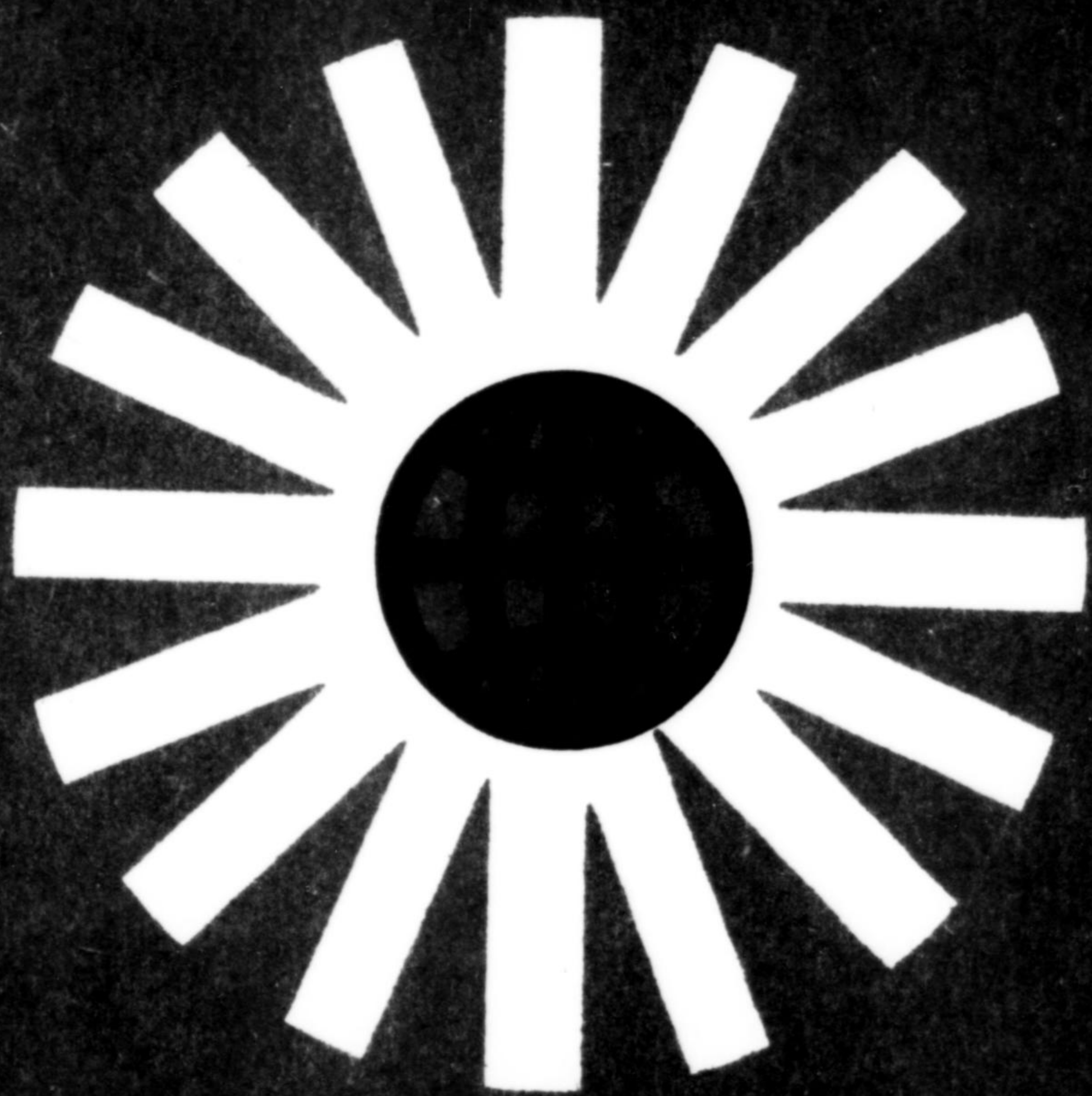
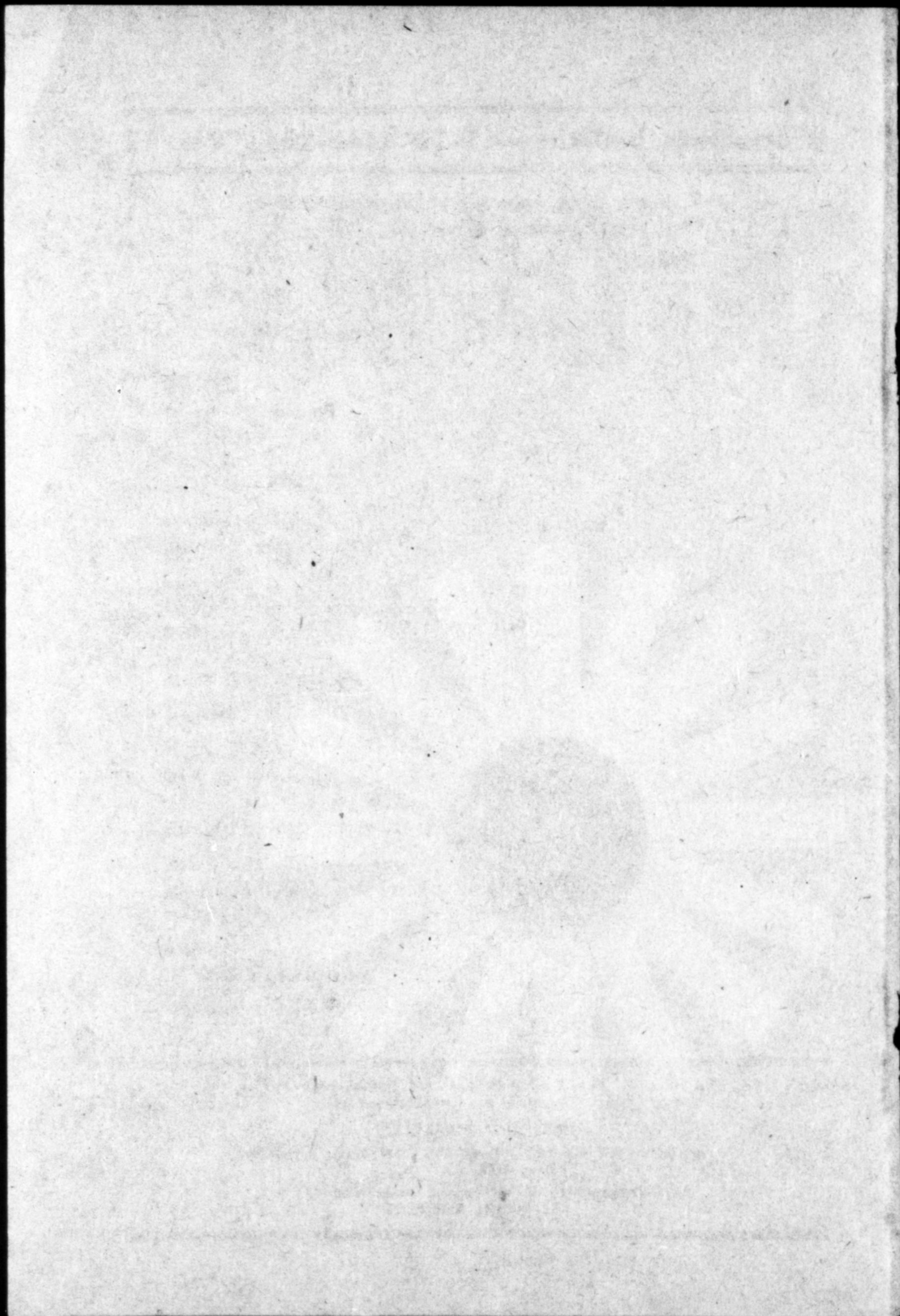


INFORMATION





information bulletin — 9-10 (265-266) Vol. 12

*Appears twice monthly in English, Arabic,
French, German, Greek and Spanish*

c o n t e n t s

Following Lenin's course
toward socialism
B. N. Ponomaryov 5

Portugal throws off
the shackles of fascism 22

CONGRESSES

Cyprus

13th Congress of AKEL 35

Greece

Resolution of Ninth Congress
of CPG on CC report 46

PLENARY MEETINGS

Venezuela

Strengthening Party unity 64

11th plenary meeting of CC CPV 66

STATEMENTS AND SPEECHES

FRG

Statement of GCP Presidium
on Brandt's resignation 71

Greece

Appeal by CC CPG PB 73
(cont'd next page)

Published by PEACE AND SOCIALISM PUBLISHERS—Prague
North American edition published by

PROGRESS BOOKS

467 ADELAIDE ST. WEST, TORONTO, ONTARIO, CANADA
M5V 1T4

Copyright © 1968 by Progress Books, Canada
ALL RIGHTS RESERVED

(cont'd)

Argentina

The Communists and
the agrarian question 75

South Africa

The events in Portugal
Statement by the CC of SACP 81

The South African elections 83

Uruguay

Freedom for Rodney Arismendi 85

FROM THE PARTY PRESS

India

CP of Australia—Whither?
M. Forooqi 89

BILATERAL MEETINGS 97

PRICE: 10 CENTS
PRINTED IN CANADA
JUNE 15, 1974



FOLLOWING LENIN'S COURSE TOWARD SOCIALISM

The Soviet people and the whole of progressive mankind honored the 104th anniversary of the birth of V. I. Lenin, founder of the Communist Party and the Soviet state, great Marxist theoretician and leader of the international working class, friend and teacher of the people the world over.

A meeting was held in the Kremlin Palace of Congresses, Moscow, on April 22 to mark this important date. It was attended by top production workers of Moscow and Moscow Region, Party veterans, scientists and leading personalities in the arts, representatives of the Soviet Army and Navy, Party, government and public organizations. Also present were delegates to the 17th Congress of the Leninist Young Communist League, foreign guests, diplomats, Soviet and foreign journalists.

There was warm applause for Comrades L. I. Brezhnev, Y. Y. Andropov, A. A. Grechko, V. V. Grishin, A. A. Gromyko, A. P. Kirilenko, A. N. Kosygin, F. D. Kulakov, K. T. Mazurov, A. Y. Pelshe, N. V. Podgorny, D. S. Polyansky, M. A. Suslov, A. N. Shelepin, P. N. Demichev, B. N. Ponomaryov, G. V. Romanov, M. S. Solomentsev, D. F. Ustinov, V. I. Dolgikh, I. V. Kapitanov and K. F. Katushev.

The anniversary meeting was opened by V. V. Grishin, Political Bureau member of the CC CPSU and First Secretary of the Moscow City Committee of the CPSU.

B. N. Ponomaryov, alternate member, Political Bureau of the CC CPSU, and Secretary of the CC CPSU, delivered the main report: "Following Lenin's Course Toward Communism," which was listened to with keen attention and repeatedly punctuated by applause.

