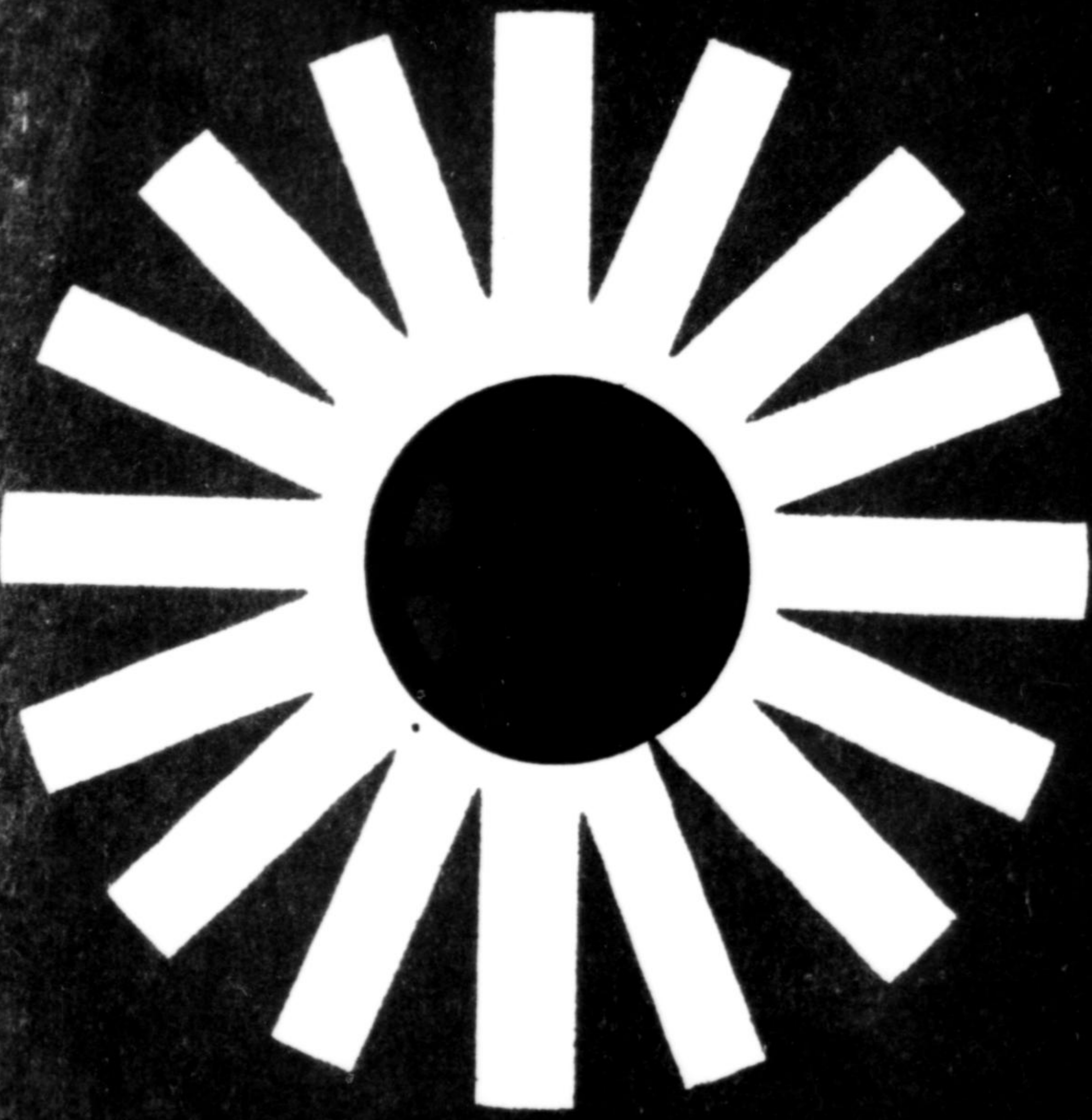
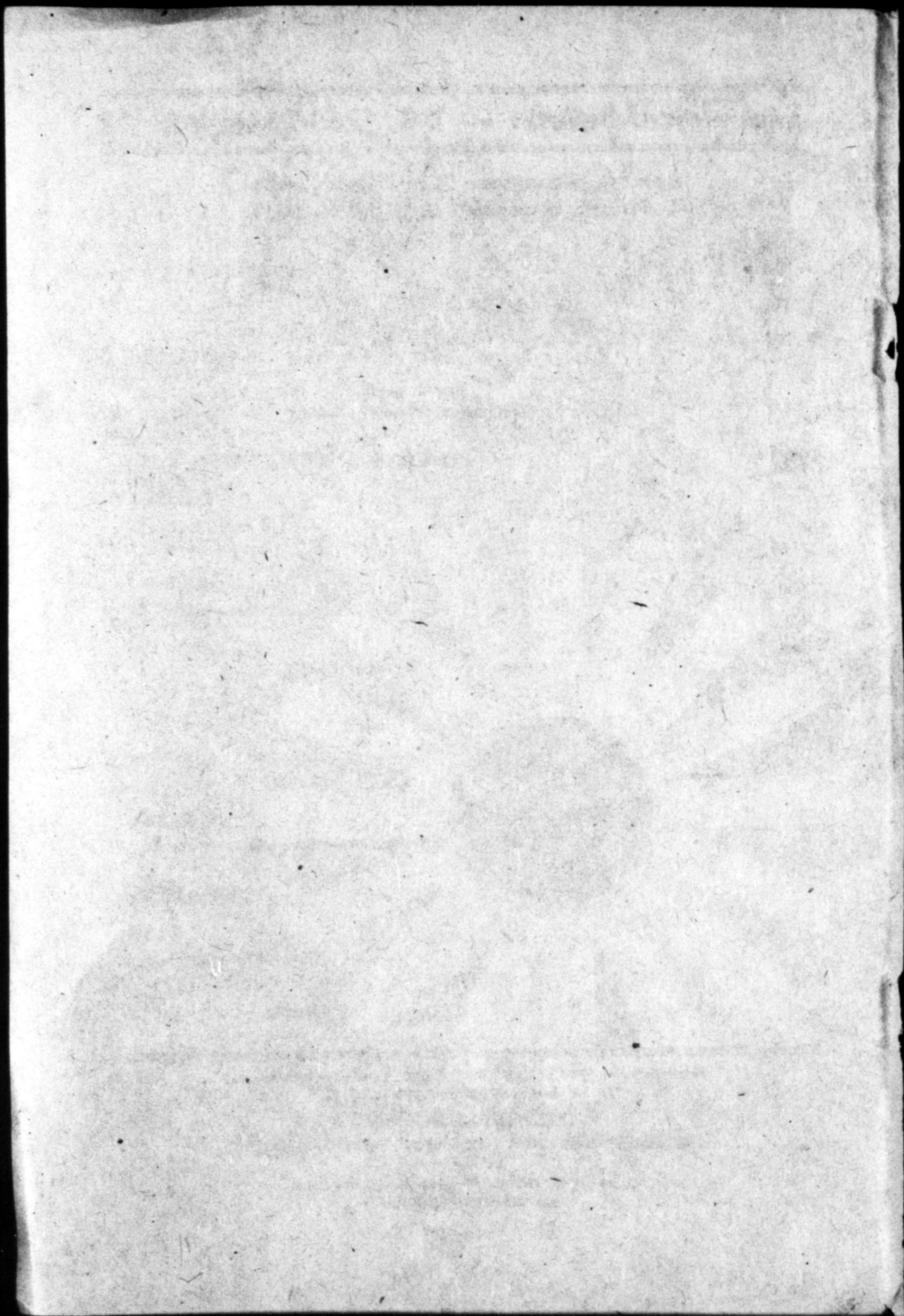


INFORMATION





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FROM THE PARTY PRESS

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23, 1974



A GREAT EXPLOIT OF THE PARTY AND THE PEOPLE

A meeting of Party, government and agricultural bodies together with foremost workers in industry and farming and representatives of public organizations was held on March 15 in Alma Ata, capital of Kazakhstan, to celebrate the 20th anniversary of the virgin lands development project.

Present in the hall were members of the Central Committee, CP Kazakhstan, deputies of the Supreme Soviet of the Republic and representatives from all its regions.

Also attending were delegations from Union Republics, regions and districts of the country, who had arrived to take part in the festivities.

L. I. Brezhnev, A. A. Grechko, D. A. Kunayev, V. V. Shcherbitsky, P. M. Masherov, S. P. Rashidov, G. B. Romanov, M. S. Solomentsev were greeted with warm applause. Together with them in the presidium were I. I. Bodyul, First Secretary, CC CP Moldavia; T. Usubaliyev, First Secretary, CC CP Kirghizia; D. Rasulov, First Secretary, CC CP Tajikistan; M. G. Gapurov, First Secretary, CC CP Turkmenia; Y. M. Tyazhelnikov, First Secretary, CC, All-Union Young Communist League; G. E. Tsukanov, member of the CC CPSU.

The opening speech was made by D. A. Kunayev, member of the Political Bureau, CC CPSU and First Secretary of the CC CP Kazakhstan.

Then L. I. Brezhnev, General Secretary of the CC CPSU, took the floor. His speech was heard with close attention and punctuated with prolonged applause. His concluding words were greeted with a standing ovation.

SPEECH BY COMRADE L. I. BREZHNEV

Dear Comrades,
Dear virgin-land developers,
Friends,

It is a great pleasure for me to be here today among you, among those who upturned the virgin lands. Permit me, on behalf of the Central Committee and the Political Bureau of our Party, to extend sincere good wishes and congratulations to you and to all the virgin-

land developers on the 20th anniversary of the start of this great and important work.

The veteran virgin-land developers well remember that time, the piercing wind across the steppe, storms and frosts, the tents pitched in the snow, the first furrows in the fields, and the first streets of new communities, the days packed with work, and frequently sleepless nights. A score of years have passed since then . . . But we cannot forget that the first hectares of virgin land and the first tons of grain from the virgin land did not come easy to us. One cannot forget that into which one has put one's heart and soul.

The history of our socialist motherland has been made and is being made by those who built the Dnieper Hydropower Station and the Magnitogorsk Steel Works, who laid the Turkestan-Siberian Railroad and the Kara-Kum Canal, who transformed the Hungry Steppe in Uzbekistan into a flourishing oasis, and who are now putting up the shops of the Kama Motor Works and extracting oil in Tyumen. The labor exploits of the developers of the virgin lands occupy a worthy place among the glorious heroic accomplishments.

The developing of the virgin and long-fallow lands in Kazakhstan, the Altai and Krasnoyarsk Territories, the Novosibirsk and Omsk Regions, in the Volga areas, in the Urals and the Far East, and in other areas of the country, constitutes one of the most vivid chapters in the annals of the creative endeavor of the Soviet people. Hundreds of state farms have sprung up; industrial enterprises have been built, and modern scientific centers have been erected in lands which had for centuries lain idle. This has not only made it possible to create a new big grain-growing base in the East of the country, but also to radically change the economy, culture, and the entire appearance of vast regions.

A new word, "tselinnik,"* has become current in the Russian language and in the languages of the other peoples of the Soviet Union. This means, comrades tselinniks, that your labor is being perpetuated in the memory of the people. There is no, and, I think, can be no, higher reward than this.

The real significance of historic events of major political decisions does not, as a rule, reveal itself at once, in the immediate wake, but later on, when it is possible to compare intentions with the results obtained and to assess the factual impact of these events and decisions on one aspect of life or another. The distance of history, by rendering details unobtrusive, thus, makes it possible to pick out the main point more easily, in bolder relief. But the main point, comrades, in speaking of the virgin land development, is that the Party had put forward an important and urgent task, and that the Communists and our people successfully carried it out.

*"Tselinnik"—virgin-land developer.—Ed.

HISTORICAL SIGNIFICANCE*

Let us look back at the situation in the early 50s. The grain situation at that time evoked serious alarm. The average grain crop yield did not exceed nine centners per hectare. In 1953, 31.1 million tons of grain were harvested, whereas 32.4 million tons were used as food supplies for the population and for the other needs of the state. Partial use had to be made of state stocks.

Cardinal, and, at the same time, rather urgent measures were needed in order to overcome the difficulties. In these circumstances, the Party, while in no way neglecting the need to increase crop yields, set, as first and foremost, the task of expanding the sowing areas considerably and quickly.

This problem was in itself not new. Vladimir Ilyich Lenin repeatedly emphasized the need for, and possibility of, developing fallow lands. It is common knowledge that in pre-revolutionary Russia there were immense territories, especially in the outlying areas, which remained uncultivated. Bourgeois researchers claimed that, for geographical reasons, they could not be used. Lenin rejected these assertions. He noted that these lands are unsuitable "... not so much for *natural* reasons . . . as for the *social* conditions of agriculture . . . which doom technology to stagnation and the population to lack of rights, oppression, ignorance and helplessness."

The October Revolution fundamentally changed the "social conditions" of agriculture, and, thus, created conditions for the use of new lands. By 1940, the entire sowing area, in comparison with 1913, had grown by 32.4 million hectares. The next stage in the development of the reserve lands of the USSR was launched in the mid-50s. It was precisely in those years that the need for obtaining grain from the virgin lands was coupled with the real possibility of carrying out this historic task.

The meetings which were held in late 1953 and early 1954 in the Territories and Regions of the Russian Federation, in Kazakhstan, and other Republics, showed that the Communists endorsed and supported the Party's line to develop the virgin and long-fallow lands. Attention was drawn not only to winning time and the swift returns on the investment, but the importance of the comprehensive economic development of the new lands was also emphasized.

In 1954, as you remember, the Plenary Meeting of the CPSU Central Committee in February and March summed up the proposals of the Republics, Territories and Regions, and adopted a resolution. "On Further Increasing Grain Production in the Country and on the Development of Virgin and Long-Fallow Lands." Although, as everyone knows, work in the virgin lands was under way before this, the bat-

*Subheads by "IB".—Ed.

tle for the development of virgin and long-fallow lands was only launched full force after the decision taken at the Plenary Meeting. The Party won this battle. It won it because the Soviet people took the Central Committee's appeal to heart.

I, comrades, have not used the word, battle, by accident. Courage, self-sacrifice, readiness to perform exploits and boundless devotion to the Party and the Motherland were required of the pioneer virgin-land developers, the same as that required of front-line soldiers. The early years of virgin-land development brought about a sharp turn in the destiny of hundreds of thousands of people, of Communists and non-Party people, old and young, of all who moved away from their old homes, denied themselves urban amenities, left their near and dear ones, to put this previously untilled soil under the plough and grow grain in it. They were the ones who made a success of the matter.

Here, in this hall, are many faces which are familiar to me. We met in fields, on construction sites, in tents and field workshops on collective farms and state farms, and at Party aktivs and meetings. As you know, comrades, the Party sent me to work in Kazakhstan 20 years ago, in February 1954. I am proud that such a great mission was entrusted to me. I warmly recall those unforgettable days, extremely difficult, but, at the same time, truly happy ones.

There were lively meetings of new settlers, new songs which emerged from effervescent life, the romance of exploits, and the ardor of the trail-blazers. There was a splendid feeling of the confidence which comes when difficulties are surmounted and forced to retreat. Many difficulties had to be overcome. In the space of a few months, hundreds of thousands of new settlers had to be accommodated. Services needed to be organized, and the construction of state farms, grain elevators, roads and bridges had to be launched. Many things did not go well in the beginning. Discrepancies and misunderstanding arose, and there were mistakes, too.

People may ask, why, on such a joyous occasion, recall the hardships, especially since they have long since passed into oblivion? One cannot agree to such logic. If we pass over hardships in silence, or diminish them, we shall, in this way, willy-nilly, depreciate the significance of the exploits of the virgin-land developers. It was an exploit in the most precise meaning of the word. One of the veteran virgin-land developers, Fyodor Trofimovich Morgun, described it very well: "The eternal firm soil put up stiff resistance, but human firmness proved tougher than that of the land." True, there were cowards, too; they deserted, and fled from the hardships. What can we say about such people, though there were only a few of them? The virgin lands cleansed themselves of the faint-hearted, and things were all the better for it.

Within three years, more than 32 million hectares were ploughed up in the basic areas of virgin and long-fallow development. The gross grain harvest in the nation rose from 82.5 million tons in 1953 to 125 million tons in 1956, while grain procurements increased from 31 to 54 million tons.

Such a rate proved possible only because the virgin land development truly became a matter for the entire people. As ever, the final word here, too, rested with the working class. It sent its finest workers to reinforce the ranks of the tselinniks, and introduced organization and proletarian discipline. Under the leadership of Party organizations and with the active participation of the trade unions and the Komsomol, a patriotic movement was launched in the industrial centers of the country for the output of equipment ahead of schedule for the development of new lands. The traditional farming districts sent experienced grain farmers and machine operators to the virgin-land areas. Representatives of the intelligentsia responded to the call of the Party. A tremendous role was played by demobilized Soviet Army servicemen, students of higher, specialized secondary and vocational schools. The early years of development of the virgin lands alone saw the arrival there of almost a million volunteers.

The Komsomol dispatched its finest representatives to this difficult undertaking. More than 500,000 young people went there in response to the Komsomol's call and the dictate of their own hearts. For its substantial contribution to virgin-land development, the Leninist Komsomol was awarded the country's highest decoration, the Order of Lenin.

A truly wonderful chapter was being inscribed in the further development of the virgin-land state farms by Soviet students. For years now, many thousands of students have been working in the fields and in building teams, and they are doing this selflessly. What is important for us, comrades, is not only what they give to the virgin lands but also what the virgin lands give to these young people. Here they receive schooling in labor, and physical steeling. They become involved in a real state undertaking and carry out a considerable amount of political and cultural work.

All this, comrades, will remain with them for the rest of their lives.

All the Union Republics, and all the Regions in our country have been taking an active part in developing the virgin lands. These lands have become a real school of international education, in which representatives of all the peoples in our country have fused the wise experience of farmers, the working habits, and the determination to win. The names of many virgin-land state farms themselves, "Moscow," "Leningrad," "Kiev," "Minsk," "Dniepropetrovsk," "Gorky," "Kharkov," are like birth certificates indicating from where the people

came who set them up. I would particularly like to note the contribution made by the Party organizations of Moscow, Leningrad, the Ukraine and Byelorussia. In Kazakhstan alone they helped to establish hundreds of new state farms.

Comrades, today, the Moscow City Party organization is holding its Party conference. I hope that you will support my proposal to convey to the Communists of the capital of our motherland every good wish for great labor successes, and to express our gratitude to them for their invaluable contribution to the developing of the virgin lands.

New lands are settled by new people. But when we speak of virgin-land developers, we have in mind not only those who arrived in those areas from all parts of our country. We also speak, with feelings of deep respect, about the selfless efforts of the indigenous people, the natives and old-timers of the ancient steppes of Kazakhstan, Siberia, the Urals and the Volga area. They accorded the new settlers, a heartfelt and hospitable welcome, worked side by side with them, and gave their all in the common cause of creating a new rich breadbasket of the country.

The development of the virgin lands was the tangible incarnation of the Leninist policy of friendship and mutual assistance of the peoples inhabiting our country, a policy which the Party has been consistently promoting for more than half a century. The Motherland has duly appraised the contribution of each Soviet Republic to the implementation of this policy: on the 50th anniversary of our great Union, they were all awarded the Order of Friendship of Peoples. I had the honor of presenting this high award to Soviet Kazakhstan. I wish to reiterate today that the virgin lands, developed by the common effort of Kazakhs and representatives of practically all the other nations of the country, are a remarkable example of socialist internationalism.

Marking the glorious jubilee of virgin-land development, we give our due to the working class of our country, to the collective farm peasantry, the Soviet intelligentsia and to all those who made their contribution to the development of the virgin lands. We pay tribute to all the participants in this heroic epopee, to those who tilled the land, sowed and reaped the grain, to those who built dwellings, grainaries and workshops, who put up power transmission lines, and who educated and reared the children, looked after the health of the tseliniks. To all of you, the great thanks of the entire people.

Comrades, whenever our country, our people was faced by new, responsible tasks, the Communists moved out into the forefront. This was also the case in the virgin lands. The call of the Party set into motion vast numbers of people of different ages, nationalities, levels of education, qualifications and experience of life. In order to unite them, organize their work, direct them toward a single goal,

and cement them in hundreds of closely-knit and efficient collectives, appropriate forms of Party, organizational and ideological work had to be found. They were indeed found.

The characteristic features of our Party were manifested with utmost clarity in the complicated conditions obtaining in those years, namely, the inseparable ties with the popular masses, the ability to constantly heed their voice, to learn from them, to absorb and support progressive experience, to fight irreconcilably against all hindrances, and to criticize faults fearlessly and openly. The activity of the Party as a whole during the development of the virgin lands is an example of enormous innovatory work, outstanding in its results.

It is appropriate and just, on the day of the virgin-land jubilee, to pay tribute to the Regional and District Party Committees of the virgin-land regions and areas, to the primary Party organizations of the state farms and collective farms and to all the Communists, who were constantly in the forefront of the drive for bumper virgin-land grain harvests.

Comrades, in order to give an objective, business-like assessment of the results of one economic undertaking or another, we should turn to statistics. I believe it will be useful to do this today as well. You know that, all in all, almost 542 million hectares of land have been brought under cultivation. In the course of 20 years, the virgin lands have yielded almost 31,000 million poods of grain and a great deal of other agricultural produce. It is particularly important that we are receiving commercial grain in the main. Suffice it to say that the newly developed lands are now providing 27 per cent of all the grain sold to the state.

In the past years, the collective farms and state farms in all the virgin-land areas have become strong and have developed. Naturally, this applies to Kazakhstan, too. In the past three years, the collective farms and state farms in the Republic have sold 2,831 million poods of grain to the state. I will remind you that in the three years preceding the development of the virgin lands, grain purchases in the Republic amounted to only 321 million poods. As you see, this is a big difference.

The developing of the virgin lands has speeded up the rise in all branches of the economy and culture in those areas. In Kazakhstan, for example, the past 20 years have witnessed a 7.2-fold increase in industrial production. The virgin lands now mean scores of new towns and hundreds of industrial townships with all modern amenities provided for millions of people.

So, the present-day virgin lands, comrades, do not just mean grain, not just milk and meat: they mean a modern, socialist way of life, which has become deep-rooted in extensive previously uninhabited,

territories. And, of course, it means, first and foremost, wonderful people brought up and educated here.

The virgin lands have given many people a pass to life. Scores and hundreds of tractor-drivers, combine-harvester operators and builders have become state farm managers, chief specialists, and Party and government functionaries. But when we say that the virgin lands have elevated people, we do not gauge advance only by their promotion in office. There is another kind of advance, in a human way, equally significant and noble. I have in mind spiritual tempering, enhanced skill and moral maturity.

Figuratively speaking, the virgin lands have produced a bumper crop of such people—Nikolai Semyonov of Kazakhstan, Vasily Zadoiny of the Orenburg Region, Yevgenia Kobezhikova of the Krasnoyarsk Territory, Vasily Ustyuzhanin of the Novosibirsk Region, Alexander Sokolov and Vasily Ruban of the Volgograd Region, Vasily Golovatsky of the Saratov Region, Pyotr Nuzhnov of the Rostov Region, Semyon Pyatnitsa, Varvara Bakholdina and Fyodor Chabanov of the Altai Territory, Pyotr Bashtovoy of the Stavropol Territory, Safa Istamgalin of Bashkiria, Pyotr Zarodysh and Ivan Kobzar of the Omsk Region, and many, many others.

Many more splendid people from the virgin lands can be named. These people are of a heroic mould; they are people with the real character of the tselinnik. I shall take the liberty of speaking about at least three comrades who are the personification of such character.

Among the first to come to the virgin lands was a Ukrainian Kom-somol member, Mikhail Dovzhik. He immediately took charge of a tractor-drivers' team and began working in the style of a shock-worker. His working career is marked with many glorious initiatives, which found and continue to find thousands of followers. He now also holds the job of a team-leader but, like many others of his age, Mikhail Dovzhik has in the course of 20 years become a man with a broad statesmanlike outlook, a real master in his profession, and a capable teacher and organizer. Mikhail Yegorovich Dovzhik has been elected a Member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Kazakhstan. The Motherland has bestowed on him the title of Hero of Socialist Labor.

The name of Zhansultan Demeyev, a tractor-driver and harvester combine operator, had already become widely known in the first autumn of the development of the new lands. One of the most experienced machine operators, a veteran of virgin-land development, and a Hero of Socialist Labor, he today, too, is at his honorary post, at the steering-wheel of his harvester combine.

I cannot but mention yet another patriot of the virgin lands, Ivan Ivanovich Ivanov. He was born in Leningrad. During the war, when he was 19, he took part in defending his native city, and was seriously

wounded: he lost both legs. After a long period of recuperation, he came to Kazakhstan, grew fond of it, and has been working here now, extremely efficiently, for more than 20 years as a machine operator. Awards for labor exploits in the virgin lands, two Orders of Lenin and the Gold Star of a Hero, have been added to his military decorations.

The Motherland has duly appraised the selfless labor of many tselinniks. The lofty title of Hero of Socialist Labor has been conferred on 272 tselinniks. Orders and medals have been awarded to 96,965 people. The mass-scale and active participation of the Soviet people in developing the virgin lands is evidenced by 1,340,000 people receiving the For Developing the Virgin Lands Medal.

Honor and glory to the distinguished people of the Soviet Union, who have been educated and raised by the Lenninst Party!

As you know, 30 virgin-land state farms, collective farms and scientific establishments have been awarded Orders for spectacular successes in production and in connection with the 20th anniversary of the beginning of virgin and long-fallow land development.

Allow me to cordially congratulate the recipients and wish them fresh successes!

Comrades, we have a fine tradition of using every jubilee date, after appraising what has been done, for thinking over the tasks to be tackled in the future. It is quite understandable that the 20th anniversary of the beginning of virgin-land development is a good reason for a serious talk about the state and the prospects for agriculture in general.

QUESTIONS OF AGRARIAN POLICY

As we turn to the history of our Party, we shall see that agrarian policy has always been in the focus of its attention. This is only natural since it is connected with an important constituent of the Party's political course which ensures the union of the working class and the peasantry and which is directed at the victory of the proletarian revolution, the implementation of socialist transformations and the construction of a new society.

Of course, every stage in history has revealed its own specific tasks determined by the peculiarities of the social and political situation and the requirements and possibilities of the country. The present-day stage, too, has advanced such tasks. The entry of Soviet society into the period of building the material and technical foundation of communism has made the discrepancy between the rapid growth of socialist industry, culture, science and technology and the lag in agriculture especially clear. Over a long period, partly due to objective reasons and partly because of past miscalculations, many unsettled problems have been piling up in the countryside. They have acted

as a brake on the progress of agriculture and hindered the development of the national economy as a whole.

All this placed special responsibility on the Party and its Central Committee and demanded of us the elaboration of an agrarian policy to ensure the steady growth of agriculture, the transformation of the nature of agricultural work and the change in the very appearance of the village. Since the March 1965 Plenary Meeting of the CPSU Central Committee, we have been shaping this policy in real earnest, solving its key questions step by step: the creation of the economic conditions stimulating a growth in production, including a new procurement system; a drastic increase in capital investments; the implementation of a long-term comprehensive program for the mechanization and chemicalization of agriculture and land melioration; the development of agricultural science, and the perfection of organizational and managerial forms. Developed and endorsed by a number of the Plenary Meetings of the Central Committee and the 23rd and 24th Party Congresses, this policy has provided the foundation for the work of millions of Soviet people.

