defense of their democratic freedoms and social gains. Numerous parties and organizations, and millions of people on all continents, have responded to this appeal.

In the socialist countries, too, the people are voicing their solidarity with the people of Chile. At numerous meetings in the Soviet Union, participants protested against the reactionary attempts to reverse Chile's development by terror and violence.

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## **SPEECH\* BY L. I. BREZHNEV IN ALMA-ATA**

On August 15 in Alma-Ata at a joint meeting of the CC of the Communist Party of Kazakhstan and the Supreme Soviet of the Kazakh SSR, the Republic of Kazakhstan was awarded the Order of the Friendship of the Peoples.

Attending the ceremony were members of the CC CP of Kazakhstan, Deputies to the Supreme Soviet, leaders of Party, government and public organizations, representatives of the people of

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\*Pravda, August 16, 1973.



Alma-Ata, outstanding figures in industry and agriculture, scientists, cultural personalities and members of the Armed Forces.

The ceremonies were opened by S. B. Niyazbekov, Chairman of the Presidium, Supreme Soviet of Kazakhstan.

The Politbureau of the CC CPSU was unanimously elected to the Honorary Presidium.

The first to speak was L. I. Brezhnev, General Secretary of the CC CPSU.

Beginning his speech, L. I. Brezhnev said:

Dear Comrades, I am happy of this opportunity to extend greetings to you in connection with the presentation of the Friendship of the Peoples Order to the Kazakh Soviet Socialist Republic. This is an award to the Republic and to all its citizens, Communists and unaffiliated, those working in industry and agriculture, in sciences and the arts. It crowns the glorious road travelled by Kazakhstan as a member of the fraternal union of Soviet peoples.

Please accept the most heartfelt congratulations of the Central Committee of our Party, the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet and the Soviet Government. It is safe to say that at this moment all Soviet people congratulate you and wish you further success.

The Order you are receiving today epitomizes the Party's 50 years of work in carrying through Lenin's nationalities policy, centred on the rebirth and flowering of all our peoples, their consolidation and inviolable friendship. Its splendid fruit is in full evidence here, in Kazakhstan.

In the past it was an out-of-the-way steppeland inhabited by nomad herdsmen, living wretchedly in a semi-feudal system. There are still people among us who remember those times. But, what is Kazakhstan like today and what have its people achieved?

It is a place of creative socialist endeavor, where the working people are transforming nature, bringing life to deserts and building giant modern industrial centers.

It provides the USSR with vast quantities of grain, milk, meat, wool and other agricultural products.

It supplies ferrous and non-ferrous metals, coal, oil, natural gas and modern machinery.

Briefly, Kazakhstan occupies a prominent and important place in the consolidated ranks of the Soviet Socialist Republics.

I visited Alma-Ata three years ago on the 50th anniversary of the Kazakh Republic and its Communist Party. At that time the entire country was priming its resources for the big and important assignments of the Ninth Five-Year Plan. Today, half the five-year period is behind us, and the Party and people are preoccupied with



fulfilling the plan assignments at full gear. So, we can appraise our achievements impartially and fairly.

In these two-and-a-half years we have substantially expanded the country's economic potential. Labor productivity has gone up significantly. The living standard has risen on all basic counts — real income, social security, and housing conditions. In other words, there has been progress in our social development, and this progress has been considerable. This is a direct result of the vigorous efforts put in by Party organizations, a result achieved through the labor and political activity of our working class, collective farmers and intelligentsia.

Like the rest of the country, Kazakhstan has coped successfully with the first half of the five-year plan. The Republic's industrial output has gone up by almost 25 per cent, with three-quarters of this growth secured by higher labor productivity. Nearly 5 million tons of coal, 150 thousand tons of cement, and much else has been produced in excess of the plan. Upwards of 160 industrial projects have been commissioned, among them a blast furnace, converter and rolling mill at the Karaganda complex, an oil pipeline from Mangishlak to Kuibyshev, new mines and oil fields, an ore-dressing plant and the first large aggregate of a fast neutron atomic power station. Those are all modern and large-scale enterprises of cardinal significance for our entire economy.

The main purpose of our plans, as defined by our 24th Party Congress, is to make social production more effective and thereby assure a steady improvement of the people's welfare. Here, too, heartening progress has been achieved. In these two-and-a-half years, 1,600,000 persons or every eighth citizen of your Republic, have moved into new or better homes. New hospitals and holiday homes, clubs, cinemas, stadiums and gyms have been built. This year's real incomes will be about 13 per cent higher than in 1970.

In sum, you have every reason to be proud of the results of your labor, and all of us share your sense of pride.

Many factors contributed to this dynamic growth of the economy and culture, to the improvement of the living standard, to this impressive progress in all spheres. This included a favorable world situation — over a quarter of a century of peace, which enabled us to put ever more energy and resources to constructive use. This also includes the steady growth of our social wealth, which enables us at every new stage to tackle more far-reaching and greater undertakings. Last but not least, this includes the country's expanding scientific and technological potential, improved management of the economy, and a great deal more.

But most important of all are the socialist social and state system, the new people brought up by our Party — builders, creators



and innovators. All that we have and that we hope to achieve depends on their ability to work in the communist way, on their dedication, high ideological level, education and professionalism, their sense of responsibility, their activity and initiative . . .

Hand in hand with the indigenous population, Socialist Kazakhstan is being built up by people of practically all the nationalities of our country. The successes of your Republic are in great measure the result of the joint efforts of all the Union Republics, a graphic materialization of the friendship of all our peoples.

The meaning of this friendship was discussed at length during our celebrations of the 50th anniversary of the formation of the USSR, and more recently I spoke on the subject in Kiev (on July 26, 1973 — Ed). But it bears repeating. It is an inexhaustible subject, we might say, because the friendship of our peoples is the greatest source of strength, and one of our greatest gains. It was forged in the class struggle against autocracy, in the struggle for the victory of the October Revolution. It grew strong on the construction sites and was steeled in the flames of the Great Patriotic War. It was fostered by the working people of all nationalities, and particularly by the Russian working class and the Russian people, who have held aloft the banner of internationalism and were a model of dedication to it in word and deed.

Soviet people refer to themselves as internationalists, and have every right to do so, because they have shown the world what the peoples can do if they are united on the principles of socialism, the principles of real equality, fraternity and freedom. These principles, advanced by the Communist Party since the first days of Soviet power, have become standard in the life of the people. We have never tolerated national strife, chauvinism or nationalism.

At its 24th Congress, our Party arrived at the important conclusion that as a result of the deep-going and all-embracing sociopolitical transformations of the past half-century, we now possess a new historical community of people — the Soviet people. The history of the rise and development of Soviet Kazakhstan confirms this completely.

Speaking of a new historical community of people, we do not mean that national distinctions are already disappearing in our country, and much less that the nations have merged. All the nations and nationalities inhabiting the Soviet Union have preserved their special features, their national character, language, and their best traditions. And they have all the opportunities for a still greater uplift of their national culture.

At the same time, the Soviet people is a simple aggregate of nations living side by side in one state, or, so to speak, under one roof. Irrespective of their nationality, our people have many



common features, which weld them into a monolithic whole — a common ideology and common historical destiny, the same socioeconomic conditions, basic interests and aims; the developing identity of Soviet socialist culture, which absorbs all that is truly valuable from each national culture.