REPORT BY B. N. PONOMARYOV

Comrades,

In these days, the Soviet people and hundreds of millions of people throughout the world are honoring the 104th anniversary of the birth of Vladimir Ilyich Lenin, the founder of the Communist Party, the Soviet state and the present-day Communist movement, and a man who did more for the working people than anyone else on earth. Lenin devoted the whole of his genius, the titanic power of his mind, and the unbending will of a proletarian revolutionary to the struggle for the working-class cause "to achieve mankind's finest ideals" (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 4, p. 402).

Lenin is always with us, in our thoughts, in struggle and in work. At each turning point in history the profound meaning and impact of his ideas increasingly come to light. And the influence of Leninism grows from decade to decade.

No other revolutionary theory set forth such a sweeping program of transformation of society. And not one of them had to surmount such obstacles. No other theory had been subject to such frenzied attacks. Leninism was assailed by the Monarchists and Constitutional Democrats, Mensheviks and Socialist Revolutionaries, Trotskyites and other opportunists, fascists and servants and apologists of the bourgeoisie. In our time, a vast ideological apparatus of imperialism is spearheaded against the theory and practice of Leninism. But Leninism is invincible!

Its power consists in that, as a truly scientific theory, as the highest stage of Marxism, it offers the only correct explanation of the objective laws of development of society and defines ways for its revolutionary transformation. The power of Leninism consists in that it is the ideology and policy of the most progressive class—the working class, and the most progressive social system—socialism. The power of Leninism consists in that what was conceived and launched by Lenin rests in the reliable hands of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the international Communist movement.

At the turn of century; at a turning point in history, Lenin found that link which proved the most decisive in all the subsequent revolutionary events of the 20th century. This link was a *proletarian party of a new type*. Lenin proved its historic necessity and founded the Bolshevik Party. It was a very great accomplishment, an exploit for all time. It was precisely the Communist Party that led the working class and all the working people to victory in the Great October Socialist Revolution, which turned the entire course of development of society toward socialism and peace. Lenin's motherland is carrying out a great internationalist mission; it is making a tremendous contribution to the worldwide liberation process, to the cause of rescuing mankind from the dangers and calamities caused by imperialism.

The Soviet people defended the gains of socialism in the Great Patriotic War, broke the back of fascism, and opened the way to a new revolutionary upsurge. A world system of socialism took shape. The might and unity of the socialist community ensured a radical change in the alignment of world forces in favor of socialism and peace. Thanks to this, it was possible to break up the colonial empires; more nations cast off the fetters of foreign domination. With the USSR playing the decisive role and on the basis of the Peace Program, outstanding successes have been achieved in improving the international situation, and in asserting the principles of peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems.

Cumulatively, the changes that took place were on a scale and of a significance unheard-of in human history. The Communists, the Leninists were mainly responsible for these changes. The whole world saw the mighty creative power of Leninism.

The Party founded by Lenin, his pupils and followers have increased his legacy many times over! The activity of our Party and the tremendous amount of work being done in keeping with his behests by the CPSU Central Committee, the Political Bureau of the Central Committee, and Comrade Brezhnev, General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, show that in our time Lenin's teachings and cause are acquiring ever fresh force.

I. UNDER THE BANNER OF LENIN TOWARD THE BUILDING OF COMMUNIST SOCIETY IN OUR COUNTRY

Comrades, it is fifty years since the death of Lenin. Soviet people are entitled to review the path traversed by them without him, to assess what has been done in this period.

Lenin was at the head of the Soviet Republic in its most trying and responsible period. He combined truly gigantic work in setting up the first socialist state with tremendous theoretical work. Lenin left to the Party a science on the building of a new society and elaborated an all-encompassing plan to translate Marxist ideals into life in the extremely complicated conditions of Russia.

Under his direct leadership, the armed invasion by world imperialism was repulsed, and the main prerequisites for the coming victories of socialism were created. The dictatorship of the proletariat was established; the alliance of the working class and the peasantry gained strength; the building of a multinational Soviet state was launched; public ownership of the means of production occupied the commanding heights in the economy. The Party went through invaluable schooling in solving the creative tasks of the revolution, in guiding the masses in conditions where it became the ruling party. The foundations of the country's foreign policy and defense capability were laid down, which ensured the necessary external conditions for socialist construction. The Soviet Land became a bulwark of the world revolutionary movement. In the same period its vanguard—the present-day Communist movement—took shape.

This was the solid foundation laid down in Lenin's lifetime, and on this basis the Party was able to take the country forward to great heights of achievement.

In the grave period following the death of Vladimir Ilyich, the bourgeoisie predicted the swift downfall of the Bolsheviks. The *London Times* categorically declared that Soviet power would last only a few months, while *The New York Times* echoed that its end was most probably a matter of several months. How pitiful and ridiculous these malicious forecasts sound today!

In a historically short period of time, Lenin's ideas were realized. The country was industrialized, agriculture collectivized, a cultural revolution took place, and the Soviet people became a single, friendly internationalist family. Lenin's majestic plan for the building of socialism in the USSR was accomplished.

Over a period of 50 years the national income increased almost 100-fold. In 1923 the Soviet Union accounted for about one per cent of world industrial output. Today its share is one-fifth. The GOELRO plan called for 8,800 million kwh of electricity, but last year 915,000 million kwh were generated. In 1923, millions of peasant households still used wooden ploughs, as had been done for centuries. Lenin dreamed of 100,000 tractors, but that year only two were put out, while in 1973, our industry produced 500,000 tractors.

There was a time when the Bolsheviks were accused of being able only to destroy, and that culture would be brought to nought by them. Now even socialism's opponents are compelled to acknowledge our successes in general, and the amazing achievements of Soviet science, literature, arts and sport. People in all parts of the world acclaim celebrated Soviet artists.

Lenin advanced an idea of great foresight: the alliance of science and labor. Today the firm alliance of science and labor has become an inalienable feature in the life of Soviet society, and has led our motherland to the forefront of scientific and technological progress.

The social structure of the population has changed fundamentally. Half a century ago, three-quarters were individual peasants. Today more than 80 per cent of the population are workers and employees, while the present-day collective farmers are a class quite different from the previous peasantry. The number of intellectuals has increased nearly 12 times. The level of education has risen strikingly. In 1923 two out of every three people were illiterate and about 45,000 completed secondary school education, whereas last year there were 3,079,000 secondary school graduates. The number of students of higher and specialized secondary educational establishments has risen from 360,000 to 9,000,000.

Many other facts and figures could be quoted, but not everything can be demonstrated in this way. The main thing is that a mighty socialist state has been set up, and for the first time a new, socialist civilization has been born.

In October 1922 V. I. Lenin said: "Nobody believes that any important change can be achieved at a fantastic speed; but we do believe in real speed, speed compared with the rate of development in any period in history you like to take—especially if progress is guided by a genuinely revolutionary party; and this speed we shall achieve at all costs" (Vol. 33, p. 392). And that is precisely what happened. Taking Lenin's plan as a guide, the Party led and mobilized the working class, the Soviet people, and attained rates of growth un-

thinkable under capitalism and an unprecedented speed of change. For all the raging of the anti-Sovieteers, a socialist state of the entire people grows and prospers. It is a genuinely democratic state united morally and politically, a country of our internationalist fraternity, with a stable and dynamic economy which ensures the steady growth of the well-being and cultural level of the working people. It is firmly advancing toward its aims, blazing the trail for other peoples.

However, it is not the habit of Leninists to rest on their laurels. Lenin taught us that "In politics, as in all the life of society, if you do not push forward, you will be hurled back" (Vol. 10, pp. 190-191). He saw the source of the Party's vital force and invincibility to be that no matter what its successes it remains modest, is not afraid of speaking about difficulties and shortcomings and knows how to overcome them.

These revolutionary, Bolshevik qualities of the Party vividly revealed themselves in the period whose main landmarks were the 23rd and 24th CPSU Congresses. The major economic and political measures implemented in these years and the results achieved have, in their entity, constituted a whole stage in the country's advancement toward communism.

Fixed industrial assets have more than doubled in the past decade. In the year since the previous Lenin anniversary, production has nearly doubled the figure recorded 10 years ago.

Soviet industry continues to grow rapidly. Over 1,200 large enterprises and production complexes have been put into operation in the past three years. The investments in the current five-year period equal half the total for all the preceding years of Soviet power. Thousands of industrial projects, including such giants as the Kama Motor Works and the Sayanskaya Hydropower Station, are being built this year.

Qualitative changes are not affecting merely any one branch. The entire national economy is going over to a new technical basis. The Party ceaselessly devotes attention to raising the efficiency of industrial performance. To carry out the Directives of the 24th Congress, the CPSU Central Committee and the Council of Ministers have adopted a number of important economic decisions on these questions.

Special mention should be made of agriculture. The decision of the March 1965 and subsequent Plenary Meetings of the Central Committee and the 23rd and 24th Congresses have provided the basis for the steady and continuous advancement of agriculture. The capacity of the machine and tractor fleet of the state and collective farms has been increased greatly. Chemicalization is proceeding apace. The per hectare yields of grain and other crops have risen considerably. Never before in its history has the country grown such a bumper crop as last year. The Soviet farmers now enjoy in full measure the

benefits of the reconstruction of agriculture, along socialist lines.

The 20th anniversary of the virgin land development was celebrated recently. This is a truly great feat of the Party and the people. In his vivid Alma-Ata speech Comrade L. I. Brezhnev paid high tribute to the feats of labor performed in the virgin lands, outlined new major tasks, and described the spectacular prospects opening out from the Party's agrarian policy which, modelled on Lenin's example, is being accomplished carefully and according to plan. This is overall economic strengthening of the collective and state farms, their transfer to a modern industrial basis, more effective forms of the organization of agricultural production, its specialization and inter-farm cooperation. In the final analysis, all this leads to the transformation of the nature of work in field and animal husbandry and to changes in the very look of the villages. The attainment of these aims will have tremendous economic as well as socio-political importance for our society as a whole.

This is typical of all aspects of life. Once another target has been achieved and another stage reached, the Party sets even greater tasks so that a continuous advance toward new heights is assured. By his work today Soviet man is bringing the communist morrow nearer.

The Party is boldly expanding the horizons of economic and social planning and laying the foundations for intensive economic growth for many years to come. The tremendous oil and gas deposits of Siberia are being successfully developed. Land melioration schemes are on a scale unprecedented in world practice. A spectacular program for the development of the non-black soil zone, enthusiastically welcomed by the people, has been worked out. Its implementation will renew the ancient lands of Russia and improve the living and working conditions of tens of millions of people. The construction of a 3,200 km-long Baikal-Amur railway will draw new incalculable natural wealth into Soviet economic activity.