We have every ground for saying that the purposeful work of the Party and the people is bearing fruit. The production and purchases of field-farming and animal husbandry products are growing systematically. Labor productivity and the effectiveness of agricultural production are increasing. The incomes of collective farmers and state-farm workers are rising. Cultural and welfare facilities and social security for the rural population are being improved.

The results of the recent years clearly show that, though we still depend upon nature, not to such an extent as we did 10 or even 15 years ago. The year before last, an extremely unfavorable one as far as the weather was concerned, we succeeded in gathering a harvest which exceeded the average annual grain crops for the preceding five-year period. Last year the weather was better. However, weather conditions were adverse in the Urals, Siberia and some other areas of the country. Despite this, the country, as you know, gathered a record harvest, the biggest in its history.

Of course, we are far from achieving everything we are after. Not all the requirements of society have as yet been satisfied in full. However, a turn has set in and this is a radical turn. This, comrades, is one of the main results of the activities of the Party and the people in the recent past, one of our greatest achievements!

Noting with satisfaction the results of the work done, we, comrades, at the same time, must proceed from the fact that we are facing tasks no less important than those we have already solved.

It is sufficient just to mention one task which has faced us, still faces and will apparently continue to face us for a long time. This is attaining an increase in per-hectare yields. Frankly speaking, many

farms and, I should say, even districts still gather low harvests. Yet higher per-hectare yields mean higher gross grain harvests, higher purchases of farm produce and this, in turn, means higher living standards of the people. We connect questions associated with the growth of per-hectare yields with chemicalization, land improvement and the solution of the entire complex of agrotechnical measures.

In this connection, I should like to touch once again upon the main directions of our Party's agrarian policy at the present stage.

One of them is the establishment and perfection of a system of economic relations and conditions which would ensure the agricultural workers' material interest in enhancing production, as well as the further economic strengthening of collective and state farms. The historic importance of the March 1965 Plenary Meeting of the CPSU Central Committee consisted precisely in the fact that it laid the foundation for the solution of this task.

In the past, too, many realized that increasing the material interest of agricultural workers would promote the growth of production. However, this question had not been solved for a long time. A vicious circle emerged—production did not increase rapidly enough because adequate means were not allocated for material incentives, and there was a shortage of means because production grew slowly. To break through this circle it was necessary to radically change the existing practices, and this was done by the Central Committee. The years have shown how timely and correct were the decisions taken in that period.

Their essence lay in establishing stable purchase plans for a number of years ahead and in stimulating above-plan sales of farm produce by higher purchasing prices. These and other measures strengthened the economic positions of collective and state farms and created conditions for the growth of production and labor remuneration.

The experience of the past years has fully confirmed the effectiveness of the economic levers, especially when they are rationally combined with moral stimuli. They need to be further improved. We must orient ourselves toward the increasingly direct dependence of the reimbursement of individual workers and whole collectives on the final results of their performance. It is only in this way that it is possible to achieve the effective utilization of land and machinery and the accelerated growth of labor productivity.

Quite a few new proposals are being advanced and interesting initiatives effected in this field. They deserve serious study. The strengthening of the economic basis of the collective and state farms and the raising of the material interest of agricultural workers continue to remain in the focus of attention of the Party and the government.

Another important direction in the Party's agrarian policy is the

putting of agriculture on an up-to-date industrial basis and the decisive acceleration of scientific and technical progress in this sphere of the economy. The main elements of the extensive and diversified program, elaborated by the Party, are well known: comprehensive mechanization, chemicalization of agricultural production and large-scale land improvement.

Much has been done in this field in recent years. Investments in agriculture will increase in the current five-year period to 129,000 million rubles as against 82,000 million rubles in the previous five years. Never before have the villagers been supplied with so many machines and mechanisms, such large amounts of fertilizers and pest and weed control chemicals. Never before has the country effected such large-scale projects connected with irrigation, waterlogged land drainage and land improvement.

We shall continue to invest considerable means in agriculture. However, a qualitative aspect of the matter is increasingly coming to the fore, i.e., how and in what way the most efficient use can be made of the public money.

For example, we need more and more machines for agriculture. What we need are not just machines. We need new and the latest machinery which would correspond to the requirements of large-scale specialized production and which would make it possible to introduce progressive technologies. It is not enough to say that here life is hastening us up. It inexorably hurries us on, without giving us an hour for respite.

Thus, not so long ago a capacity of 95 or 100 hp was regarded as more than enough for a tractor. At present the Kirov Plant in Leningrad produces 220 hp tractors and has begun organizing the manufacture of 300 hp tractors, the K-701. Specialists maintain that in the near future it will be necessary to increase the capacity of the plough tractor even more. In this connection, I should like to say a few words about the Pavlodar Tractor Plant. I should like to ask the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Kazakhstan, the Leningrad Regional Party Committee and the engineers of the Kirov Plant to think of the expedience of the gradual, painless change-over of the Pavlodar Plant to the manufacture of powerful tractors, say, Type K-700. Probably, this will be a good thing.

The problem of increasing capacity also applies to many other types of agricultural machinery. I remember the words of the famous team leader Alexander Gitalov who is known all over the country. It was a pleasure for me to present the Order of Friendship of Peoples to the Ukrainian SSR. Before that, the Republican meeting of Party activists have taken place in Kiev. There, Alexander Gitalov had said that the combine-harvesters produced at present were no longer capable of coping with the big harvests on advanced farms. But such

harvests should be grown by all the farms in our country. Industrial enterprises and design bureaus should heed such voices. We must be sure to perfect all agricultural machines, taking into account the diversity of their jobs and the conditions in which they are used. All this will help us to noticeably raise labor productivity in agriculture. Simultaneously, care should be displayed about the training of a sufficiently big and qualified army of machine operators whose skills would correspond to the new level of technology.

Comrades, we have several times discussed the question of improving animal husbandry. There is no need to repeat what is common knowledge. At present, it is a matter of putting this important branch of agriculture on a modern industrial basis and expanding specialization and concentration of production. Last year, at the December Plenary Meeting of the Central Committee, the question was sharply raised of the development of machinery and equipment to meet the requirements of big livestock farms and complexes, and of the need to considerably increase the capacities of the mixed-feed industry. The Ministry of Machine-Building for Animal Husbandry and Feed Production was set up not so long ago. It ought to stand on its own feet soon and begin to provide livestock breeders with everything they need.

This, of course, does not in the least mean that we sit back with folded arms and wait until the new Ministry gets fully down to work. Experience shows that good results are already being obtained in places where the Party, government and agricultural bodies are displaying initiative and making rational and effective use of their resources. The Central Committee expresses confidence that the Central Committees of the Communist Parties of the Union Republics, the Regional and Territorial Party Committees, and the relevant government and agricultural bodies will draw appropriate conclusions from the exchange of opinions which took place at the December Plenary Meeting of the Central Committee and will yet again most carefully appraise the possibilities for improving animal husbandry, including, naturally, the solution of the feed problem which is a very important problem and, I should even say, the main problem: every Republic and every Region has reserves which should be used for this purpose.

Not long ago I had a conversation on this subject with Comrade Kunayev. What did we talk about? Kazakhstan has 32 million sheep. I asked Comrade Kunayev whether Kazakhstan had exhausted all the reserves for the growth of the sheep population? Certainly, not. As a result, we were both of the opinion that Kazakhstan could raise the sheep population to 50 million. (*Prolonged applause.*) I take your applause, comrades, to mean that you are fully in agreement with this. Now our esteemed Dimash Akhmedovich Kunayev and the Council of Ministers of the Republic will not be able to reduce this

figure even by a single sheep. Naturally, the Republic will need some help. These questions are in the elaboration stage and, of course, the necessary aid will be lent. But local Party bodies should already take up this matter in a big way.

Comrades, permit me not to dwell at length on the importance of the chemicalization of agriculture and land reclamation. This is obvious. The long-term chemicalization plan provides for the delivery of not less than 120 million tons of fertilizers in 1980; hence, the growing importance of preventing losses in their transportation and storage, observing agrotechnical rules in the use of fertilizers, and improving the agrochemical training of personnel on collective and state farms. But it should be said that, unfortunately, there are still many shortcomings here, and the losses of fertilizers during transportation and storage are great.

As far as land-improvement work is concerned, its scale is unparalleled in the world: it is being carried out in practically all parts of the country. This is already yielding tangible results. A stable growth in cotton production has been achieved mainly through the expansion of irrigated land. We are proud of the workers of Uzbekistan, Turkmenia, Tajikistan, and all the other cotton-growing republics. Last year they fulfilled their pledges. The leaders and delegations of these republics are attending the festivities here today. I would like to put the following question to them: well, comrades cotton-growers, can you name higher targets this year?

The same applies to rice. Recently a decision was adopted to carry out large-scale work to drain the floodlands of the Kuban River, with a view to expanding the area under rice. We shall constantly increase the share of farm produce obtained from reclaimed land. If we fail to do this, we may suffer the consequences of droughts, the disruption of production and national economic plans for a long time to come. The Central Committee expects that all those who are responsible for the fate of the public money being invested in land reclamation will ensure the realization of the program of land-improvement work fully and on schedule.

There is also a broader problem, that of the national use of land in general. We have land tenure legislation. The need to observe it strictly and stop the squandering of land was stressed at a recent sitting of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet. Land is invaluable public wealth. We must take care of it, raise its productivity and achieve ever greater returns from each hectare.

This, as well as other problems, has to be solved in a comprehensive way, linking the immediate and long-term needs, the interests of agriculture and the requirements of industry and taking into account the social and, in particular, demographic aspects. An example of such a comprehensive approach is the resolution recently consi-

dered by the Politbureau and adopted by the Central Committee of the CPSU, "On the Measures for the Further Development of Agriculture in the Non-Chernozem Zone of the RSFSR." This is in fact a program for the all-round development of a vast area of our country for the period up to 1990. It envisages integrated measures to improve the land over a total area of many million hectares. The implementation of this program, for which 35,000 million rubles are to be allocated in the next five-year plan period, will transform a vast region in the central part of our country and contribute to the further growth of our economy as a whole.

A few words on the steadily increasing role of agricultural science. Tens of thousands of researchers in our country are devotedly and fruitfully working in this field, and an extensive network of institutes and experimental stations has been set up. They have done a great deal. But the uneven distribution of research personnel, both in the various fields of this science and territorially, is increasingly beginning to tell.

Obviously, it will be useful to scrutinize the structure of scientific establishments and strengthen the weak sectors. Agriculture needs new ideas capable of revolutionizing farm production, a steady growth in the basic knowledge of the nature of plants and animals which biochemistry, genetics and molecular biology can give. Agriculture expects scientists to evolve new, higher-yielding and more resistant seed varieties and more productive livestock breeds.

Here is, for example, a rewarding task for scientists—to evolve high-yielding varieties of winter wheat for Siberia and Kazakhstan, and spring wheat for the Ukraine, the Volga area, and a number of other grain-producing regions of the country. This is our request to our scientists, to the experimental stations and plant-breeders. The sooner they respond to this request, the more successfully they will cope with this important task, the more the gratitude and recognition of the people that they will deserve.

And now a few words about another important task set forth in the agrarian policy of the Party, that of perfecting the forms of the organization of production and improving the management of agriculture. As was stressed by the December 1973, Plenary Meeting of the Central Committee, this task now assumes great importance. With the strengthening of its material and technical basis, agriculture is entering a new stage in its development, it is being increasingly industrialized. This qualitative shift in the productive forces demands, in turn, the improvement of production relations and the intensification of the processes of socialization and division of labor. What does this mean? The persisting features of the multi-branch, scattered structure of production, inherited from the past, hinder scientific and technical re-equipment and the intensification of agriculture.

Therefore, the further specialization and concentration of production and the deepening of inter-farm cooperation are now the order of the day as the vital, basic problems of the development of the country's agriculture.

We well know that industrial methods give due effect only when the scale of production is sufficiently large. But the growth of this scale through the simple, I would say mechanical, enlargement of farms, with the multi-branch structure preserved, has its limits. The only correct thing to do here is to combine the concentration of production with its specialization, enabling the use of the advantages of modern science and technology.

The experience of many large state and collective farms, including those in the virgin lands, proves the advantages of specialization on the basis of production concentration. The productivity of labor, the efficiency of the use of machinery, fertilizers, feed and other economic indices are, as a rule, higher on such farms. Moreover, the cooperation of self-supporting intra-farm units increases, production ties between them grow stronger, and the management of production ties between them grow stronger, and the management of production improves.

It is important that we should take advantage of all these possibilities. At the same time it is clear that far from all the state and collective farms have the necessary human and material resources for the creation of large-scale specialized enterprises on their own. This makes urgent the task of inter-farm specialization and concentration on the basis of the broad cooperation of farms. It is indeed beyond the means of each farm to build large specialized production facilities singlehandedly. It is quite another matter if the resources of several farms are pooled. This enables them to build joint — large and specialized — enterprises of the industrial type. This process is now under way in all branches of agriculture. Inter-farm specialization has become widespread in Moldavia, Byelorussia, the Ukraine and a number of regions of the Russian Federation.

A remarkable aspect of inter-farm specialization is the fact that it allows collective and state farms to make fuller and more efficient use of their own resources. Those collective and state farms which are ready to allot funds to such undertakings should be given the go-ahead and helped in working out designs and obtaining machinery and equipment. Greater initiatives should be displayed in setting up specialized vegetable and dairy farms near cities and industrial centers, joint mechanized enterprises for the fattening of pigs, cattle and sheep, the production of mixed feeds and the processing of farm products. A great boost should be given to the cooperation of farms in the supporting sphere in the form of building and land-reclamation organizations, enterprises for the production of building mate-

rials, forestry management, electrification, the use of farm machinery and agrochemical service.

The development of specialization leads to the emergence of higher forms of cooperation when, along with collective and state farms, state industrial enterprises also join amalgamations. Enterprises of the type of agroindustrial complexes are being set up. Such amalgamations already exist in some parts of the country, for example, Moldavia, the Rostov Region and the Krasnodar Territory. Their experience should be studied carefully and used effectively. All the more so as this involves not current organizational and economic problems, but the fundamental problem of drawing state and collective-farm-cooperative forms of ownership closer together.

All these questions require great attention and assistance on the part of Party, local government and agricultural bodies, a scientific analysis, a differentiated approach and stage-by-stage solution, especially as conditions differ greatly, not only in the various zones of the country, but even within individual regions, and sometimes districts. In particular, I should like to warn all those comrades responsible for this sphere of work and all farm workers that haste, artificial pushing on and excesses are especially impermissible here. The task should be handled in a rational, economically competent manner. Specialization and concentration of the production of the main types of marketable produce does not in the least require that every farm should scale down production for intra-farm consumption or, say, for local markets.

In putting forward the task of deepening specialization and cooperation, the Central Committee has no intention whatsoever of announcing a competition or a kind of a race for who does it faster. At the same time, inertia, attempts at a departmental or parochial approach to this important problem, must be overcome.

Closely linked with the search for new, improved forms of the organization of production is the question of the methods of agricultural management. The present structure of management has taken shape over many years and, in my view, is now too complicated, which affects its efficiency. We must think over the establishment of a better system of management. What it ought to be like, should be profoundly studied and tested in practice. But today we can already definitely formulate the requirements and criteria it should meet.

First, it should ensure a uniform state policy on all questions of agriculture throughout the country and the close coordination of actions between the departments in charge of this or that sector of work. Secondly, it should provide for a clear definition of terms of reference and responsibilities between different levels of leadership. Thirdly, it should be oriented on an organic combination of centralized planned guidance with the independence and initiative of

state farms and collective farms in deciding day-to-day questions of production and the sale of produce. Fourthly, it should be brought closer to agricultural production and made as highly efficient as possible; all unnecessary links should be removed whenever possible.

The Central Committee is receiving from the provinces all kinds of suggestions for improving the management of agriculture. They must be weighed and discussed in detail. In any case, in altering the existing structure of management, we should act not by rule of thumb, not by intuition, but should be guided by the results of experiments, by experience, and by the conclusions of the modern science of management.

Such, comrades, are the main questions concerning the agrarian policy of the Party. I should like to stress that I have in mind a uniform policy, the sum of interrelated trends and measures which allow us to go forward without hitches and delays. It is important for us to conduct this policy consistently and purposefully, without being diverted by the complex economic problems which arise now and then, and resisting the temptation to draw means for the solution to these problems from the fund earmarked for the advancement of agricultural production. Only in this way can we completely overcome the lag of agriculture behind the growing requirements of society.

NEW TASKS IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF SOCIALIST DEMOCRACY

Comrades, we have entered a crucial period in the five-year plan. The current year will, in effect, determine with what results we shall complete the plan. The tasks which face the national economy in this connection were thoroughly discussed by the CPSU Central Committee at its Plenary Meeting last December. The Central Committee is now working to put into practice the decisions adopted by this Plenary Meeting and to raise the entire system of our economic management to a new level which conforms to the increased possibilities and requirements of the country.

The December Plenary Meeting of the CPSU Central Committee sharply raised the question of the style of work in all branches of the national economy and in all spheres of our activity. Increased responsibility, the encouragement of initiative, efficiency, socialist enterprise, the cultivation of conscious discipline and intolerance of shortcomings, are features of the Party style of work which are acquiring decisive importance. All of them apply to the moral and cultural sphere of the life of society and cannot be registered in a plan or statistical report. But we know, we have become convinced through our own experience, that these traits in the communist character and communist consciousness possess immense material force and are embodied in the increasing might and wealth of our great Motherland, in the improvement of the well-being of the Soviet

people, and in the growing defense potential of our Motherland.

This is why the economic policy of the Party is indissolubly linked with its political and educational work. This is why we must constantly and persistently strive to enhance the level of our work as a whole.

Now that the Party is tackling the tasks of further advancing the economy and improving the system of economic management, the drawing of the working people into active management on a still wider scale and making greater use of their experience and knowledge in this matter acquires special importance. This stems from the very nature of our social system with its intrinsic genuine democracy and active participation of the people in deciding all state and public affairs. The 24th Congress of the Party clearly defined the policy for the further improvement of our socialist democracy. We have pursued this policy and will pursue it firmly and undeviatingly, working to fully mobilize the creative energies of the people and to enrich to an ever greater extent the various forms of running society, both through government bodies and through the broad network of mass public organizations. The wider and greater the participation of all the working people in these activities, the stronger our state and social system will be and the more successfully we shall tackle the tasks of communist construction.

The correct policy of the Party, the support of this policy by the people, and the selfless labor of Soviet people are opening up more opportunities for the heroic accomplishments in which the history of our Motherland abounds. The virgin lands do not end at the Kazahk or Altai steppes. The Siberian taiga, the northern tundra and the Central Asian deserts are also virgin lands. To be more specific, I shall name only one of the projects now at the preparation stage. This is the Baikal-Amur railway which will cross all Eastern Siberia and the Far East. The building of this railway, cutting through Siberia with its fabulous natural resources, will open the way for the establishment of a new large industrial area: urban-type communities, factories and mines will appear along the railway and, naturally, new lands will be brought under the plough for agricultural purposes.

I am sure, comrades, that this will be a project of nationwide importance and that the people of all republics, our young people, above all, will take part in it.

Is this not an inspiring prospect for many thousands of our young people? We have many such plans in mind. Some are still in the stage of conception or estimates. Others are already being worked out by planning bodies and design institutes. So new generations of virgin-land developers will have plenty of work to do. However, returning from the future to the present, we must always remember that the labor exploits of the morrow are made possible by the daily

work of today, that the foundation of our future successes is being laid today. There is no more important and responsible task today than fulfilling and overfulfilling the 1974 plan. This is required by the interests of the state, the interests of the people and the interests of every working person.

INTERNATIONAL POLICY

Dear comrades, I think it needless to dwell in detail on the foreign policy of the CPSU, because a great deal has been said about this of late. I shall therefore speak very briefly about the most important things.

A truly great task of tremendous importance has been accomplished over the past few years. It is a turn in the development of international relations, a changeabout from the cold war to international détente and the assertion of the principles of peaceful co-existence between countries with different social systems. This is an obvious success for the Leninist foreign policy of our Party and the consistent efforts to carry out the Peace Program advanced by the 24th CPSU Congress. This is the result of our united action with the fraternal countries of the socialist community, the Communist and Workers' Parties, and all progressive forces throughout the world. And, of course, this is the result of the definite realism displayed by top political leaders in a number of capitalist countries.

In undertaking the series of measures designed to improve the international situation, we were fully aware that we would meet with stubborn resistance on the part of the ultra-reactionary and aggressive circles of imperialism and all political trends interested, for various reasons, in preserving world tension. This is why we were not taken unawares by the active attempts of the enemies of peace to hinder the establishment of a new political situation in the world.

The current period is complex and contradictory. Wherever possible, reactionaries seek to counter-attack, if only locally, to slow down détente and complicate the solution of pressing problems. For this purpose, wide use is being made of many organs of the bourgeois press, radio and television, which deliberately distort the essence of our policy, falsely report on the run of events, and resort to the hackneyed clichés of anti-Sovietism. We are not surprised by these attacks of the enemies of peace. We shall continue to proceed along our road. Our foreign policy is supported by the entire Soviet people and the vast majority of people throughout the world, because it serves the noble aims of strengthening peace and security and providing conditions for the free development of all nations and the social progress of all countries.

The peaceful foreign policy of the Soviet Union is a consistently internationalist policy. We are conducting it in close cooperation with our militant friends — the fraternal Parties and peoples of the

socialist countries. This was once more demonstrated with great force by our recent visit to Cuba at the invitation of Comrade Fidel Castro. Our fraternal meetings and talks with Cuban leaders were marked by complete unity of views. My colleagues and I were profoundly impressed by the warm welcome given us by the Cuban people. It was a truly unforgettable demonstration of the great feelings of respect and love of the Cubans for our great Motherland, the Leninist Party and the Soviet people.

Our two-day meeting in Pitsunda with French President Georges Pompidou has just ended. The thorough talks with the head of the French Republic were held, as before, in a spirit of good will, realism and mutual respect. They no doubt helped the two sides to bring still nearer their stands on a number of important questions and in this way to improve the prerequisites of cooperation between the Soviet Union and France in world affairs, with the aim of further extending international détente, and promoting cooperation between countries on an equal footing.

It was once more convincingly proved that the greater the sphere of our concerted efforts, the more effective can be the contribution of each of our countries to the solution of major problems in present-day international relations. I can say that the Pitsunda talks revealed a further rapprochement of our views on the need to complete the conference on European security as soon as possible. Our stands on the approach to the solution of the Middle East problem are also close. The closeness or coincidence of points of view were revealed on some other major problems, too.

In addition to international problems, we exchanged opinions on ways of further extending relations between our countries on a governmental level. It is known that the adoption of the document on the principles on which relations between the Soviet Union and France should be built, and the signing of the protocol on consultations have laid a good foundation for our relations. Today Soviet-French relations are extensive and varied. They concern different spheres, such as politics, the economy, science and culture. With every passing year something new is brought into them and now vistas open up.

To put it in a nutshell, the Pitsunda meeting was fresh proof of the firmness of traditional Soviet-French friendship which conforms to the vital interests of the peoples of our two countries and to the cause of strengthening peace and international security.

They say that time is working for peace and socialism. This is true. But this is true only inasmuch as we ourselves are working. Our achievements in world affairs are the result of strenuous and persistent efforts, and not by government leaders and diplomats alone. They are the result of the labor of the entire Soviet people, because, in the final count, the successes of foreign policy are determined by

the successes in home policy, by the level of our economic, scientific, technical and defense potential, and by the political and moral unity of our society. This is why the victories in the struggle for peace are also your victories, comrades, the victories of all Soviet working people, of all those whose labor, brains and hands make our Motherland a mighty socialist power.

Dear comrades and friends.

We are gathered here at a time when the spring has come, the 21st spring in the virgin lands. The awakening land seems to be waiting for the touch of kind and able human hands. The land always rewards good work with blossoming orchards, with succulent grass and bountiful yields. I sincerely believe that the tireless labor of the grain-growers, their knowledge and experience and boundless love for the land will be worthily rewarded this year.

May I wish all the farmers in our country fresh fine achievements in their hard, but honorable and noble work.

I wish you every success, dear comrades and friends.

Pravda, March 16, 1974.

COMMUNIQUE OF CONFERENCE OF POLITICAL CONSULTATIVE COMMITTEE OF WARSAW TREATY MEMBER-STATES

The Conference of the Political Consultative Committee of the Member-States of the Warsaw Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation and Mutual Assistance was held on April 17-18, 1974, in Warsaw.

Taking part in the Conference were:

From the People's Republic of Bulgaria — Todor Zhivkov, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party, Chairman of the State Council of the People's Republic of Bulgaria and Head of the delegation; Stanko Todorov, Member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party, Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the People's Republic of Bulgaria; Konstantin Tellalov, Secretary of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party; Peter Mladenov, Member of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party, Foreign Minister of the People's Republic of Bulgaria; Milko Balev, Member of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party, Director of the Office of the First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party;

Pravda, April 19, 1974.

From the Hungarian People's Republic — Janos Kadar, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party and Head of the delegation; Jenoe Fock, Member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Hungarian People's Republic; Frigyes Puja, Member of the Central Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, Foreign Minister of the Hungarian People's Republic;

From the German Democratic Republic — Erich Honecker, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany and Head of the delegation; Willi Stoph, Member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany, Chairman of the State Council of the GDR; Horst Sindermann, Member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany, Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the GDR; Hermann Axen, Member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany; Secretary of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany; Oskar Fischer, Member of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany, Acting Foreign Minister of the GDR; Paul Markowski, Member of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany, Chief of the Department of International Relations of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany;

From the Polish People's Republic — Edward Gierek, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers' Party and Head of the delegation; Henryk Jablonski, Member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers' Party, Chairman of the State Council of the Polish People's Republic; Piotr Jaroszewicz, Member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers' Party, Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Polish People's Republic; Stephan Olzowski, Member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers' Party, Foreign Minister of the Polish People's Republic; Ryszard Frelek, Member of the Secretariat of the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers' Party, Chief of the International Department of the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers' Party;

From the Socialist Republic of Rumania — Nicolae Ceausescu, General Secretary of the Rumanian Communist Party, President of the Rumanian Socialist Republic and Head of the delegation; Mania Manescu, Member of the Executive of the Central Committee of the Rumanian Communist Party, Prime Minister of the Government of the Rumanian Socialist Republic; Stefan Andrei, Secretary of the Central Committee of the Rumanian Communist Party; Gheorghe

Macovescu, Member of the Central Committee of the Rumanian Communist Party, Foreign Minister of the Rumanian Socialist Republic; Mircea Malica, Adviser to the General Secretary of the Rumanian Communist Party, to the President of the Rumanian Socialist Republic; Mitja Constantin, Adviser to the General Secretary of the Rumanian Communist Party, to the President of the Rumanian Socialist Republic;

From the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics — L. I. Brezhnev, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and Head of the delegation; A. N. Kosygin, Member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the CPSU, Chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers; A. A. Gromyko, Member of the Political Bureau of the CPSU Central Committee, Foreign Minister of the USSR; K. F. Katushov, Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee; K. V. Rusakov, Member of the CPSU Central Committee, Assistant to the General Secretary of the CPSU CC; A. M. Alexandrov, Member of the Central Auditing Commission of the CPSU, Assistant to the General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee:

From the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic — Gustav Husak, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia and Head of the delegation; Lubomir Strougal, Member of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, Chairman of the Government of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republics; Vasil Bilak, Member of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia; Bohuslav Chnoupek, Member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, Foreign Minister of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic; Antonin Vavrush, Chief of the Department of International Policy of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia.