I am certain you will be pleased to hear that the 250-millionth Soviet citizen was born a few days ago. And there are as many as 207 million Soviet citizens such as he, born after the October Revolution. They are Soviet from the day of their birth, growing up in Soviet surroundings, knowing no other way of life, and with the character of a Soviet man . . .

### **A FEW ASPECTS OF INTERNATIONAL POLICY**

Comrades, allow me to touch on a few aspects of international policy.

You are aware that a situation new in many respects is shaping on the international arena. We have good grounds to say that detente and normalization of relations are making headway, that the danger of a direct confrontation of the two world systems is diminishing. We shall continue in our effort to completely remove the danger of a world war, so that the policy of peaceful coexistence would prevail.

This is a realistic prospect. The relaxation of tension has already led to a whole set of treaties, agreements and understandings, laying the foundation for peaceful and, I should say, constructive relations between the socialist and capitalist countries. This gives us hope that the present detente is not a temporary thing, but the beginning of a fundamental change in international relations.

The question of how to extend the process of detente, to make it irreversible, was, in effect, the main topic at the recent Crimea meeting of the leaders of Communist and Workers' parties of the socialist countries.

It was unanimously agreed that a radical improvement of the international climate required consistent and varied effort in many directions. In the light of the exchange of views with our friends, our Party holds that the most urgent tasks are:

- to make the all-European Conference a complete success;
- to spread the detente from the European continent to the rest of the world;
- to complement the political detente with a military detente, end the arms race and then take practical steps to reduce armaments;
- to help in every way the full restoration of peace in Indochina and bring about a political accommodation in the Middle East on



the basis of Security Council and UN General Assembly resolutions, requiring the withdrawal of Israeli troops from all occupied Arab territories;

—to establish large-scale mutually advantageous economic ties with the capitalist world, which would seriously reinforce the positive political changes of today;

—to consistently follow the policy of developing and strengthening cooperation with the developing countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America.

In other words, we must not slacken our efforts in realizing the Peace Program.

Naturally, the solution of all these requires good will and realism on the part of all concerned. Yet in the capitalist world the struggle over the perspective of broader relations with the socialist countries continues unabated. And we are not surprised, for we know that certain forces there continue to think in "cold war" terms. They advocate unrestrained swelling of military budgets and continued build-up of the nuclear potential. They turn their backs on reality, sow imaginary fears and stoop to slander. They would like nothing better than to prejudice the concluded agreements and treaties. I am referring, among others, to the well-known circles in West Germany who want to force the FRG to follow its previous hopeless policy in relation to the GDR. All of these "cold war" advocates have a common platform — to oppose steps towards peace and international cooperation. And we must be ever vigilant in face of their designs.

At the same time, farsighted political figures in the bourgeois countries and influential business circles, to say nothing of the public at large, have begun to understand the need for the peaceful coexistence of the two social systems. We can definitely say that a tendency is shaping and growing in the socialist world in favor of sensible cooperation with the socialist countries.

The ruling bourgeois circles are now prepared to reach agreements with us on key issues, though there are certain differences in their own camp. For our part, we do not intend stopping halfway. We are for stable relations, for honest, mutually advantageous and meaningful cooperation, for a truly reliable world peace.

Needless to say, the progress of our socialist community and of each socialist country is still the main prerequisite for the effectiveness of our international class policy. The socialist countries' unity and close interaction are the basis for everything we have achieved in easing international tension.

One of our Party's basic and permanent concerns is to promote friendship and cooperation with the brother countries. The Crimea meeting showed again that the other fraternal parties have the



same approach. We noted that there are considerable potentialities for extending our cooperation in every field, whether political, economic or ideological.

The participants in the meeting unanimously acknowledged the necessity for substantially raising the level of ideological cooperation among brother parties at this stage. Profound analysis of one another's experiences, joint creative work on current problems of socialist and communist construction and coordinated action against bourgeois ideology have all undoubtedly helped us to make progress.

We are convinced of the correctness of our path and our Marxist-Leninist ideology, and are certain that more contacts, cultural exchanges and exchanges of information, coupled with broader relations between the peoples of various countries, all of which is natural in a climate of detente, will help spread the truth about socialism and win more and more people for scientific communism.

However—and we must say this—it is now necessary to deal more thoroughly with problems of the communist education of our working people. We would like our propagandists, the press, radio and television, and all our ideological institutions to respond to events more promptly, seriously to improve mass communications, give people a deep insight into the Party's policy, which should be supported with convincing arguments, to take fuller account of the Soviet people's higher cultural standard and the diversity of their requirements — in short, to master the Leninist art of educating the masses politically. The Party's Central Committee attaches primary importance to all this.

It is in the interest of our country and of world socialism as a whole steadily to extend economic relations with brother countries, to put them on a broader basis. The April plenum of the CC CPSU discussed steps to speed up the growth of trade, deepen scientific and technological cooperation and expand cooperation in production with the socialist countries. It described these steps as a task for the whole Party and state. Local Party organizations have a big role to play in this respect. Your Republic is making an appreciable contribution to our economic cooperation with the socialist countries. It is a matter of honor for Kazakhstan's Communists and other working people to fulfil precisely and in time all foreign trade commitments and see to it that the quality of the products delivered to the brother countries is above criticism and meets the most sophisticated standards. Useful initiatives aimed at expanding economic, scientific and technological relations with our friends should be encouraged more readily and effectively.

The Political Bureau of the CC holds that the conclusions of the friendly meeting in the Crimea provide a splendid stimulus for us and all the brother parties to improve and deepen mutual relations in every field.



I would like to note especially that all participants in the meeting spoke highly of our Party's principled Leninist foreign policy and the major foreign policy actions of the recent period in implementing the Peace Program, of our negotiations with statesmen of the main capitalist countries, and of the treaties and agreements concluded with these countries. We appreciate this support from our allies and confederates.

Urging that the detente should be extended to the whole world, we consider it important for Asia to join in this process on a broad front.

This stand is prompted by the interests not only of our own country, two-thirds of which lies in Asia. We are aware of the place which this continent holds in the life of mankind, of the role of Asian countries in world politics and of the interests of Asia, of its peoples.

For decades and, indeed, centuries, Asia was a region of colonial plunder. But even when colonial rule seemed unshakable, Lenin confidently predicted its inevitable downfall and the emancipation of the Asian peoples. No force on earth, Lenin wrote, can destroy the heroic spirit of democracy shown by the masses in Asian countries.

We can be proud of the fact that as soon as it came into being, the Soviet state proclaimed a policy of peace, friendship and equal cooperation with Asian countries. One of the earliest documents of the Council of People's Commissars was a message to the toiling Moslems of Russia and the East, presenting the lofty principles of this new, socialist policy. One of the first diplomatic representatives received by Lenin was the Ambassador of Afghanistan. And it was with Asian countries — Iran, Afghanistan, Turkey and Mongolia — that the newly-established Soviet Republic signed its first treaties of friendship.

Throughout the subsequent period, our Party invariably adhered to the Leninist tradition of friendship and solidarity with the peoples of Asia. No chapter in the history of the Asian peoples' liberation struggle lacks facts of the effective support and solidarity that was extended by the Soviet Union, our people and Party.

Present-day Asia is in many ways a renovated continent which has smashed its colonial fetters. Its peoples are resolved to uphold their independence and follow the path of national and social progress, of radical revolutionary change.