V. I. Lenin saw the aim of socialism as ensuring "*full well-being and free, all-round development for all the members of society*" (Vol. 6, p. 54). This has always been the aim of the Party. Today our possibilities have increased enormously, so that the 24th Congress was able to put forward a considerable rise in the living and cultural standards of the people as the main task of the current five-year plan.

The Party's first objective is to provide our people with well-appointed housing. In the past 10 years alone 110 million persons, more than the combined population of Britain and France, have moved into new flats.

Wages keep rising yearly both as a result of the growth in labor productivity and thanks to legislative measures such as rises in minimal wages and increases in the wage rates and salaries of the middle-paid workers in a number of areas. In 1971-1973 thanks to these measures alone 31 million persons benefitted from wage in-

creases, i.e., every third factory and office worker. Twenty three million persons had their income increased thanks to higher pensions, grants and other measures. Collective farmers' labor remuneration grew by 14.5 per cent. Every Soviet citizen feels his well-being increasing in line with the economic growth of the country.

Naturally, when a family earns more money its requirements increase, and the Party is working to ensure the steady growth in the output of consumer goods.

Since its inception, Soviet government, in eradicating the survivals of capitalism, has directed all its efforts to establishing the socialist way of life, in which improvement in material blessings does not promote acquisitive feelings, but serves man's spiritual growth and his active participation in public affairs.

The Party understands, of course, that by no means have all problems connected with raising the living standard of the people been solved. It is taking measures to ensure that everything mapped out by the 24th Congress is completely fulfilled. Naturally, this also depends on the labor contribution of every worker and every collective. A conscientious attitude to the main civic duty — to work at one's full capacity and to observe labor discipline — is an indispensable condition for the growth of well-being.

The profound, inseparable unity of the interests of the working people and the policy of the Party and the state is vividly expressed in the mass socialist emulation drive. Everybody remembers the remarkable labor enthusiasm with which practically the entire country worked last year in response to the Party's call and the outstanding results achieved then. The growth of initiative and productive activity is also the response of the working people to the 1974 message of the CPSU Central Committee to the Party, and the Soviet people. At present thousands of enterprises are carrying out counterplans which considerably exceed state assignments.

On the eve of the anniversary of Lenin's birth tens of millions of Soviet people again participated, at the call of their hearts, in the Communist Subbotnik. The material results of every Subbotnik, held to benefit the people, are important and valuable. However, what is even more important and valuable is voluntary work for the benefit of society and the enthusiasm which accompany our spring labor holidays which have become a remarkable national tradition. Honor and glory to all who honored Lenin's birthday by shock work!

Recent years have seen further developments in Soviet democracy, reflected in a whole number of important legislative acts adopted by the USSR Supreme Soviet: on the work of the Soviets, the status of deputies, the family, labor, the health service and education, land and water resources.

While the capitalist world is being torn by class struggle, Soviet

society demonstrates ever closer moral and political unity and brings about the merging of all classes and social groups on a sound socialist basis. This profoundly progressive process organically blends with the strengthening of the fraternal bonds uniting all Soviet people, irrespective of their nationality. The awarding of the Friendship of Peoples Orders to the Union and Autonomous Republics, Autonomous Regions and National Areas was a recognition of the contribution made by every nation and nationality to the consolidation and development of the USSR. The working class was and remains a cementing force of the growing social and internationalist unity of the Soviet people. Only this class, Lenin teaches us, "can help the working masses unite, rally their ranks and conclusively defend, conclusively consolidate and conclusively build up a communist society" (Vol. 31, p. 292).

There is no doubt that the forthcoming elections to the Supreme Soviet of the USSR will still further help to promote the unity of Soviet society and achieve a new upsurge in the creative activity of our people.

Comrades, we owe all our gains to the beneficial unity of the Party and the people, to the indefatigable practical and theoretical activities of the Lenin-founded Party.

A sound and friendly atmosphere of collective creative endeavor is now felt everywhere—in the Party organizations, from top to bottom, and in the whole of society. This is the result of the principled course of the Party's Central Committee and the Political Bureau headed by Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, in asserting and developing Leninist principles and methods of work. Free and competent discussion of questions, inner-Party democracy, trust of one's comrades, respect for their opinion, experience and knowledge, support of bold and well-considered undertakings, exacting approach to the fulfilment of decisions taken, responsibility for assignments, strict keeping of pledges — this is the style of work so much needed today, an example of which is set by the Leninist Central Committee.

A major event in recent Party life was the December 1973 Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee, which gave a new impulse to the drive for the fulfilment and overfulfilment of the 24th Congress directives. Comrade L. I. Brezhnev's speech contained a comprehensive critical analysis of the achievements scored over the three years of the five-year plan period, revealed the enormous reserves available to our state, and advanced sweeping proposals for the further development of the country. The Plenum has set tasks of a fundamental character. The target is to perfect the organizational structure of economic management, the lynch-pin enabling the best advantage to be taken of the available possibilities. In line with present-day requirements, the Party wants to see a more profound analysis made of economic activity, a greater effectiveness of the

decisions taken, and improvements in the system of planning, including the distribution of capital investments. Therefore, the Party approach to economic activity must be intensified so that every worker, no matter what post he may hold, is aware of his responsibility for the overall state of affairs.

The Plenum has again shown the Party's ability to appraise successes soberly and speak of shortcomings openly, outlining the correct ways to overcome them and to solve the most intricate problems under new conditions.

The leading role of the Party has been steadily growing. Over the last 50 years, its membership has increased from 400,000 to 15 million. Its prestige among the masses has grown tremendously, just as has their trust in it. This is our most valuable asset in the struggle for communism.

The exchange of Party cards is an important stimulus in raising the production and socio-political activity of Communists, in strengthening discipline and improving work. Twelve million Communists have already received new Party cards. The exchange of Party cards has become a strict check-up on how the Party members perform their leading role.

The report and election Party conferences, held recently, have summed up the results of the work done since the 24th Congress and generalized the experience accumulated. Their attention was focussed on raising the role and responsibility of Party organizations for the promotion of the Party's policy and for the successful fulfilment of the 1974 plan, which will be of decisive significance in carrying out the five-year plan as a whole. The conferences have once again forcefully demonstrated the strength of the Party, the Communists' cohesion around their Leninist Central Committee.

The accomplishment of the tasks facing the country will largely depend on ideological and educational work. The moulding of conscious workers of communist society is a task of exceptional importance, involving the all-embracing influence of the Marxist-Leninist world outlook, a new rise in the general level of the ideological convictions and political maturity of the people, and the organic links of communist ideas with the everyday affairs in the life of every individual. V. I. Lenin taught us: "Closer to life. More attention to the way in which the workers and peasants are *actually* building the *new* in their everyday work, and more *verification* so as to ascertain the extent to which the new is *communistic*" (Vol. 28, p. 98). What is needed now in the more acute ideological struggle between the two systems are still greater efforts in the fight against anti-communism, anti-Sovietism and bourgeois ideology. We shall be facing all these enormous tasks for a long time, and they can and must be accomplished through the efforts of all Party organizations.

The period of the Party's and the people's efforts to fulfil the

decisions of the 23rd and 24th Congresses is characterized by profound qualitative changes in the development of the country. The main features of a mature socialist society have clearly emerged. In accomplishing completely new tasks and boldly eliminating shortcomings, the Party has led the people step by step, with confidence and skill, along the untrodden path of building the first ever communist society. It pursues a principled class policy as laid down in the CPSU Program, coordinating, as Lenin did, the problems of today with our ultimate goals. The Party has been constantly developing Lenin's science of communism applicably to present times.

Even now we can feel the results of the enormous work done in this period. For future generations they will be reminders of the feats performed by the Leninists of the 60s and 70s.

Looking back at our achievements in the last few years one can say: never before have we possessed such huge possibilities. Never before has the Party been able to set itself such ambitious tasks. The country's steady advance and the scale of the work being done on its boundless expanses under Party leadership vividly show that these tasks can and will be accomplished.

II. HEADING THE HISTORIC BATTLE FOR PEACE AND SOCIAL PROGRESS

Comrades, Lenin linked the future of our country with the revolutionary movement as a whole, and with the prospects of all mankind. He was able to discern in embryo the main tendencies of world development for an epoch ahead. This rare feature of his genius was well expressed by a remarkable Soviet poet: "He took in all the planet at a time, saw things out of reach for the common eye."

Lenin characterized imperialism as the eve of socialist revolution. This was confirmed by experience in Russia and later in other countries.

Lenin expressed the conviction that the dictatorship of the proletariat would grow from a national into an international force capable of exerting a decisive influence on world politics. This also proved true. The world socialist system is becoming a decisive factor in the development of humanity.

Lenin said that the Soviet system of government would increasingly influence the international revolution by its economic policy. This forecast is confirmed today not only by our country's experience, but also by the experience of the other countries of victorious socialism.

Lenin said: the oppressed peoples "will rise as independent participants, as builders of a new life" (Vol. 30, p. 159). The experience of hundreds of millions of people in the liberated countries vividly demonstrated that these prophetic words proved correct too.

Lenin predicted the inevitable growth of the crisis of "world ca-

pitalism as a whole" (Vol. 33, p. 499). The subsequent history of capitalism has been convincing proof of this prediction.

Experience has confirmed to the hilt Lenin's thesis on two opposite lines of development in the epoch ushered in by the October Revolution: the growth and consolidation of world socialism and the advancement of the entire revolutionary process on the one hand, and the decline and disintegration of the world capitalist system on the other hand.

We are witnessing a striking contrast between the successful and confident growth of the countries of the socialist community and developments in the capitalist world. The word "crisis" constantly appears in the Western press. It is said that this crisis is "unexpected." But there is nothing unexpected in it. The organic evils which give rise to the crises of the capitalist system were discovered long ago by Marx, Engels and Lenin. Our Party, the Communists of other countries, and the international Communist Meeting of 1969 pointed out that new upheavals of the capitalist system were inevitable. Almost every day brings fresh proof of these assessments and conclusions.

Crisis phenomena simultaneously hit many of the main centers of imperialism. The economic and political, internal and international factors of the weakening of imperialism are being entangled in one knot.

The capitalist states are experiencing inflation, unprecedented in time of peace, and the unchecked growth in the cost of living. On the other hand, the monopolies are making colossal profits. In the last two years food prices rose by 21 per cent in France, 22 per cent in Italy, 31 per cent in the United States, 33 per cent in Britain, and 36 per cent in Japan. Unemployment, too, is growing, and the slump in production has begun in some countries. Contradictions between the United States, Western Europe and Japan continue to increase; the monetary system of capitalism is in a profound crisis; trade competition is growing tougher. The long awaited energy crisis has broken out, sharply deepening the antagonism between imperialism and the Third World nations. At the current UN session, these nations emphatically declared that there would be no return to the past when monopolies plundered their resources disregarding everything.