The Conference was also attended by Marshal of the Soviet Union I. I. Yakobovsky, Commander-in-Chief of the Joint Armed Forces of the Warsaw Treaty Member-States, and N. P. Firyubin, Secretary General of the Political Consultative Committee of the Warsaw Treaty Member-States.

The participants in the Political Consultative Committee Conference discussed topical questions of strengthening European security and further relaxation of international tension.

The participants in the PCC Conference note with satisfaction that the trend toward détente is at present the dominant feature in developments on the European continent and the whole world. The principle of peaceful coexistence of states with differing social systems in the practice of international relations has been established ever more widely. This also applies to such fundamental norms of

relations between states as respect for independence and sovereignty, equality, territorial integrity, inviolability of European state frontiers, renunciation of the use or threat of force, and non-interference in internal affairs. Détente has decisively influenced the transition to the political sphere of the solution of the conflicts in Vietnam and Laos on the South Asian Sub-continent, and in the Middle East, and creates favorable conditions for the struggle of peoples for freedom, independence, democracy and progress.

At the same time the Conference participants point out that the opponents of détente and the adherents of the cold war, the forces of imperialism and reaction have not laid down arms and are trying to oppose and arrest the process of détente, which corresponds to the aspirations of the peoples. Military circles are trying to intensify the activities of NATO. They continue to increase military budgets of the countries of this closed imperialist military bloc.

The Warsaw Treaty member-states, however, express firm conviction that, acting together, the peoples of the world, all progressive, democratic anti-imperialist and peace-loving forces will be able to gain the upper hand, uphold their vital interests and ensure respect for the right of each people to decide its own destiny.

The constructive foreign policy activity of the socialist countries, in the first place of the Soviet Union, especially the signing of the treaties and agreements with the FRG, have contributed toward normalizing the situation in Europe, establishing good-neighborly relations and expanding wide-ranging and mutually beneficial cooperation among all states.

Those present at the Conference note with satisfaction that the movement toward détente in Europe has led to the calling of the European Conference on Security and Cooperation, which has become the common cause of all peoples and governments of Europe.

The European Conference is called upon to turn Europe into a region of truly equal cooperation of all states, and to encourage growing trust among them. It should lay down principles governing relations among states and measures to ensure their observance. This would safeguard security of all European peoples and create favorable conditions for long-term economic, scientific and technical, and cultural cooperation, exchange of information, contacts among institutions, organizations and citizens, and the pooling of efforts by all countries in solving the environmental problems. Its successful completion will be a landmark along the road to a peaceful future for Europe.

Attempts to create artificial obstacles, to drag out the work of the European Conference, to deflect it from the solution of its crucial tasks contradict the lofty aims for which the Conference was convened.

The Warsaw Treaty members urge statesmen and politicians to exert their efforts to ensure the success of the European Conference, to further develop and deepen the process of the détente and normalization of the situation in Europe.

The participants in the Conference reiterate their view that the closing stage of the European Conference and signing of its documents should be at summit level. This would be in keeping with the historic importance of the event and emphasize the exceptional significance of the decisions and documents adopted for the future of Europe.

In our endeavors to lay the basis for a stable and just peace in Europe, we members of the Warsaw Treaty for a long period have worked for a European Conference. We regard the holding of this Conference as a great victory for peace, the victory of sound common sense in international relations. We shall do all we can to bring the work of the Conference to a speedy and successful conclusion, and in line with the aspirations of the peace-loving peoples. But we do not regard this Conference as an end in itself but as the starting point in the historical task of building new relations between all the states of Europe. The principles that will be worked out by the Conference and have the authority of 35 states will enable the European countries to establish and develop large-scale cooperation for the greater material and spiritual benefit of each of them. We are ready for such cooperation and we urge the support of all participants in the European Conference. Creation of a permanent organ of the states taking part in the Conference for Security and Cooperation in Europe would be in keeping with this aim.

Everyone taking part in the Conference believes that it is important to have military relaxation as well as political. They again affirm the premises of the Prague declaration on peace, security and cooperation in Europe adopted by the Conference of the PCC in January 1972, on the reduction of armed forces and armaments. Success in the talks on reduction of armed forces and armaments in Central Europe would considerably contribute to this and create favorable conditions for holding similar talks concerning other areas of Europe. The principle of undiminished security of all the parties in the talks, with due consideration for security of all the European states, would make for a constructive agreement on reduction of armed forces and armaments.

Following a discussion of the Middle East situation, the participants in the Conference of the PCC unanimously expressed their complete solidarity with the just struggle of the Arab peoples against the imperialist policy of aggression, for withdrawal of the Israeli troops from all the occupied Arab lands and for ensuring the legitimate rights of the Arab people of Palestine. They hold that the security,

integrity and sovereignty of all the states of the area must be ensured. The statement "For a Durable and Just Peace in the Middle East" was adopted.

The situation in Vietnam was discussed. Complete support was expressed of the course pursued by the Government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Vietnam aimed at strict and unswerving implementation of the Paris Agreement by all the parties to it. The statement "For Durable Peace in Vietnam, for Guaranteeing the Just National Interests of the Vietnamese People" was adopted.

The Conference welcomed the setting up of coalition government bodies in Laos and the successes of the patriotic forces of Cambodia.

The Conference declared its support for the constructive moves of the Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea aimed at creating conditions that favor peaceful democratic reunification of the country without outside interference.

Having discussed the situation in Chile, the Conference resolutely demanded an end to the outrageous violations of the UN documents on Human Rights, an end to persecution of Chilean patriots and called on other states and international public opinion to openly support the country's progressive forces. The declaration "To End Arbitrary Acts and Persecutions of Democrats in Chile" was adopted.

The states represented at the present Conference expressed the conviction that the détente should be worldwide. Concern for preserving peace and active cooperation in the solution of international issues in keeping with the interest of the peoples is the duty of all states, large and small, irrespective of their socio-political systems.

Loyal to its internationalist duty, the Conference expressed full solidarity with the just struggle of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America against imperialism, colonialism, and neo-colonialism, for national liberation, strengthening of their political independence and the achievement of economic independence, for social progress. It declared support for the peoples of Angola, Mozambique, Guinea-Bissau and the Cape Verde Islands and condemned the policy of apartheid and all forms of racism.

The Conference noted the increased role in international affairs of the non-aligned movement and welcomed the anti-imperialist trend of the policies of non-aligned countries, and their growing contribution to the struggle for détente, against war and aggression, for peace and national independence of peoples. The great significance of the Fourth-NonAligned Conference in Algiers was stressed.

The Conference participants attach great importance to enhancing the role of the United Nations, to increasing its effectiveness on the basis of the UN Charter in solving international problems, strengthening peace and promoting cooperation among all people. They noted

the topicality of the current special session of the UN General Assembly convened on the initiative of the developing states to consider the problems of raw materials and economic development. The Conference participants declared for the further development of equal international economic cooperation based on respect for the sovereign right of every state to freely dispose of its own natural resources, for the principle of most-favored-nation treatment in international trade, for rapid economic progress of countries lagging behind in their development and the liquidation of inequitable economic relations imposed by imperialism.

Views were exchanged on the preparation and holding of the celebration of the 20th anniversary of the Warsaw Treaty in May 1975. The participants in the Conference noted with satisfaction the further development of all-round cooperation of fraternal states which accelerates the growth of economic potential, strengthens the defense capability of the Warsaw Treaty member-countries and contributes toward raising the welfare of the peoples and the development of culture and science. The Warsaw Treaty member-countries will continue to strengthen their unbreakable friendship in the interests of socialism, progress and peace. They would raise ever higher the prestige of socialism which sets an example of a new type of interstate relations, of truly democratic society, an example of the socialist way of life. They will continue to come out for deepening of the process of détente, for the triumph of the ideals of peace, security, economic and social progress of the peoples.

The PCC Conference reiterated its readiness to disband the Warsaw Treaty Organization simultaneously with the disbanding of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization or, as an initial step, liquidation of their military organizations. At the same time it declares that so long as there is the NATO bloc and effective disarmament measures have not been implemented, the Warsaw Treaty countries deem it necessary to strengthen their defenses and develop close cooperation among themselves in this matter.

The Conference participants heard the report by the Commander-in-Chief of the Joint Armed Forces of the Warsaw Treaty Member-States on the practical work conducted by the Joint Command.

The Conference of the Political Consultative Committee proceeded in an atmosphere of fraternal friendship and cooperation.

For the People's Republic of Bulgaria, *Todor Zhivkov*, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party, Chairman of the State Council of the People's Republic of Bulgaria. *Stanko Todorov*, Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the People's Republic of Bulgaria.

For the Hungarian People's Republic, *Janos Kadar*, First Secretary

of the Central Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party. *Jenoe Fock*, Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Hungarian People's Republic.

For the German Democratic Republic, *Erich Honecker*, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany. *Willi Stoph*, Chairman of the State Council of the German Democratic Republic. *Horst Sindermann*, Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the German Democratic Republic.

For the Polish People's Republic, *Edward Gierek*, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers' Party. *Henryk Jablonski*, Chairman of the State Council of the Polish People's Republic. *Piotr Jaroszewicz*, Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Polish People's Republic.

For the Socialist Republic of Rumania, *Nicolae Ceausescu*, General Secretary of the Rumanian Communist Party, President of the Rumanian Socialist Republic. *Mania Manescu*, Prime Minister of the Government of the Socialist Republic of Rumania.

For the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics *L. I. Brezhnev*, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. *A. N. Kosygin*, Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

For the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, *Gustav Husak*, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia. *Ludomir Strougal*, Chairman of the Government of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic.

Warsaw, April 18, 1974.

STATEMENTS OF THE POLITICAL CONSULTATIVE COMMITTEE OF THE WARSAW TREATY MEMBER-STATES

FOR A LASTING AND JUST PEACE IN THE MIDDLE EAST

The People's Republic of Bulgaria, the Hungarian People's Republic, the German Democratic Republic, the Polish People's Republic, the Socialist Republic of Rumania, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, and the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, represented at the Meeting of the Political Consultative Committee of the Warsaw Treaty Member-States, state that the Middle East remains a dangerous breeding ground of international tension. Israel, with the support of external imperialist forces, continues to pursue its aggressive policy, stubbornly refuses to implement the UN resolutions on with-

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drawal from the occupied Arab territories, and grossly flouts the legitimate national rights of Arab peoples.

The outbreak of hostilities in October 1973 has shown once again the explosiveness of the situation in that area. It has also shown that there is a constant threat there to universal peace. These events have reaffirmed the fundamental importance of friendship and cooperation between Arab states and socialist countries.

The participants in the Meeting note the significance of the peace conference on the Middle East in Geneva, the need for all the states directly concerned, and also representatives of the Arab people of Palestine to participate. They believe that further work of the conference should lead, above all, to the solution of the key problems of a Middle East settlement — withdrawal of Israeli troops from all occupied Arab lands, ensuring the legitimate rights of the Arab people of Palestine in keeping with its national aspirations, guaranteeing the security, integrity and sovereignty of all states of the area.

The states participating in the Meeting are ready to step up their activities to promote a political settlement of the conflict and are urging all states to help establish a just and lasting peace in the Middle East. Regarding the agreement on disengagement of troops as a first, preliminary step toward a general settlement of the Middle East problem, the Meeting holds that this must be followed by other steps aimed at implementing all the provisions of the UN Security Council resolutions of November 22, 1967, and October 22, 1973. The presence of the UN emergency force is a positive contribution to the maintenance of peace in the area.

The socialist states participating in the Meeting firmly and invariably support the Arab peoples' struggle against the imperialist policy of aggression, for a just and lasting peace, for ensuring their free development, social and economic progress. The attainment of these important goals of social development is inseparably linked with the struggle against those forces which seek to push the Arab peoples off the progressive path, and to make them again politically and economically dependent on imperialist forces.

The socialist states are the true friends of the Arab countries. They have been at their side both in time of peaceful construction, and in time of danger for their freedom and independence. The socialist states' policy in relation to the countries of the Arab world is consistent and principled, it is based on a profound understanding of their national aspirations and problems of social and economic development, and is not prompted by expediency.

The states participating in the Meeting intend to continue developing the relations of friendship and cooperation with Arab countries on the basis of their community of aims in the struggle against imperialism and neo-colonialism, for peace, freedom of peoples and social progress.

Warsaw, April 18, 1974

FOR A LASTING PEACE IN VIETNAM, FOR ENSURING THE JUST NATIONAL INTERESTS OF THE VIETNAMESE PEOPLE

The People's Republic of Bulgaria, the Hungarian People's Republic, the German Democratic Republic, the Polish People's Republic, the Socialist Republic of Rumania, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, represented at the Meeting of the Political Consultative Committee of the Warsaw Treaty Member-States in Warsaw, reaffirm the principled appraisal of the Paris agreement as a historic accomplishment of the heroic Vietnamese people, a common victory of the socialist countries, the national liberation forces, the whole of progressive humanity.

They point out that some progress in the normalization of the situation in Vietnam has been apparent during the period since the agreement entered into force. The ending of imperialist aggression, the withdrawal of foreign troops from South Vietnam, practical measures implemented by the sides in putting into effect a number of provisions of the Paris agreement have all created prerequisites for the consolidation of the current turn from war to peace and taking up the tasks of socialist construction in North Vietnam and development of South Vietnam along the lines of peace, independence, democracy and neutrality; it also promotes the general improvement of the political climate in the Indochina Peninsula and in Southeast Asia as a whole.

At the same time, the participants in the Meeting point out that the Saigon administration, which has the support of external imperialist forces, is doing all it can to prevent the implementation of the Paris agreement and frustrate a political settlement.

They resolutely condemn the subversive actions of the Saigon administration, the systematic armed provocations against areas controlled by the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Vietnam.

The countries participating in the Meeting express full support for the policy of the Government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Vietnam, providing for strict and unswerving compliance with the Paris Agreement by all the signatories to the document, and for the new constructive initiative made on March 22, 1974, by the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Vietnam.

A total ceasefire, the granting of democratic freedoms to the population, prompt negotiations between the two South Vietnamese sides on the formation of a national council of national reconciliation and accord with the aim of preparing favorable conditions for general elections — such is the real way to strengthen peace and normalize the situation in South Vietnam.

The participants in the Meeting reaffirm their solidarity with the

Vietnamese people and express absolute confidence that, backed by the fraternal socialist countries, by all progressive forces, the Vietnamese people will attain success in building socialism in the North of the country, in solving the internal political problems of the South and in creating a peaceful, united, independent and democratic Vietnam.

Acting in the spirit of proletarian internationalism the states participating in the Meeting will continue to give all-round support and assistance to the Vietnamese people in solving the important tasks facing them. to ensure peace, freedom and independence, to implement its just aspirations.

Warsaw, April 18, 1974

STOP OUTRAGES AND PERSECUTION OF DEMOCRATS IN CHILE!

The People's Republic of Bulgaria, the Hungarian People's Republic, the German Democratic Republic, the Polish People's Republic, the Socialist Republic of Rumania, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, represented at the Meeting of the Political Consultative Committee of the member-states of the Warsaw Treaty in Warsaw, declare their profound concern over the situation that arose in Chile after the September 1973 overthrow of the constitutionally elected Popular Unity government. They strongly condemn the outrages committed by the military junta of Chile, the persecution of democrats and infringement of law in gross violation of the UN Charter, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, and the international covenants of human rights adopted by the United Nations.

More than six months have passed since the military fascist coup in Chile, whose first victim was the constitutionally elected President, Salvador Allende, an outstanding leader of the national-liberation movement, who devoted his life to the cause of freedom of the Chilean people.

A state of emergency is being maintained in the country. Ruthless terror has been unleashed. All progressive forces of Chilean society are being suppressed. All political parties, trade unions and public organizations have been banned.

Thousands of Chilean patriots, whose sole crime is the love of their country and loyalty to the ideals of democracy and progress are languishing in the Dawson, Quiriquina, Chacabuco, Pisagua and many other concentration camps.

Outstanding representatives of the Chilean people: Luis Corvalan, General Secretary of the Communist Party; the former Minister of Foreign Affairs, Socialist Clodomiro Almeida; Chairman of the Radical Party Anselmo Sule and other members of the government and the parties of the Popular Unity are all kept in prison by the military

junta in inhuman conditions. The social gains of the working people have been swept aside and there are mass dismissals of people holding progressive views.

The crimes of the Chilean military junta have been condemned by world public opinion, including all progressive and freedom-loving forces in Latin America. The day will come when the Chilean people will throw overboard with contempt those who today seek to invoke the shadow of the medieval Inquisition and obscurantism.

In its struggle the people of Chile can continue to rely on the consistent support of the socialist nations. The participants in the meeting resolutely demand the immediate release of Luis Corvalan, Clodomiro Almeida, Anselmo Sule, and all the other Chilean democrats and patriots held in prison.

The states taking part in this meeting urge other states who cherish the cause of progress to come out in defense of human rights, dignity and the value of the individual in Chile. They appeal to world public opinion to mount an ever wider campaign of international solidarity with the Chilean people in their struggle against terror and for the restoration of democratic rights and freedoms in their country.

The participants in the meeting express their deep conviction that the Chilean people will gain victory in the struggle to restore democracy and genuine independence to Chile.

Warsaw, April 18, 1974

CONGRESSES AND CONFERENCES

FOR UNITY OF THE ANTI-IMPERIALIST, DEMOCRATIC AND PATRIOTIC FORCES IN THE STRUGGLE FOR NATIONAL AND SOCIAL LIBERATION

Below we give extracts from the Political Resolution of the Ninth Congress of the Communist Party of Ecuador (CPE). The full text appeared in a supplement to *El Pueblo* last December.

The Ninth Congress notes that Ecuador is passing through a decisive period. We are confronted with exceptional circumstances which can lead us to a new stage in our history.

We are faced with alternatives of immense significance: either a victorious people and an advance toward national and social liberation, or increased dependence on imperialism, poverty, ignorance and absence of freedoms, which benefits only the ruling minority.

In these circumstances, the CPE once again declares that the sole way to freedom, well-being and progress is the national-liberation, anti-imperialist, anti-feudal and democratic revolution with its subsequent progress toward socialism.

An understanding of the complicated and varied situations within the country is, therefore, essential. A Marxist-Leninist analysis of the international and domestic scenes must be made so that the correct tactics enabling us to speed up the revolutionary process in our country may be worked out.

There is, in Ecuador, economic growth, with capitalism advancing alongside existing remnants of feudalism and the domination of imperialism. The rates of growth vary: in some sectors there is stagnation and even cutting back in production as compared with the population growth as in food production in agriculture.

Our economic growth depends on external factors; it is not geared to satisfy our people's needs. Nor is it structured to promote genuine growth, but is weak and slow and, to a large extent, linked with foreign monopoly capital.

Agriculture produces mainly goods for export; the production of food and raw materials is below consumer demand. Falling prices of our export products affect our foreign trade. In agriculture, latifundia are still numerous, although the semi-feudal forms of produc-

tion were dealt a blow by the law abolishing *precario* labor and Decree No. 1001. There are many defects in the agrarian reform law, but it does allow for action by the masses in the struggle for genuinely democratic agrarian reform.

The extraction and export of oil commenced in August 1972 and Ecuador now holds second place among the oil exporting countries of Latin America. This is of immense significance for us, both because our gigantic resources, which can prove to be even greater, are already being exploited and also because of the energy crisis in the capitalist world. Its oil requirements become more acute and our country becomes more attractive to imperialism.

Monopolies invest hundreds of millions of dollars in equipment, drilling and pipelines; the imperialist banks have extended their activities; they are buying up the mass media and employ technically qualified nationals.

We note that under the previous government which unpatriotically handed over millions of hectares of land to the oil concerns and allowed them incredible privileges, but that now, thanks to the oil policy of the present government, their activities are considerably limited. The government share in oil profits is now 80 per cent; it has built up an oil fleet which carries at least 50 per cent of our oil exports, and has a correct price policy based on world market prices. The government once again controls the oil port of Balao which had been handed over to the monopolies by the Velasco government. We support this policy but consider it necessary to go still further and to nationalize the monopoly enterprises.

From the very outset our Party has indicated and now reaffirms that if there is no basic change in the social, economic and political structure of Ecuador enabling the popular masses to benefit from its oil riches, then this will inevitably lead to enrichment of the ruling minority, and, paradoxically enough, to even greater poverty and oppression of our people.

The fishing industry, too, has had some important successes. Our sovereignty over the two hundred miles of territorial waters limit has been upheld. A state fishing fleet is being formed, and the first steps toward the construction of large fishing bases have been taken. All these measures must be energetically supported because the exploitation of our fishing resources is essential to improve the nutrition of our people.

Internationally, our independence and sovereignty has become stronger. The government has declared for peace throughout the world, for disarmament, for the self-determination of nations, for a re-examination of the inter-American mutual assistance agreement. It has also opposed sanctions against Cuba, and is for the implementation of the Security Council resolution No. 242 in the Middle East. All these are positive actions and have our support.

With regard to domestic problems, the government has displayed weakness and vacillations in its handling of them and has, at times, acted against the people. This we criticize and condemn. There are no developments in the agrarian reform and only in October a new law was promulgated. The demands for increased wages by the workers, employees and others gainfully employed are ignored. Anti-working class decrees, such as No. 654, and positions in local, municipal and provincial councils are filled by representatives of the oligarchy or people close to it. Some military governors carry out measures against the people, and civil servants who deal with labor problems openly support the employers. There are occasions when repressive measures are used to suppress the justified struggle of the workers, peasants, teachers and students. But nothing is done to halt speculation.

The ruling minority continues to benefit considerably from the country's economic growth. A group of privileged individuals receives a large share of the national income: seven per cent of the population received 50 per cent, while the standard of living of the vast majority of the population is exceedingly low and is systematically reduced, due to the fall in money value, the frightening growth in prices, and absence of control over speculation.

In these circumstances the class struggle assumes massive proportions. The working class conducts a ceaseless struggle for better conditions, improves its organization and, in the course of the struggle, develops a powerful feeling and unity. A splendid example has been the setting up of the Council of United Working People's Federations in Guayas, and it has our enthusiastic support. The peasantry are becoming more active and their organization is growing. They are waging a determined struggle for radical land distribution. White-collar workers, artisans and students are intensifying their struggle for their immediate demands.

The daily fight of all sections of the people for their immediate demands are accompanied by considerable efforts to solve important national problems. It is quite evident that in this class struggle developing throughout the country the understanding of the people is growing. The idea of revolutionary change is gaining ground among the people. Workers, peasants, students, civilians and military, men and women are developing an anti-imperialist, anti-feudal and democratic consciousness, and their conviction that the ruling classes are incapable of finding a patriotic and progressive solution to the current situation, is strengthening.

The growth in the consciousness of the broad masses opens the way to spreading Marxist-Leninist ideas. National and international experience confirms the people of Ecuador in the correctness of the working class ideology, and its attraction to our ideological positions can be sensed in all spheres.

The influence of our Party as a decisive factor for a revolutionary outcome to the existing situation has, consequently, grown. The people have appreciated the validity of our conceptions, our ability to give the masses a basically correct line in the present situation. Our Party enjoys great prestige among the masses. Therefore, we must still further perfect and deepen our basic premises and also strengthen our organization. We have to transform our Party into a great party of the masses, a party of action. Our Ninth Congress noted that we have already taken the path.

In countering the upsurge of the popular movement, reactionary forces endeavor to preserve the decaying social system, oppose all progressive measures and want to install a puppet government. They go over openly to fascist positions, attempting to establish a terrorist regime in order to suppress the revolutionary upsurge.

Imperialism uses these reactionary forces and also collaborates with sections which appear to side with the people. It tries to unleash a wave of chauvinism in order to confuse the masses, who are calling for basic changes.

The political parties of the ruling class are putting forward the slogan: "Back to constitutional order, to bourgeois constitutionality." This would mean strengthening the existing economic, political and social order, the merciless exploitation of the broad popular masses. But these parties are also engaged in plotting activity.

Reactionary forces supported by imperialism, including representatives of the armed forces and the government itself, are ceaselessly engaged in plots aimed at overthrowing the government and establishing a fascist regime of terror, which would halt the upsurge of the people's struggle, restore to the oil monopolies their privileges, and assist further imperialist penetration.

That is why while carrying on the anti-imperialist and anti-feudal struggle it is necessary to intensify the fight for democracy. Here, our first major task is to prevent the victory of the plotters and this must be done in unison with all democratic and progressive forces that do not wish to see our country in the claws of fascism.

Imperialism and the ruling classes also make use of reformism, especially the thesis of "development" in order to create illusions, deflect the masses from their aims and thus lead them away from revolutionary positions.

In these conditions of mounting class struggle, factors of immense significance come to the fore. National and patriotic consciousness is developing among the armed forces on a wide scale as compared to the elements adopting an anti-popular, reactionary and capitalist position. The Catholic Church, too, reflects the situation without, and beyond the borders of the country. A considerable sector of the Catholic clergy are adopting anti-imperialist, anti-feudal and democratic positions in contrast to others who learn towards the ruling

classes. This attitude of certain sectors of the Catholic Church is in direct contrast to the anti-communist and anti-popular attitudes of declassed imperialist agents among representatives of the Protestant Church.

There are also new features in the activities of other political sectors who accept the proposition of revolutionary unity and the need to give impetus to the mass struggle. We give due credit to such attitudes.

By contrast, followers of the Maoist clique continue their openly anti-Communist and splitting activities, openly betray the revolution and the people, the international Communist movement and the national-liberation movement. Their anti-Sovietism is on a par with that of the worst representatives of reaction.

The Ninth Congress of the CPE considers that in the struggle for social and national liberation all support must be given to the aspects and activities of the military government, and to any of its actions which coincide with the interests of the nation and the people. This will facilitate correct solutions to their problems. At the same time, we demand that the desires of the people be met; we raise the question of the revolutionary development of Ecuador and of the steps which must be taken to put this into practice. The people of Ecuador and, in the first instance, the CPE, must combat anti-popular attitudes, actions and ideas within government owing to its internal contradictions, and actions against the interests of the working class, peasantry, students and popular masses.

The points recorded in our program retain their full validity:

"The national and international situation which we have described, indicate the inevitability of the national-liberation revolution in Ecuador as a component part of the world socialist revolution."

"It is an illusion to imagine that Ecuador can emerge from the backwardness and poverty in which its people live without a revolutionary transformation of society. To think that Ecuador can throw off the imperialist yoke without a fundamental revolutionary change of its economic, political and social structure is a deception.

"Therefore, the striving of the people of Ecuador for future freedom, wellbeing and progress can be achieved only by revolutionary means.

"We Communists are fighting for a socialist society where the exploitation of man by man will disappear forever. A large part of mankind is already living in such a society, which is the first stage on the road to a communist society."