In short, Asia is a continent on the march, a march that is of necessity exceedingly arduous due to the tenacity and perversity of the forces of the old world and the resistance of imperialism and reaction. So, clearly, lasting peace, détente and good-neighbor relations will be beneficial.



We are witnessing important changes for the better in the situation in Asia. The protracted and difficult war in Vietnam ended in victory for the Vietnamese people. Agreement has been reached to restore peace and national accord in Laos. The ground has been laid for normalizing relations between the states of the Indian subcontinent. New positive developments have taken place in the situation of the Korean Peninsula following the important initiative of the Korean People's Democratic Republic, aimed at unifying the country by peaceful, democratic means.

Last but not least, and this is very important, the policy of the peace-loving countries is making an ever stronger impact on the situation in Asia. Prominent among these countries is India, a great state which today marks the 26th anniversary of its independence. India came out in support of the principles of peaceful coexistence when many in the West still rejected the very concept of it.

I am recapitulating only the positive factors, but not, of course, because no adverse ones exist. They exist and operate, as you know very well. But as everywhere else, a sound trend which we support is gaining ground in Asia.

The Soviet Union is firmly convinced that Asia can and must live by the laws of peace, and that collective security is a realistic way to achieve this. To be sure, it will take both time and considerable effort to attain this goal. But we trust the peoples of Asia will attain it.

Why do we advocate collective security in Asia? Because we want to eliminate wars, armed conflicts and imperialist aggression on the Asian continent, because we want every country and every people to have guarantees of free development and national rebirth, because we want a spirit of confidence and mutual understanding to prevail in relations between Asian countries.

We have said on more than one occasion and say again that the Soviet Union is a protagonist of a collective security system for every Asian country on an equal footing. The system we advocate neither gives nor should give any country unilateral advantages, and every Asian country should contribute to its establishment.

It is not in a void that we propose setting up a collective security system. Many of the principles on which it could be based were proclaimed in the historic decisions of the Bandung Conference, and some are reflected in a number of international documents relating to Asia.

Our policy is aimed at promoting normal, good-neighbor relations with all the Asian countries that may wish it. Accordingly, we attach great importance to the achievements of extensive and diversified cooperation on the basis of mutual benefit with Japan, a major Asian country.



Speaking here in Alma Ata three years ago,\* I stressed that the Soviet Union also wants good relations with the People's Republic of China. In the past period we have done everything in our power to normalize Soviet-Chinese relations. But, unfortunately, we have not made any visible headway. The only reason for this is the Chinese leadership's policy, based on rabid anti-Sovietism and subversion against the socialist countries.

No change for the better in the relations between the PRC, on the one hand, and the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries, on the other, is possible until the Chinese leadership abides by the principles of mutual respect for sovereignty and non-interference in internal affairs, and desists from encroaching on the interests of the socialist countries.

Our fundamental policy, which combines resolute struggle against the theory and practice of Maoism, a current hostile to Leninism, with readiness to normalize inter-state relations with the PRC—a policy adopted by the 24th Congress — remains unchanged.

The ideas of peace and friendship among nations are winning ever stronger support among the world public. Behind these ideas are our country's prestige and growing might, the increasing unity of the socialist commonwealth and the solidarity of all the fighters for national freedom and social progress.

We will continue our active effort for international detente, the elimination of seats of war danger, and the discontinuance of the arms race. We will continue to resist those forces which want to reverse world development. We are convinced that our just cause, our struggle for peace and social progress, will triumph.

Comrade L. I. Brezhnev's speech was heard with keen attention and repeatedly drew prolonged applause.

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\*See Information Bulletin No. 19, 1970.—Ed.



## **FROM THE PARTY PRESS**

### **AGAINST MAOIST IDEOLOGY AND POLICY**

#### **FRANCE**

*L'Humanité* (July 25) published an article by Jean Kanapa: " 'Superpowers'? An excuse for our Government." The article reads in part:

The day after the Soviet Union and the USA concluded an agreement to eliminate the threat of a world thermonuclear conflict, Raymond Aron had an article in *Figaro*. Its main thought was that the agreement "has no significance."

Aron had second thoughts. The USSR and USA, he now says, are "superpowers" and their peaceful-coexistence agreement is a clear threat to Europe and France.

We are at the start of a high-pressure campaign supported by Jobert and Chaban-Delmas, Chou En-lai and, unfortunately, some Left personalities. The object is to prove that the "two superpowers" want to shape the destinies of the world to suit their ends. The campaign is meant to justify appeals for a "holy alliance" centered around our government and the Europe of the monopolies, and allegedly essential in the present situation to defend the interests of France.

It might be mentioned that the very men who describe the U.S. and USSR as "superpowers" assure us that the USSR is experiencing tremendous difficulties and that socialism is economically or technically ineffectual.

What is the real picture?

To be sure, there is a bi-polar world. However, it is not polarized into two "superpowers," but rather into imperialism and socialism and into two mutually-opposed international policies.

The term "superpowers" is meant to camouflage this fundamental truth.

Imperialism stands for colonial war and neo-colonialism. Socialism stands for support of the national-liberation struggle and economic development assistance.

Imperialist policy is spelled out in 25 years of intensive preparation for a war to "roll back" socialism, in the frenzied arms drive and the Atlantic Alliance. Socialist policy is expressed in unremitting efforts for peaceful coexistence, in initiating the European



Security Conference and in repeated proposals for simultaneous dissolution of military blocs.

As for our own country, it has suffered from American imperialism's drive for world hegemony, and that menace is still there: from the Marshall Plan of 25 years ago to the Kissinger Plan of our own time. And through all these years there has been one and the same aim — to impose on France foreign laws. Who, if not U.S. imperialism, has unleashed a veritable economic war against France, while the socialist countries relations with France are based on mutually advantageous cooperation?

True, the United States and the Soviet Union possess the biggest mass-destruction potential. Consequently, their relations are of especial importance for the whole world.

U.S. imperialism finds itself compelled to admit that it has to reconsider its policy in this area. That is why the U.S. and USSR decided that the time had come to stop the arms race and prevent war which would inevitably bring this potential into operation. After a quarter-century of living with the danger of nuclear conflict, the world now sees the nightmare receding. And the whole world welcomes that. The whole world . . . but not the French reactionaries; they abhor the very thought of disarmament. They breathed easier in the "balance-of-terror" years, and find it hard to breathe in an atmosphere of peace. They need an atmosphere charged with tension, rumors of a "menace from the East," economic militarization. And now that there is a real prospect of European détente, Jobert tells the National Assembly that today — yes, today — the defense problem is uppermost in the mind of the government; the General Staff brass attack everyone who questions the need for a continued arms drive; the government orders a new series of nuclear tests, and Debre proclaims that the right of nations to self-determination and the nuclear bomb are one and the same thing.

But the USSR-USA agreements strikingly proved what we Communists have always maintained, and what we have formulated in our government program, namely, that in this day and age military means are but a limited element of national security, while political methods are increasingly becoming the most decisive and effective element.

France's genuine security guarantee lies in resolute and constructive action to support a political system of collective security and de-escalate the arms drive. But the government is cold-shouldering such a policy. It is committed to a policy of sabotaging détente — that is the main implication of the Mururoa nuclear tests.