In the political field we are witnessing the declining prestige of power within the capitalist countries, which increasingly reveals its inability to cope with the problems arising. The existing system becomes discredited and endless government crises ensue. The working people are realizing more deeply the indissoluble connection between exploitation and bourgeois power.

Class battles are developing on a vast scale. As predicted by Communists, the strike movement is increasingly becoming a direct confrontation with the state-monopoly system and the policy of govern-

ments. The nationwide upsurge of the working-class movement in Britain, which toppled the Tory Cabinet, unprecedented strikes in the Federal Republic of Germany, large-scale class battles and the activation of the Left forces in Italy, France, Japan and other countries, and the stubborn struggle of the people in Latin America—all these are merely some of the recent facts showing that the attempts of the bourgeoisie to get out of the crisis at the expense of the working people are meeting with a determined rebuff. A big part in this is being played by trade unions whose militancy has markedly grown.

Big capital is using all available means—reformist maneuvers, brainwashing by the mass media, and direct repressions. The greater the upheavals in the capitalist world, the more clearly its evils are revealed, the more fierce slanderous attacks are made against socialism and the Soviet Union. Attempts are being made to camouflage the unseemly capitalist reality by slandering socialism. And, as has often happened during other crises, the bourgeoisie counteracts to the upsurge of the revolutionary forces by mobilizing the forces of reaction. Neo-fascist elements are becoming more active in different parts of the capitalist world.

The Chilean events are dramatic proof of this. The conscience of mankind will not reconcile itself to the crimes of the followers of Nazism. The demands for the release of Comrade Luis Corvalan and all other Chilean patriots are gaining momentum. We are confident that the banner of freedom will again be raised over Chile.

"On all sides, at every step one comes across problems which man is quite capable of solving *immediately*, but capitalism is in the way" (Vol. 19, p. 389). These words of Lenin acquire even greater force on the eve of the last quarter of the 20th century. Capitalism is in the way because it plunders the public wealth, using it to exploit those who create it. In the words of Lenin, capitalism endangers the very conditions essential for humanity's existence.

Lenin warned that new military catastrophes may follow the first world war. The victory of the October Revolution enables this sinister tendency to be counterposed by the strength and foreign policy of the world's first socialist state. A great battle for peace has begun. Its aim is not simply peace, not peace at any price, but a just and democratic peace which would guarantee independence to the nations and conditions under which they could decide their future without outside interference. This is a world historic task, affecting the interests of everyone, and Lenin's homeland leads the struggle to bring this about.

The powerful economic and defense potential and political weight and prestige of the Soviet Union has been placed at the service of peace. In close cooperation with its allies and friends, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union seeks to extend the international scope of the defense of peace and to draw as many political and public forces

as possible into active work to achieve this primary task of the present time.

The steadfast and energetic prosecution of the foreign policy charted by the 24th Congress, has brought about outstanding results in the shortest period of time.

The measures, taken jointly with other socialist countries, contributed to the victorious completion of the heroic struggle of the Vietnamese people. Endeavors to achieve a peaceful settlement in the Middle East have begun. The treaties concluded by the Soviet Union with a number of big capitalist countries and other agreements contribute to the wider application of the principle of non-use of force in international relations. In this manner the tasks, set in the *first point* of the Peace Program, have been accomplished to a considerable extent. In accordance with the *second point* of the Program, important diplomatic moves have been taken, leading to the consolidation of the results of the war in Europe and to the wide recognition of the inviolability of borders on the continent. As was provided for in the *third* and *fourth points* of the Peace Program, our country took initiatives aimed at curbing the arms race. The biggest advance here is the Soviet-American agreement on the prevention of nuclear war. In the spirit of the *fifth point* of the Program, the Soviet State is making an appreciable contribution to the struggle against the remaining seats of colonial oppression and against neo-colonialism. Finally, everybody is aware of the effective drive to develop wide-scale, equal and mutually advantageous international economic cooperation, provided for by the *sixth point* of the Peace Program.

All this has created a situation favoring the solution of the most complicated world problems through negotiation, has shattered the myth about the military threat coming from the USSR, and has revealed the senselessness and falsity of the calls by anti-Sovietes for stepping up the arms race. For the first time in the 30 years after the world war, millions of people breathed a sigh of relief and felt a wind of change in their everyday life as a result of the turn toward détente away from the endless hotting up of international tension. The courageous and purposeful activity by the Party and the Soviet state in implementing the Peace Program reveals to millions upon millions of people the humanistic nature of the socialist system, bringing home to them its ability to save mankind from wars.

The efficacy of Soviet foreign policy lies in the fact that the USSR is not simply calling for peace, but that it is striving to ensure that every diplomatic action, every agreement made is followed by concrete, tangible deeds which bring nearer a lasting and just peace.

Everybody sees that our foreign policy is consistent and principled. It takes into account all the processes taking place in given coun-

tries, and is not opportunistic. Always loyal to its obligations, the USSR rightfully expects the same of its partners.

The meetings and the talks conducted by the General Secretary of the Central Committee, the President of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, the Chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers and by other members of the Political Bureau with the leaders and other politicians of the USA, France, the FRG, Japan, India, Arab and many other countries constitute what may be regarded as the focal point in the positive development of international relations, thus contributing to the normalization of the world situation and to the extension of the realities of fruitful political and economic cooperation.

Throughout the world people heed the voice of Moscow. No leading statesman can ignore the consistent peace-loving policy of the Soviet Union. It would be no exaggeration to say that never was the USSR's international prestige so great, nor its influence in international affairs so versatile and profound, nor respect for and confidence in its foreign policy so high as today.

The Communist Party and the Soviet state, despite all that has been achieved, continue without respite their historic battle against the danger of our Party, by the tireless and unsparing efforts of Comrade L. I. Brezhnev. All the world is full of admiration for these activities.

For the first time in the history of Europe an attempt has been made to solve the whole complex of fundamental political, economic and cultural problems on the constructive basis of peaceful coexistence. The European Conference on Security and Cooperation has achieved definite results. These results justify our hopes that the awareness by all concerned of their high responsibility will speedily pave the way to the successful conclusion of the Conference at top level, thereby lending more weight and authority to its decision.

Encouraging first steps toward military détente have been taken. Further progress has to be made in the Soviet-U.S. talks on the limitation of nuclear-missile arms, and the necessary prerequisites for this are present. The leadership of our Party and the country is convinced that, given a constructive approach and unswerving observance of the principle of equal security, the Vienna talks on the reduction of armed forces and armaments in Central Europe can also make headway. The socialist community advocates simultaneous abrogation of NATO and the Warsaw Treaty Organization, or elimination of their military setups as a first step.

The USSR will continue to take all necessary steps to defend the legitimate rights of the Arab countries, to contribute to the settlement of the Middle East crisis, and to prevent a "settlement" that would in effect serve to encourage the aggressor and damage the

cause of peace and the interests of the national-liberation struggle. But this should not and will not happen!

There can be no doubt that the international scene has changed. The cold war has given way to détente—a gain of paramount importance brought about by indefatigable struggle. Similar efforts are needed to consolidate these changes and to build up reliable guarantees of stability. We must not be complacent. The world, oversaturated as it is with weapons of mass destruction, continues to be the scene of the growing arms race and the setting up of new military bases. Many explosive issues remain unsettled and provocative anti-Soviet campaigns are staged, whose aim in fact is to torpedo the détente.

The national-chauvinistic and anti-Soviet policy of the present Peking leaders exerts an adverse influence on the international situation. This plays into the hands of the reactionary forces of imperialism. With unmatched shamelessness they slander the Party and the homeland of Lenin and the Soviet people. Their perilous course directed against the détente and at eroding world socialism prejudices the interests of all nations. It meets with the mounting opposition of all those who hold dear the cause of peace and socialism.

Our Party firmly and resolutely opposes the plans of the opponents of détente. It is on the alert to their intrigues and works for more active defense of the gains won and for extending the front of the peaceful offensive. In the current world situation an essential guarantee of our peaceful development is the continued strengthening of the defense capability of the Soviet state, and this is the constant concern of the CPSU.

The current reconstruction and the system of international relations is related to present far-reaching social tendencies, above all to the consolidation of the positions held and the growth in influence of the principal revolutionary forces: socialism and the workers' and the national-liberation movements.

It is common knowledge that the fruitful initiatives on the international scene have come from the socialist countries and that the growing role of socialism in world affairs is directly traceable to their closer unity and coordinated policy. Of prime significance are the Crimean meetings of the leaders of the fraternal parties and states, as well as the meetings of the Political Consultative Committee of the Warsaw Treaty. Its latest meeting in Warsaw has mapped out ambitious tasks whose accomplishment will allow more successes to be won in ensuring peaceful life and security, and social progress in Europe. Statements on the Middle East, on solidarity with the people of Vietnam and the Chilean patriots express the collective opinion of the socialist community based on consistent

internationalism and unswerving dedication to the cause of peace, democracy and socialism.

The visit of Comrade L. I. Brezhnev to Cuba early this year was an important event in the development of the socialist community. The Soviet Union welcomes the strengthening of Cuba's international position and her achievements in the building of socialism.

Comrades, the militant slogan, supported by Lenin, "Working men of all countries and oppressed nations, unite!" in its time resounded all over the world. Over the past decades it has become a real force uniting socialism and the workers' and national-liberation movement. It is universally recognized that the success of the national-liberation forces in the major battles of recent times would have been impossible without the assistance and support of the USSR and the other socialist countries. All who are fighting for complete and final deliverance of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America from imperialist dominance, for their social and economic progress and for an equal participation in world affairs invariably meet with an understanding and support of the Party founded by Lenin.

All who are genuinely concerned with the national interests of the developing states, cannot fail to understand the vital importance of joint action and solidarity with the world of socialism, cannot but reject anti-Sovietism and anti-socialist positions, because they inevitably lead to an anti-patriotic policy.

The world Communist movement is the most influential political force of the day. In the half century since Lenin's death the number of Communist Parties has grown from 49 to 89. Their possibilities have grown immeasurably. The Communist parties are, as ever, in the front line of struggle for the interests of the working class, for the interests of nations.

At their Moscow meeting five years ago the Communists proposed a constructive platform of united anti-imperialist action. Today, we have every reason to state: many tasks set at that time have been fulfilled. The Marxist-Leninist parties are concentrating on the problems arising from the changing situation. The solution of these problems calls for unity of action and collective efforts based on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. Many fraternal parties have made proposals aimed at enhancing the role of the Communist movement in social development and strengthening its political and ideological unity. Together with the fraternal parties, the CPSU is ready to take new steps to achieve these goals.