But, as our Program says: "Our country can arrive at this (socialist society) only through the process of revolutionary social transformation, passing through all the stages which fulfil the aims of the national-liberation revolution with its triple content—anti-imperialist, anti-feudal and democratic."

These revolutionary changes are clearly defined in our Program:

"The realization of the national-liberation, anti-imperialist, anti-feudal and democratic revolution in Ecuador implies the achievement of the following basic aims:

—Eradication of the economic and political causes of imperialist rule.

—A democratic agrarian reform.

—Democratization of public life.

—Development of the national industry, particularly the state sector.

—Raising the people's living standard.

—An independent peaceful foreign policy toward all countries."

There is no other way to overcome our backwardness and the obstacles which stand in the path of progress, freedom and wellbeing.

By taking this path, we can achieve the coming to power of a *revolutionary people's democratic and patriotic government*, which is an essential tool for bringing about the changes for which we are fighting.

The accession to power of such a government must not be viewed dogmatically, as resulting solely from revolutionary action. We have to see it as a process in which all elements and situations promoting advance along the revolutionary road are utilized. The change-over can be effected only through action by the masses, and their participation in the revolutionary process, winning working-class leadership of the struggle through multifold activities on all fronts.

From this it follows that we Communists must play an active part in all the battles of our people, and must always be prepared to support any action which aids the advance along the road of revolution.

The struggle needs to be intensified, particularly along the following lines:

1. For nationalization of oil: all enterprises involved in its extraction, refining, sale and transportation; it is also necessary to work to establish petrochemical enterprises which will put this enormous natural wealth at the whole nation's disposal.

Defend our sovereignty of the two-hundred mile width of territorial waters. We must campaign for the creation of state fishing enterprises and for the setting up of a state fishing fleet.

Campaign for the electrification of the country, for the construction of large hydro-electric stations like those at Cola de San-Pablo, Jubones, Pisayambo, and for the nationalization of all existing electricity supplies.

In foreign trade: nationalization of exports and establishment of strict controls over imports.

Nationalization of all banking operations.

To utilize the Andes Integration Pact in the country's best interests.

2. Immediate action for agrarian reform, for genuine limitation of

landownership without encroaching on the small and medium holders, and also action in support of the growth of cooperatives.

3. For an all-round increase in wages and the establishment of a sliding wage scale geared to increases in the cost of living.

Freezing of prices on prime necessities and lower rent and medicine charges.

4. Protect the interests of artisans, teachers, students and middle sections of the population, etc.

To study the needs of the people in the towns and province, organize them for the struggle for these demands and to take part in the struggle ourselves.

5. To wage a determined fight for the preservation and extension of democratic rights won in hard battle by the people of Ecuador, for preservation and extension of trade union rights.

To change the regime of terror and repression against the people to one of freedom for the people and its revolutionary forces, etc.

6. For a peaceful foreign policy toward other countries, for a policy directed against imperialist aggression, for establishing relations with all countries, and for restoring relations with socialist Cuba.

The actions of the masses and of our Party must be such that they will contribute to the downfall of imperialism and reaction, and obstruct the destructive and criminal actions of the forces of fascism that are striving to draw the popular movement in blood.

It is absolutely essential to unite all the anti-imperialist, democratic and patriotic forces so that the great battle for the people's revolutionary aims can be waged on all fronts, everywhere and in all circumstances.

It is this unity which makes people invincible, and the vast majority of people—workers, men and women, military and civilians, believers and non-believers, want unity.

The Ninth Congress of the CPE, therefore, declares that the main immediate slogan is "Unity of the Anti-Imperialist, Democratic and Patriotic Forces of Ecuador in the struggle for National and Social Liberation."

The achievement of unity is envisaged as stemming from many activities on the most varied fronts of the battle, strengthening unity among various sections of the people, and the merging of all these forces in one great invincible revolutionary flood.

Unity of the working class, both in town and the countryside, has to be developed and strengthened, and for this the ranks of the Confederation of Workers of Ecuador have to be reinforced. The Confederation has to be helped to elaborate its own action program, helped to perfect its methods of work and spread its influence throughout the entire trade union movement.

Closer relations with other trade union centers on the basis of a single program of demands is essential.

The Council of the United Worker Federations set up in Guayas needs to be reinforced, this experience broadened and introduced to the whole country, in all the provinces.

In the process the working class must promote its class consciousness. It is essential to overcome such incorrect theories and positions within the working class as reformism, class collaboration, political indifferences, economism, etc.

At the same time, the peasantry must intensify its struggle for agrarian reform.

The new agrarian reform law does not stipulate the maximum amount of land which one person may own, nor does it provide for the land being handed over to the peasants free of charge.

Despite this, it does contain measures which can prepare the ground for carrying through an agrarian reform of the kind we are striving for. But this will only become possible if the working people and, in the first instance, the peasantry energetically and decisively work for the fulfillment of these measures.

In order to make this law more effective we must strive to change it, to introduce measures arising from the conclusions drawn by the CC CPE (viz., limiting maximum land holdings, free handing over of the land, participation of peasants in the expropriation process, etc.).

We must be absolutely clear that action, struggle and organization of the broad peasant masses are vital to the Ecuador revolution. Accordingly, we have to develop our activities in order to create a closer alliance between the workers and peasants which will unite the actions of the workers in town and country and will serve as the center of gravity for the entire liberation movement in Ecuador. It is essential to promote the peasant organization and work for the establishment of a National Peasant Federation.

The Ninth Congress draws the Party's attention to the need to organize the struggle of middle sections of the population: artisans, small and middle traders, white-collar workers, teachers, and to carry out determined political work aimed at winning these people over to revolutionary positions and making them an integral part of the great unity of progressive forces in Ecuador. This task assumes great importance since here our weaknesses have become chronic.

There is an imperative need to organize the struggle of the women and win them for the revolution.

There is also great need for more intensive work among young people, to activize their struggle, not only for the solution of general problems which face our young people, but also its specific demands. Work along these lines has to be organized among the mass of young people in all strata of the population.

We also have to carry out determined work among the students, great numbers of whom adhere to a progressive revolutionary outlook, but, in view of their inexperience, fall prey to the mouthings of the so-called ultra-Lefts. We must carry out a struggle against incorrect concepts so that they may develop a correct revolutionary ideology.

The Ninth Congress established the need for uniting all forces: civilian and military, men and women, young people and adults in a United Patriotic Front, which would promote the struggle against the all-powerful imperialist monopolies and their allies, internal reaction, and open up broad perspectives for progress and freedom in Ecuador.

This is the great task facing us, and the salvation of Ecuador and its people depends on its complete fulfillment. A national-liberation front must be created as the main tool of our revolution.

The conditions now prevailing in our country call for such a coalition. It is already taking shape in the process of the struggle of the workers and peasants, students and teachers; it is evident in the attitude of progressive government elements and in the actions of those who are conducting an independent, sovereign foreign policy.

In accordance with the problems of our country, we must conduct the broadest possible propaganda of Marxist-Leninist teachings, the sole correct and scientific philosophy, which gives a genuinely revolutionary direction to the mass struggle. Our approach to problems must become deeper, convincing and more easily understood by the masses, it must be devoid of rhetoric.

Therefore, it is now more obvious than ever before that the essential condition for the victory of our people, is the ideological, political and organizational strengthening of the Communist Party of Ecuador.

The Ninth Congress notes that the CPE enjoys great prestige among the working class and the people of Ecuador, that its views help mould public opinion in the right direction. However, Congress also noted that, despite the organizational, political and ideological success we have achieved since the Eighth Congress, our political influence in the life of the country is in contrast to our organizational weaknesses.

The Ninth Congress also noted the growth of the Party and the improvement in the work of its various bodies. However, Congress emphasizes that the successes achieved are insufficient as compared to the great responsibility which we bear at the present moment. We must speedily overcome our main weaknesses which impede the growth and strengthening of the Party. These defects consist, in the main, of a low ideological level in the Party as a whole and organizational weaknesses.

To raise the ideological and political level, it is essential that there should be a correct assessment throughout the Party of the present situation, the favorable circumstances of the revolutionary perspectives now opening out. We must intensify our battle for the principles of Marxism-Leninism, firmly maintain the principle of the leading role of the Party in the revolutionary process, and oppose all ideological trends alien to Marxism. We must decisively fight against all signs of anti-Communism, and safeguard the unity of the Party from attempts at factional activity. Revolutionary vigilance, must be maintained, sectarianism in all its forms, fought. Everything designed to perfect the work of the Party must be based on the struggle of the masses; we must understand, explain and pursue with determination the policy of unity of the anti-imperialist and democratic forces of Ecuador in the interests of national and social liberation of the people. The principle of proletarian internationalism needs to be systematically upheld, combining it with the patriotic stand of the Party.

We must increase the circulation of the Party's central organ *El Pueblo*, constantly improve its contents, and increase the distribution of books, magazines, pamphlets and other publications of an ideological nature.

Defects in our Party organization must be overcome by a systematic campaign for the recruitment of new members to the Party and the Communist Youth Organization. Great attention must be paid to the new recruits and in all Party units the principle of democratic centralism and collective leadership should be strictly observed, while combining them with personal responsibility. Special attention needs to be devoted to the work of the cells, so that routine and passivity may be overcome.

The Party must help young Communists, and in the first instance, its Central Committee right down to its basic units, so that its work is closely allied to the aspiration and struggles of the young people.

The Congress regards the political unity of Party ranks as of prime importance. It points to the necessity for strengthening and preserving this unity and calls on all Party members, branch organizations, the Party leadership and the Communist youth of Ecuador, to preserve this unity at all costs.

The Ninth Congress considers it essential to strengthen and broaden fraternal relations with all Communist parties, especially with the parties of the socialist countries and the countries of Latin America.

The Ninth Congress expresses its admiration of the great Party of Lenin, the CPSU, and hails it for its unceasing work to safeguard world peace, promote the building of communism and for the help which it gives to the working class movement and the liberation movement of the people.

We also express our admiration for the Communist Party of Cuba

which is building socialism in its country, and whose victory serves as an example and stimulus for us.

The Ninth Congress states that our solidarity with the fraternal Communist Party of Chile and the people of Chile, with its struggle against the fascist criminals, who are drenched in the blood of the Chilean people, is of great importance. The fascist dictatorship in Chile is not only a crime against this great people, but a threat to the whole of the liberation movement in Latin America. The struggle against the fascist criminals is an immediate and decisive task in our revolutionary activity. This struggle must be reflected in all forms of solidarity with the persecuted, the imprisoned, and those threatened with death by Pinochet and his allies, the agents of imperialism.

The Ninth Congress reaffirms our unqualified support for the decisions of the 1969 International Meeting of Communist and Workers Parties in Moscow.

We Ecuador Communists consider that exchanges of views between the Communist Parties of Latin America would be valuable and possible. They would cover common problems and, in particular, problems relating to our aid to the Chilean people and the actions we ought to undertake in order to defeat fascism on our continent. We consider that it is also advisable to hold a meeting at which we could compare our points of view and analyze problems arising on our continent which harm our cause. Naturally, the independence of each Party would be maintained so far as any decisions might be taken which it considered appropriate to its policy.

This, of course, does not mean that we no longer consider it necessary to hold more bilateral and multilateral meetings between our Parties, but on the contrary, is confirmation of our approach to this question.

We are living through a period of great perspectives and decisions, and the outlines can be seen of the bright future which is ours if we are able to unite all the democratic and patriotic forces of Ecuador in the struggle for national and social liberation, and if we Communists, revolutionary fighters, can do our duty to our people.

It is no easy path. We shall have to overcome great obstacles. But the victory will belong to the people of Ecuador and the banner of the national-liberation, anti-imperialist, anti-feudal and democratic revolution will fly over our country.

Guayaquil

November 18, 1973.

Ninth Congress of the Communist Party of Ecuador.

NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF THE BULGARIAN CP

The Bulgarian Communist Party held its national conference in Sofia from March 20 to 22, 1974. The conference was attended by 1,500 delegates representing 700,000 Party members. Also present were a delegation of the Bulgarian Agrarian People's Union (BAPU) and the heads of the diplomatic missions of socialist countries.

Todor Zhivkov, First Secretary of the CC BCP, made a speech on measures for higher productivity of social labor

Speakers in the debate pointed out that socialism, which rules out exploitation of man by man, provides the prerequisites of fruitful labor for the good of society. The task of Party organizations is to mobilize the working people so as fully to use the advantages of the socialist system.

The debate revealed the delegates' creative approach to the tasks of building a developed socialist society set by the 10th Party Congress (1971) and their confidence in the correctness of the chosen path. Many delegates pointed out the tremendous importance of the socialist economic integration of the member-countries of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (CMEA).

In his reply to the debate, T. Zhivkov said that the conference had again demonstrated the unity and cohesion of the BCP, full approval of the Party's domestic and foreign policy, and the Communists' resolve to translate plans into reality.

The resolution unanimously adopted by the delegates takes a positive view of the Central Committee's effort in mobilizing the the working people to implement the guidelines of the 10th Party Congress. It also sets new tasks.

Following are the abridged text of T. Zhivkov's speech and the full text of the conference resolution.

TODOR ZHIVKOV'S SPEECH

In the three years that have passed since the 10th Party Congress,* we have examined and dealt with major economic, social, political, cultural and ideological problems in their unity and interconnection. Our people approved the new Constitution of the People's Republic of Bulgaria in a referendum immediately after the Congress. There were elections to the National Assembly and, not long ago, to people's councils. The BAPU, Patriotic Front, trade unions, Young Communist League and unions of creative workers held their congresses and we also had the Second Congress of Bulgarian Culture. The Central

*For some of the Congress documents, see Information Bulletin, No. 10/11, 1971—Ed.

Committee held several sessions which discussed questions relating to the standard of life, integration with the Soviet Union, ideological work, culture, agricultural production, the international activity of the Party and state, and other matters.

In this past period the Party concentrated on ensuring the rapid growth and intensification of the economy, the decisive sphere and main factor in improving the people's standard of life and advancing socialist society as a whole.

As a result, the economy developed at the high, steady rate typical since the April 1956 CC plenum. Social production and the national income grew considerably in the three years of the sixth five-year plan. The annual rate of industrial growth averaged 9.4 per cent, and in 1973 it was 10.6 per cent, with 95 per cent of the increase in national income achieved through higher productivity of social labor. The share of industry in the national income went up from 49 per cent in 1970 to 52 per cent in 1973. In the three years of the sixth five-year plan, industrial output almost equalled the output under the third and fourth five-year plans.

Specialization is continuing and so is the introduction of industrial methods into farming. The annual level of agricultural production in comparable prices was 10.1 per cent higher than in the corresponding period of the fifth five-year plan.

The salient characteristic and main content of the Party's activity since the 10th Congress has been care of man, effort to meet his material and spiritual needs ever more fully. Proceeding from the gains registered in the socialist economy, the December 1972 plenum of the CC drew up an integrated program for raising the standard of life. In line with the country's objective needs and potentialities, it approved the principles of meeting requirements on a comprehensive basis that should underlie scientifically sound analyses and criteria. The Party's activity and the lines and rate of social production were inspired by concern for the people and aimed at meeting their manifold requirements ever more fully, which is a fundamental law and the supreme goal of socialism.

Due to the policy of increasing nominal wages and keeping the prices of retail goods stable, real per capita income grew by 20.6 per cent. This is considerably more than was envisaged by the guidelines for the first three five-year plan years.

The minimum wage was raised ahead of time and to a greater extent than planned. Over 2,200,000 people today are paid more and the increase in their income is close on 323,000,000 leva per year. Thus, due to pay increases and new social measures carried out in 1971-1973, our people received some 454 million leva more per year.

This year another 93 million leva will be added to this sum as a result of raising national incomes.

The July 1973 plenum of the CC was a notable event both in carrying out the decisions of the 10th Party Congress and from the point of view of our communist future. The plenum decisions on the main lines of closer bonds with the Soviet Union in every sphere during the period of building a developed socialist society in Bulgaria were a further contribution in today's conditions to the centuries-long friendship between our two brother countries. They are a forceful expression of the deep patriotism of the BCP and its loyalty to the principles of proletarian internationalism. Closer ties with the great Union of Soviet Socialist Republics in every field held for us the promise of rapid and all-round progress and provide us with opportunities that would have been unthinkable in a different set of circumstances to build socialism and communism on entirely new principles, at a new rate and on a new scale. The Central Committee and the government are elaborating and implementing measures to carry the bonds linking Bulgaria with the Soviet Union to a point where our country, drawing on a common source as it were, will develop at the same pace and apply the same criteria as the Soviet Union, and where the two countries will join efforts and coordinate their political, economic, spiritual and military activities.

At the same time we are carrying forward processes of integration with other members of the socialist community. Our Party sees increasingly close bonds with socialist countries in every field as the main line of development of world socialism and the inevitable future of the world.

From the rostrum of the Party's national conference, we wish to express once again the Bulgarian people's love for the Soviet people, Lenin's Party and the great fraternal Soviet Union, a mighty bulwark of world socialism. An immense country abounding in natural resources and commanding a powerful economy and a vast scientific potential, the Soviet Union not only paves the way for communism and facilitates the advance of other socialist countries through its historical experience, but uses its power to help members of the socialist community in attaining a similar development level in the shortest possible time.

From the rostrum of the Party's national conference, we also wish to express once again our sincere love for and gratitude to Leonid Ilyich Brezhnev, General Secretary of the CC CPSU, a great peace fighter of our time, Hero of the People's Republic of Bulgaria. Bulgaria's Communists and people know very well Comrade Brezhnev's outstanding role and exceptional personal contribution to increasingly close bonds between our two countries and most

gratefully associate his name with a new stage in the development of the centuries-long friendship between our two countries.

The speaker dealt with the deliberations of the February plenum of the CC on ideological matters.

The main conclusion to be drawn, he said, is that since the 10th Party Congress the Central Committee and Political Bureau have steadfastly carried on the Party's general line, mobilizing the Communists and all working people in town and countryside and overcoming inevitable difficulties. Bulgaria has taken a new big stride in building a developed socialist society.

The speaker concentrated on the problem of raising the productivity of social labor, the decisive factor for building a developed socialist society.

Social labor productivity, he said, has always been in the focus of our Party's attention. However, raising social labor productivity at this stage, in today's internal and international conditions, is a cardinal problem which may be described as the hub of all problems and tasks in building a developed socialist society in Bulgaria. This is what prompted the Central Committee to call this conference and set it, like the whole Party and the whole people, the task of raising social labor productivity, the paramount requisite of our progress.

We proceed, firstly, from the fact that a rapid increase in social labor productivity is an objective law at this stage of our country's development, the stage of building a developed socialist society. Building a developed socialist society is unthinkable without intensifying social production, using the advantages and internal reserves of the socialist system, saving as much time as possible and achieving a high growth rate of social labor productivity.

In tackling this task, we take advantage of the favorable internal prerequisites, both objective and subjective, created chiefly in the years following the April 1956 CC plenum.

A highly important and fundamentally new development is the intensification of the process of our country's integration with the Soviet Union, the policy of establishing the closest possible bonds between Bulgaria and the Soviet Union in every field. We are moving toward greater trade with the Soviet Union, closer cooperation in all production spheres, the construction of joint enterprises and the unification of their operations, joint research and designing and practical utilization of the results thereof. But integration cannot be effective if our labor productivity is lower than that of our partners or if quality falls short of present-day standards and fails to meet the requirements of increased production cooperation and expanding trade.

*See Information Bulletin, No. 5-6, 1974.—Ed.

Integration with the Soviet Union necessitates a faster growth rate of social labor productivity and provides highly favorable conditions for this growth.

Thanks to integration with the Soviet Union, we can set out in a new way to form a highly effective industrial and intra-branch industrial economic structure and to build enterprises with efficient mass production, up-to-date technologies and maximum mechanization and automation. This integration provides objective conditions for rapidly increasing social labor productivity many times over and for raising key sectors of this or that sphere to the requisite level.

An important favorable factor for rapidly increasing social labor productivity is the international détente that has set in, the turn from cold war to peaceful coexistence. Our duty is to take advantage of this favorable situation and bring about an early and radical turn in the solution of this cardinal problem in the interests of our people and world socialism.

T. Zhivkov defined the main problems facing the Party and country in their effort for a rapid increase in social labor productivity. One of the most important of them, he said, is production concentration and specialization. We have undoubtedly made appreciable headway in this respect. But growing requirements and the favorable conditions created of late call for a new approach to this problem and its solution.

The next question to be mentioned is the use of raw materials by our processing industry. We are confronted with several problems whose solution has a direct effect on social labor productivity. To begin with, we must move to complete, thorough and integrated processing of domestic and imported raw materials. We must not only strive to utilize raw materials comprehensively but process them efficiently and produce high quality, indeed, wherever possible, super-high quality excellently packaged goods.

A very important problem is to ensure economic rational and effective use of raw materials, primary products, fuels and energy.

Scientific progress and the prompt application of scientific and technological achievements are decisive in raising social labor productivity. First of all, we must thoroughly reorganize research and concentrate the efforts of researchers on the main lines along which our country seeks cooperation and specialization in integration with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries and in international division of labor.

A task of the first importance in this field is the closest cooperation of our scientific community with Soviet research and applied science institutes and organizations. Accordingly, we must closely coordinate and intimately link up our plans for science and technology with

Soviet plans and draw up joint plans and programs for the main lines of scientific progress.

The speaker dealt, in particular, with the quality of output and stressed the need to improve it. Those who put out low-quality products, he said, misuse their own labor and, moreover, waste valuable raw materials, primary products and energy and destroy the fruits of the collective labor of other workers. This, in turn, lowers labor productivity throughout the nation. The drive for higher quality is part of the drive to raise the people's standard of living.

Social labor productivity can be raised by a considerable margin through timely and efficient designing, more rapid construction and the prompt and complete utilization of new capacities.

Modernizing and reconstructing fixed assets leads directly to higher social labor productivity. The speaker dealt with this matter at length. He then went on to the problem of better planning.

He said that planning should proceed from the need to raise the standard of life, from the country's own potentialities and the possibilities of its participating in international division of labor to the best advantage. A principle of planning should be to approach production management in terms of a comprehensive program. Plan fulfillment should be guaranteed by providing reserve capacities, funds—including hard currency—and materials needed for the normal functioning of the economy. Five-year plans staggered on an annual basis should be made the main form of planning and the fundamental political and economic document recording the country's overall development.

We must raise the issue of counter-plans and socialist emulation once again. Steps to perfect planning and ensure the stability of the five-year state plan are inseparable from measures to enhance the role and significance of the working people's counter-plans.

The speaker concerned himself in detail with the need to increase the role and responsibility of government agencies in managing the economy, training executive and technical personnel and raising their qualifications, as well as with labor discipline.

T. Zhivkov devoted special attention to Party work and steps to raise the Party's leading role. The recent election campaign in the Party, the first since the 10th Congress, he said, had demonstrated the unity and cohesion of Bulgaria's 700,000 Communists around the Party's policy and its central Committee. The time has come to call a special plenum of the CC to discuss the state, activity, and tasks of the Party.

T. Zhivkov set the conference urgent tasks whose fulfillment is directly linked to the effort for high labor productivity. He spoke of the need to heighten the role of Party organizations at all levels in

directing the economy, improve work among people, afford them proper working and living conditions and make fuller use of the Party organizations' right to supervise economic activity. Party bodies should lean on mass organizations, the trade unions, YCL and Patriotic Front and encourage their initiative. T. Zhivkov spoke highly of the important role at home and abroad of the Bulgarian Agrarian People's Union with which the BCP has been working shoulder to shoulder for the happiness of socialist Bulgaria.

A section of the speech was concerned with certain international developments.

The past period, T. Zhivkov said, has seen a radical turn in the post-war evolution of the world. Thanks to the peace offensive of the Soviet Union, the socialist community as a whole and all peace forces, a transition is taking place from cold war to détente. The Peace Program of the 24th Congress of the CPSU has become a unifying platform for the forces seeking détente. Since the 10th Congress it has been our program and the basis of the foreign policy activity of our Party and state. Specific gains in easing international tension are, in effect, so many evidences in carrying out this program.

The steadily growing might of the Soviet Union and the socialist community as a whole is unquestionably a most important historic factor for the change now taking place from cold war to the assertion of the principles of peaceful coexistence.

T. Zhivkov next spoke of progress in the socialist economic integration of the CMEA countries and told about the contribution of the BCP and PRB to the socialist community's gains in the international arena.

A vast struggle is under way to carry forward Marxist-Leninist theory, uphold its purity and defeat Right- and "Left"-wing deviations and various manifestations of nationalism and anti-Sovietism. It has resulted in the ideological and revolutionary consolidation of brother parties and helped them to achieve close ideological, political and revolutionary unity. More and more parties publicly expose Maoism, the most dangerous manifestation of modern revisionism and anti-Sovietism.

T. Zhivkov said that the changes which have set in on the world scene have given rise to the idea of calling a new international meeting of communist and workers' parties. There is no question, he added, that in present-day conditions a new meeting is indispensable.

Lenin pointed out, T. Zhivkov said, that after the victory of the socialist revolution the center of the class struggle between the two opposed social systems—socialism and capitalism—shifts to the economic sphere. In today's international conditions, with the turn from

cold war to peaceful coexistence, economic competition between socialism and capitalism is becoming the main arena of the historic duel between the socialist and capitalist systems. Socialist relations of production, coupled with the current scientific and technological evolution, create conditions for highly productive labor, abundance, a great variety of high-quality consumer goods and a high living standard for millions of working people. This accounts for our confidence in the inevitable triumph of socialism and communism throughout the world.

There can be no doubt that the decisions of this national Party conference will give a new spur to the effort to make the anniversary year 1974* a year of highly efficient work and fully to translate the measures decided on by the 10th Party Congress into reality, T. Zhivkov said in conclusion.

RESOLUTION OF THE NATIONAL PARTY CONFERENCE

The National Party Conference unanimously endorses the assessments, conclusions and tasks contained in the Central Committee report "For Higher Productivity of Social Labor," delivered by Todor Zhivkov, First Secretary of the CC BCP.

The Conference takes a positive view of the work done by the CC BCP and its Political Bureau in mobilizing the Communists, workers and other working people of town and countryside to carry out the decisions of the 10th Congress.

The Conference approves T. Zhivkov's speech as a basis for the activity of the Party and the state aimed at raising social labor productivity, which is the decisive requisite of the country's all-round progress and a higher standard of life for the people.

The Conference calls on the Communists, members of the Bulgarian Agrarian People's Union, YCL members, workers, cooperative peasants, intellectuals, and all Bulgarian patriots, to devote all their energy, knowledge and inspiration to the effort to raise labor productivity, fulfil and exceed the sixth five-year plan and accelerate the building of a developed socialist society in our country, the People's Republic of Bulgaria.

*This year the Bulgarian people will celebrate the 30th anniversary of the victory of the socialist revolution.—Ed.

AGRARIAN PROGRAM OF THE LEBANESE COMMUNIST PARTY

In June 1973, the Lebanese Communist Party held a national conference on the agrarian question, with the participation of representatives of Party branches and the Central Committee membership. The participants heard and discussed the CC report made by Nicolas Chaoui, General Secretary of the CC LCP, a report of the CC LCP agrarian commission on amendments to the Party Program on the agrarian question, a report of the Central Committee organizational department on the organization of Party work in the countryside, five reports by representatives of regional Party organizations, as well as numerous contributions on various aspects of the agrarian question in Lebanon. After the discussion, the participants adopted the final text of the new LCP program on the agrarian question.