As time goes on, more and more statements cast a revealing light on the real objectives of this "superpowers" campaign. All the evidence suggests that it is meant as an alibi, as justification for



an anti-détente policy, for plans to recreate the "European defense community" as a super-armed bloc of capitalist Europe, an excuse for stepping up anti-Soviet propaganda.

Whence this fear of peace and this beating of the war drums? The big monopoly bourgeoisie fears lest, in this atmosphere of peace, it will find itself alone to face the people and their insistent and legitimate demands.

For us Communists there are no "superpowers," just as there are no big countries and small. The peoples of all countries are equal. They want to join in building a world of peace and cooperation. That is France's true national interest, and it is in that interest that our people should unite in a decisive struggle, on all levels and in all areas, against the rule of big capital and its reactionary policy.

## FRG

In its July 27 issue, *Unsere Zeit* published an article by Kurt Schacht, "Peking Supports Foes of Détente." It reads in part:

The official Chinese press has latterly carried favorable comments on the European Economic Community, NATO and similar imperialist groupings . . . The Peking leaders' anti-Sovietism has brought them into complete agreement with the extreme Right in the FRG on accords between the USSR and the USA which help peace. This applies, above all, to the treaty on preventing nuclear war. It is so obviously in accord with the vital interests of all the peoples, including the Chinese, that only those blinded by anti-Sovietism and pursuing expansionist aims can vilify it.

In condemning the USSR-U.S. détente agreements, the Peking leaders resort to the old libelous assertion that they signify a new division of the world by the two "superpowers." That is added proof that Peking has long ago renounced policy assessments from the class standpoint, from the standpoint of proletarian internationalism. By equating the socialist Soviet Union with the imperialist United States in the concept of "superpowers," a neutral concept from the class standpoint, they again side with the extreme Right in the FRG which, like Peking, plays down the socialist character of the Soviet Union and the imperialist character of the United States.

And no one should be surprised that the Peking fuehrers are the most zealous champions of the revanchist aims of the most zealous reactionary forces in the FRG. Strauss, Springer and avowed neo-Nazis had every reason to rejoice when, in May, Chou En-lai told an FRG industrialists delegation that he knows only Koenigsberg and has no knowledge of a city called Kaliningrad.

That is not an incidental remark. It is deliberately meant to sup-



port the revenge-mongers. That is clear from the Chinese representative's Security Council speech of June 22, when UN membership for the GDR and FRG was up for discussion. The Chinese delegate ignored the fact that there are two sovereign states on German soil belonging to opposite social systems. There was not even a hint of a class approach. To take that stand today, to pretend that there are not two sovereign states in Germany, the socialist GDR and the imperialist FRG, to pretend that German "reunification" is on the order of the day — to take that stand is to identify oneself with the revanchist forces in the FRG who use the "reunification" slogan and the demand for a "Germany in the 1937 frontiers" to sabotage the agreements on détente and normalization of GDR-FRG relations. He who questions the inviolability of existing frontiers and generates tension in Europe, is working for war, not peace.

How do the Peking leaders feel when they receive messages like the one from Frey, publisher of the *National Zeitung* (ultra-Right Munich newspaper — Ed.). He wrote in an open letter to Chou En-lai: "The Germans, the peoples of Eastern Europe, place great hopes on China in helping to free them of Moscow's domination. . . . We shall never forget that China does not recognize the Soviet occupation of the areas on the Oder and Neisse."

The chauvinist and anti-Soviet policy of the Peking leaders, a travesty of proletarian internationalism, is directed also against FRG Communists, against all progressives who, for more than 20 years, fought the aggressive policy of the ruling monopoly bourgeoisie and worked for peaceful coexistence and détente. Peking's support will not help the forces of the past break out of their defensive position and isolation. And not because imperialism has become less aggressive, but because socialism has become stronger.

## HUNGARY

"Who is being 'freed of punishment' in China?" — that is the title of an article in *Népszabadsag* of July 18.

The former General Secretary of the Communist Party of China, Teng Hsiao-ping, is now back in the limelight as Vice-Premier of the Council of State. During the "cultural revolution" he was denounced as the "Number 2 capitalist-path man in the Party." His return to favor has been officially explained as follows: though Teng is guilty of wrong-doing, he has recanted.

According to official Chinese sources, this is not a rehabilitation of "political crimes" of a man who, while in the Party leadership, opposed Mao on the "big leap" and in connection with the "serious disproportion" created by the communes. Teng is not being ex-



onerated, only "freed," because he has admitted that his previous views were wrong and now unconditionally accepts the Maoist line.

There can be little doubt that the "freeing" of Teng and others has a definite purpose, namely, to give prosecuted cadres the whip and carrot treatment: if they unreservedly side with Mao, they will be allowed to emerge from obscurity.

Appointment of these men to nominal leading positions after they have "recanted," the Hungarian newspaper writes, is part of an old Mao tactic. It is being used to accentuate differences between the various groups, pressure big or small groups of old cadres and inspire fear in those promoted to high positions during the "cultural revolution," confronting them with the possibility of bringing back the old cadres and sacking the new ones.

The "freeing" of part of the old cadres and their appointment to leading (but not top!) positions is part not only of Mao maneuvering, but part also of the struggle within the Chinese leadership between two influential groups. It is a political struggle for power, *Népszabadsag* writes, between the pragmatists and the forces catapulted to power by the "cultural revolution." So far, neither group is strong enough to oust its rival and take over complete control. And Mao wants it that way: this delicate equilibrium enables him to act the arbiter.

And so, the split in Chinese society and leadership engineered by the Maoists in the course of the "cultural revolution" continues.

Party reorganization is hampered by this struggle for influence over Party branches between different influential groupings. The removal from the scene of Lin Piao and his immediate entourage has considerably weakened the military faction. Nonetheless, representatives of the army still have a majority on the Party's Central Committee and in the central government department.

All this suggests that the Peking leadership has so far been unable to consolidate the position and further changes are not to be ruled out. There is a power battle between the various groups, and though all of them accept great-power chauvinism, anti-Sovietism and Maoism, each has its own idea of how to operate home and foreign policy. The rivalry is further sharpened by the fight for succession.

The exponents of petty-bourgeois nationalism and spontaneity now in power hold all the levers of Party and government policy. Their negative influence is an increasing danger to the very foundations of socialism. And inasmuch as Maoist theory and practice cause serious damage to the international workers' movement and play into the hands of imperialists, internationalists everywhere must fight the subversive activities of the Maoist leadership in the world revolutionary movement, *Népszabadsag* emphasizes in conclusion.



## INDIA

**New Age** weekly (August 12) carried an article by N. K. Krishnan, member of the CP India Central Secretariat, on the 70th anniversary of the Second RSDLP Congress. The article contains these critical remarks on Maoist foreign policy.

The divisive, nationalistic policy pursued by the Maoist group (Krishnan writes) is essentially a negation of Leninism, the Leninist theory of the leading role of the working class, the Leninist principles of peaceful coexistence of the two social systems as a specific line of international class struggle in the new conditions.

Today Maoism stands out as a direct accomplice of the most reactionary and aggressive imperialist elements. It supports the continued presence of U.S. troops in Europe and Southeast Asia and resists an easing of tension in Europe and Asia.