Comrades, the entire foreign-policy activity of the Leninist Party and the Soviet state is an all-around, complex and arduous endeavor to ensure the most favorable external conditions for communist construction in our country, to strengthen world socialism, prevent wars and achieve new successes in the liberation struggle. We have every right to repeat Lenin's words: "Soviet power will in future do

everything possible to promote the international socialist movement, to secure and shorten the road leading mankind to deliverance from the yoke of capital and from wage slavery, to the creation of a socialist society and to an enduring just peace between peoples" (Vol. 27, pp. 201).

The epoch-making gains of our Party, the Soviet people and the Communist movement are inseparably linked with Leninism. And unshakable loyalty to it is the guarantee of new victories of our great cause. This is the main and constant concern of our Party, the Central Committee, the Political Bureau, and Comrade L. I. Brezhnev.

Wherein do Communists see loyalty to Leninism in our time?

They see it in unswervingly advancing along the road indicated by Lenin and in tackling, in the Leninist manner, the three-pronged task of building communism, i.e., the creation of its material and technical basis, perfection of social relations, and education of a new man in the spirit of communist ideals.

Loyalty to Leninism means cohesion of the socialist community, an all-round consolidation and defense of its gains.

Loyalty to Leninism means the further consolidation of ties and solidarity between socialism, the working-class and national-liberation movements, strengthening the international unity of Communists and all revolutionary forces; it means consistent struggle against imperialism, for the interest of the working class and working people in general.

Loyalty to Leninism means unswerving struggle for a stable, just and democratic peace, for the assertion of the principles of peaceful coexistence in the relations between states with different social systems, for independence and the security of nations.

Loyalty to Leninism means the all-round strengthening of the parties of the Leninist type, resolute rebuff to Right-wing and "Left"-wing opportunism, the creative development of the Marxist-Leninist theory and on its basis, the elaboration of a correct policy.

Comrades, no matter how far humanity advances into the grand vistas of its communist future, having cleared the earth of oppressors and wars, falsehood and atrocities, it will always remember that Lenin led the trail-blazers of communism, that he laid the foundation of a new and truly free world.

Long live Leninism! Long live future victories of Lenin's cause! Long live the great Leninist Party!



PORTUGAL THROWS OFF THE SHACKLES OF FASCISM

Early in the morning of April 25, the rebellious army units overthrew the Caetano fascist government. A National Salvation Junta, led by General Antonio de Spínola, and comprised of seven high-ranking officers, was set up.

Subsequent reports indicated that Portugal had taken the road to liberation from the shackles of fascism.

The following documents of the Portuguese Communist Party (PCP) assess the domestic situation and the position and tasks of the Party and other democratic forces of the country.

THE PORTUGUESE COMMUNIST PARTY AND THE APRIL 25 ARMED FORCES MOVEMENT

1. The Armed Forces Movement which deposed President Americo Thomaz and the government of Marcelo Caetano on April 25 marks a turn in the political situation in Portugal. The military coup culminated the crisis of the regime, the determining factors of which were internal contradictions and difficulties, the struggle of the Portuguese people and the peoples under the yoke of Portuguese colonialism, and the world public condemnation and international isolation of the government's policy. The military coup has, at the same time, demonstrated that a substantial section of the armed forces support the basic democratic demands of the people. Real prospects are opening up for a rapid abolition of the fascist dictatorship, early ending of the colonial war and establishment of a democratic regime.

The PCP warmly hails all the military who, in the course of the victorious movement of the armed forces, acted and are acting with firm resolve to achieve these objectives.

2. The government has been toppled but the fascist regime has not yet been fully destroyed. Many of its institutions and agencies remain. Civil freedoms have not yet been introduced. There exists the danger of a counter coup on the part of ultra-reactionary elements. It is necessary, on the one hand, to immediately liquidate the fascist state and the seats and forces of counter-revolutionary conspiracy and, on the other, to ensure participation of all democratic forces and the people at large in politics and in the work for renovation that is necessary and currently possible.

The complete dissolution of PIDE-DGS and all its bodies, amnesty, freedom for all political prisoners and return of exiles, immediate permission for the free activity of the democratic movement — these are the initial proofs of the true intentions of the National

Salvation Junta and its resolve to put an end to the fascist regime and carry out the mission assigned to it by the Armed Forces Movement.

The PCP solemnly declares that it will actively support, as achievements of the popular struggle, all concrete steps aimed at liquidating fascism and bringing about the genuine democratization of political life.

3. In the morning of April 25, the Armed Forces Movement proclaimed, and the junta confirmed in the proclamation issued on the night of April 25 to 26, its intention to introduce democratic freedoms and hold free elections. These are the main objectives for which the PCP and the other democratic forces had always fought in the conditions of the fascist dictatorship, objectives which meet with the active support of the broad masses of the people. Promises should be kept as quickly as possible. Some will think that the fascist dictatorship can still be replaced by a military dictatorship. It is necessary to prevent such a design from materializing, for it runs counter to the hopes of the Portuguese people and the will of the military who bravely revolted to put an end to fascism and return to the Portuguese people the freedom it was denied during the almost half-century existence of the dictatorship.

4. The colonial war has become a key problem of the political situation in Portugal. Since this problem concerns the interests of the whole nation, it is necessary first of all to remove the ban on public debate on it and create real opportunities for all Portuguese to freely express and uphold their views.

The PCP calls for immediate negotiations, an end to the colonial war and recognition of the right of the peoples oppressed by Portuguese colonialism to complete and immediate independence. Any plan to preserve Portuguese colonial rule in new forms, far from facilitating a solution of the problem, would inevitably result in a new aggravation of the economic, social and political situation in Portugal.

The Portuguese people must be given the decisive say in the policy to be pursued on so important a problem.

5. Free elections to a Constituent Assembly would be a step of tremendous importance opening up the process of democratic change in Portuguese society. This objective should not be distorted under any pretext. The junta's statement announcing elections to a Constituent Assembly, on the one hand and elections of President of the Republic, on the other, is erroneous because it predetermines a constitutional act which only the Assembly can decide upon.

Free elections will require a democratic election law, fair registration of voters under popular control, granting political parties the

right to activity, freedom of the press, propaganda and assembly, and effective supervision of the elections.

The best guarantee of genuinely free elections in the present specific situation would be the establishment of a Provisional Government representing all democratic and liberal political forces and circles. The PCP declares its readiness to shoulder its share of responsibility.

6. The PCP warns against any attempts of anti-Communist discrimination. There can be no freedom in Portugal without the legalization of the PCP, the main force in the struggle against the fascist dictatorship throughout the decades of its existence, a struggle in which Communists made the greatest sacrifice.

Neither can profound democratic changes necessary to resolve national problems be effected in society without the active participation of the PCP, the party of the working class, the great party of Portugal's anti-fascist movement. Legalization of the PCP will be a genuine indicator of the introduction of democratic freedoms in Portugal.

7. The abolition of the fascist dictatorship, introduction of freedoms and genuinely free elections require that, at this juncture, the working class, democratic forces, the youth and the people at large take a positive stand with regard to all of the junta's measures meeting popular demands, and launch wide-scale action to satisfy the basic demands of the democratic movement.

More than ever before, it is necessary to strengthen the unity of action of the working class, democratic forces, the youth and all anti-fascist and anti-colonial minded Portuguese. It is equally necessary and possible to forge a firm unity of popular forces and democratically-minded servicemen (officers, non-commissioned officers, privates), most of whom took part in the military movement. In present conditions such an alliance would be a firm guarantee of the complete abolition of fascism, establishment of a democratic regime, peace and defense of national independence.

8. This stand of the PCP with regard to the April 25 military movement was clearly defined right after the National Salvation Junta's appeal to the nation broadcast over the radio and television on the night of April 25 to 26.

The Portuguese people can achieve the abolition of the dictatorship, the ending of the colonial war and the establishment of a democratic regime. Achievement of these goals depends mainly on the unity, organization and quick and bold action of all democrats.

Secretariat of the Central Committee,
Portuguese Communist Party.

April 26, 1974

INTERVIEW WITH ALVARO CUNHAL GENERAL SECRETARY, PORTUGUESE CP

Several days after the armed forces uprising on April 25, Alvaro Cunhal, General Secretary of the Portuguese Communist Party (PCP), gave an interview to *L'Humanité* special correspondent Francois Lescure, in which he outlined the present situation and political prospects opening out before his country. This interview, entitled "After Half a Century of Oppression, Our People Can Now Be Free" appeared in *L'Humanité* on April 29. Below is its full text.

Question: How do you explain the amazing success of the armed forces uprising of April 25, the downfall of the Caetano government and the democratic measures introduced by the junta, comprised of military who, hitherto, have upheld the regime?

Answer: The successful armed forces uprising of April 25 was not a bolt from the blue. It was the culmination of a lengthy process conditioned by factors such as the crisis of the fascist regime, the economic, social and political consequences of the colonial war, the isolation and world public condemnation of Portuguese fascism and colonialism, and the success of the liberation movements in Guinea-Bissau, Mozambique and Angola, as well as the wide-scale struggle of the Portuguese people.

It is impossible to understand the April 25 uprising or reasons for the subsequent rapid development of events without taking into account all these factors, the scale and level of the democratic and popular movement, and the fact that the basis of the fascist regime inexorably narrowed.

A MIGHTY NATIONAL MOVEMENT

The conception prevalent abroad that the Portuguese people are indifferent to politics is completely false. On the contrary, the popular struggle against the fascist regime and its unceasing and savage repression developed into a powerful national movement.

The broad support enjoyed by the united democratic movement of Communists, Socialists and Catholics was demonstrated once again during the October campaign last year when over 200 meetings attended by a total of 20,000 people were held. Clear proof of the organized strength of the working class was the wave of strikes which has spread throughout the country during the past few months, the meetings of thousands of working people, and the fact that the trade-union movement has been able to wrest from government control dozens of fascist trade unions with a membership of over half a million. The student movement, in which all legal stu-

dents' associations are involved, has conducted demonstrations, meetings and strikes that at times have paralyzed the work of colleges for months. The movements of young workers and women are also important segments of the popular struggle. The struggle against the colonial wars has developed into a powerful mass movement, and throughout the country the call to put an end to the war became more insistent. The number of deserters and draft dodgers has now topped the 100,000 mark, and for some time the revolutionary struggle has directly affected the colonial military administration.

The dissatisfaction in the armed forces grew more apparent. From 1973 onwards there was hard evidence in more than 50 military units of opposition by soldiers, NCO's and young officers. These units included five infantry regiments, five artillery regiments, four air bases, six naval subunits, eight military schools, as well as cavalry units, anti-aircraft batteries, military hospitals, arsenals, etc. The armed forces had ceased to be the traditionally stable support of the regime. Considerable success had been achieved in bringing the armed forces over to the cause of freedom.