At a press conference held in Beirut on January 15, Nicolas Chaoui, General Secretary of the CC LCP, explained the objective reasons for the delay in publishing the conference documents, due to events in the country and region. He told how the Party's agrarian program was drawn up and analyzed its contents. Following are excerpts from his speech, the full text of which was published in *An-Nida* on January 16, 1974.

FIRST SCIENTIFIC AGRARIAN PROGRAM IN LEBANON

Our Party's agrarian program is the first document of its kind in Lebanon which makes an all-round study of the agrarian question from the Marxist-Leninist standpoint. Its elaboration, together with other investigations and documents, took several years of research, effort and work. The decision to draw up an agrarian program was adopted at our Party's Second Congress. For this purpose, a commission was set up consisting of a number of high-level workers of the central Party apparatus and provincial organizations, as well as agricultural specialists. The commission thoroughly studied various aspects of the agrarian question and submitted the draft program to the CC LCP, which, after discussion, adopted this document.

Taking into consideration the complexity of the agrarian question in Lebanon and the fact that our membership did not have adequate time at its disposal for discussing the draft program, the Third LCP Congress decided to postpone its adoption and recommended that the CC hold a special Party conference for this purpose.

In the period after the Third Congress the draft program was again thoroughly discussed and a number of formulations and provisions were changed. Moreover, "The Agrarian Question in Lebanon in the Light of Marxism," a collection of articles comprehensively analyzing

the main aspects of the agrarian program was of great help to Party members in leading the struggle of the rural masses, particularly that of the tobacco growers, in broadening and strengthening the cooperative movement in the country, etc. Our Party was able to make the agrarian question a national cause, drawing the attention of the broadest social sections in Lebanon.

THREE SECTIONS OF THE AGRARIAN PROGRAM

The LCP agrarian program consists of three sections.

The *first section* is devoted to an analysis of Lebanon's agrarian problems. It deals with such issues as the productive forces and production relations, the causes for agriculture's lag compared to other branches of the economy, the shortages experienced by agricultural workers, peasants and farmers, government policy in the sphere of agriculture, class struggle in the countryside, the position and interests of various social strata in the rural communities.

The *second section* contains the Party's alternative solutions to the existing conditions. These proposals of the LCP for improving conditions in agriculture consist of two parts. The first one, dealing with the present-day situation, sets forth immediate demands and proposes temporary (palliative) solutions. The second deals with the general principles of democratic agrarian reform, which would fundamentally resolve the agrarian question in the interests of agricultural workers, in the interests of developing agricultural production, a basic component of the national economy.

The *third and final section* of the LCP agrarian program is devoted to the methods of Party activity in putting the program into effect.

Our Party's agrarian program expresses the objective demands of a particular stage in Lebanon's development, characterized by the widespread development of capitalism in the countryside and substitution of the old, semi-feudal forms of exploitation by modern methods of capitalist exploitation, the scourge of farm laborers, small and medium peasants, resulting in aggravation of the class struggle in the countryside.

SOME DATA ON THE SITUATION IN LEBANESE AGRICULTURE

N. Chaoui noted that agriculture's share in the country's national income is declining from year to year: whereas in 1950 it was 20 per cent, now it is less than 10 per cent. The share of domestic agriculture in meeting the population's demands in staple food is also diminishing. At present, 75 per cent of the bread, 80 per cent of the meat and 60 per cent of the milk products Lebanon needs are imported, while the income from the export of vegetables, fruit and tobacco accounts for only half the outlay for acquiring food staples.

At the same time, despite the limited amount of arable land in the country, sowing areas are not being expanded; on the contrary, they are steadily diminishing. During the past few years, cultivation of

some 70,000 hectares was abandoned and it is being bought up cheaply by big landowners and capitalists. Altogether there are about 170,000 hectares of arable land, i.e., the area of long-fallow and arable lands exceeds that now being cultivated.

And it is not only the land that is not being fully used, but also the available water for irrigation. Irrigation increases the harvest by at least three to five times. However, a large part of the water in Lebanon is wasted. In the years since independence, the country's irrigated lands have increased by only 16,000 hectares. Moreover, mainly privately-owned artesian wells are used for this purpose.

The cost of agricultural production in Lebanon is very high despite the diminishing costs of labor. The reason is that the big landowners have raised the land rent; also, the farmers, particularly the small and medium ones, inevitably become entangled in the exploiters' net: first they get credits to buy seed, buy or rent farm machines, fertilizers, agricultural chemicals, and then fall prey to the owners of refrigeration and processing plants.

The Agricultural and Industrial Credit Bank's share in the total amount of credits granted to agriculture has dropped to three per cent. Moreover, this bank credits to the big owners first, while the small and medium farmers have no alternative but to turn to private banks or usurers, who charge 12-15 per cent. and sometimes even up to 50 per cent interest.

Farm machines cost approximately 20 per cent more in Lebanon than in other countries, and fertilizers and agricultural chemicals go at more than twice the price they are sold at in the producer countries. Yearly, approximately 20 per cent of the agricultural crop is lost owing to ineffective methods and means of combating natural disasters and plant diseases.

This forces the small and medium farmers to raise the price of agricultural products in order to cover production costs. Moreover, agricultural products get to the consumer only through middlemen — merchants, firms owning refrigeration plants and factories for processing farm products, etc. As a result, prices are doubled or trebled.

Anarchy of production and the absence of a serious government program further increases the difficulties of agriculture. In particular, government foreign trade policy creates a perpetual problem in the sale of a number of farm products, causing considerable losses to the farmers.

The rural communities are more backward than is generally supposed. Take, for instance, the following data. The 1,900 Lebanese doctors are distributed in the country as follows: 60 in Al-Beka, 100 in the south, 190 in the north, 300 in the Lebanese mountains, 1,250 in Beirut.

The problems connected with receiving an education, widespread

illiteracy and absence of public utilities are common knowledge. It is not surprising therefore that there is an influx of the rural population into Beirut or that large numbers emigrate.

The reasons for this stem from the production relations and government policy, which serves the interests first of all of the finance oligarchy and big landowners. Our agrarian program provides concrete data confirming this opinion.

It is often said that there are no feudal or big landowners in Lebanon, that all the land has been distributed, etc. But this is refuted even by official data. True, most holdings are small or medium. But there are also 439 big landowners who own more than 91,000 small holders.

Its statements, declarations and promises notwithstanding, the government is doing nothing to change the situation in the countryside. Furthermore, objectively, government policy and its apparatus serve the interests of the big owners and capitalists.

IMMEDIATE DEMANDS

The part of the LCP agrarian program dealing with immediate measures contains proposals for improving the condition of the agricultural workers and peasants, including the demand to extend health care and social security to the agricultural workers and peasants, and the right to organize trade unions. This part also presupposes the introduction of modern legislation regulating land tenures, determining the rights of peasants, leaseholders and sharecroppers, the setting up of a national fund for supplying the population with farm products. The program also demands improvement of social conditions in the countryside, with the establishment of democratic norms and institutions, etc.

This section also includes a number of proposals for the development of agriculture: concrete proposals for improving land usage and water distribution, granting of loans, farm machinery, fertilizers and the necessary agricultural chemicals at low prices, combating losses caused by natural phenomena, increasing the number of livestock and poultry, developing fishing, etc. In addition, it proposes a series of measures to ensure the sale and processing of agricultural products, developing cooperation, reducing the number of middlemen and products costs in order to cut down consumer prices.

These proposals are intended to alleviate the situation but do not radically solve the agrarian problem. That is why our Party simultaneously sets forth the general principles of a democratic agrarian reform, which would make it possible to solve all these problems in the interests of the agricultural workers, peasants, small and medium farmers, in the interests of an all-round advance in agriculture. As a result of such a reform, tens of thousands of small and medium

landowners would not only retain their holdings but would be in a position to make effective use of them.

NATIONAL SIGNIFICANCE OF SOLVING THE AGRARIAN PROBLEM

In our view, solution of the agrarian question in Lebanon acquires national significance. Political feudalism, which owes its strength largely to the support of certain rural circles, continues to play a highly reactionary role in Lebanon's political life, in parliament, government and in all state institutions. The weakening of its influence would help change the relation of forces in the interests of progress and democratic development. The LCP agrarian program affords a perspective for the growing weight of the rural population's democratic movement in the political life of the country as a whole.

We are confident that the masses of agricultural workers, peasants and farmers, the masses as a whole will enthusiastically welcome and support our agrarian program because it is in principle based on the needs of the broad masses, as expressed by them on numerous occasions. We are aware that our program will arouse the displeasure and resistance of certain sections, first of all the top landowners and capitalists, who undoubtedly would be affected by the implementation of our proposals. This is to be expected and does not worry us. We are confident that the future belongs to the ideas of our agrarian program, since it is the program of peasants and agricultural workers, of the absolute majority of our people, a program of struggle, a tool in the hands of our comrades and all rural working people in their fight for their immediate aims and a better life.

On the other hand, the LCP agrarian program opens up broader possibilities for strengthening the cohesion of all progressive forces, the forces with which we cooperate in all political battles and demands for resolving immediate problems.

The solutions proposed by our program are of particular significance in the conditions of mounting prices, which make the people's life unbearable. These solutions and proposals are of immense help in fighting inflation, exposing its causes in the sphere of agricultural products, and in pointing out ways of solving this problem.

We hold that our Party has made an important contribution in dealing with this problem, which is of national significance and affects the interests and life of a large part of the Lebanese population. Our Party has proposed a solution to this problem, thereby fulfilling its duty to the masses of the people, first of all the working people of both town and country.

PLENARY MEETINGS

CC FRENCH CP PLENUM

The Central Committee of the French Communist Party met in Paris on March 19-20, 1974. It heard and discussed two reports: "The Economic and Social Situation and the Struggle for the Working People's Demands," presented by Paul Laurent, and "The Training and Promotion of Party Workers," presented by Marcel Saidner.

The meeting approved both reports and passed several resolutions. In a resolution on the 70th anniversary of *l'Humanité*, it stressed the highly important role of the FCP national daily in organizing powerful action by the working people in support of the Common Program of the Left.

Georges Marchais, General Secretary of the FCP, spoke in reply to the debate.

Following are extracts from M. Saidner's report and G. Marchais' speech, as well as the full text of the resolution on the training and promotion of Party workers.

PAY SPECIAL ATTENTION TO ENTERPRISE BRANCH LEADERS*

One could say that every morning all questions relating to the nation's life and the world situation, all major political problems, enter the factory gates together with the workers, who have had a chance to listen to the radio or read the paper, which is not always called *l'Humanité*. Add to this life at the factory itself, the growing strike movement and participation in trade union activities. To answer all the questions that arise, Communist Party branches must take their place in the battle of ideas, ensure the publication of leaflets and newspapers, the distribution of *l'Humanité*, propaganda material and political literature, organize polemics and discussions. It is their task to bring in new valuable forces because they are active among the working people, places where they enjoy the greatest influence and sympathy. And it is also they who raise funds needed for Party work.

Besides, enterprise branches daily participate in political activities by the most diverse methods.

The 5,600 enterprise branches (this year we hope to increase their number by another thousand) provide vast opportunities for training party cadres belonging to the working class. The training and

*From M. Saidner's report (*l'Humanité*, March 23, 1974).—Ed.

promotion of such **cadre members** depends largely on the political activity of enterprise branches. The training of party workers where capitalist exploitation takes place is an imperative necessity for a revolutionary party. It is an important and distinctive contribution to the effort to bring into being a democratic France, a contribution which only our party can make.

Factory Communists, who bear the burden of capitalist exploitation, various restrictions, speed-up and exhausting travel by city transport, can discuss burning problems, coordinate their efforts, get together, act and influence life at the enterprise only if they have a collective leadership elected by the branch and headed by a secretary. This is the case at some enterprises. But at many others the problem has yet to be solved and the branches there are not active enough, meet only occasionally and do not carry on the necessary political and ideological work.

WHO SHOULD BE ENTERPRISE BRANCH SECRETARY?

The secretary of the enterprise branch has an important role to play. He should not disperse his efforts and should always concern himself with political struggle.

At the national conference held in 1971, when the situation was different, the Central Committee advanced an explicit thesis which made it possible to achieve substantial results, step up work in numerous enterprise branches and form new ones. According to the thesis, the most important post should go to the most competent Party member. This, of course, implies no minimizing the importance of trade union work but the problem which claims our full attention and must be solved by the Communists of every enterprise is the constant, everyday activity of the party, the vanguard of the working class.

If the branch fails to take part in the ideological and political battles of today no one else can do the job, let alone permanently. As a result, the working-class movement can be seriously prejudiced, to the detriment of the struggle and the growth of people's political consciousness.

The responsibilities of the factory branch secretary are complex and difficult. They require political acumen, initiative and the qualities of a collective educator and organizer and only the best Communist can assume them.

In stressing the importance of factory branches, we by no means disregard other branches. Indeed, it is through local and rural branches that we reach the working people at enterprises where the party still has no organization and the employees of small enterprises. It is through them that we establish contact with other categories of

working people, with the peasants, middle strata, housewives, pensioners and non-working youth. Local and rural branches concern themselves with all political and social questions bearing on life in the communes. They ensure the distribution of the greater part of the Party press. They are active in large residential neighborhoods. This is why we must not underrate the importance of leading them.

In connection with the issues discussed in this report, emphasis should be laid on the importance of the decisions of the 20th Party Congress* in stepping up the effort to educate the masses, intensify the struggle, constantly train large numbers of Party members and set up permanent study centers. This can be done only if federations and sections show proper initiative. More comrades should devote themselves to educational work and prepare to carry it on.

We are occasionally told that we lack the time and people needed to cope with all the numerous tasks. But it would be foolish to slacken educational work just when the struggle is intensifying. The effort to acquire and improve one's knowledge of the theoretical foundations of scientific socialism is a life-giving source of initiative making it possible to train more and more of the valuable workers for the Party needs. This work is part and parcel of political education—along with branch meetings and the reading of *l'Humanité* and other Party publications.

THREE QUALITIES OF THE COMMUNIST CADRE

Replying to the debate at the Central Committee meeting on March 20, 1974, Georges Marchais, General Secretary of the CC FCP, made, among others, the following remarks:

Our only purpose is to bring into being the broadest possible alliance of all popular forces. Our strategy and activity are aimed at hastening the hour of defeat for the present reactionary regime and of victory for the alliance seeking a new democratic government that will carry out the Common Program.

To accomplish this task we need an ever more militant, influential and solidly organized party. Without a party playing its role, unfolding its own activity in any circumstances and carrying weight in the nation's life there can be neither progress toward victory for democracy and socialism, nor a lasting alliance. This is a point we must never lose sight of.

Hence it was wise, as well as examining our tasks in the present domestic situation, to take stock of the state of our work in training and promoting cadre members.

Our Party can be proud of having tens of thousands of active members unmatched in any other French political party. They are men and women belonging to every category of working people. How-

*See Information Bulletin, No. 2, 1973.—Ed.

ever, a distinctive feature of our Party is that many of its cadre members belong to the working class. This enables the Party to bring out and foster organizational abilities which would otherwise have been wasted in capitalist society. The Party puts these abilities in the service of socialism and the working people, of the nation itself. Credit for the fact that there are 27 worker deputies in the National Assembly is due to none but our Party.

Our Cadre members are devoted and selfless people who want to serve the people's interests and the public weal. Our party does not claim to have a monopoly on these qualities. But it is a fact that they are widespread in its ranks and that the Party has never been tainted by any scandals.

Naturally, the qualities of the Communist cadre are not give once and for all. They must be appraised, as Marcel Saidner showed, according to the exigencies of the political struggle.

Proceeding from this idea, I would like to stress three qualities which I regard as decisive to our activity in today's conditions.

The first of these qualities is political initiative, that is, the ability to boldly set up the activity of the organization one is responsible for and ensure that it plays the role of revolutionary vanguard, which our Party must always play in the class struggle.

This means, first and foremost, ensuring the Party's presence on every battlefield, and its lead in action for the working people's demands and rights. In the early part of my remarks, I stressed that we must take special care of the needs of the most exploited working people, of the families beset by particularly serious difficulties. For this we need Party workers sensitive to the problems of these sections, resolute in action and bold in searching for forms and methods of struggle, but with no concession to adventurism. Needless to say, we should not forget the need for similar efforts in favor of other sections of the population that are victims of big capital's policies.

Furthermore, it means popularizing the Party's present and future policy more extensively, being able to speak to everyone in understandable terms and taking account of local or regional peculiarities and the new elements of a continuously changing situation.

In a recent interview I spoke of the right to make mistakes. Our Party workers also have the right, but they never abuse it.

The main danger is not this but passivity, routine, lack of initiative living up to the expectations of the masses and in line with the conditions of struggle.

Another quality I would like to mention is the ability to uphold the common interest or, in other words, act as a member of a Party which sees itself not only as a party of the working class but also feels responsible for defending the real interests of the enterprise,

neighborhood, town, village, department, region or the country as a whole.

Communists are uncompromising opponents of the capitalist system, fighters par excellence. But they are also men and women aspiring to devote their energies and minds to the building of a new, humane society of brotherhood. Yes, they are builders. They demonstrate this today by their action for the Common Program, which is a government program.

But this quality of a government party should manifest itself on all levels, in attention to every problem of the various categories of population and in the ability to put forward constructive solutions meeting the common interest.

Moreover, we are fighting for the working people's unity because this unity is the key to success at every stage, including the stage of socialist construction. We must draw all the requisite conclusions from our strategy. What does this imply for the Communist cadre? It implies that cadre members must launch a fruitful dialogue, not only with those men and women who consider themselves Left-wingers, but with other people who may be drawn into the battle for democracy. They must establish permanent relations with them based on confidence and leading to joint action, if possible, without ruling out a contest of ideas. This is a difficult task and no progress can, of course, be made toward accomplishing it without reciprocal good will. But we must work on it and this not only at the top, for the alliance can be solid only if based on bonds at every level of national life, especially at grass roots.

Lastly, the third quality of the Communist cadre which I would like to mention is the ability to rouse the Party organization to intense democratic activity.

We in our Party have always stressed the necessity for extensive collective effort in both drafting and carrying out decisions. This necessity has become more imperative and will continue to do so.

We stress that the growing complexity of economic and social life calls for more democracy. We say that a democratic and socialist France cannot be built without the active and conscious participation of the greatest possible number of people. Party life is not exempt from this requirement. This is not to say that we should organize Party life, as some suggest, in the same way as we propose organizing political life in a socialist France. It means seeking more and more effective participation by every member of a Party organization in discussion and decision-making on the principle of democratic centralism. We need everyone's ideas and capacity for criticism and creative effort. This applies to the whole Party, from the branch to the Central Committee.

Some of you may ask at this point: "But where are we to find members having all these qualities?"

The task is not, of course, to set about looking for exceptional people. Besides, all our cadre members strive continuously to improve their competence as they come into contact with grim realities. My object in offering these few remarks was to help them and ourselves in this necessary effort.

Already our Party has numerous members showing this militant, dynamic, open and collective spirit in their work, striving to foster political activity. We also have numerous members, in particular young people, who are prepared to assume new responsibilities.

To specify, the branch meetings and section and federation conferences to be held this year should promote many new people. We must allow no delay in this matter or the Party's entire activity will be prejudiced. Not that we should remove comrades supposed to be incompetent, or systematically replace old by young people.

A strong point of our Party is that it combines the experience of the old with the energy of the young, realizing, however, that dynamism and a sense of the new are not always a matter of age. Whether some like it or not, there is no conflict of generations in the Communist Party. Our Party is a fortunate blend and a fruitful interaction of diverse people that all other parties envy us. Regular changes are desirable precisely with a view to maintaining this cohesion. A proper rotation of cadre members is beneficial to themselves and the Party as a whole.

In conclusion, I would like to stress the importance of the branch secretary, especially at industrial enterprises.

The branch is a distinctive feature of our highly democratic Party structure. Its existence encourages initiative and makes Communists more keenly aware of their responsibilities. Branches make it easier to keep in touch with the working people, the masses generally, to know their needs and sentiments and organize their action. In this sense, they make a unique contribution to the framing of Party policy and are the decisive instrument of implementing it.

We have 20,000 branches. This is an immense and invaluable force. We must give credit to the branches for their great work carried out in every field. However, we must not forget that some of them are not active enough. This is a shortcoming to be removed. Intolerable in normal periods, it is all the more the more so now, when we are engaged in a tremendous campaign for the Common Program of the Left and the establishment of a democratic government will include Communists to run the nation. In this campaign, every weak point must be overcome and eliminated by all means.

The deficiencies of some of our branches are due to a lack of

leadership and, above all, the absence of an efficient secretary. It may be argued, of course, that an active branch "produces" people who can lead it. But if a branch is not active enough the task is to begin with finding a competent secretary for it, since there can be no efficient branch without an efficient secretary.

I say this because today we have too many branches, particularly at enterprises, whose secretaries are devoted comrades willing to do the job, or which have no secretary at all while the most eligible comrades have other responsibilities.

If we attach to the activity of the branch, primarily—I repeat—the enterprise branch, the importance it deserves, obviously, the secretary must be a comrade who can lead the Party's political struggle more competently than anyone else. The Party discussed this matter a decade ago. It should discuss it again.

Lastly, the leaderships of Party sections and federations and the Central Committee itself should give branch secretaries much more help to accomplish their tasks, which means that they must keep themselves posted on the situation and steadily raise their political and ideological standards.

It is obviously necessary to search for more effective forms of assistance in this sphere with due regard to the level and intensity of the political struggle.

These are the ideas suggested by our deliberation and the remarks which I wanted to offer regarding the social and political situation in the country and the effort to be made toward promoting cadre members so as to put in our people's service a party performing its duties ever more competently.

L'Humanité, March 22, 1974.

RESOLUTION OF THE CC FCP

All the federations of the French Communist Party will hold conferences this year in accordance with the Rules.

Each federation decides on the agenda of its conference, for it is not a question of preparations for a congress, whose agenda is determined by the Central Committee.

Federal conferences will be preceded by branch meetings and section conferences. In this way, all Party members contribute to collective thought, political discussion and decision-making.

After a democratic discussion of the merits of candidates put forward by sections and branches, federal and section conferences will elect their leading bodies by secret ballot.

All branches will also elect bureaus.

These decisions are the responsibility of the organizations concerned.

L'Humanité, April 23, 1974.

The Central Committee does not step in, except to confirm the election of the First Secretary of every federation.

For every Party organization aware of its duties to the working people and the population at large, it is an act of primary importance to choose those who are to lead the Party's collective work.

It is a constant concern of Communists to train and promote such leaders, that is, men and women devoted to the cause of the working class and the people, defending the national interest and inspired by proletarian internationalism.

The French people have seen the Communist Party at work for more than half a century now. They appreciate its members' devotion to the unity of the working class, to the cohesion of the working people. The Central Committee hails all Communists who are in the forefront of the struggle.

To ensure the success of movements for economic demands and organize struggles leading to the victory of a majority united behind the Common Program of the Left, we need many leaders capable of taking their bearings at any moment and of bold initiative.

Every year the Party prepares workers and employees, intellectuals and peasants for leading posts. Women constitute a growing proportion of them.

In the Communist Party, a revolutionary party continuously perfecting its democratic life, elections on all levels make it possible to assign the most important functions to comrades who can work without giving in to routine, openly, collectively and dynamically.

The leadership of every Party organization should continuously analyze the changing, complex situation. It should encourage discussion in the Party and launch a permanent dialogue with diverse segments of the population. It should insist on every Party member contributing his share to Party life and to democratically decided actions.

It is impossible to overemphasize the unique nature of the activity of our 20,000 branches.

Branches and their members can increase the Party's prestige and influence only by political effort meeting the requirements and expectations of the population, through a continuous confrontation of ideas and activity in various forms according to the exigencies of the developing struggle.

The branch secretary is, along with the bureau which enlists the activity of all Party members, the inspirer of this collective effort. The role of branch secretaries grows in step with the Party's increasing national and international responsibilities.

Branch participation in public life should be a standing concern of section and federation committees and the Central Committee.

In performing their important functions, all branch secretaries should be able to count on their constant assistance.

Enterprise branches are in the thick of the class struggle. They are daily faced with major economic, social and political problems of the country. It is above all they that must popularize the Party's policy among the working people and organize the political struggle of the working people and other wage earners.

The activity of the enterprise Party organization is decisive to winning the working people for revolutionary ideas and forging an alliance of the working class and other social strata who have common interests and aspire to democratic change and to socialism.

This is the way to ensure the training of more and more working-class leaders enjoying the confidence of their class brothers.

The enterprise branch sees to the judicious distribution of responsibilities among Party members. It is of decisive importance to elect a secretary who is prepared to perform his functions. The branch secretary should be the most competent Party worker, that is, a person capable of leading the struggle at the enterprise more efficiently than anyone else.

The place and role of women in French society and in Party life has been gaining in importance. Their initiative and action are indispensable to the growth of the working-class and democratic movement in our country.

More and more young men and women distinguished for their militancy and sense of responsibility join in the activities of the Communist Party and Communist Youth Movement.

The conferences to be held will ensure the promotion of women and young people on all levels.

The Communist Party's thinking and activity is based on the principles of scientific socialism. In line with the 20th Congress, all Party organizations should concern themselves with the education of their membership, which is a primary task requiring sustained attention.

The activity of elementary, federal and central Party schools should be supplemented by local initiative in training all Communists. The opening of permanent education centers affords federations, sections and branches the opportunity of encouraging all Party members to know and understand.

Every day *l'Humanité* offers all Communists unique aid by informing them, by helping them to educate themselves, organize and act. To read it is to enrich the life of the branch and make its activity more effective.

Reading *The Democratic Challenge* by Georges Marchais and other Party publications is indispensable to the training of the membership,

Their distribution extends the audience of the French Communist Party which is fighting for a socialist France.

*Central Committee,
French Communist Party
Paris, March 20, 1974.*

CP INDIA NATIONAL COUNCIL RESOLUTIONS

The National Council of the Communist Party of India met in New Delhi from March 23 to 26 last. It discussed and approved the report presented to it by General Secretary C. Rageswara Rao on the political situation in the country and the tasks of the CPI and adopted a comprehensive resolution.

Another resolution sharply denounced the construction of the U.S. nuclear base on Diego Garcia island in the Indian Ocean, characterizing it as "a new threat to a large number of countries in Asia and Africa." The resolution calls on the CPI and all progressive forces to step up the struggle for making the Indian Ocean a peace zone and to popularize the concept of Asian collective security.

The National Council expressed great satisfaction at the unprecedented growth in Party membership this year. On the basis of reports already received, the membership has gone up to 330,000. Taking into account the returns due in a month's time from several states, the total CPI membership is expected to rise to 350,000. The increase in membership has taken place in all states. Bihar tops the list with 69,000. Next comes Andhra Pradesh with 58,000, followed by Kerala with 47,000.

A special feature of the Party membership noted by the National Council is that it is overwhelmingly composed of industrial workers, agricultural labor and poor peasantry. The majority of members now consist of young people. The National Council passed resolutions on an exchange of Party cards in 1974 and collecting the Party Fund.

Below follow extracts from the main resolutions of the CPI National Council, the full text of which was printed in *New Age*, March 31, 1974.