Maoism is opposed to every Soviet measure designed to strengthen the unity and cohesion of the socialist camp, to any measure to promote cooperation of the socialist countries and national-liberation movement. Over the past three years the Maoists have repeatedly rejected Soviet proposals for a non-aggression treaty. At the same time, they have spread the myth of a "nuclear menace from the North." The purpose behind that myth is to whip up an anti-Soviet psychosis in China and justify their anti-Soviet policy.

Based on anti-Sovietism and on attempts to split the socialist camp and the national-liberation movement, Maoist foreign policy means factual alliance with the most reactionary imperialist circles. The Maoist aim is to prevent international détente and to divide up the world, primarily Asia, into spheres of influence, Krishnan emphasizes. But reality has made it amply clear that this is a bankrupt policy.

In celebrating the 70th anniversary of the historic Second RSDLP Congress, we must raise higher still the banner of Leninism and defend it against all attacks, whether from Right or Left. Everywhere reaction is using every conceivable means to extol Maoist China in order, in this way, to undermine the influence of the Soviet Union and the ideological principles of Leninism. To defend these principles and to emphasize their revolutionary effectiveness in the battle against imperialism, is the main task and duty of our time.

## JAPAN

**Akahata** (August 10) carried an article exposing Maoist slander of the Communist Party of Japan, subversion and great-power interference in the affairs of the Japanese democratic movement.

The **Akahata** article is a reply to a series in the *Shukan Posuto*



magazine by a man who recently visited Peking and interviewed members of the Chinese delegation touring Japan. In the course of these talks the Chinese accused the Communist Party of Japan of "lacking independence," "dictatorship," "suppression of inner-Party democracy," even of "receiving money from industrial and financial circles.

This attitude of the Chinese leaders, *Akahata* writes, only shows how far removed they are from Marxism-Leninism. For even the most reactionary forces in Japan have not gone to such flagrant slander against the Communist Party.

The interviews with the Chinese leaders are proof that, while professing opposition to "hegemony" and calling for peaceful relations with all countries, Peking is interfering in the Japanese democratic movement, maligning the Communist Party and supporting and encouraging anti-Party groups.

## LEBANON

An editorial in *An-Nida* (June 19) headed "The True Image of Peking Policy" says that the Chinese government is making an all-out effort to activate the CENTO military bloc.

One of the objectives of the Chinese Foreign Minister's tour of European and Asian capitals in June was to strike a blow at the mounting national-liberation movement in the Persian Gulf area, and particularly in Dofar.

And it is no mere accident, the paper writes, that the Peking government meddles in such affairs, for China has long been plotting against the peoples and the progressive national-liberation forces. . . .

After this tour by the Chinese Foreign Minister it should be perfectly clear that Peking's foreign policy is based on hostility towards the Soviet Union and cannot but be hostile to all the contingents of the revolutionary and national-liberation movement in every part of the world. The actions of the Peking leaders show up the true image of China's foreign policy: support of liberation movements in words and active practical support for the conspirators in deeds.

## SOVIET UNION

In an article titled "Concerning a Hsinhua Commentary," Y. Kornilov wrote in *Pravda* of August 7:

The 10th anniversary of the Moscow treaty banning nuclear-weapon tests in the atmosphere, outer space and under water, is being observed throughout the world. Prominent statesmen and public personalities and the press in many countries are emphasizing



ing that the treaty — to which more than 100 countries are now party — is an important contribution to removing the menace of nuclear war and promoting disarmament and enduring peace.

The anniversary has been marked also in Peking, but in its own, Peking way. A Hsinhua commentary maintains that the treaty, welcomed everywhere as a major success for the peace forces, is — of all things — a “deception of the peoples.” And Hsinhua would have us believe that the Soviet Union, one of main initiators of the treaty, is only interested in “maintaining the nuclear monopoly.” The rest of the commentary is in much the same vein: were it not dated Peking, August 1973, it could well have emanated from some Western cold-war propaganda agency. For a long time the Western reactionary press tried (and still tries occasionally) to hold up the bogey of “Moscow aggressiveness” to justify the arms drive and block détente.

Everyone knows that the arms drive, including the buildup of nuclear-weapon stocks, was imposed on the world by the imperialists. But in discussing this crucial problem, Hsinhua does not even mention the word “imperialism.” Apparently, Peking is afraid to name the countries responsible for organizing imperialist military-political blocs. That is the only explanation why Hsinhua studiously avoids mention of their war preparations. Instead, it concentrates all its invective on the socialist countries and their efforts to strengthen their defense potential. That certain Western imperialist circles are working to prevent disarmament does not seem to worry Peking. What does worry it is that the Soviet Union and other socialist countries possess the wherewithal to maintain and consolidate peace and to defend the gains of socialism.

The present Chinese leadership, with its hegemonistic plans and its policy of nuclear armament and all-out militarization, has long opposed every step towards disarmament. That is evidenced by China's negative position in the United Nations on all disarmament proposals. This latest Hsinhua commentary is added proof that on the disarmament issue Peking shares the views of those NATO circles and spokesmen of the Western military industrial complex who stubbornly obstruct every move towards détente and who persist in their fight against the forces of socialism.

## **VENEZUELA**

Peking's policy was the subject of an article by *Tribuna Popular* commentator Alfredo Pena in the paper's June 9 issue.

Petty-bourgeois nationalism, Pena writes, the very basis of Maoist policy, has led Peking to rank anti-Sovietism. It persists in its calumnious attacks on the Soviet Union, spreads all manner of



rumors about a "Soviet menace," and is whipping up a war psychosis in China itself.

These attacks are spearheaded not only against the USSR. Nor is it a matter of a "Sino-Soviet conflict," as bourgeois propaganda tries to make out. What we have is a conflict between the Maoist clique and the international Communist movement.

At a time when the socialist countries are preparing for the European Security and Cooperation Conference, Chinese politicians are resorting to every conceivable maneuver to prevent it being held. Most countries supported Bangladesh UN membership; the Peking representative used the veto. The socialist countries and all progressive mankind are working to halt the arms drive; Peking is working to continue it.

All this is proof that we are dealing not with polemics between China and the USSR, but with a conflict between Maoism and the world's progressive peace forces. Both in foreign and home policy and in relations with other Communist parties, the Chinese leadership has abandoned the fundamental principles of Leninism.

Peking's policy, Pena writes in conclusion, aims at lengthening the distance separating China from the socialist countries and shortening the distance between China and the capitalist world.

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## PETTY JUGGLING OVER BIG ISSUES\*

The change in international relations from cold war to peaceful coexistence and mutually advantageous cooperation of states with different social systems is acclaimed by all peace-loving and progressive forces. It is also hailed by certain sections of the international Social-Democratic movement, giving due credit to the purposeful and fruitful efforts of the Soviet Union, the Soviet Communist Party, in pressing forward with the Peace Program of our Party's 24th Congress.

The trend towards European détente and cooperation is visibly stronger of late in the policy of some of the Socialist and Social-Democratic parties of Western Europe. The desire of some of the European Social-Democratic parties to contribute to the positive development of international relations has materialized, among other things, in broader contacts with the Communist parties of the socialist countries, including the CPSU. A representative delegation of Britain's Labor Party Executive recently visited the

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\*Pravda, August 4, 1973.



Soviet Union and held talks at the CC CPSU in a frank and friendly atmosphere. Contacts between the CPSU and the Belgian Socialist Party, too, have made further progress, and at the latest meeting in Brussels both sides reaffirmed the realism and necessity of joint action for peace and social progress by the democratic and progressive forces.