THE SITUATION IN THE ARMY

"The captains' movement," which began to develop very rapidly from July 1973 and was the organizational basis of the April uprising, showed that the conflicts and contradictions inherent in the regime had affected professional officers. It also showed that the basic democratic demands were supported by a growing number of military. Politically, the movement was exceedingly diverse. It included many supporters of General Spínola, democrats and even "ultras." The latter, however, lost influence after their attempts to bring the movement to an ultra-reactionary putsch. At mass meetings of officers (sometimes attended by hundreds) the conviction grew that the armed forces must intervene to put an end to the colonial war and fascism.

All these facts explain the amazing success of the armed forces movement which empowered the National Salvation Junta to restore freedoms and hold free elections to a Constituent Assembly. This, too, explains the urgent steps taken to meet the demands of the democratic movement, and the support and active participation of the masses in carrying through the initial democratic measures.

The April 25 uprising was no coup by a military clique, but the action of a broad movement of officers who supported public and democratic methods of discussion and decision-making.

Despite all this contradictions, distinctive and original features, the armed forces movement and the events of the last few days are inseparable from the process of the Portuguese democratic revolution.

Question: What is the attitude of the PCP to the armed forces

movement and the National Salvation Junta, led by General Spínola, and to his program?

Answer: The armed forces movement of April 25 signifies a basic change in the political situation.

Our Party gave a warm welcome to all those who took part in the armed forces movement, acting for the complete abolition of the fascist dictatorship and an end to the colonial war, for the restoration of democratic freedom and a democratic regime.

We hail the abolition of the hated political police (PIDE-DGS), the freeing of all political prisoners and the lifting of press censorship as a great victory for our people and for the democratic forces.

All measures have our support that are aimed at fulfilling the demands, which have long been fought for by our Party, the democratic forces and the people and which are to be heard during the mass demonstrations—a daily occurrence in Portugal since April 25.

THE PCP STANDS FOR ESTABLISHMENT OF A GENUINELY DEMOCRATIC REGIME

If the new government really wants to establish a democratic regime, and if this is proved by deeds, we shall decisively fight side-by-side with it against fascist reaction which, if it were again in power, would plunge the country into an abyss of bloody repression. Fascist reaction would attack those involved in the April 25th uprising, the democratic forces, and the popular masses.

Our Party's program includes a demand for free elections to a Constituent Assembly, and it is our belief that such elections, if they are truly free, can mean a historic change in the life of our people.

We also declare that in present conditions, after almost a half century of fascist rule, the best guarantee for conducting free elections would be the formation of a provisional government representative of all democratic and liberal political forces and trends. In this connection our Party is prepared to assume its share of responsibility.

So far as the colonial question is concerned, the National Salvation Junta has declared its readiness to open a nationwide discussion of this highly important issue. The democratic forces have long demanded such a discussion. Obviously, a discussion has to be conducted in conditions that guarantee all political forces the opportunity to freely defend their views.

We reaffirm our Party's policy. It is essential, without delay, to begin talks with the liberation movements in order to end the war and recognize the State of Guinea-Bissau and the right of Mozambique and Angola to immediate and complete independence. The policy of preserving Portuguese colonial domination in new forms would not only not put an end to the war, but would inevitably lead

to a new and dramatic sharpening of the economic, social and political situation in Portugal.

Question: What is the political development of Portugal likely to be?

Answer: For the first time in many decades of fascist rule we declare that the Portuguese people can, in a short space of time, completely finish with the dictatorship and establish a democratic regime.

At the same time, we stress that this objective can be achieved only if there is a firm unity of democratic forces due to the struggle of the popular masses and the formation of an alliance of popular forces and democratic military. It is essential to develop, enlarge and make irreversible the process of fraternization, the growth of solidarity, and the strengthening of the militant alliance of the people and the armed forces in the struggle to establish a democratic regime.

We regard as equally dangerous Right-wing opportunism, which espouses a wait-and-see policy and rejection of the basic aims of the democratic movement, and Left adventurism, which can very easily open the way to repression and obstruct the formation of an alliance between the people and the armed forces and the democratization of political life.

THE NEXT MONTHS WILL DETERMINE PORTUGAL'S FUTURE FOR MANY YEARS TO COME

The fascist government has been overthrown. The first, fundamental, positive steps have been taken. But the regime has not yet been completely destroyed. Not all freedoms have as yet been re-established. Fascists still hold strong positions in the state apparatus and economic management bodies. The danger of a counter-revolution exists. We must avoid the government formed in the wake of the April 25 revolt becoming a military dictatorship. A tough political struggle will be needed to consolidate the results achieved in the last few days, completely liquidate fascism and establish a democratic regime. For victory to be assured, it is necessary to expand the organized forces of the democratic and popular movement swiftly and a hundredfold.

In the near future (and when I speak of "near," I do not mean weeks, but the next days and hours) the minimum demands must be fulfilled, such as full freedom of action for the democratic movement with the preservation of its present structure, full freedom of action for the trade union movement, students' associations, the movement of young workers, the women's movement and all other democratic movements which, despite repression, continued their activities and achieved legalization even under the Caetano government.

However, this is only the first step. For free elections to take place, not only must a democratic electoral law be passed, but the registration of voters conducted under popular control, the elections supervised and genuine democratic rights established, in particular, freedom for political parties. This is the main task.

We emphasize the danger of discrimination against the Communists. There can be no freedom in Portugal without legalizing the Communist Party, which for decades has been the main force and initiator of the struggle against the fascist dictatorship, the struggle which cost it sacrifices second to none. Legalization of the Communist Party will be an earnest of the restoration of freedom in Portugal. A democratic Portugal is impossible without the active participation of our Party, the Party of the working people, the great Party of democratic opposition.

After almost a half century of fascist oppression, real prospects of liberation are opening up before the Portuguese people. The next few months will determine Portugal's future for many years to come.

Now, as ever, the Communists devote every fiber of their being to the struggle to achieve the aspiration of the workers and the people at large and to establish a democratic regime which, in the final analysis, will bring our motherland to the road of freedom, peace, independence and social progress.

DIARY OF EVENTS

April 28. — Mario Soares, General Secretary of the Socialist Party of Portugal, returned to Lisbon from exile. He was warmly greeted by thousands of people.

Before leaving Paris, he declared: "Insofar as the Armed Forces Movement intends to restore democracy and put an end to the colonial war, we consider it necessary to give our support to the coup. The Portuguese army is not the Chilean army; we have no reasons not to trust it or doubt its desire to put an end to the dictatorship."

After a meeting with General Antonio de Spínola, leader of the National Salvation Junta, Mario Soares held a press conference at which he stressed the need for Left unity and declared in favor of a civilian government with Communist participation.

April 28. — A delegation of the Portuguese Communist Party consisting of its leading members, Jose Negre, Rogero de Carvalho and Jose Bernardino, was officially introduced at a meeting of the Democratic Election Committee (DEC), a coalition of Left political groupings. The meeting proceeded at once to draw up a joint program of the Left.

April 29. — Following a meeting of its board, the Socialist Party

issued a program statement expressing solidarity with the people's struggle and hailing the Armed Forces Movement.

The Socialist Party set itself the following objectives:

1. An end to the colonial wars with an immediate ceasefire and negotiations with Guinea-Bissau and the Angola and Mozambique liberation movements on the basis of the right to self-determination and independence.
2. Immediate amnesty for all conscientious objectors.
3. Freeing of all political prisoners in the colonies.
4. Early elections to municipal councils on the basis of universal suffrage.
5. Removal from political activity of persons linked with the overthrown regime and their replacement by citizens loyal to the Armed Forces Movement's program.
6. Struggle against monopoly domination, freedom of trade union and student organizations, liquidation of corporatism.
7. Lowering the voting age to 18 and granting the franchise to the Portuguese living abroad.
8. Diplomatic relations with all countries.

The Socialist Party intends to submit this program to its forthcoming congress, which will take decisions on questions of orientation and organization. Prior to the congress the party will launch an extensive membership drive.

The Party declared its intention to continue the policy of sincere and purposeful participation of its members and friends in the democratic movement.

It also reaffirmed its solidarity with all peace forces fighting against imperialism and capitalism.

April 29. — After almost 14 years in exile, Alvaro Cunhal, General Secretary of the Portuguese Communist Party, returned home. At Lisbon Airport he was given a warm welcome by several thousands people, including hundreds of men and officers.

In a brief address to the crowd, Alvaro Cunhal hailed the armed forces and the National Salvation Junta, which opened the way to freedom. Communists, he said, would spare no effort and, if necessary, their lives in the fight for peace, freedom and democratic reforms. The CPC, he said, was prepared to cooperate with the army and assume its share of responsibility.

Cunhal's arrival and speech were transmitted over the radio and television networks.

Soon after his arrival, Alvaro Cunhal had a meeting with Socialist Party General Secretary Mario Soares.

April 29. — The National Salvation Junta issued a number of decrees. By one, former President Thomaz and Prime Minister

Caetano (who had earlier been flown to Madeira) were officially stripped of their powers together with the members of their government. The old National Assembly and State Council were dissolved, with full legislative and executive power taken over by the NSJ. By another decree, the NSJ set up the post of its representatives in all ministries and government offices until the new government is formed. All civilian governors of districts were also removed and, pending the appointment of new governors, their duties have been delegated by the NSJ to the secretaries of the district administrations.

Decrees were also issued removing the military governor-generals of Mazambique and Angola, their functions temporarily to be performed by the "general secretaries" of these territories.

The same day the NSJ announced the dissolution of the former government party, the National Popular Action, and an amnesty for all political prisoners.

May Day was declared a national holiday.

April 29. — Representatives of the Portuguese Democratic Movement (PDM) consisting of the Communist Party, the Socialist Party and the Christian Democrats, visited General Spínola to hand him a memorandum calling for measures to set up a democratic regime in the country, immediately form a civilian provisional government with the participation of PDM representatives, and guarantee the free activity of political parties.

They also called for an immediate end to the three colonial wars, recognition of the state of Guinea-Bissau and early talks with FRELIMO and MPLA with the aim of granting Mozambique and Angola full independence.

Stating the NSJ point of view, General Spínola declared that he agreed with the principle of self-determination for Portugal's African colonies, but went on to claim that their peoples had not yet matured for independence.

The PDM representatives took issue with Spínola, stressing that the African peoples were prepared to decide their future.

30 April. — The NSJ declared an amnesty for all political exiles forced to leave the country to escape fascist repressions. All such persons can now return home.

Simultaneously, the special political tribunals active under the old regime have been disbanded. All fascist university and college rectors have been fired, and the forthcoming trial of former secret police agents guilty of crimes has been announced.