STATE ASSEMBLY ELECTIONS, PRESENT POLITICAL SITUATION AND OUR TASKS

Very important developments have taken place in the national arena since the last meeting of the National Council. The most significant among them were the elections to some state assemblies, the mass

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upheaval in Gujarat, the big united successful strikes of the working class and a number of bandhs against spiralling prices.

The discontent of the masses has reached its limits. The situation is explosive. There is a well-laid plan of right reactionary forces including those inside the Congress and U.S. imperialist agencies to divert this mass discontent into chaos and anarchy and push the government to the right as a first step to capture power.

Either the left and democratic forces inside and outside the Congress unite and beat back this sinister counter-offensive of dark forces of reaction, halt the retreat of the government and take our country forward or reaction will gain an upper hand and reverse all the progressive policies of our country. This is the grim alternative facing our country today.

It is a matter of great satisfaction that the game of right reactionary parties and forces to win at the polls, especially in the key states of UP and Orissa and stage a comeback to step up their counter-offensive has been temporarily foiled. It is a noteworthy fact that while the all-India parties of Right reaction like the Syndicate Congress and Swatantra have suffered heavy defeat, the regional Right reactionary parties like the BKD and the Utkal Congress have fared comparatively better though even they have not been able to attain their objectives in the elections. The further development of regional Rightist parties and the use of regionalism by them is an important phenomenon that has to be noted in the context of unity and integrity of our country.

The election results show that our people, especially the big majority of the working class, agricultural workers, sections of the poor peasants and toiling poor in the towns are not prepared to accept the Right reactionary alternative despite their deep anger against the Congress whose policies have led to spiralling prices, growing unemployment and misery. The millions representing the majority of the electorate have rejected the pro-imperialist, anti-Soviet line and propaganda of the parties of Right reaction. They have endorsed the line of opposition to the imperialists and of consolidating friendship with the Soviet Union and other friendly socialist and anti-imperialist states. In this way the masses thwarted the machinations of the U.S. imperialists and rebuffed their strenuous efforts to turn the country to the right. The anti-imperialist forces of our country have strengthened themselves in these elections. It is a testimony to the advancing political consciousness of the toiling masses of our country.

MUSLIM COMMUNALISM FAILS IN UTTAR PRADESH

It is a welcome fact that large sections of the muslim voters in UP did not fall prey to the communal and separatist propaganda of the Muslim League, Muslim Majlis and other reactionary parties. The

CPI played an important part in these developments. The Muslim League which wants to project itself on to the north has received a rebuff.

At the same time, serious note has to be taken of the undoubted erosion of the popularity of the Congress as compared to the 1971 and 1972 elections. This has been particularly marked in UP where the Congress vote slumped from about 48.5 per cent in 1971 to about 32.6 per cent in 1974. This is entirely due to the failure of the Congress to implement the pledges it made and the policies it proclaimed at that time.

It is a matter of pride that our Party played a very significant role in these elections in ensuring the defeat of the reactionary parties through the effective implementation of its policies in this complex situation. This is admitted not only by Left congressmen, but also by many centrist congressmen. Consequently, the political prestige of our Party has risen high in the eyes of all the genuine Left and democratic forces. The results of these elections have once again proved the correctness of our Party policy and tactics. Note has, however, to be taken of the fact that the weaknesses in the Party sharply criticized at the Cochin Party Congress (1971)—parliamentarism, careerism, lack of discipline and individualism—manifested themselves in some places.

On the whole, our Party has fared well in these elections. Our Party won a resounding victory in the Central Bombay Lok Sabha byelection by defeating both the Congress as well as Jana Sangh candidates. Here we had to oppose the opportunist alliance of the Congress with the fascist Shiv Sena. This great political victory of our Party, which preceded the elections to the state assemblies in UP, Orissa, etc., not only boosted the morale of our Party but all other genuine Left and democratic forces, including those inside the Congress. This came as a clear vindication of our Party line.

In the two key states of UP and Orissa the reactionary parties have been defeated, though with thin majorities.

It is necessary to note the disruptive role played by the Left parties like the CPM and the Socialist Party. Their Left opportunist line of ignoring the danger of Right reaction, concentrating their fire against the CPI and Congress has come to grief. Though the CPM has won one or two more seats in UP and Orissa, its political opportunism has been thoroughly exposed before the people.

The reactionary parties have suffered a defeat at the polls and an opportunity has opened up for Left and democratic forces to beat back reaction and move our country to the Left. But it will be disastrous to underestimate the strength and capacity of the Right reactionary parties and forces for mischief and pushing our country backwards.

SERIOUS ECONOMIC SITUATION AND GOVERNMENT'S RETREAT

As has been repeatedly stated in our Party's documents, all these ills like spiralling prices, growing unemployment and abject poverty and misery of the people are a result of the capitalist path of development pursued by the Congress leadership.

The economic crisis has markedly intensified. Even official documents have to admit that in the past few years there has been hardly any growth in the national income which actually declined in 1972-73. Per capita income has dropped below the already miserable level to Rs. 333 annually in the last year. Agricultural and industrial production fail to register significant advance while prices jump by 25 per cent and registered unemployment goes up by 35 per cent in a single year.

The government aggravates the situation by resort to reckless deficit-financing, while huge hoards of black money are left untouched. It has been estimated that from 1971-72 to 1973-74, while national income rose by only 7 per cent, the money supply expanded by 54 per cent.

Such policies, together with the sabotage, hoarding and speculation of the monopolists and rural rich whom the government pampers, stoke the fires of inflation. And the inevitable result has been the serious imperiling of the fifth five year plan and, indeed, of the entire process of limited planning which the government is committed to restore. It stands clearly demonstrated that no significant advance is any longer possible along the capitalist path.

The bankruptcy of the policies of centrism of the Congress leadership stands exposed. The acute problems facing our country cannot be solved unless and until the capitalist path is reversed and basic changes are brought about in the socio-economic set-up, putting our country firmly on the path of non-capitalist development and national democracy.

The Congress leadership, instead of giving up its bankrupt path, is retreating before the offensive of the reactionary vested interests and Right reactionary forces, including those inside the Congress.

The most ugly feature of the present situation which has roused justified wrath of the people is the spread of the cancer of corruption. The monopolists, landlords and imperialists are using their vast financial resources to buy up bureaucrats and political leaders, to interfere in the elections and extend their grip over different levers of state power. This phenomenon has assumed proportions which menace the democratic system and electoral process itself.

A united movement of the people must force the hands of the Congress leadership to put an end to this retreat and drift and take some

radical steps to alleviate the misery of the people and in the process also bring about such radical changes in the political set-up itself.

MASS UPSURGE AND OUR PARTY'S HISTORIC RESPONSIBILITY

People's discontent has reached its limit and the situation is very explosive. The reactionary vested interests, the Right reactionary forces and U.S. imperialists are actively working to divert this mass discontent into disruptive channels and create chaos and anarchy, endangering democracy, self-reliance and progressive development of our country.

History has placed a great responsibility on the shoulders of our Party. Unless and until our Party heads the unprecedented mass discontent and upsurge and channels it into organized and united mass struggles, neither can Right reaction be fought nor can the unity of the Left and democratic forces, including those inside the Congress, be built up and the country moved to the Left. If we fail in this, the Right reactionary forces will succeed in their game of misguiding the people and turning their discontent onto a disastrous course.

It is therefore all the more necessary that our Party seizes the initiative and unhesitatingly heads this mass upsurge along proper channels.

The most encouraging feature of the situation today is that all sections of the people — workers, middle class employees, students and rural masses — are coming out in bitter struggle against spiralling prices and for their most pressing demands. The working class is in the forefront and it has succeeded in forcing the monopolies and the government to yield to their demands by waging bitterly fought united strike struggles. The various trade union centers were forced to come together to fight united battles. Thus mass unity is being forged on the working class front from below.

The biggest successful working class struggles of this period were: the all-India locomen's strike; the over a month long strike of 2.5 lakh textile workers of Bombay; the strike of lakh jute workers of West Bengal; the strike of Kanpur textile workers and the strike of Tamilnadu textile workers. The significance of these strike struggles lay in the fact that they were united, in which workers of all political affiliations took part. Even though the INTUC leadership betrayed the workers in most of these strike struggles and joined hands with the employers, vast masses of workers under their influence joined in these strikes. The government joined hands with the employers and used strong-arm methods to beat down workers. But ultimately the employers and the government were forced to bend before the united might of determined workers.

WELL-LAID CONSPIRACY OF RIGHT REACTION

Following the defeat of the Right reactionary parties in the recent elections, the entire monopoly press has opened up a new anti-democratic offensive. Column after column is being written deriding the significance of the electoral process, ridiculing the democratic set-up of our country and openly calling for its subversion. They are advising the Prime Minister and the Congress leadership to make up with the reactionary parties if peace has to be maintained in the country.

The Right reactionary parties and forces are by no means reconciled to their defeat. They continue to step up their offensive and fan the fires of separatism, regionalism and communalism in order to divert the discontent of the people and create large-scale anarchy and chaos. The not-so-hidden hand of imperialism shows itself in all these and other nefarious activities of sabotage and disruption.

The upper echelons of the bureaucracy have also intensified their reactionary activities. Representing directly the interests of the imperialists, monopolists and landlords, the top bureaucrats consciously sabotage the implementation of all progressive policies and measures adopted by the government under popular pressure and actively work for their replacement by policies favorable to their masters. The top bureaucracy and the entire bureaucratic structure inherited from the British imperialists are a formidable bulwark of Right reaction and constitute a big obstacle in the path of radical socio-economic transformation.

More and more the Right inside the Congress and those outside it are coming closer together and working jointly to shift the ruling party and its policies in a reactionary direction.

A dangerous role is being played by Jaya Prakash Marain in uniting both the reactionary as well as Left opportunist forces under the popular banner of fighting corruption at the governmental level.

The U.S. imperialists are also stepping up their offensive against the independence and security of our country.

Unfortunately, the Left parties like the CPM and the Socialist Party are providing grist to the mill of Right reaction by their blind anti-congressism, inability to see the danger of Right reaction, hostility to the CPI and their practice of disruption of the unity of the Left and democratic forces. But one positive feature of the situation is that these Left parties are forced to come into united struggles along with the CPI whenever the people's upsurge compels them.

It is essential for the Left and democratic forces to grasp the widespread ramified nature of the Rightist conspiracy. Their central object is the capture of governmental power at the center.

FAVORABLE FACTORS FOR DEFEATING RIGHT

The conspiracies of Right reaction can be fought and the government can be made to move to the Left provided all the positive factors in the situation are effectively utilized.

The biggest capital for the Left and democratic forces in the present situation is that the Indian people are actively coming out in struggle for their most pressing demands. The game of Right reaction can be exposed before the eyes of the people if effective propaganda is done and their struggles on their urgent demands are led without any hesitation.

The second factor is the most favorable international situation and the strength of the socialist camp headed by the Soviet Union. The close and friendly relations between India and the Soviet Union and other socialist countries and the far-reaching economic agreements that were signed at the time of the historic visit of L. I. Brezhnev to our country offer a big opportunity to fight imperialist blackmail and strengthen our self-reliant economy. They will also help us to solve the acute problems facing the country and alleviate the misery of the people if some basic changes are brought about in the socio-economic set-up of our country.

At the same time, the drive of Right reaction in our country is weakened by the deepening general crisis of capitalism, the weakening of the positions of world imperialism, particularly U.S. imperialism, and the exacerbation of the contradictions among the imperialist powers.

The third factor is the possibility that has arisen for building broad-based unity of the Left and democratic parties and progressive sections of congressmen through mass struggles and movement on economic as well as political issues.

It would be an illusion to think that the present Congress government as they are constituted today will carry out even the minimum necessary socio-economic changes representing a decisive shift to the Left.

The perspective of replacing the present government by a government of the Left and democratic unity at the center stated in the Cochin Party Congress political resolutions retains its validity today and has been made only more urgent.

DEMOCRATIZATION OF PUBLIC SECTOR

The realization of this perspective involves sharp and dogged mass struggles and political struggles, it involves a persistent struggle to help forward the process of progressive differentiation inside the ruling Congress; it involves sharp exposure and struggle against members of the government who function as champions of the imperial-

ists, monopolists and rural vested interests; it involves struggle for the necessary reorganization of the government and the governmental machinery which the solution of the present crisis urgently demands. Only through such a sharp, persistent and many-pronged attack can Left and democratic unity be built up steadily and a leftward shift brought about.

An important aspect of such reorganization would be the establishment of popular committees for the implementation of land reforms, procurement, distribution of essential commodities and other measures. The effective participation of the working class in management at all levels in the public sector and the removal of all anti-public sector and anti-working class officials is indispensable if the public sector is to play its expected role.

The present situation of all-round crisis in the national economy and of the stepped up offensive of the vested interests on the economic front places supreme importance on the task of improving efficiency of production in the public sector. This has become one of the key sectors of the struggle between the forces of reaction and of progress in the country today, one of the key sectors in the fight for the non-capitalist path of development, one of the key sectors in the struggle to make most effective use of socialist aid.

In the recent period, undermining activities of the reactionary bureaucracy entrenched in the top management; including in the public sector, has become more pronounced.

In such a situation, the working class and trade union *intervention in production*, intervention to eliminate corruption, waste and inefficiency, against sabotage and to make full effective use of installed capacity, to bring about coordination of closely connected branches, has become an urgent *political necessity*. It has become a *class task* as important as the fight to defend the day-to-day interests of the working class.

The trade unions in the public sector have to perform the dual tasks of defending workers' interests as well as intervention in production. At the same time, they have to fight for the right of the workers to participate effectively in the management at all levels in the public sector, which is the only reliable guarantee against bureaucratic mismanagement.

Through united democratic mass actions and by the intervention of the Left and democratic forces, both within and outside the Congress, it is still possible to repel the attacks on the living standards of the working people, to wrest some concession for the masses and effectively resist the pressures of the monopolists and other vested interests to which the governments in the center and states are today yielding.

Left parties like the CPM and the Socialist Party can be brought

into united mass actions on the basis of correct slogans and tactics. It is also possible to bring them into united action with the CPI, other democratic parties and progressive sections inside the Congress, if along with these mass struggles a consistent and concrete fight is conducted against their Left opportunist positions.

INDEPENDENT ROLE OF COMMUNIST PARTY

If our Party has to display independent initiative in this crucial situation and play its historic role, it is necessary to build a strong Party organization capable of intervening in the fast developing situation promptly and heading the mass upsurge boldly. Now it is very clear that our Party's influence and prestige have increased in a big way among different sections of the toiling people. But there is yet a big gap between our Party's mass influence and its organization.

There are tremendous possibilities for extending our Party organization to newer areas and newer sections of the people. It should be stated that despite some improvement on this score since the Cochin Party Congress, a lot remains to be done. The basic organizational weaknesses inside the Party, which have been repeatedly enumerated in our Party Congress reports, are coming in the way of our Party's successful advance. Hence we should attend to this problem with all seriousness and build up a strong militant Party organization to meet the needs of the situation.

While conducting the mass struggles, our Party must be ever vigilant to see that the reactionary parties do not carry away the masses with them into disruptive channels. We must take the initiative in putting our demands clearly before the people in every movement and struggle. We should make a sharp exposure of the policies of Right reactionary parties and their conspiracies along with the criticism of the policies of the Congress government. We should not confine our movement and struggles to mass economic issues only but should extend them to national political and anti-imperialist issues over which reactionary parties can be easily exposed. We should make serious efforts to draw into these struggles and movements, but also progressive sections of the Congress if we have to foil the game of reactionary parties to create anarchy and chaos. We should not be forced into struggles and movement in which reactionary parties are playing a leading role. Today Right reactionary forces also take up popular demands calling for fresh elections to legislatures to mislead popular discontent into anarchy and chaos and subvert the very secular democratic set-up of our country. With this end in view, they are trying to create such conditions in several states to force the dissolution of the existing legislatures.

When the forces of reaction raise such demands backed by intimidation and violent agitations, what they really aim at is the destruc-

tion of democracy to facilitate a Rightist takeover in the country. These counter-revolutionary fascist tactics have got to be exposed and rebuffed and the masses must be prevented from being embroiled in this latest dangerous game of Right reaction.

This new threat emphasizes not only the urgency of changes in government attitude and policies. They equally demand the most vigorous unity in action of all democratic forces to meet the new pattern of the Rightist challenge which is now being developed on a national scale.

The Communist Party of India reaffirms its conviction that basic socio-economic changes are essential to completely solve the crisis that has now gripped all aspects of our national life. Attempts at patchwork reforms and *ad hoc* measures are doomed to failure. The toiling masses, all patriots and democrats must be rallied, united and brought on to the field of action to demand and win the nationalization of the 75 monopoly houses, take over imperialist capital, remove our country from the world capitalist division of labor and develop still closer relations with the Soviet Union as well as other friendly socialist states, abolish landlordism and distribute land to the tiller and bring about radical democratic changes in the state structure. The people of our country are moving in the direction of an alternative path of development. It is the duty of the CPI to systematically and on an extending scale popularize among them the fundamental elements of this alternative path of national democracy paving the way for socialism.

MINIMUM DEMOCRATIC PROGRAM

At the same time, the CPI is firmly of the view that to combat the impending catastrophe and open the path for democratic advance, the implementation of the following immediate program is indispensable:

To end inflation

—Immediate takeover of the wholesale trade in wheat, rice, coarse grains, pulses, sugar, edible oils, kerosene, standard cloth, matches and essential drugs.

—Distribution of all these essential commodities through a public distribution system of fair price shops, both in urban and rural areas.

—Opening of cheap grain depots for making available these essential commodities to workers and employees in all public sector industrial establishments, railways and government offices.

—Direct procurement of the marketable surplus from the producer through a system of graded levy with exemption for small farmers, as well as taking over of the stocks of other essential commodities.

—Supply of fertilizers, diesel, seeds and other essential inputs to

the peasants at fixed and fair prices so as to facilitate getting grain from them in return.

—Dehoarding of hidden stocks of big wholesalers and landlords and exemplary punishment for hoarders, black marketeers, speculators and adulterators.

—Demonetization of currency notes of Rs. 100 and above in value and unearthing black money.

—Nationalization of the sugar, textiles and drugs industries.

For rapid, democratic development

—Restructuring of the fifth five-year plan to ensure the priority development of the core industrial sector and agriculture.

—The reorientation of credit policy in favor of the public sector, agriculture and small and medium industries.

—Full encouragement to the small scale sector in industry to grow, including assured and regular supply of raw materials at cheap prices and mechanism for the sale of their products.

—Ending a deficit-financing and placing a ceiling on bank credits to the large private sector concerns.

—Raise additional resources by imposing tax on the wealth of the rural rich.

—Implementation of employment programs linked with growth of production such as irrigation projects and rural electrification.

—Moratorium on all foreign debts involving the expenditure of foreign exchange.

—Nationalization of foreign oil companies and developing firmer economic and political relations with non-aligned oil producing countries.

For curbing corruption and bureaucracy

—Dismissal of all ministers guilty of corruption and of championing the interests of the imperialists, monopolists and landlords.

—Dismissal of all top bureaucrats guilty of corruption and opposed to nationally accepted policies and measures.

—Establishment of statutory popular committees consisting of the representatives of those parties and forces committed to nationally accepted policies for implementation of all democratic reforms, measures and policies, as well as the curbing of corruption.

For relief to the masses

—*For the workers:* Establishment of a democratic industrial relations system including unconditional recognition of trade unions by ballot; need-based minimum wage.

—*For the peasants and agricultural workers:* Implementation of land reform acts amended on the basis of Kerala acts and the distribution of land to the poor peasants and agricultural workers through

statutory popular committees (which have the rights of state bodies.
—Ed.)

—Remunerative prices for agricultural products; provision of cheap credit, irrigation facilities, electricity and other inputs for peasants; adequate statutory minimum wages for the agricultural workers and social security along the lines of the Kerala act; allotment of house sites and cheap houses for agricultural workers as has been provided by the Kerala government.

—*For the youth and students:* Speedy expansion of employment opportunities by rapid industrialization, radical land reforms, implementation of compulsory primary education and eradication of illiteracy, voting right at the age of 18.

—Replacement of the present out-moded educational system by a democratic and secular system geared to national objectives along with full political and democratic rights for teachers and students and their adequate representation in all academic and administrative bodies in universities and colleges; subsidized and cheap messing arrangements, supply of proper text books at cheap rates.

—*For women:* Equal pay for equal work; more vocational training and employment opportunities; ending of all discrimination.

—*For stopping social oppression:* All social oppression against the harijans, tribals and backward communities should be put an end to forthwith; deterrent punishment should be imposed on those responsible for discrimination and violence against them.

—*For curbing communal forces:* Ban communal propaganda and all para-military communal organizations; deterrent punishment should be meted out to those who incite communal riots; purge the state apparatus of all communal elements; ensure full protection to the economic and cultural rights of the muslims and other minorities.

—*For ending repression:* Stop repressive measures against mass movements; end indiscriminate use of MISA and DIR under which thousands of young militants are kept in jail without trials.

*For safeguarding national independence
and strengthening national unity*

—Step up the campaign to compel the U.S. imperialists to withdraw from the Diego Garcia base and ensure that the Indian Ocean becomes a zone of peace; root out all U.S. imperialist agencies from all walks of life in our country.

—Consolidate and develop friendship in all fields with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries.

—Develop friendly relations and cooperation with the progressive regimes of the newly independent countries.

—Combat separatist and disruptive tendencies masquerading as demands for more "autonomy," including the rights to establish in-

dependent economic relations with foreign powers, while ensuring the balanced development of the states.

—Rooting out the ramified Rightist conspiracy to create chaos and anarchy.

The Communist Party of India advances this minimum program to take the nation out of the present dangerous impasse and put it on the road of democratic advance. It appeals to all who are anxious about the bright future of our country, all who desire that the Right and their neo-colonialist masters should not succeed in their dark design to disrupt our country and destroy its democratic gains, to come forward in mighty united mass movements and actions to ensure the implementation of this indispensable, realistic and feasible program by the government. It appeals to all Left and democratic parties and forces, including those in the Congress, to forge a fighting unity for the realization of this program. It appeals to our multi-million people—to the toilers in fields, factories and offices—to come forward in an irresistible tide of united action to win the day for our great nation and secure for themselves human conditions of life.

STATEMENTS

40th ANNIVERSARY OF THE IRAQI COMMUNIST PARTY

On March 29, a meeting was held in Baghdad to celebrate the 40th anniversary of the Iraqi Communist Party, which was founded March 31, 1934. The meeting was attended by representatives of revolutionary-democratic and progressive forces and organizations, as well as of fraternal Communist parties and delegates of the 11th Session of the Afro-Asian Solidarity Organization. It was addressed by the First Secretary of the CC ICP, Aziz Mohammed; member of the Regional Leadership of the Baath Party and Secretary of the Progressive National-Patriotic Front of Iraq, Naim Haddad; member of the CC CPSU, F. A. Tabeyev, and member of the Political Bureau of the Lebanese Communist Party, Nadim Abdel Samad, who spoke in behalf of the delegations of the Communist Parties from other Arab countries. Many fraternal parties sent messages of greetings to the ICP.

The Party jubilee was also celebrated in many other cities of the country, and the newspaper *Tarik ash-Shaab* devoted a special issue to the occasion.

Below follow excerpts from the address by Comrade Aziz Mohammed.

FOIL PLAN OF IMPERIALISM AND REACTION

The birth of our Iraqi Communist Party was not a fortuitous event or the result of a subjective desire. It was, rather, a response to objective historical conditions. The Party was founded as an embodiment for the crystallized consciousness of the Iraqi working class and its understanding of its role in the class, patriotic and national struggle in the liberation movement of our people.

There has been continuous cooperation and alliance in the patriotic movement in Iraq after the Second World War: in the popular uprisings in 1948, 1952, 1956, and in the days of the national unity front of 1957 which constituted one of the main factors for the triumph of the glorious revolution of July 1958.

The Arab Baath Socialist Party and the Iraqi Communist Party disappointed all enemies in displaying a high sense of responsibility vis-a-vis high national interests, discerning the tasks of the patriotic movement and, after fruitful, serious and patient discussions, on July 17, 1973, signed together the National Action Charter and

Statutes of the Patriotic-National Progressive Front. This constitutes, in our view, an important historic event in the Iraqi patriotic and Arab liberation movements. The program of the Front constitutes a progressive, revolutionary-patriotic document that identifies the current stage as the stage of the national democratic revolution the realization of whose tasks will create the preludes for transition to socialism. The realization of this joint program will be in the interest of workers, peasants, revolutionary intellectuals, petty-bourgeois, and the progressive strata of the middle bourgeoisie. The importance of this historic event also lies in fact that it has established relations of alliance between two patriotic parties enjoying a large social base and wielding great political influence on various strata of the people.

The National Front, much as is the case with other progressive achievements in the sphere of foreign and domestic policies, aroused the reactionary and the Rightist forces in and outside Iraq. It is quite natural that these forces will have recourse to all methods of subversion and plotting to deal blows at the Front. Even though telling blows were dealt the reaction in Iraq in the course of the past few years, nevertheless this should by no means promote among us a spirit of arrogance and complacency. For the imperialist circles will not hesitate in supporting domestic reaction and providing it with all means of plotting and achieving success in plotting.

Basing themselves on the popular masses and their progressive forces, and in alliance with forces of progress and socialism the world over, our two parties are quite capable of putting an end to moves of domestic reaction and of foiling the imperialist-reactionary plotting through consolidating their alliance more and more, and through further developing and expanding the activity of the Front.

Important and deep progressive achievements have taken place in our country in the course of the past five years in the spheres of agrarian reform, industrialization, economic development, education, labor and social security, etc. First on the list of achievements, and something that is one of the principal objectives of the patriotic movement, is the nationalization of the greater part of the oil sector. A solid foundation was thus laid for full emancipation of Iraq from the hegemony of world capitalist monopolies.

Our Party has always struggled for consolidating and further developing relations with the Soviet Union and other countries of the socialist system in the economic and cultural spheres, and for consolidating alliance with them and with the rest of the democratic and peace-loving forces of the world in the struggle against imperialism, for the emancipation of the peoples and for peace. Iraq concluded the treaty of friendship and cooperation with the Soviet Union on April 9, 1972. This step had great significance; it was an expression of the deep understanding of the objective necessity of alliance between the national liberation movement of our people,

on the one hand, and the socialist camp, on the other. The step was a riposte to imperialism and the reactionary and Rightist forces.

Our Party views the legitimate aspirations of our Kurdish people in the light of its internationalist principles, and from the angle of the development of the class and patriotic struggle waged by the masses of the people—Arabs, Kurds and national minorities. Its views are not, therefore, defined solely within the framework of the nationalist rights and aspirations; those views go beyond all that to assume class dimensions that link the demand of the Kurdish nationalist struggle with the objective of democratic and social transformations in the country, and with the question of the unity of the class interests of the toilers, Arabs and Kurds together.

Party contributions were great, important and concrete to the peaceful settlement of the Kurdish national question. These contributions were made via great sacrifices offered by the party, therein included the pick of its heroic activists who fell in battles waged against bloody campaigns of suppression and annihilation to which the Kurdish people were subjected. This is in addition to the great role played by the party in popularizing the just cause of Kurds. The Party also contributed through the negotiations that were conducted among the patriotic sides with the objective of arriving at a just and solid peaceful settlement of the Kurdish question—negotiations which only a few days back were culminated with the autonomy law that was proposed by the Patriotic-National Progressive Front and promulgated by the Revolutionary Command Council on March 11th.