However, certain forces in Western Europe are anything but pleased with the latest developments. And some of them belong to the Social Democratic movement. Take the posture of B. Pittermann, Chairman of the Socialist International. Of late, he has not missed a single opportunity to attack the socialist countries, the Communist movement, calling for struggle against the "communist regimes," warning Social-Democrats against cooperating with the Communist parties, and alleging — in total disregard of the truth — that Western Communists are "subordinated" to Moscow, and the like.

What is interesting to note, however, is that Pittermann makes one very important exception among the "communist regimes." And this exception speaks volumes of his own integrity, but more still about the "regime" in question, namely Peking. Pittermann visited Peking at the end of last year, and is apparently intending to repeat his visit. From a tourist's standpoint, of course, China, like many other countries, is a place of many attractions. But in the case of the Chairman of the Socialist International one cannot help wondering what is behind his visits. It is really the mere curiosity of a tourist? Let's try to figure it out.

Pittermann is essentially opposed to contacts with the ruling Communist parties. This he has declared more than once. Does he leave this stance behind as he sets out for Peking? Whatever the case, one cannot help seeing that his "ideological firmness" is easily discarded. In relation to the Soviet Union, for example, Pittermann parades as a "champion" of the rights of man, and distorts the state of affairs in our country. But in China's case no trace of his posture remains.

It may be worth recalling that still earlier Peking was visited by Pietro Nenni, Vice-Chairman of the Socialist International. And the interview he gave to *Avanti* on his return was an unadulterated hymn of praise to the "cultural revolution." If we are to believe Nenni, its purpose was "to change the human being," to educate man "in the spirit of the socialist humanist tradition," to place production "in the service of man," etc. Weighing the "Chinese experience" against that of the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries, Nenni declared that the Maoist order provided "great scope for man." As for the notorious inhumanity of the "cultural revolution" in China, its brutal and bloody excesses, the tremendous



losses inflicted by the Maoists on the Party cadre, on millions of plain people, the Chinese intelligentsia and the youth, Nenni simply ignored it all, because it did not fit his political designs.

No, one would hardly suspect the two Socialist Internationalist leaders of having adopted the Maoist faith. The whole thing amounts to something entirely different — a definite kind of policy lacking all principle.

The Peking flirtation of some of the Socialist International leaders makes quite obvious sense in light of certain foreign-political principles set forth by the present Chinese leadership. In substance, the only motivation behind Peking's attitudes to any of the big international issues is its desire to inflict the greatest possible damage to the Soviet Union and the interests of the socialist community. Accordingly, the Chinese leadership opposes any and all international initiatives of the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries to improve the international situation; it sabotages any and all attempts to limit armaments, and any and all efforts for disarmament and international détente; it describes as "a scrap of paper" the Soviet-American agreement on preventing nuclear war, that major and realistic step towards reducing, and ultimately removing, the danger of a nuclear collision; it tries to set West European public opinion against the all-European Security and Cooperation Conference. It countered the program of that conference, successfully launched on its work in Helsinki, with appeals to the "Western Alliance" to cement unity, appeals to develop the Common Market into a politico-military grouping, appeals to fortify NATO. L. I. Brezhnev described Peking's foreign policy as "an unprincipled blocking on an anti-communist basis with all, even the most reactionary, forces, be it the most virulent anti-Soviet elements from among the British Tories, the revanchists in the FRG, the Portuguese colonialists, or the racists of South Africa."

Why are Mr. Pittermann and some of his colleagues so eager to extend contacts and ties with the Maoist leadership? Is it because of an ideological affinity between the so-called "democratic socialism" and the Maoist doctrine? No, one can hardly take that seriously. Is it that the aims of Peking's foreign policy coincide with the policy of the majority of the Social-Democratic parties? No, this assumption, too, to judge by official documents, does not hold water. Is it then the desire to obtain additional information about the situation in the Chinese People's Republic? No, not that either, for, as we have seen, even the available information is either ignored or turned inside out. There is only one answer: some of the gentlemen in the Socialist International are magnetized by the anti-Sovietism of the Chinese leadership. And to prevent coopera-



tion between the different sections of the international working-class movement, to block the realistic approach in the West to cooperation with the socialist countries, they are as willing, as Peking is, to conclude unprincipled deals.

While making anti-communist attacks against the Soviet Union and the other countries of the socialist community, they are prepared to justify all of Peking's doings and to ignore the dangerous consequences of its behavior to international peace and security, to the working-class and democratic movement. Is this not an out-and-out lack of principle?

While launching vehement protests against nuclear tests, they pass over in silence China's atomic explosions in the atmosphere, as in the case of a recent Socialist International resolution. Does not this depreciate the moral value of their protest?

And when they try to interfere in the internal affairs of the Soviet Union on the pretext of concern for human rights, and then, in the same breath, extol the authoritarian, military-bureaucratic regime in China, that, too, is an out-and-out lack of principle.

It remains to be added that this policy is in direct contradiction to the interests of peace and security, and is in many ways contrary to what is by now the official line of a number of Social-Democratic parties in Western Europe, and even contrary to the resolutions of the congresses of the Socialist International.

A. Borisov

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## A "HUMANIST" AGAINST DETENTE

Following is an article by Yves Moreau published under the above title in *L'Humanite*, August 23, 1973.

Three columns in *L'Aurore* and four in *Le Figaro* and *Le Monde* plus one of the two front-page banner headlines in *Combat*. . . . Really, some Paris papers, and for that matter the ORTF (French Broadcasting and Television Office) and other broadcasting stations,\* lapped up what Andrei Sakharov told several foreign correspondents in Moscow.

Was this motivated by the desire to give Sakharov an audience he lacks in the Soviet Union? Perhaps, but this desire is less disinterested than *Le Monde* would have us believe by hailing Sakharov editorially as "a humanist protester."

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\*So did major bourgeois dailies and broadcasting stations in many other capitalist countries.—Ed.



Astonishing "humanism" which consists in warning people not against the perils of international tension or war, but, as *Combat* put it with relish, against the "dangers of detente."

What, in effect, did Sakharov say?

"The countries of the West," he prophesied, "risk having to confront a USSR armed to the teeth and presenting a danger to its neighbors should they accept peaceful coexistence on the terms set by the Kremlin."

Prophecies like this, one will agree, are a windfall for those in our country who dream of checking the progress of detente.

For the same reason, *Combat* applauds another "protester," Vladimir Maximov, who accuses Willy Brandt of having "accepted a new Munich . . . to the detriment of the free world." Who will believe that this is a "humanist" talking? What he said repeats word for word the slogans launched by Franz Josef Strauss in Bonn or Munich to revive the spirit of revenge.

Whatever the indignation aroused by statements like Sakharov's or Maximov's, it is appropriate to reaffirm that so far as we are concerned, we in no way dispute the right of these gentlemen to say what they think right or to offer criticisms.

Time and again we have said that socialism as we conceive it for France will fully respect everyone's freedom of opinion and expression, including the opposition. For it is through political struggle, through the struggle of ideas, and not by authoritarian measures that we intend to settle political and ideological matters.

So let there be no mistake about the disapproval we feel for Sakharov's and Maximov's utterances.