The retirement has also been announced of 24 generals and officers in high positions under the Caetano regime.

The same day General Spínola had a two-hour talk with a Com-

munist Party delegation headed by Alvaro Cunhal. He also met with Mario Soares and trade union leaders.

May Day was celebrated throughout the country by mass demonstrations and meetings.

In Lisbon, hundreds of thousands of demonstrators carried red banners, sang revolutionary songs and chanted democratic slogans. Communists, Socialists and Catholics marched together. Government employees and students marched side by side with soldiers and sailors wearing red carnations, a symbol of victory, in their lapels.

The demonstrators, numbering nearly half a million, gathered for a rally in a city stadium which had been renamed the May Day Stadium.

Alvaro Cunhal, General Secretary of the Communist Party, said at the rally that the working class, all democrats and representatives of the armed forces, the entire Portuguese people were determined to wipe out fascism, put an end to the colonial war, and establish a democratic regime in Portugal. He pointed to the danger of counter-revolution, adding that effective measures were needed to prevent the resurgence of fascism. In order to ensure final victory, said Cunhal, it was necessary, first, to achieve unity between Communists and Socialists, unity with Catholics and Liberals, and an organized movement of the working class and popular masses. He called on the people to unite around the democratic movement and progressive political parties. "We must do everything," Cunhal said, "to strengthen unity and cooperation between the people and the Armed Forces Movement."

Mario Soares, General Secretary of the Socialist Party, welcomed the victory of the Portuguese people, the unity of trade unions, the armed forces, and the Communist Party. He demanded the arrest and trial of the fascist leaders. Fascism is destroyed, but its social basis remains, Soares stressed. The Socialist Party general secretary called for severing diplomatic relations with the Chilean junta. He also called for rallying the democratic forces and for setting up a government of national unity with the participation of the working-class parties.

Trade union leaders also addressed the rally. Delegations from the World Federation of Trade Unions and the French General Confederation of Labor were present.

The May Day celebration was well organized and there were no incidents.

Major Fernandes of the National Salvation Junta hailed the greatest demonstration ever in the history of the country. He declared in particular that "the army is proud of the working class, which expressed the will of the entire people."

On May Day the first legal issue of "Avante," Communist Party paper, appeared. The paper will come out once a week.

A resolution of the latest Plenum of the CC PCP was published on May 5. It says that the PCP welcomes the Armed Forces Movement which, after the overthrow of the fascist regime, acted in a positive fashion jointly with the popular masses.

Recognizing the decisive role of the Armed Forces Movement in changing the situation in Portugal, the PCP considers that the continuation of this Movement, at any rate until the elections to a Constituent Assembly take place, is one of the key conditions for consolidating and extending the results achieved.

The CC PCP confirmed the attitude taken by its executive bodies toward the setting up of a provisional government. Participation by all parties and all representative democratic forces (including the PCP) would be an earnest of orderly and free elections.

Discrimination against the PCP, the largest anti-fascist Party, would militate against the democratization of political life in the country.

United action and organization of the working people with the armed forces is one of the main conditions for doing away with all vestiges of fascism, barring the road to counter-revolution, consolidating the results achieved on April 25 and in the following days, and, lastly, establishing a democratic regime.

The PCP emphatically asserts that the ties of cooperation and mutual assistance between the popular masses and the armed forces are multiplying in all spheres and at all levels and that the cooperation which in many ways already exists between the democratic forces and the Armed Forces Movement, must be strengthened. This also applies to the fraternization of the people with the officers, soldiers and sailors. The final victory of democracy in Portugal depends on the strength and stability of this alliance.

The PCP warns of the real danger of the fascists resorting to plots, provocation and counter-revolutionary activities and also of the attempts by big business to create serious difficulties in the economy, finances and supplies.

Right-wing opportunism, with its tendency to divert attention from the basic aims of the democratic movement is dangerous, too. The same applies to left-wing radicalism which ignores the present alignment of forces in the army.

Fully conscious of its responsibility, the PCP condemns activities which have no basis and are not appropriate under the present alignment of forces. For instance, with the exception of a few cases, the occupation of municipal council chambers was not a good thing. On the contrary, actions of this kind are creating serious difficulties for the democratization of the administrative apparatus and of public life in general.

The PCP, the party of the working class, will continue to play an important part. The PCP activities are based on its organized strength and long influence among the people, which was demonstrated on May Day.

During the past few days many brother parties, progressive organizations and leaders have sent the Portuguese Communist Party and the Socialist Party messages of greeting. For instance, on May 3, the Secretariat of the French Communist Party sent a message of greetings to the CC PCP on behalf of the working class and all democrats of France, welcoming the Portuguese people's victory over the fascist dictatorship.

This hated regime, says the message, collapsed under the pressure of democratic forces. Despite savage repression, the Portuguese Communists were always in the vanguard of the struggle for freedom and social progress and for ending the colonial wars in Mozambique, Angola and Guinea-Bissau. The message emphasizes that the Portuguese Communist Party is an important component of the broad and united democratic movement in the country.

Information about future events in Portugal and the situation in Guinea-Bissau, Angola and Mozambique will appear in the next issues of this Bulletin.—Ed.

13th CONGRESS OF AKEL

The 13th Congress of the Progressive Party of the Working People of Cyprus (AKEL) was held in Nicosia from April 25-28, 1974.

About 900 delegates and representatives from 400 Party organizations took part, as well as delegations from 16 Communist and Workers' parties of other countries, including a delegation from the Soviet Communist Party. Greetings were received from many other fraternal parties and progressive organizations.

Ezekias Papaioannou, General Secretary of AKEL, presented the main report on the activities of the CC and Central Auditing Commission over the previous four years.

G. Savidis, Chairman of the Central Auditing Commission, reported on the carrying out of the 12th Congress decisions and on the organizational and political strengthening of the Party. Fifty-eight delegates took part in the discussion on the main report.

All speakers approved the policy and work of the CC and the analysis of the situation in the country and the Party's tasks as outlined in the report.

The Congress adopted a special resolution on the presence of British military bases in Cyprus and their use by U.S. Marines. It demanded the immediate withdrawal of the U.S. Marines who landed there on the pretext of helping to clear the Suez Canal, and emphatically protested against the maintenance of "sovereign" British bases and the presence of foreign troops in Cyprus under the unequal treaties imposed on the Cypriot people and restricting their independence and sovereign rights.

In another special resolution the Congress reaffirmed AKEL support for the policy of the government headed by President Makarios. This policy, the resolution points out, is backed by the majority of the Cypriots and is aimed at a peaceful, democratic solution of the Cyprus problem. The congress welcomed the measures announced by the President to suppress the armed underground,* and expressed the conviction that a consistent implementation of these measures coupled with the all-round support of the people would help to restore law and order.

An enthusiastic welcome was given by the delegates to the greet-

*The illegal terrorist organization EOKA-2 ignored President Makarios' call to cease its criminal activities. Accordingly, the President announced, on the eve of the AKEL Congress, a government decision on measures to put an end to terrorist activities.—Ed.

ings sent by the CC of the Communist Party of Greece, which in the grim conditions of illegality continues the struggle against the military dictatorship. In a special resolution on solidarity with the struggle of the Greek people the congress decisively condemned the terror and repression in Greece and also the aid given to the Athens rulers by U.S. imperialism. The delegates assured the Greek Communists and other progressive forces of their full support.

The congress passed a resolution on solidarity with the Arab peoples in which it expressed support for the struggle of the Arab states for complete liberation of the territories seized by Israel, and for restoration of the lawful rights of the Arab people of Palestine. The resolution welcomed the decisive contribution made by the Soviet Union and other socialist countries to combating the Zionist and imperialist plot against the Arab peoples and to the struggle for a just peace in the Middle East.

There was also unanimous support for a special resolution severely condemning the fascist coup in Chile. The congress expressed the fraternal solidarity of AKEL and the entire Cypriot people with the victims of the fascist terror and demanded an end to the persecution of patriots, the restoration of the democratic rights of the Chilean people, and the immediate release of Luis Corvalan, General Secretary of the Communist Party of Chile, and all other fighters for democracy.

Summing up the discussion, Ezekias Papaioannou noted that the congress had demonstrated the complete unity of the Party around its Central Committee. The congress, he said, was an important factor in saving Cyprus from the plotting of internal and external reaction.

The General Secretary said that AKEL would always uphold the unity of the international Communist and workers' movement, based on Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism.

The 13th Congress urged the Cypriot people to unite around President Makarios and to strengthen patriotic unity for a democratic, non-aligned, territorially integral, genuinely independent and demilitarized Cyprus.

A political resolution adopted by the congress points out that the present world political situation is characterized by a decisive turn toward détente and cooperation, particular credit for which rests on the Soviet Union. The 13th Congress, the resolution stresses, believes in the Leninist principles of peaceful coexistence and expresses the conviction that despite all intrigues of adventurist militarist circles of imperialism and all difficulties, these principles will finally become the main standard of international relations. The conviction is founded on the fact that the alignment of world forces is chang-

ing decisively in favor of socialism, peace and democracy, national independence and progress.

The congress elected a Secretariat, and re-elected Ezekias Papaioannou as its General Secretary, and Andreas Fantis as his deputy.

Below we give the concluding part of the main report in which the Party's immediate tasks are outlined.

TASKS

The 13th Congress of our Party is called at a difficult and unstable phase of the Cyprus problem. While the inter-communal talks are still continuing without any definite outcome, attempts are being made to torpedo and replace them by direct talks between Greece and Turkey. The dangers of such a development are really considerable.

The imperialist conspiracy which lies at the root of all the evils besetting the Cypriot people, after utilizing blackmail and other means to undermine our people's resistance, is now endeavoring to weaken the Cyprus Front from within. It is clear that no matter how hard the Grivas terroristic activities are described as serving nationalist interests, in reality they are in the interests of the enemies of Cyprus.

The people of Cyprus, in their overwhelming majority, are solidly behind President Makarios in support of a peaceful solution of the Cyprus problem by their own efforts, without foreign interventions. They maintain an unshakable faith in their own power and offer vigorous resistance to all the evil plans of their enemies.

In these conditions of intensified imperialist conspiracy against Cyprus, on the one hand, and the developing determined resistance of the people and the government, on the other, against a background of international détente and peaceful cooperation, we are called upon to carry out certain fundamental and immediate tasks on which the future of Cyprus and its people depend.

1. FOR THE PEACEFUL SOLUTION OF THE CYPRUS PROBLEM, FOR A UNITED, INDEPENDENT, TERRITORIALLY INTEGRAL DEMOCRATIC, NON-ALIGNED, DEMILITARIZED CYPRUS

The best, permanent solution of the Cyprus problem will originate from the free expression of the will of the people, by the implementation of the principle of self-determination. This has been advocated by our Party as the most democratic and fair solution.