The autonomy law is a document of extreme importance for the struggle of the Kurdish people not only in Iraq, but for the Kurdish people nation as a whole.

The promulgation of the autonomy law constitutes an important qualitative development in the Kurdish liberation movement. The implementation of this law on a democratic basis and in the interest of the Kurdish toilers primarily, is bound to open new vistas for the development of the Kurdish people in all domains: economic, social and cultural. It will make it possible for Iraqi Kurdistan to become an inspiring example for the struggle of the Kurdish people in other countries for attaining their national rights, and to reinforce the democratic movement there.

Our Party believes that one of its prime current tasks is to continue cooperation with the Arab Baath Socialist Party and other nationalist and democratic forces in Iraq, and Kurdistan in particular, and with the national regime within the Patriotic-National Progressive Front.

Dear Comrades and Guests,

The Arab liberation movement is waging a hard and complicated struggle against imperialism, zionism and reaction. It has already

realized important gains and achievements, in the forefront of which come the progressive regimes obtaining in many Arab countries, regimes which play increasing revolutionary role, particularly in Iraq, Democratic Yemen, Syria and Algeria. Moreover, the various detachments of the Arab liberation movement are improving their standing and influence and are rallying to themselves ever broader popular masses. They are confronting ever more effectively designs of imperialism and intrigues of reaction and zionism. Besides, they are more and more realizing the importance of their militant unity with each Arab country and on the level of the entire Arab homeland as well.

The Arab liberation movement is facing the tasks of the struggle for economic emancipation and progressive social transformations in order to realize the interests of the popular masses, especially the toiling strata. Linked to this struggle is the task of bringing about the full withdrawal of the Israeli forces and enabling the Arab people of Palestine to return home and decide their future on their territory. In the thick of these battles, real blows were dealt to the imperialist—oil in particular—interests, and progressive transformations were achieved. These developments confronted a many-sided imperialist, zionist and reactionary onslaught. The revolutionary movement of the Palestinian people is being subjected to plots and liquidation. The Arab liberation movement is, in the wake of the October War, witnessing a hectic reactionary-Rightist onslaught aimed at finishing off its gains and flinging the door wide open for the return of the American imperialist influence. The Arab-Soviet cooperation and alliance, a major prop of national independence and struggle against zionism and aggression, and of perseverance in the face of imperialist-reactionary plotting, is being subjected to liquidationist intrigues. The door is being opened for the return of the American influence to the Arab region, petroleum as a weapon is being abandoned, and attempts are being made to maintain the hegemony of American monopolies on Arab oil resources in the Arab Gulf and Peninsula, where the patriotic movement is being subjected to a rabid reactionary onslaught in which Saudi and Iranian reaction is playing the leading role.

The revolutionary political parties and forces, together with the anti-imperialist states in the region, are called upon today to coordinate activity and struggle among themselves and with the Soviet Union and other countries of the socialist system to foil designs of imperialism, reaction and Rightist forces aimed at the Arab liberation movement and its progressive regimes.

U.S. IMPERIALISM AND CHILEAN FASCISM

BARRY COHEN

A military coup overthrew the Popular Unity (UP) government of Chile headed by Salvador Allende on September 11, 1973. In its place was installed a fascist regime of unsurpassed brutality, which proceeded to attempt to drown in blood the workers,' anti-imperialist and Left movements and to liquidate all of the political, economic and social gains made by the people of Chile during three years of popular government. A motley array of commentators of varying political hues have offered explanations of the coup which attempt to trace it either to the actions of the Popular Unity government or to the character of its program. All such explanations, whatever their differences, have one conspicuous common feature: they avoid or dismiss the question, of special interest to those in the United States: what was the role of U.S. imperialism? The answer to that question, as indicated by the facts cited in this article, is that U.S. imperialism played the central role and that it is to its alliance with the reactionary Chilean oligarchy that the coup must be traced. . . .

In 1970, as in previous presidential elections years, the U.S. funneled massive loan "aid" to Chile to influence the elections against the candidate of the united Left—Salvador Allende. (North American Congress on Latin America, *New Chile*, pp. 45 ff.) It also gave financial support, indirectly through newspaper ads and also directly, to the Christian Democratic Party and the National Party. Such measures had been sufficient to defeat the Left in the past. And in 1970 the CIA took the additional step of spending \$400,000 on a poll to predict the outcome of the elections. (*New York Times*, March 28, 1973.) Thus the popular electoral victory of Allende caught U.S. sources, as well as the Chilean Right, by surprise. It found them divided over immediate courses of action and unable to move decisively.

The U.S. government swiftly swung to the position of actively attempting to block Allende's confirmation as President. As was reported from ITT field operatives to E. J. Garrity, Vice President for Public Relations of ITT:

"Late Tuesday night (September 15) Ambassador Edward Korry finally received a message from State Department giving him the green light to move in the name of President Nixon. The message

Abridged. *Political Affairs*, Feb. 1974.

gave him the maximum authority to do all possible—short of Dominican Republic type action—to keep Allende from taking power." (NACLA, *Secret Memos from ITT*, April 1972, p. 8).

In consultation with the Right-wing forces of the Chilean oligarchy (for example members of the powerful Edwards and Matte families), two possible methods were outlined to accomplish this objective. The first became known as "the Allesandri Formula." This envisaged the Congress electing the defeated National Party candidate, Allesandri, to the presidency. The cooperation of the Christian Democratic Party was required to accomplish this. But the division of the bourgeois forces, which had been evidenced in the election and in the election results, was an obstacle. The Christian Democrats could not, at that time, be induced to unite with the National Party to reverse the mandate of the elections.

The second approach was to have the military seize the reins of government. The analysis of this approach given in the ITT papers anticipated later plans which were made to utilize this same avenue. Chilean military leaders were sounded out about this possibility and the report was: "The answer by which ITT proposed to circumvent this obstacle was a remarkable definition of constitutionality: "A constitutional solution, for instance, could result from massive internal disorders, strikes, urban and rural warfare. This would morally justify an armed forces intervention for an indefinite period." This definition reveals also an incredible conception of "morality."

What is aimed at here is the creation of a *pretext* upon which the armed forces could step into the situation. The Left, however, well aware of this danger, refused to cooperate in creating such a situation and the plotters were forced to conclude sadly, "The Marxists will not be provoked." (*Ibid.*, p.9.) "Massive internal disorders, strikes, urban and rural warfare" are prescriptions for bringing a nation to the verge of civil war—a condition which cannot be conjured into being on short notice even by application of resources such as are available to ITT.

But it would certainly require resources greater than those which the Chilean reactionaries could, on their own, mobilize. "The anti-Allende effort will likely require some outside financial support. . . . We have pledged our support . . ." ITT operatives reported. (*Ibid.*, p.9.) At the same time, ITT continued to search for military figures who would act even without such pretexts. "Approaches continue to be made to select members of the armed forces in an attempt to have them lead some kind of uprising . . ." (*Ibid.*, p.14). Among those with whom ITT was in touch and whom it considered a possibility to lead such a coup was a retired army general, Roberto Viaux. It was this same Viaux who participated in the planning of the assassination of

General Rene Schneider, commander-in-chief of the Chilean army, on October 22, 1970, for refusing to permit a coup against Allende. ITT, therefore, had already before the confirmation of Allende as president directly helped to instigate an attempt to overthrow the government.

While the Nixon Administration, as noted above, fully shared ITT's desire to block the confirmation of Allende, it was less optimistic about the possibilities of doing this through an immediate coup. It tried to find a parliamentary way of undoing the elections. Ambassador Korry "started to maneuver with the CD, the Radical and National Parties and other Chileans . . . immediately after the election results were known." (*Ibid.*, p.8.) Out of these maneuvers came "the Allesandri Formula." But when it became clear that the Christian Democrats would not support Allesandri, ITT's contact at the "McLean Agency" (the CIA) informed them that they were "very, very pessimistic" about the possibility of preventing Allende from being inaugurated.

Washington did not reject the idea of a coup, but it did insist on proper planning and preparation for such an effort. This could not be accomplished between September 4 and November 9. In the weeks following Allende's election, efforts were already under way by the U.S. government to locate and prepare elements in the Chilean armed forces who could eventually carry out a coup. Among those contacted was this same Viaux:

"The chance of a military coup is slim but it continues to exist—at least to this date. . . .

"Clearly, Viaux was gearing to launch a move next week. Rumors that he would trigger a coup on October 9 or October 10 were rampant in Chile and spilled over into Buenos Aires, Argentina.

"It is a fact that word passed to Viaux from Washington to hold back last week. It was felt that he was not adequately prepared, his timing was off, and he should "cool it" for a later unspecified date. Emissaries pointed out to him that if he moved prematurely and lost, his defeat would be tantamount to a 'Bay of Pigs in Chile.'

"As part of the persuasion to delay, Viaux was given oral assurances he would receive material assistance and support from the U.S. and others for a later maneuver." (*Ibid.*, p.15).

The ITT papers also noted, "the army has been assured full material and financial assistance by the U.S. military establishment." (*Ibid.*, p.8)

And so despite the efforts which had been made to prevent it, Allende was inaugurated on November 3, 1970. The longer range plot against Chile was already under way.

THE "GAME PLAN" FOR ECONOMIC AGGRESSION

The situation in Chile, following Allende's inauguration, was viewed in Washington as follows:

"According to authoritative informants, Mr. Nixon told his advisors he was deeply concerned over the election of a Marxist President in Chile and the presence of three Communist ministers in the Cabinet. He is reported to have suggested that he would personally favor a harsh attitude toward the Allende regime. . . .

". . . no specialist in Chilean affairs is known to believe that a climate exists for an internal coup, either of a spontaneous nature or one encouraged by the United States. The only immediate areas where Washington could cause damage would be by blocking loans by the United States Export-Import Bank and by the Inter-American Development Bank, in which the United States enjoys virtual veto powers." (*New York Times*, November 26, 1970.)

On the one hand, Nixon favored a "harsh attitude toward the Allende regime." Decoded, this refers to the proposed overthrow of the government by "an internal coup, either of a spontaneous nature or one encouraged by the United States." On the other hand, the conditions which had prevented these aims from being realized before the UP government assumed power continued to operate. There was not the necessary "climate . . . for an internal coup." These two factors dictated the course of action of the U.S. during 1971—a course of economic aggression and political subversion to lay the groundwork for a coup.

The most effective form of economic aggression which was employed was a credit blockade, the "*bloqueo invisible*." The UP government inherited a four billion dollar external debt, the second highest per capita debt of any nation in the world, half of it owed to the U.S. At the same time, Chile's economy exhibited all of the structural characteristics known as "dependency." The basis of its wealth was mineral extraction and export, while it relied on imports for a wide variety of essentials, including manufactured goods, spare and replacement parts, consumer articles and capital equipment. Due to the latifundist structure of agriculture, Chile even needed to import food. Traditionally, 40 per cent of Chile's imports and 65 per cent of her capital imports came from the U.S. Thus, Chile required hundreds of millions of dollars annually for amortization of her debt, and additional millions to import items to maintain production and for immediate consumption—not to mention what was needed to finance development. These dollars were available to Chile only from the sale of copper or from credit from U.S. lending institutions.

Immediately after the installation of the UP government, the Export-Import Bank, the major governmental or inter-governmental

lending institutions, cut off most further significant credits to Chile. According to Henry Kearns, Eximbank President, the decision was "made on the White House level." The private U.S. banks followed suit, reducing short term credits from 222 million to 35 million dollars. Five major New York banks—Chase Manhattan, Chemical, First National City, Manufacturers Hanover and Morgan Guarantee—cut off credit completely. All of these banks had extended loans in recent years to copper companies with operations in Chile.

Before 1970 U.S. aid had partially offset the profits which were repatriated by U.S. owned multinational corporations. The *bloqueo invisible* cut off this "aid" and also deprived Chile of normal credit arrangements used to facilitate international trade. Consequently shortages began to develop in almost every area. Food, certain consumer goods and replacement parts for industry (particularly trucking) all became subject to shortages and rationing. Reaction in Chile blamed all of these hardships, caused in reality by foreign economic aggression, on "Marxist mismanagement of the economy," while engaging in black market speculation to further disrupt the economy. (NACLA, *New Chile*, 1973, p. 178ff.)

U.S. economic warfare against Chile also involved the struggle over control and operation of her productive facilities. The plank of the People's Program (joint government program of the Popular Unity coalition) dealing with the organization of Chile's resources had stated:

"The united people's forces seek as the central aim of their policy the replacement of the present economic structure, ending the power of national and foreign monopoly capital and of the large landowners in order to begin the construction of socialism.

"Planning will play the leading role in the new economy. Its central bodies will be the highest administrative level and its decisions, democratically arrived at, will carry executive weight." (*Political Affairs*, June 1970.)

Most of the "foreign monopoly capital" referred to was U.S. capital. Implementation of its program by the UP government during its first year included the expropriation of the Chilean interests of some 40 large U.S. companies. The government was able to do this for the most part by utilizing pre-existing legislation.

During its first year the government redistributed more land than had been distributed during six years of the Frei regime.

But the largest U.S. interests taken over were the Kennecott and Anaconda copper mines. Copper was the life-blood of the Chilean economy, earning 80 per cent of the nation's foreign exchange. Popular support for its nationalization was so great that legislation to completely nationalize it passed the Right-wing controlled Congress

unanimously. A commission appointed to examine the copper companies' books determined that since 1955 both Aanaconda and Kennecott had made excess profits greater than the value of their investments. Consequently they were expropriated without further compensation.

Also nationalized, intervened or otherwise brought under state control were subsidiaries or holdings of Bethlehem Steel, IBEC (a holding company for Rockefeller interests with diversified investments), ITT (owners of the Chile Telephone Company), W. R. Grace Co. (also with conglomerate holdings). Ralston Purina, Ford and General Motors, Chase Manhattan, First National City and the other U.S. banks were also taken over.

U.S. companies, big Chilean capitalists and large landholders all waged a struggle against the government by sabotaging production for as long as production facilities and resources remained under their control. Within days after the election of Allende, ITT had approached other U.S. companies in Chile, pressuring them to engage in economic sabotage. In 1971 these efforts continued and intensified, but direction of the effort was taken over by the Department of State and CIA, as was brought out by testimony at the Church hearing on activities of multinational corporations. "CIA officials made repeated calls of firms such as General Motors, Ford Motor Company and banks in New York and California, asking them to stop or reduce their activities in Chile to hurt the economy." (*New York Times*, March 21, 1973.) Among the disruptive activities actually engaged in were layoffs of workers, reduction or closing of operations, slaughter of livestock, etc.

The UP had and strove to implement a rounded program for an anti-imperialist foreign policy, social programs (social insurance, milk allowances for children), income redistribution, etc. But acquisition and operation of these main components of the economy constituted the foundation on which the whole program rested. The economic sabotage conducted against the national economy was simultaneously an attack on workers' power in Chile. These are the things referred to by Salvador Allende in his speech before the General Assembly of the UN, December 4, 1972, in which he stated:

"From the very day of our electoral triumph on 4 September 1970, we have felt the effects of a large-scale external pressure against us, which tried to prevent the inauguration of a government freely elected by the people and has tried to bring it down ever since. An action that had tried to cut us off from the world, to strangle our economy and paralyze trade in our principal export, copper, and to deprive us of access to sources of international financing." (*Daily World pamphlet*, December, 1972.)

THE HARD LINE

In late 1971, after the nationalization of copper had been completed, the U.S. "hard line" toward Chile became ever more open. Various companies, led by ITT, Kennecott and Anaconda, began to press for drastic action which would force the military to intervene in Chile. In September and October, ITT President Geneen and ITT Director (and former CIA Director) John McCone met with Peter Peterson, Alexander Haig and other top Administration officials to map further plans. On October 1, ITT submitted its infamous 18 point plan for the overthrow of the Allende government. (*New York Times*, July 3, 1972.)

On January 1972, Nixon announced the establishment of a "special inter-agency group" whose responsibility it would be "to recommend courses of action to the U.S. government."

The group was headed by Undersecretary of State John N. Irwin II and included Henry Kissinger and Peter Peterson, Nixon's chief advisors on foreign policy and international economic policy. This became the unified command post which directed U.S. imperialism's war against Chile.

Preparations within Chile were also stepped up. Among the steps taken for the coordination of work in Chile was the stationing in the U.S. Embassy of a "coup team." Ten persons serving in the Embassy in September 1973 have been identified as agents of the CIA. Among the 10, two were in Guatemala at the time of the overthrow of the progressive Arbenz regime in 1954 and two were in the Dominican Republic during the 1965 U.S. invasion. (*NACLA, Chile: The Story Behind the Coup*, October 1973, p. 14.)

CIA Director William E. Colby testified before the House Inter-American Affairs Subcommittee on October 11, 1973 that CIA agents were active in Chile throughout this period. He admitted that agents had operated in all the parties opposing the Popular Unity government. The CIA also had a "labor cover" for subversion in Chile in the American Institute for Free Labor Development (AIFLD).

The AIFLD was founded in 1962 in conjunction with the establishment of the Alliance for Progress. The AIFLD is a tripartite venture, jointly sponsored by the AFL-CIO, the U.S. government and various large corporations. Among the corporate sponsors are ITT, Kennecott, Chase Manhattan, United Fruit, Rockefeller Brothers Fund, Pan American and First National City Bank. Its president is George Meany; J. Peter Grace (president of W. R. Grace and Co.) is chairman of the board of trustees. During the early 60s the greater part of its budget was supplied by its corporate supporters, but by 1967 about 90 per cent of its budget was being supplied by the Department of State. As mentioned before the Grace concern has extensive interests in Chile (and in other Latin American countries).

The AIFLD had only slight influence within the Chilean trade union movement. The great majority of the Chilean trade unions are affiliated with OUT (United Workers Center), which was one of the mainstays of the workers' government. However, after 1970, AIFLD sharply stepped up its activities in Chile. In 1971 and 1972, the Department of State (through the U.S. Agency for International Development) financed these activities to the tune of 840,000 dollars. It concentrated on increasing U.S. influence in the *gremios* (unions or associations) connected with transportation and communications, which were to play a key role in bringing about the coup.

Special steps were also taken to strengthen U.S. ties to the Chilean military. Chile had long received extensive U.S. military aid—175 million dollars between 1950 and 1970. Over 4,000 Chilean soldiers have been trained in U.S. military schools at Fort Bragg, North Carolina, and at the Pentagon's "Southern Command" in the Panama Canal Zone. These ties were continued after 1970. Among the "humanitarian assistance" which Nixon exempted from the embargo was aid to the Chilean military. For example, a 10 million dollar credit was granted to Chile for the purchase of planes, tanks and trucks. (*New York Times*, December 10, 1972.)

The fascist conspirators in the army served as the directing center within Chile, but all had close ties to the U.S. Pinochet served for a time as military attache at the Chilean embassy in Washington and also attended several times the "Southern Command" school. All four generals of the junta have toured the U.S. (*The Story Behind the Coup*, p. 8)

Other officers who participated in the coup who were trained at the Army School of the Americas included the director of intelligence and the commanding officers of the Second Infantry Division and the Support Division at Santiago, the Third Infantry Division at Concepcion, the Engineer School at Tejos Verdes and the Paratroop and Special Forces School near Santiago. Colonel William W. Nairn, commandant of the school, claims that "We keep in touch with our graduates and they keep in touch with us." (*New York Times*, October 23, 1973.)

THEY RECEIVE ORDERS FROM WASHINGTON

The recommendations of the "special inter-agency committee" are unpublished, but hardly secret. They are recorded in the events of 1972 and 1973. Faced with declining support among the people, as evidenced at the polls and in the growing mass participation in popular and revolutionary organizations, reaction opted for a show-down. Nathaniel P. Davis, Ambassador to Chile, echoed ITT's earlier assessment that to overthrow the government a situation had to

created in which "military intervention is overwhelmingly invited." (*Washington Post*, March 28, 1972.)

To bring this about, further blows were aimed at the Chilean economy. Anaconda and Kennecott attacked the New York account of CORFO and CODELCO (the State Development Corporation and State Copper Corporation) in early 1972. In September, Kennecott extended this action by requesting a French court to block payment to Chile for copper sold in France. This would have cut off Chile from its main source of foreign exchange.

In October of 1972 this "Kennecott blockade" was supplemented by *paros* (stoppages) led by the Truck Owners Federation and joined by merchants, professional associations and the Chilean Association of Manufacturers. This was an openly political strike, aimed at forcing out the government. An accord between truck owners and the government was finally forced when three loyal military leaders were included in the Cabinet. Still, the strikes cost the Chilean economy between 100 and 150 million dollars. According to spokesmen for the junta, it was after this series of events that they began plotting the coup.

This scenario, which aborted without a coup in September-October 1972 was repeated again in July-September of 1973. Once again the truckers walked out—on July 26—and in both cases the truckers were financed by dollars. During both the strikes the dollar moved *down* against the escudo on the black market, reflecting a tremendous influx of dollars. At all other times the dollar rose on the black market, due to inflation. But this time the stoppage was accompanied by a widespread terror and sabotage campaign conducted with obviously professional competence. (It should be noted that ITT'S regular contact with the CIA was William V. Broe, head of the CIA's Latin American Department for Clandestine Operations.) The terror was aimed at truckers who continued to work, at power and rail facilities and at political targets such as government officials and the offices of the Communist and Socialist Parties.

In the weeks prior to the coup the conspirators forced the resignations of officers loyal to the elected government. On September 11, the conspirators threw overwhelming military strength into the battle, seized key points in Santiago, assassinated Salvadore Allende and his aides, and proclaimed a new ruling junta. All this was accomplished while ships of the U.S. navy steamed toward the port of Valparaiso for joint "exercises" with the Chilean navy.

It is clear that the U.S. government kept in touch with the coup preparations up until the last moment. In fact, U.S. Ambassador to Chile, Nathaniel Davis, made a special trip to Washington on the weekend before the coup for final preparations. He met with Henry Kissinger on the 8th and then returned to Chile on the 9th for the

actual execution of the coup. Government spokesmen have since brazenly admitted that they had advance knowledge of the coup and yet made no effort to transmit this knowledge to the Chilean government.

Such, in outline, is the story behind the U.S. covert aggression. Not by far has the complete story been told. Indeed, the fragmentary sources from which the story may be pieced together themselves are a reminder of how much evidence of additional crimes lies buried in CIA "operations rooms," corporate boardrooms and in the minutes of executive sessions of investigating committees. Light may continue to be shed by additional disclosures for years to come. Nevertheless, the weight of evidence is clear: it demonstrates that the Chilean fascist coup bears the stamp "made in the USA."

BILATERAL MEETINGS

JAPAN

A delegation of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union stayed in Japan from March 19 to 26, 1974, at the invitation of the Central Executive Committee of the Socialist Party of Japan. The delegation was led by V. I. Konotop, member of the CC CPSU, First Secretary, Moscow Regional Committee of the CPSU; and included N. G. Korytkov, member of the CC CPSU, First Secretary, Kalinin Regional Committee of the CPSU; I. I. Kovalenko, head of sector, International Department of the CC CPSU, and Y. D. Kuznetsov, staff member of the International Department.

The delegation had an interview with T. Narita, Chairman of the CEC SPJ, and M. Ishibashi, General Secretary of the CEC. It visited the Okinawa and Chiba prefectures and had meetings with leaders and active members of prefectural sections of the SPJ.

The two delegations held talks. The SPJ delegation was led by K. Kawasaki, member of the CEC SPJ, and included A. Kitayama, E. Morinaga and S. Ito, members of the CEC, S. Sugimiyana, deputy head, International Department of the CEC, and M. Horigome, deputy Executive Secretary, Policy-Shaping Committee of the CEC.

During the talks, which proceeded in a friendly and comradely atmosphere, the two sides exchanged information on the work of the organizations of the CPSU and SPJ and on steps to promote relations between the two parties.

The CPSU delegation told about the activity of the Party and the Soviet people in carrying out the decisions of the 24th Party Congress,

the achievements of communist construction in the Soviet Union and in fulfilling the ninth five-year plan, as well as about the Soviet Union's foreign policy measures to implement the Peace Program advanced by the 24th Party Congress.

The SPJ delegation noted the Soviet people's noteworthy advances in building a communist society in the Soviet Union and spoke highly of the Soviet Union's important contribution to the peace and the security of peoples. It wished the CPSU further progress in accomplishing the great tasks facing the Soviet people.

The SPJ delegation told about the struggle of the country's progressive forces for a peace-loving, democratic Japan, in defense of the democratic rights and vital interests of the masses, against the monopolies' tendency to put the burden of economic difficulties on the shoulders of the working class and other working people. It also spoke about the Socialist Party's effort to extend its influence over the masses.

The CPSU delegation stated that the Party identifies itself with the active struggle of the SPJ and other progressive forces of Japan against imperialism and monopoly, for peace and social progress, for the people's happy future, and wished them new gains in this struggle.

Both delegations stressed the historic significance of the Vietnamese people's victory in their stubborn year-long fight against U.S. imperialist aggression, a fight which had revealed the staunchness of the people upholding its freedom and demonstrated the power of international solidarity. The SPJ laid special emphasis on the important contribution to the victorious struggle of the peoples of Indochina made by the Soviet Union and other forces fighting against imperialism and neo-colonialism, and for peace, against war.

Both delegations pointed out that the CPSU and SPJ are determined to continue invariably to support the peoples' just fight against imperialism and national and social oppression, for freedom and independence. In this connection, they emphatically condemned the repressive measures being taken by the military junta in Chile and identified themselves with Chile's patriots, who remain loyal to the cause of democracy and social progress.

The CPSU and SPJ support the Arab peoples' fight against the effects of Israel's aggression. They consider that the Middle East crisis cannot be settled fairly unless Israel complies fully with the resolutions of the UN Security Council and withdraws its forces from all occupied Arab territories and unless the legitimate rights of the Arab people of Palestine are met.

Both delegations hold that the agreement to end the war and restore peace in Vietnam, along with the agreement to restore peace and national concord in Laos and progress in normalizing relations between countries of the Indian subcontinent, creates a favorable

situation for further détente on the American continent. Both sides advocate the creation in Asia, through the efforts of the countries concerned, of conditions ruling out imperialist aggression and armed conflict and safeguarding durable peace and the security of peoples on the principles of peaceful coexistence.

Both sides stated their positions on the issues existing in Soviet-Japanese relations. They put on record the further progress of good-neighbor relations and the extension of equal and mutually beneficial cooperation between the two countries and express confidence that the CPSU and SPJ will continue to contribute to lasting peace and security in Asia and the rest of the world. In this connection, they also stressed the need to go on developing the mass movement for friendship between the Soviet and Japanese peoples.

Agreement was reached in the course of the exchange of views to further friendly relations between the CPSU and SPJ as a means of contributing to greater international solidarity of the democratic, progressive forces and to closer friendship, good-neighbor relations and cooperation between the peoples of the Soviet Union and Japan.

LUXEMBOURG

At the invitation of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Luxembourg, a delegation of the CPSU consisting of A. F. Vatchenko, CC CPSU member and First Secretary of the Dniepropetrovsk regional committee of the Ukrainian CP (head of delegation), A. T. Kuzmin, Secretary, CC CP Byelorussia; V. I. Brovikov, deputy department head of the CC CPSU, and D. N. Mochalin, section head of the CC CPSU International Department, visited Luxembourg from February 27 to March 5, 1974.