On the pretext of being displeased with the internal regime of the Soviet Union, they not only oppose detente but call on the reactionary forces of Western countries for help; on the pretext of bringing about a "democratization" of the society in which they live, they appeal for a resumption of the cold war.

Insane appeals. Appeals absolutely contrary to peaceful coexistence, one of the fundamental principles of which is non-interference in the internal affairs of others.

Peaceful coexistence is meant to rule out war between countries with different political, economic and social systems. But the right of every people to decide sovereignly on its destiny and the social system that suits it, must be respected. For peaceful coexistence does not mean preserving the political status quo or ending the class struggles for emancipation or national liberation; on the contrary, it favors such struggles, because it implies, for instance, that the South Vietnamese should be free to establish democracy in Saigon and the Chileans to end the tutelage of the U.S. monopolies.



Interference in the internal affairs of other countries breeds conflicts. It has been a standing practice of imperialism to this day.

But now that the balance of world forces has changed, capitalist countries, like it or not, are beginning to acknowledge peaceful coexistence. A first series of agreements and treaties has been concluded, notably in Europe, important talks are in progress or planned, with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries advancing specific proposals for collective security, disarmament and international cooperation.

Peaceful coexistence, which Lenin postulated from the first days of Soviet power, is about to become reality. It will not only make it possible to banish war, but is bound to further economic, social and cultural exchanges and better relations among men.

The headway that has already been made on these lines has caused panic among the admirers of cold war.

The second phase of the European conference will begin in Geneva in three weeks. On October 2,\* a great world congress of peace forces is to open in Moscow. And later there will be talks in Vienna on reducing armaments and armed forces in Central Europe. The prospects of these talks are disheartening for those who think it is in their interest to maintain international tension, and Sakharov's utterances only bring grist to their mill. Hence the enormous publicity.

It shows that peaceful coexistence is not an idyll and will prevail only as a result of stubborn and sustained struggle.

On August 29 Pravda published a letter by 40 world famous members of the USSR Academy of Sciences. Its text follows:

We find it necessary to tell the public at large of our attitude towards the behavior of Academician A. D. Sakharov.

In recent years Academician Sakharov has withdrawn from active scientific activity and has made several statements defaming the state system, and the foreign and home policy of the Soviet Union. Recently, in an interview with foreign correspondents in Moscow, published in the Western press, he went so far as to oppose the Soviet Union's policy for international detente and the consolidation of the positive changes that have taken place in the world of late.

A. D. Sakharov attempts to justify his statements, deeply alien to the interests of all progressive people, by crudely distorting Soviet reality and by false rebukes against the socialist system. In effect, his utterances are consonant with the extreme reactionary imperialist circles, which actively oppose the course for peaceful

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\*This date was subsequently changed to Oct. 25.—Ed.



coexistence between countries with different social systems, the course of our Party and state for the development of scientific and cultural cooperation and a lasting peace. By so doing, A. D. Sakharov has in effect become the tool of hostile propaganda against the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries.

A. D. Sakharov's activities are deeply alien to Soviet scientists. They look particularly unseemly against the background of our people's concerted efforts to fulfil the imposing tasks of economic and cultural development in the Soviet Union, to strengthen peace and improve the international situation.

We express our indignation over the statements made by Academician A. D. Sakharov and strongly condemn his activity prejudicial to the honor and dignity of a Soviet scientist. We hope that Academician Sakharov will reconsider his actions.

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## **BILATERAL MEETINGS**

On July 20 A. P. Kirilenko, Member of the CC CPSU Political Bureau and Secretary of the CC CPSU received M. Pesic, Ambassador in the USSR of the Socialist Federative Republic of Yugoslavia, who conveyed a message from the President of the SFRY and Chairman of the LCY J. Broz Tito to the General Secretary of the CC CPSU, L. I. Brezhnev. The conversation between A. P. Kirilenko and M. Pesic was warm and friendly.

*Pravda*, July 21, 1973

On July 23 Alternate Member of the CC CPSU Political Bureau and CC CPSU Secretary B. N. Ponomarev met with the Chairman of the Communist Party of Belgium L. Van Geyt in Moscow.

During the warm and comradely talks, characteristic of the relations prevailing between the two parties, international events of mutual interest were discussed, including the prospects of the struggle for European security and problems relating to the Communist movement.

Both sides expressed their satisfaction with the fruitful contacts between the CPSU and the CP of Belgium, and stated their confidence that this development would continue.

An identity of views was displayed on all questions discussed.

Also participating in the talks was V. V. Zagladin, member of the CPSU Central Auditing Commission and Deputy Head of the CC CPSU International Department.

*Pravda*, July 24, 1973



On July 25 a friendly meeting was held between Alternate Member of the CC CPSU Political Bureau and Secretary of the CC CPSU B. N. Ponomaryov and the Chairman of the CP of Austria, F. Muhri, and CC CPA Politbureau Members H. Kalt and F. Karger.

The two sides expressed their views on the development of relations between the two parties, and on other problems of mutual interest, including the struggle for European security and cooperation. The friendly meeting showed an identity of views on the problems discussed. Also present during the talks was V. V. Zagladin, Member of the CPSU Central Auditing Commission and Deputy Head of the CC CPSU International Department.

On July 26 a friendly talk was held between Alternate Member of the CC CPSU Political Bureau and Secretary of the CC CPSU B. N. Ponomaryov and the General Secretary of the Communist Party of Martinique, Armand Nicolas. During the sincere and comradely conversation questions of mutual interest were discussed.

Also present was V. V. Zagladin, Member of the CPSU Central Auditing Commission and Deputy Head of the CC CPSU International Department.

*Pravda*, July 27, 1973

On August 6, Alternate Member of the CC CPSU Political Bureau and Secretary of the CC CPSU B. N. Ponomaryov received CC Member of the National Liberation Front and Ambassador to the USSR of the Republic of South Vietnam, Dang Quang Minh, in connection with his departure.

On behalf of his government and all South Vietnamese patriots, the Ambassador expressed deep gratitude to the CPSU and all Soviet people for their unfailing, all-round and effective aid and support for the Vietnamese people's just cause. Dang Quang Minh also expressed sincere thanks for the friendly cooperation he unfailingly received in his work from the CC CPSU and the Soviet public organizations during his stay in the USSR.

The talk was held in a fraternal and sincere atmosphere.

*Pravda*, August 7, 1973.

On August 10, L. I. Brezhnev, General Secretary CC CPSU, received the General Secretary of the National Front of the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen, Abdel Fattah Ismail, visiting the USSR on the invitation of the CC CPSU. Also present was B. N. Ponomaryov, Alternate Member of the CC CPSU Political Bureau and Secretary of the CC CPSU.

During the warm and comradely talks the sides discussed the further relations between the Soviet Union and the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen, and the strengthening of ties between the CPSU and the National Front. Views were exchanged on the present



international situation, the Mid-East situation and the situation in the Persian Gulf area.

The CPSU and Soviet government, it was stressed, support the just struggle of the Arab peoples for a solution of the Middle East conflict on the basis of the withdrawal of Israeli aggressor troops from all occupied Arab territories, and respect for the independence and lawful rights of the countries and peoples of that region, including the Arab people of Palestine.

The General Secretary of the National Front expressed full support for the CPSU efforts in carrying out the Peace Program of the 24th CPSU Congress. He praised highly the personal contribution made by L. I. Brezhnev to international detente, consolidation of world peace and the struggle of the peoples for national freedom and social progress. He was certain, he said, that the recent foreign policy actions of the CC CPSU and the Soviet Government were in the interest of the peoples of the world, including the peoples of the Arab countries.

The General Secretary of the CC CPSU confirmed the constancy of the Soviet Union's policy of assisting the people of Democratic Yemen in building a new life, and defending the sovereignty and national independence of their country.

On behalf of the people of South Yemen A. F. Ismail expressed gratitude to the CC CPSU and the Soviet Government for supporting the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen and the other Arab nations in their just struggle. The development and deepening of party ties between the CPSU and the National Front of South Yemen, he said, was an important factor in consolidating the friendship and cooperation between the peoples of the Soviet Union and South Yemen in the common interest of the anti-imperialist struggle, for peace, freedom and social progress.

Both sides were in favor of a further all-round growth of friendly relations and cooperation between the Soviet Union and the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen, between the CPSU and the PDRY National Front.

*Pravda*, August 11, 1973

On August 13, CC CPSU Political Bureau Member and Chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, A. N. Kosygin, met with Political Bureau Member of the CC, Working People's Party of Vietnam, and Prime Minister of the DRV Government, Pham Van Dong, who is in Moscow en route to Hanoi.

In a warm and friendly talk, A. N. Kosygin and Pham Van Dong discussed the development of fraternal solidarity and friendship between the CPSU and the WPPV, the Soviet Union and the Democratic Republic of Vietnam. They stressed the significance of the



Crimea meeting of leaders of Communist and Workers' Parties of the socialist countries in supporting the positions of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Vietnam, which demand strict fulfilment by all sides of the Paris Agreement and respect for the right of the peoples of Indochina to decide their own future.

Also present was O. B. Rakhmanin, First Deputy Department Head, CC CPSU, and Vo Thuc Dong, DRV Ambassador to the USSR.

*Pravda*, Aug. 14, 1973

On August 13 A. P. Kirilenko, CC CPSU Political Bureau Member and Secretary of the CC CPSU, and B. N. Ponomaryov, Alternate Member of the Political Bureau of the CC CPSU and Secretary of the CC CPSU, met with members of the Political Commission of the CC of the Communist Party of Chile, V. Teitelboim and G. Marin.

The comrades from Chile described the work of the Communist Party and other forces in the government coalition to defend the gains of the Chilean people, combat subversion by reactionary elements, ensure further fulfilment of the National Unity program, and back the measures of the Chilean Government headed by Salvador Allende.

Comrades A. P. Kirilenko and B. N. Ponomaryov described the creative labor of the Soviet people to reach the goals of the Ninth Five-Year Plan, the realization of the Peace Program of the 24th CPSU Congress, and the foreign policy actions of the CC CPSU to consolidate the positive developments in international relations and to broaden the international détente.

On behalf of the leadership of the CP of Chile, Comrades V. Teitelboim and G. Marin expressed deep gratitude for the internationalist solidarity with the working people of Chile displayed constantly by the CPSU, the Soviet Government and all Soviet people, and acclaimed the international activity of the CPSU. The Soviet side thanked the Chilean comrades for their praise and said that the Soviet people regard solidarity with peoples defending their freedom and independence, including the people of Chile, as their internationalist duty.

Opinions were also exchanged on other problems of mutual interest.

The talks were held in a warm and friendly atmosphere.

Also present was E. I. Kuskov, Member of the CPSU Central Auditing Commission and First Deputy Head of the CC CPSU International Department.

*Pravda*, August 14, 1973

On August 15 in Moscow B. N. Ponomaryov, Alternate Member



of the CC CPSU Political Bureau and Secretary of the CC CPSU met with the General Secretary of the Communist Party of Peru, Jorge del Prado.

Comrade Jorge del Prado described the people's anti-imperialist movement in his country, the work of the CP of Peru to consolidate the democratic forces, and its activities in support of the progressive policy of the Revolutionary Armed Forces government of Peru, headed by General Juan Velasco Alvarado.

B. N. Ponomaryov described the Soviet people's creative labor to fulfil the goals of the Ninth Five-Year Plan, the realization of the Peace Program of the 24th CPSU Congress, the important foreign policy actions of the CC CPSU in furthering international detente and strengthening the positions of the forces of peace and socialism the world over.

Jorge del Prado acclaimed the international solidarity of the CPSU, the Soviet Government and all the Soviet people with the people of Peru, and noted the great significance of the foreign policy of the CPSU for the forces of peace, democracy and social progress.

During the warm and friendly talks there was an exchange of views on other problems of mutual interest.

Also present at the talks was E. I. Kuskov, Member of the CPSU Central Auditing Commission and First Deputy Head of the CC CPSU International Department.

*Pravda*, August 16, 1973

On August 17 a meeting was held in the CC CPSU between B. N. Ponomaryov, Alternate Member of the Political Bureau, CC CPSU, and Secretary of the CC CPSU; R. A. Ulyanovsky, Deputy Head of the International Department, CC CPSU, and a delegation of the Communist Party of Bangladesh, including A. Salam, General Secretary of the CC CPB, and CC CPB Secretaries: A. Mukherji and M. Farhad.

The Bangladesh delegates spoke of the work of the CP of Bangladesh and its efforts to attain unity of the country's democratic and national patriotic forces, the development of Bangladesh along the path of social progress and the Party's support of the foreign policy and socio-economic transformations carried out by the Mujibur Rahman government in the interests of the broad masses. Both sides expressed their support for a peaceful political solution as regards relations between all the countries of the South Asian sub-continent on the basis of peaceful coexistence and cooperation.

B. N. Ponomaryov informed the CPB delegation of the creative labor of the Soviet people in fulfilling the goals of communist



construction, and of the international activity of the CPSU in implementing the Peace Program of the 24th CPSU Congress.

The CPB delegation acclaimed the activity of the CPSU and wished the Soviet people success in building communism, further progress and greater might in the interest of world peace and security.

The Communists of Bangladesh were wished new success in their struggle jointly with the country's democratic forces for a better future of their people.

The talks were held in a warm and friendly atmosphere, confirming the unity of views on the questions discussed.

On August 17 a meeting was held in the CC CPSU between Alternate Member of the Political Bureau, CC CPSU, and Secretary of the CC CPSU B. N. Ponomaryov and the General Secretary of the Communist Party of Canada, William Kashtan.

B. N. Ponomaryov described the activities of the CPSU and the Soviet people in fulfilling the plans of communist construction, the international activities of the CPSU in carrying out the decisions of the 24th CPSU Congress, and the significance of the coming World Congress of Peace Forces, the preparations for which have been joined by broadly-representative public bodies all over the world.

William Kashtan described the political situation in his country, the struggle of the Canadian Communist Party for the people's vital demands. He praised highly the international activities of the CPSU and the Soviet government in advancing the Peace Program, the Soviet people's achievements in building communist society, and noted that the creative labor of the Soviet people evokes admiration everywhere in the world.

Both sides stressed the need for further strengthening the unity of the world communist movement on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, and noted the great harm caused by Maoism to peace, socialism and international detente.

Also participating in the sincere and friendly talks was E. I. Kuskov, Member of the CPSU Central Auditing Commission and First Deputy Head of the International Department of the CC CPSU. *Pravda*, August 18, 1973.

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