The delegation visited the industrial centers of Differdange, Rumelange and Esch-sur-Alzette and toured a metallurgical factory, met with representatives of workers' collectives, trade union officials, and CPL activists. It also attended a CPL rally at Esch-sur-Alzette.

On February 28 there was a meeting of the CC CPL with the Communist Party leadership: CPL Chairman D. Urbany, CC Secretary R. Urbany, and Executive Committee members J. Hoffmann, J. Grandgenet, J. Frapporti, E. Ramberti, A. Bisdorff, F. Huebsch and M. Puetz.

The representatives of the CPSU and CPL informed each other about the activities of their parties, exchanged views on current problems of the international situation and the world Communist movement, discussed the development of inter-party relations and other problems of mutual interest.

The Luxembourg comrades spoke of the Communists' struggle for the fundamental interests of the working class and other working people of Luxembourg, to unite the democratic forces of the country, and to strengthen European security.

On the part of the CPL it was stressed that the successes of Communist construction in the USSR, the initiative of Soviet foreign policy and the growing strength of the entire socialist community promote the best interests of the Communist, workers' and democratic movements.

The CPSU representatives informed the CPL leadership of the activity of the CPSU in fulfilling the 24th CPSU Congress resolutions and carrying out its Peace Program. The Soviet side reaffirmed its profound solidarity with the patriotic and internationalist position of the Communist Party of Luxembourg, with its fight for the rights and interests of the working people, for peace, democracy and socialism.

Also stressed during the talks was the importance of struggle for further strengthening the unity and cohesion of the world Communist movement, developing cooperation of all fraternal parties on the basis of the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, and implementing concrete initiatives to that end.

Both delegations stressed unanimously that the aim of their parties is to promote the development of relations between the USSR and Luxembourg and to strengthen friendship between their peoples.

The meeting took place in an atmosphere of warm friendship and mutual understanding and demonstrated the complete identity of views on all the problems discussed.

SYRIA

At the invitation of the leadership of the Arab Socialist Baath Party and the Syrian government, A. A. Gromyko, member, Political Bureau of the CC CPSU, Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Soviet Union, paid a friendly official visit to the Syrian Arab Republic from February 27 to March 1 and from March 4 to 7, 1974.

The visit proceeded in an atmosphere of friendship and mutual respect in line with the friendly relations existing between the two countries.

During his stay A. A. Gromyko was received by Hafez Assad, President of the Syrian Arab Republic. He also met Mahmoud al-Ayoubi, the Prime Minister, Abdel Halim Khaddam, deputy Prime Minister and Minister for Foreign Affairs, and other Syrian leaders.

In an atmosphere of friendship and mutual understanding, the

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two sides held negotiations bearing on bilateral relations and current international problems of interest to both. They devoted special attention to the Middle East problem.

The negotiations also involved a number of other officials of both countries.

During the negotiations both sides voiced satisfaction with the development of bilateral relations between the two countries. They reaffirmed their determination to extend and strengthen the relations of friendship and cooperation existing between the two countries and based on the principles of respect for national sovereignty, non-interference in internal affairs and common objectives in the struggle against imperialism, Zionism and colonialism.

The Soviet side reaffirmed the Soviet Union's invariable fundamental policy of extending and strengthening friendship and mutually beneficial political, economic and cultural cooperation with Syria and of helping it to strengthen its defenses.

In discussing current international problems, both sides devoted special attention to the latest developments in the Middle East following the hostilities of last October. They reaffirmed their invariable fundamental position and stressed that a just and durable peace in the Middle East cannot be achieved unless all Israeli troops are withdrawn from all the occupied Arab lands and the legitimate rights of the Arab people of Palestine are guaranteed.

The two sides discussed the steps being taken to bring about a just and lasting peace in the Middle East. They reaffirmed their invariable position to the effect that any agreement on the disengagement of troops should be regarded as a first step toward the complete withdrawal of Israel's forces from all occupied Arab lands according to a specified timetable and as a component of a general Middle East settlement.

Both sides confirmed the view that ignoring or neglecting the above fundamental principles is fraught with a new outbreak and may endanger peace and security in the Middle East and throughout the world.

Both sides confirmed the importance of the Soviet Union's participation in efforts toward establishing a just peace in the Middle East based on justice at every stage and in every sphere of settlement.

The two sides are convinced that the Syrian Arab Republic has a legitimate and inalienable right to use every effective means for freeing its occupied lands.

The Soviet side spoke highly of the staunchness of the Syrian Arab Republic's armed forces, as well as of the solidarity shown by the Arab countries during the October hostilities. It expressed the opinion that their solidarity had helped to strengthen the Arab countries' positions. The Soviet side also confirmed the importance of fostering

this solidarity and the need to foil imperialist maneuvers aimed at dividing the Arab peoples.

Both sides stated their resolve to resist all attempts at undermining Soviet-Syrian friendship. They will allow no one to prevent closer Soviet-Syrian relations or to injure them.

The Syrian side expressed its gratitude for the support and aid which the Soviet Union extends to the Syrian Arab Republic in every field, and stressed the importance of continuing this support.

The Soviet and Syrian sides noted the usefulness of regular contacts at all levels for exchanging views and holding consultations on questions of bilateral relations and major current international problems of interest to the Soviet Union and the Syrian Arab Republic.

In examining current international problems, both sides reaffirmed their invariable support for the peoples' struggle against colonialism and imperialism, for the effort to end colonial exploitation and racial discrimination in any form.

Both sides confirmed their support of the proposal of the Algerian People's Democratic Republic to call a special session of the UN General Assembly.

Both sides consider that the exchange of views on a wide range of issues held during the visit was an important positive step toward fostering relations of friendship and close cooperation between the two countries for the good of the Soviet and Syrian peoples.

A. A. Gromyko, member, Political Bureau of the CC CPSU, Minister for Foreign Affairs of the USSR, met with the leadership of the Syrian Communist Party at the Soviet Embassy in Damascus on March 7 last.

During the interview there was a friendly discussion which proceeded in the atmosphere of cordiality and mutual understanding characteristic of relations between the CPSU and SCP.

Among the participants in the interview were Khaled Bagdash, General Secretary of the CC SCP; Youssef Feisal, Secretary of the CC SCP and member of its Political Bureau, Ibrahim Bakri, Daniel Naameh and Zahir Abdel Samad, members of the Political Bureau, and N. A. Mukhitdinov, Ambassador of the USSR to the Syrian Arab Republic.

On the same day A. A. Gromyko met in Damascus with Yassir Arafat, Chairman of the Executive Committee of the Palestine Liberation Organization.

During the interview the participants continued the exchange of views on the situation in the Middle East, as well as on the problem of ensuring the legitimate rights of the Arab people of Palestine.

JOINT SOVIET-SYRIAN STATEMENT

From April 11 to April 16, 1974, a Syrian Party and Government Delegation paid an official friendly visit to the Soviet Union. The Delegation was led by General Secretary of the Arab Baath Socialist Party, President of the Syrian Arab Republic Hafez Assad. During the visit, the President of Syria and the Delegation had talks with General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee Leonid Brezhnev; Member of the Political Bureau of the CPSU Central Committee, President of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet Nikolai Podgorny; Member of the Political Bureau of the CPSU Central Committee, Chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers Alexei Kosygin, and other leaders of the CPSU and the Soviet state.

A thorough and constructive exchange of opinion held in an atmosphere of frankness and mutual understanding confirmed clearly the striving of both sides for further strengthening and all-out development of the relations of friendship and mutual trust existing between the Soviet Union and Syria, between the CPSU and the Arab Baath Socialist Party. The identity of views held by the sides on the most important current international problems, their solidarity in the struggle for freedom, independence and social progress of the peoples, for durable peace were reaffirmed.

SOVIET-SYRIAN FRIENDSHIP IS STRONG AND INVINCIBLE

Within the last few years Soviet-Syrian cooperation has assumed an all-embracing character. It develops along state, Party and public lines, encompassing the political, economic and cultural fields. It also spreads to the field of defense whose importance for Syria, in conditions of the continued Israeli aggression, is generally known.

The Soviet Union and the Syrian Arab Republic are convinced that unbreakable friendship and fraternal cooperation of the Soviet and Syrian peoples meet the vital interest of both countries and serve the cause of strengthening peace and international security.

The sides refer with satisfaction to the broad cooperation between them in the construction of large industrial enterprises and projects, particularly in the field of energetics, oil extraction, railroad transport and irrigation, of which the Euphrates hydro-power complex is a most important joint project. All this is of great importance in implementing the plans of the Syrian Arab Republic to develop and strengthen its economic independence and improve the well-being of the Syrian people.

Attaching great importance to the high level of Soviet-Syrian cooperation, the sides recorded their desire to perfect the forms already

proved of value and also to explore fresh avenues for its further development. With this in view, the sides agreed to sign a new agreement on the further development of economic and technical cooperation and also a protocol on trade in 1974. The sides discussed and outlined steps for further strengthening the defense capacity of the Syrian Arab Republic.

There was confidence, too, that further deepening of Soviet-Syrian contacts in culture, science, education, art, radio, television, tourism and sport would be facilitated by the cultural and scientific cooperation program between the two countries for 1974-75, signed during the visit in Moscow.

So that favorable conditions will be created to acquaint both countries with each other's achievements in various fields, the sides will promote extension of cooperation between the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Arab Baath Socialist Party, between state agencies and also trade union, youth, women's and other mass organizations. In this context the parties to the talks note with satisfaction the program of inter-Party contacts between the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Arab Baath Socialist Party, signed for 1974.

In view of the great significance of close political cooperation and coordination of actions of the Soviet Union and Syria in the international arena, the sides are fully resolved to continue regular consultations with each other at various levels on topical international problems and on the further development of Soviet-Syrian relations. Of particular importance are the traditional personal contacts between leaders of the two countries, especially in conditions of existing tension in the Middle East as a result of the continuing Israeli aggression.

LASTING AND JUST PEACE FOR MIDDLE EAST

The sides paid particular attention to recent developments in the Middle East.

President Hafez Assad told the Soviet leaders what had been done by the Syrian Arab Republic and its armed forces at the time of the military operations in October last.

The Soviet side highly appreciated the staunchness of the Syrian armed forces, the courage of the Syrian people and their unity around their leadership, which largely facilitated the strengthening of the Syrian Arab Republic in the Arab world and in the international arena and of its struggle for the recovery of the occupied Arab lands.

The Syrian side highly appreciated the all-round support from the Soviet Union, which helped the Syrian Arab Republic to hold out in face of Israeli aggression.

Steps which are being taken to achieve a lasting and just peace

in the Middle East were considered. The sides paid special attention to the tense situation on the Syrian front, resulting from the unceasing aggressive actions of Israel which, challenging UN resolutions and world opinion as a whole, seeks to perpetuate the occupation of Arab lands.

The sides re-emphasized with utmost determination that peace and tranquility in the Middle East could be achieved only if the Israeli troops were withdrawn from all occupied Arab lands and the lawful national rights of the Arab people of Palestine were safeguarded.

When the ways to settle the conflict in the Middle East were discussed, it was stressed that partial steps which are now being taken do not cover the main, key elements of the settlement. Any agreement on troop disengagement must be part and parcel of an overall settlement of the Middle East problem, a step on the way to a radical and all-encompassing settlement which must be based on withdrawal of the Israeli troops from all occupied Arab lands and ensuring the legitimate rights of the Arab people of Palestine.

The sides again stressed the importance of the Soviet Union's participation at all the stages and in all spheres of the settlement aimed at establishing a just and lasting peace in the Middle East.

The sides pointed out that the explosive situation now prevailing on the Syrian front reaffirms more than ever before the fact that to ignore the afore-mentioned principles can lead to a further deterioration of the dangerous situation in the area.

In the conditions of continued Israeli aggression, the sides reaffirmed the importance of strengthening the defense potential of the Syrian Arab Republic and its legitimate, inalienable right to use all effective means for the liberation of its occupied lands.

The General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, on behalf of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the Soviet State and the entire Soviet people, confirmed that the Soviet Union will continue its all-round support to the just cause of the Arab peoples.

FOR INTERNATIONAL SECURITY AND FREEDOM OF PEOPLES

The recent change in the correlation of forces in favor of peace, socialism and national liberation exerts a growing positive effect on the entire international situation and promotes relaxation of tensions throughout the world.

Resolutely denouncing the attempts of aggressive and reactionary circles to complicate relations between states and to aggravate the international situation, the Soviet Union and the Syrian Arab Republic declare that they will continue their efforts to oppose this policy so dangerous to the peace and freedom of peoples, to eliminate

seats of international tension, to ensure that international détente becomes stable and irreversible.

The parties to the talks pointed out that the present international détente meets the interests of all states. They are able to utilize their creative powers for economic development, for increasing the prosperity of their peoples in conditions of peace and security. The need to spread the process of détente to all the areas dangerous for peace was reiterated.

The Soviet Union and the Syrian Arab Republic point to the important role of the non-alignment in world politics over recent years. They express their high appraisal of the anti-imperialist policy trend of the non-aligned countries, their striving to promote relaxation of international tensions and consolidation of peace. Both sides point out with satisfaction that this trend was reflected in the decisions of the fourth conference of heads of state and government of the non-aligned countries held in Algiers recently.

They firmly and consistently declare for the right of the peoples to use their natural resources, to implement their sovereign rights and make progressive social and economic transformations. In this connection, they express the hope that the work of the special session of the UN General Assembly on problems of raw material resources and economic development now underway in New York will help establish equal economic relations between all states.

The world situation that is now emerging favors the strengthening of friendly relations between socialist countries and new states which will promote their successful advance along the road of freedom, independence and progressive change.

The sides will continue their consistent stand for complete and final liquidation of colonialism, and for the implementation of the declaration on granting independence to colonial countries and peoples adopted by the UN General Assembly; to wage the struggle against imperialism, Zionism and apartheid. The sides expressed their complete solidarity with the struggle of the peoples of Angola, Mozambique, South Africa, Zimbabwe and Namibia for freedom and national independence, their support for the people of the Republic of Guinea-Bissau who are continuing the selfless struggle for complete liberation of their Motherland.

The Soviet Union and Syria reaffirm their solidarity with the struggle of the Vietnamese people for fulfilling its national aspirations. They fully support the statements of the government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Vietnam, demanding strict observance of the Paris Agreement on Vietnam by all the signatories to the Agreement, and for ensuring a durable and just peace and

achieving national concord in South Vietnam. The sides again express their support for the struggle of the Cambodian people for freedom and independence. They welcome the formation of the Provisional Government of National Unity and the National Political Consultative Council of Laos.

The Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the Syrian Arab Republic are determined to continue strengthening their bonds of friendship, to develop in every way cooperation in all fields, being guided by the principles of mutual respect for sovereignty, territorial integrity, non-interference in each other's internal affairs and complete equality. They firmly state their resolve to decisively rebuff any attempts to undermine Soviet-Syrian friendship or to damage it and will continue doing everything possible for its further development and strengthening.

The visit of the General Secretary of the Arab Baath Socialist Party, President of the Syrian Arab Republic Hafez Assad to the USSR and the Soviet-Syrian talks are an important contribution to the further development of friendly relations and all-round cooperation between the Soviet Union and the Syrian Arab Republic, which will benefit the peoples of both countries, the cause of peace, freedom and progress.

L. Brezhnev,
General Secretary,
Central Committee,
Communist Party of the
Soviet Union

Hafez Assad,
General Secretary,
Arab Baath Socialist Party,
President of
the Syrian Arab Republic

Moscow, April 13, 1974.

SOVIET UNION

Saddam Hussein, Assistant Secretary of the Regional Leadership of the Arab Socialist Baath Party and Vice-Chairman of the Revolutionary Command Council of the Iraqi Republic, visited in the Soviet Union February 25-27, 1974, at the invitation of the CC CPSU and the Soviet government.

During the visit Saddam Hussein met with L. I. Brezhnev, General Secretary of the CC CPSU. The talks, which took place in an atmosphere of friendship and mutual understandings, touched on a wide range of questions of mutual interest.

Talks were also held between A. N. Kosygin, member of the CC CPSU Political Bureau and Chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, and Saddam Hussein during which they exchanged opinions

on the condition and perspectives of developing Soviet-Iraqi relations, the situation in the Middle East, as well as other world problems. Taking part in the talks on the Soviet side were: A. A. Gromyko, member of the Political Bureau of the CC CPSU and Minister of Foreign Affairs; B. N. Ponomaryov, alternate Political Bureau member and CC CPSU Secretary; S. A. Skachkov, Chairman of the State Committee for External Economic Relations of the USSR Council of Ministers; on the Iraqi side: Takha Al-Jazraui, member of the revolutionary Command Council and Minister of Industry; Fakhri Kadduri, Chairman of the Economic Bureau, Revolutionary Command Council; Abdel Jabbar Shenshal, Chief of the General Staff of the Iraqi Army; Shadel Taka, Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs; and Salekh Makhdi Amash, Ambassador to the Soviet Union.

The sides noted with satisfaction that the existing friendly relations between the two countries are of a stable character, determined by the basic interests of their peoples. These relations are developing fruitfully, in full conformity with the Soviet-Iraqi Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation on the principles of equality, mutual respect for sovereignty, territorial integrity and non-interference in each other's internal affairs. Also stressed was the firm resolve to continue in every way to strengthen cooperation in the political, economic and other fields in the interests of the peoples of both countries. The sides outlined concrete measures and steps for the fulfilment of these aims.

Reaffirming that the actively developing contacts between the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Arab Socialist Baath Party play an important part in further strengthening Soviet-Iraqi relations, the sides agreed on the further broadening and deepening of relations between both parties in conformity with the existing agreed plan of party cooperation.

When discussing international problems, special attention was paid to the situation in the Middle East. The participants were unanimously of the opinion that a just and stable peace in this region cannot be established without the liberation of all occupied Arab territories and ensuring the national rights of the Arab people of Palestine. The sides resolutely condemned the attempts of imperialist circles and reactionary forces to regain dominance in one or another form in this region, to suppress the national-liberation movement of the peoples, impede the independent development of countries taking the road of social progress. They reaffirmed the solidarity of the Soviet Union and the Iraqi Republic with the peoples fighting for the liquidation of the remnants of colonialism, against neo-colonialism, racial discrimination, for security and peace the world over.

The sides held that unity of the Arab states on the basis of anti-imperialism and consolidation of cooperation with the Soviet Union and the other countries of the socialist community are an important

prerequisite of success in the Arab peoples' struggle against Israeli aggression, for strengthening of their national independence and economic and social progress. The Soviet Union declared that it will continue, as before, to give aid and support to the Arab states in their just liberation struggle.

The sides noted with satisfaction that Saddam Hussein's visit to the USSR and the talks held there contributed to further development and strengthening of friendly Soviet-Iraqi relations in the interests of both countries.

Saddam Hussein expressed his gratitude to the Soviet leaders and people for warm hospitality shown him and his party.

From the 4th to the 15th of March a delegation of Party workers of the German Communist Party headed by Gerd Deumlich, member of the GCP Presidium and Secretariat, visited the Soviet Union. The West German Communists visited Moscow and the Georgian Republic, where they were told of the work of Party organizations in fulfilling the 24th CPSU Congress resolutions and saw the life of Soviet people.

The delegation was received at the International Department of the CC CPSU and the CC CP of Georgia.

On May 18, L. I. Brezhnev, General Secretary of the CC CPSU, met with Raul Castro, Political Bureau member and Second Secretary of the CC CP Cuba, who was in the Soviet Union on an unofficial visit.

Comrades L. I. Brezhnev and Raul Castro thoroughly discussed questions of the further development of all-round relations between the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Communist Party of Cuba, the USSR and the Republic of Cuba, and also a number of international problems of mutual interest.

The meeting took place in an atmosphere of warm, fraternal friendship, characteristic of Soviet-Cuban relations.

On March 29, the CC CPSU Political Bureau gave a dinner in the Kremlin in honor of Raul Castro, Political Bureau member, Second Secretary, CC CP Cuba, First Deputy Prime Minister of the Revolutionary government and Minister of the Revolutionary government and Minister of the Revolutionary Armed Forces of Cuba, and his wife, Vilma Espin, member, CC CP Cuba, Chairman of the Federation of Cuban Women, who were in the Soviet Union on an unofficial visit at the invitation of the CC CPSU.

During the dinner, which took place in a warm, cordial atmosphere, Comrades M. A. Suslov and Raul Castro exchanged friendly toasts, expressing their confidence in the further development of friendship and cooperation between the CPSU and CP Cuba and the peoples of both countries. They stressed the historical importance of the visit of L. I. Brezhnev, General Secretary of the CC CPSU, to Cuba and his talks with Comrade Fidel Castro, First Secretary, CC

CP Cuba, and Prime Minister of the Revolutionary Government of the Republic of Cuba.

On March 19, A. P. Kirilenko, Political Bureau member and CC CPSU Secretary, and B. N. Ponomaryov, alternate member of the Political Bureau and CC CPSU Secretary, had a talk at the CC CPSU with Volodia Teitelboim, member of the Political Commission of the CC CP Chile, M. Cantero, alternate member of the Political Commission, and A. Yanez, member of the CC.

During the talk, which took place in a cordial atmosphere, the Chilean comrades, on behalf of the CP leadership, expressed their deep gratitude to the CPSU and the whole Soviet people for their firm solidarity with the Chilean people's struggle against the military-fascist regime. They told of the activities of Chilean Communists who, in conditions of brutal repression, together with other Left parties, are working to unite all democratic forces and create a broad patriotic anti-fascist front for the mobilization of the masses for stepping up resistance to the military junta.

Comrades A. P. Kirilenko and B. N. Ponomaryov assured representatives of the Chilean CP that the CPSU and Soviet people, true to the principles of proletarian internationalism, would continue in the future, too, to give support to the Communists and all Chilean patriots in their just struggle to return their country to the path of democracy and social progress. They asked to convey fraternal greetings and expressions of the invariable solidarity of the CPSU and the whole Soviet people to the leadership of the brother Communist Party of Chile, to all Chilean Communists, who are carrying on a courageous battle. It was stated that the CPSU, together with the entire world democratic community, resolutely comes out for the immediate release of Luis Corvalan, General Secretary of the CP Chile, and other leaders and members of the Popular Unity parties, whose lives are in serious danger. The CPSU, the entire Soviet people wrathfully protest against the junta's brutal repression and terror.

Also participating in the talks was Y. I. Kuskov, member, Central Auditing Commission and first deputy head of the CC CPSU International Department.

On March 20, A. N. Kosygin, Political Bureau member, CC CPSU, and Chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, met in the Kremlin with Pham Van Dong, Political Bureau member, CC WPPV and DRV Minister, and Nguyen Duy Trinh, Political Bureau member CC WPPV, Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Foreign Affairs of the DRV.

During the meeting, which took place in a friendly, cordial atmosphere, Pham Van Dong spoke about the recent 22nd plenum of the CC WPPV and the important resolutions it adopted aimed at ensuring rapid rehabilitation of the DRV national economy, the Fourth Session

of the National Assembly, which adopted the 1974 state plan, the labor enthusiasm of the population in fulfilling the complex economic tasks facing the country. He also spoke of the struggle of the DRV government and the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Vietnam to ensure the strict and exact implementation of the Paris agreement.

It was stressed that as a result of the actions of the Saigon administration, which, with the support of U.S. imperialist circles, is systematically violating the Paris agreements, an abnormal situation fraught with dangerous complications is being retained in South Vietnam.

Also discussed were questions concerning Soviet-Vietnam cooperation in various fields and other problems of mutual interest.

A. N. Kosygin spoke of the invariable solidarity of the Soviet Union with the struggle of the DRV government and the RSV Provisional Revolutionary Government for the complete and strict realization of the Paris agreements, for a just settlement of South Vietnam's internal political problems and the establishment of a durable peace on a democratic basis.

The Soviet side expressed its support for the policy of the WPPV Central Committee aimed at the rapid rehabilitation of the country's economy and going over to the all-round development of the material and technical basis of socialism in the DRV.

On March 20, B. N. Ponomaryov, alternate member of the Political Bureau and Secretary of the CC CPSU, and Y. I. Kuskov, member of the Central Auditing Commission and first deputy head of the CC CPSU International Department, met at the CC CPSU with Pedro Saad, General Secretary of the Communist Party of Ecuador.

During the talk, which took place in a warm, friendly atmosphere, opinions were exchanged on current problems of the world Communist movement and the international situation. Both sides noted the coincidence of their viewpoints and identity of positions on all the discussed international problems and on questions of further cohesion of the Communist movement.

The CPSU and CPE stressed their resolve to continue to develop the movement of solidarity with the Chilean and other Latin American patriots fighting for the democratic rights, freedom and independence of their peoples, for social progress.

On March 29, M. A. Suslov, member of the Political Bureau and Secretary of the CC CPSU, and V. V. Zagladin, member, Central Auditing Commission of the CPSU, deputy head, International Department of the CC CPSU, had a meeting at the CC CPSU with a delegation of the Communist Party of Greece led by C. Florakis, First Secretary of the CC CPG.

During the interview, which proceeded in an atmosphere of fraternal cordiality, the Greek friends told about the situation in Greece and the Party's activity since its Ninth Congress. They stressed that in spite of brutal persecution by the authorities, the Communists of Greece have not submitted and go on working to unite all anti-dictatorial forces in a common nationwide front against the regime of military dictatorship, for the country's democratic development. The CPG delegation warmly thanked the CPSU and the Soviet people as a whole for their militant solidarity with the just struggle of the democrats of Greece, who want to restore democracy in the country, end the arbitrary rule of the reactionary soldiery, deliver Greece from foreign economic and political dependence, withdraw it from the aggressive NATO bloc and ensure the country's social progress.

The representatives of the CPSU noted that the Ninth Congress of the CPG constituted an important event in the Greek working-class movement and that its decisions provided a sound basis for the ideological and organizational cohesion of the CPG and other democratic forces of the country. They assured the Greek comrades that the Communists of the Soviet Union and all its peoples, being loyal to the principles of proletarian internationalism, will continue firmly to support the struggle of the Communists and democrats of Greece against dictatorship, police terror and persecution, for the restoration of the Greek people's democratic rights and freedoms. In common with the whole of world democratic opinion, the CPSU emphatically condemns the mass arrests carried out among Greek patriots and their imprisonment and demands their immediate release.

The delegations of the CPSU and CPG unanimously expressed the opinion that the effort to further international détente, promote peace in Europe and the world and solve the problems of the Middle East with due regard to the legitimate rights and interests of all the peoples of the region, including the Arab people of Palestine, helps to attain the objectives of the revolutionary liberation struggle and meets the vital interests of the working people of all countries. Both delegations consider that closer political and ideological unity of the Communist movement and active international cooperation by brother parties on specific issues are an important prerequisite of stepping up the fight against imperialism, for peace, democracy, national independence and socialism.

The spokesmen of the CPSU and CPG reaffirmed their invariable support for the Cypriot people's just struggle against imperialist plans to liquidate the state of Cyprus and convert the island into a NATO military base, for the full national independence and sovereignty of Cyprus and the social progress of its people.

The delegations of the CPSU and CPG declared for further steps to foster fraternal relations between the two parties.