Objective reality, however, does not permit this solution, for the Turkish-Cypriot and Turkish sides not only object to it in prin-

ciple, but insist that, in such circumstances, Cyprus should be partitioned, each part given to Greece and Turkey respectively.

Under the existing conditions the best possible solution offered is for a united, independent, sovereign and territorially integral Cyprus. This solution can be achieved through inter-communal talks within the terms of reference set down by the United Nations.

The correct, objective appraisal of what has been achieved by the inter-communal talks is that there has been a measure of progress, with agreement on a great many points, but there are still a number of issues on which there are still differences.

The primary duty of our Party is to work hard to make the people aware of the fact that the Cyprus solution must be a peaceful one, based on inter-communal talks.

Secondly that the inter-communal talks should be continued in a spirit of mutual goodwill until they succeed.

Thirdly, to prevent the deviation of the Greece-Turkey dialogue beyond that of the UNO.

Fourthly, our target will still be the united, independent, territorially integral state.

2. FOR THE DEFEAT OF THE IMPERIALIST CONSPIRACY AND SUBVERSIVE TERRORIST ACTIVITY. FOR THE RESTORATION OF DEMOCRACY AND NORMALITY

After the failure of the repeated pressures and threats of foreign intervention, the imperialist conspiracy against Cyprus turned its attention to undermining the Cypriot Resistance Front from within. The repeated attempts to assassinate President Makarios, the kidnapping and murder of his supporters, the bombing raids on police stations and the seizure of arms and ammunition belonging to the state, as well as the terrorization of the people are intended to pave the way for a coup and overthrow of the legal government of Cyprus and the accession to power of the puppets of imperialism and other enemies of Cyprus.

The criminal, armed activity of the Grivas bands has already resulted in much material and political damage to Cyprus. It has encouraged the intransigence of the reactionary Turkish-Cypriot leadership and, in essence, undermined the inter-communal talks. The Grivas armed terrorist activity consciously or unconsciously promotes the partition of Cyprus between Greece and Turkey, while trying to camouflage its aim under the slogan of Enosis.

The immediate duty of our party and all the patriotic forces of the people is to crush terrorism and violence and restore democracy and normality. This can be achieved: (a) by supporting the lawful forces of the state by all means, other than measures of vengeance,

which damage the cause of the state and the people; (b) by reinforcing the regular police; (c) by exposing terrorist intentions so that the entire people become aware of the aims and objectives of the elements responsible for abnormality and subversion; (d) by increasing the vigilance of the state and the people and working out a complete plan of action to thwart any attack on the President and the state. In any such plan, the role of the people, in cooperation with the security forces, will be decisive.

The final defeat of subversive terrorist activities is an essential condition for the victory of the liberation struggle and successful outcome of the inter-communal talks.

AKEL and the forces of the Left will offer to the state their utmost, will do all in their power to aid the state to frustrate the imperialist conspiracy and ensure a normal and democratic climate so decisive in the struggle for the country's liberation.

3. FOR UNDERSTANDING AND COOPERATION BETWEEN GREEK AND TURKISH CYPRIOTS

The preservation of peace between the Greeks and Turks of Cyprus in the last four years is a positive element in the relations between the two communities. While applauding and stressing this element, it is a fact that the walls of hatred and mistrust have not yet been demolished, and there are still "cantons" which the Greek Cypriots are not allowed to enter, while the Turks may go anywhere they choose. This, naturally, does not promote the spirit of friendship and cooperation of Greek and Turkish Cypriots.

Owing to the policy of isolation and separation pursued by the Turkish leadership, the Turkish community has been, in fact cut off from economic development and faces economic backwardness and chronic slump.

The chauvinist "Turk to Turk" policy has meant that some manipulators in the Turkish-Cypriot community have made fortunes, while the large mass of Turkish Cypriots continues to suffer and there is a scarcity of many essential goods.

The repressive, terrorist regime imposed on the Turkish community aims at protecting the interests of a handful of cunning exploiters at the expense of the Turkish-Cypriot workers.

In these conditions we have the imperative duty to adopt measures that will do away with the suspicion and hatred prevailing between the two communities, and to create an atmosphere of mutual trust between them.

The basic requirements for this are:

(a) The government of Cyprus and the Greek-Cypriot side, in general, should introduce practical and bold measures to bring about a rapprochement between the Greek and Turkish communities.

(b) A positive approach to the resettlement of refugees, allocations for Turkish Cypriot Education, measures for irrigation and water supply, disposal of agricultural produce, re-establishment of employees in state corporations and social insurance, etc., could win broad masses of Turkish Cypriots from a chauvinist separatist policy to one of friendship and cooperation with the Greek Cypriots.

(c) The close cooperation of Greek-Cypriot professional and other organizations with their Turkish-Cypriot counterparts, on the vital issues of everyday life, will benefit both sides.

(d) The policy of isolation and separation cultivated by the Turkish-Cypriot leadership responsible for the plight of the masses in the Turkish sector, could be substituted by the development of cooperation and mutual understanding in all aspects of life.

Such a policy will create a favorable climate for the successful outcome of the inter-communal talks in an atmosphere of mutual trust and will contribute to the raising of the living and cultural standards of the Turkish-Cypriot working class, simultaneously strengthening the democratic forces among the Turkish-Cypriots.

Members of AKEL, who even in the darkest hours fought for peaceful coexistence and Greco-Turkish rapprochement, will intensify their work of enlightenment and will do their utmost to contribute to overcoming the obstacles blocking the way to true comradeship of Greek and Turkish Cypriots.

4. FOR THE UNITY OF ALL PATRIOTIC FORCES IN THE STRUGGLE FOR THE SALVATION OF CYPRUS, REAL INDEPENDENCE AND SOCIAL PROGRESS

The immense value and power of patriotic unity were repeatedly shown in our people's long and hard struggle for freedom. Nobody can doubt the decisive importance of unity on our home front.

AKEL will continue to be the standard-bearer of patriotic unification of the people with President Makarios at the helm of the state.

In Cyprus there is no organized form of a unified, anti-imperialistic front based on a minimum program. However, there is a broad de facto front, based on the declared and popularly endorsed line for a united, independent, sovereign and territorially integral Cyprus. President Makarios is the focal point of this broad National Front and this is why he is the target of the imperialist conspiracy and murderous terrorist activity.

The unity of the people arouses the deadly hatred of imperialists, of the Grivas circles who are undermining the internal front, of the Turkish chauvinists and in general of those who wish Cyprus harm. This is because unity destroys all the plots and attack of the enemies of Cyprus and their stooges.

Patriotic unity is essential for the successful struggle for a united, independent and sovereign Cyprus. The primary task of our Party, therefore, is to maintain and intensify popular unity.

Secondly, by utilizing to the full the valuable experience gained in the struggle for building the patriotic unity of the people, and by resolutely stamping out every trace of sectarianism, our Party must make patriotic popular unity an unassailable fortress of effective struggle not only on the issues of everyday life but also of the salvation and complete independence and progress of Cyprus.

5. FOR ENDING INFLATION. FOR AN AFFLUENT CYPRUS. FOR A FAIRER DISTRIBUTION AND RE-DISTRIBUTION OF THE NATIONAL INCOME

The developing international capitalist crisis of rising prices and inflationary pressures, worsened by the energy crisis, has adversely affected our economy. Our imports exceed our exports, and therefore, we are also affected by rising prices. In addition, the 1972-73 drought resulted in pushing up the prices of locally produced goods. This combination of foreign and local factors has created inflationary pressures in Cyprus. The workers' standard of living will be first and hardest hit as a result.

Hence the need for anti-inflationary measures to safeguard the workers' standard of living and the economy of Cyprus in general.

In more concrete terms, the following measures are, therefore, indicated:

(a) The imposition of controls on the prices of imported necessities, as well as on existing stocks in order to prevent and punish profiteering at the expense of the consumers.

(b) The imposition of controls on land sales, again in order to prevent and punish profiteering in the sale of land.

(c) Heavy taxation on super-profits coupled with control of profits in order to prevent and do away with the exploitation of the public.

(d) The imposition of controls on both housing and business rents, which contribute to the acceleration of inflation and the worsening of the position of the poorer strata of the population.

(e) Availability of loans and other facilities for productive development which will contribute to an increase of output, coupled with limiting expenses in the non-productive sectors.

(f) Taxation to be readjusted in general, and income tax, in particular, so that the lower income groups are relieved of taxes and more of the burden is put on to the higher income groups and excessive profits.

(g) In connection with the above, all salary and wage increases could be tied to the increase of the country's national products.

In the longer term, there must be adequate planning followed by the introduction of a comprehensive national health scheme and the extension of free secondary education.

Special attention to be paid to the solution of the problem of housing for the workers, especially for the poorer section.

The provisions of the tripartite agreement between government, employers and trade unions must be implemented, which will contribute to restraining inflation.

Our Party, fully aware of its responsibilities, will do its best in the struggle to restrain inflationary pressures, to safeguard the workers' standard of living and, within the framework of present economic conditions, to achieve a fairer distribution and re-distribution of the national income. Our Party proposes a common front of all workers in the fight to face the problems of the developing economic crisis and slump, and to safeguard the living standards of the people.

6. FOR THE FURTHER STRENGTHENING OF THE POPULAR MOVEMENT

The mass popular movement, represented by the trade and professional organizations, is a great achievement of the workers and a strong basis for the conduct of the national liberation struggle of the people of Cyprus.

Our Party is, indeed, proud to have contributed to the establishment and development of the people's mass organizations, which through organized struggle effectively fight for their members' demands, safeguard their achievements and raise the living and cultural standards of the people.

The assistance provided daily by the popular mass movement and its organizations to the workers and the people in general is invaluable. As a result, they have the confidence of the workers who look to them for support and defense of their interests.

Members of AKEL must now work hard to strengthen these organizations still further.

Our Party, through its trade union members at factories, will wholeheartedly contribute to strengthening unity of the workers, stimulating interest among non-unionists, and solving the serious economic and social problems of the working people in general.

Party members engaged in agriculture will work wholeheartedly to influence the peasantry toward a solution of the agrarian problem and building an alliance of workers and peasants.

Our Party will continue and intensify its positive activity for the further development of the cooperative movement in all sectors of economic life to the benefit of the people of Cyprus.

Those of our members who belong to the free professions, artisans and shopkeepers, will develop even greater activity among their colleagues.

Our Party, even more decisively than ever before, will fight all existing prejudices, and do everything possible to help and support the women's movement. Thus more and more women will join trade union and professional organizations and so increase their active role in the cultural and social aspects of life. Our Party will develop its activity in all directions in order to attract women to the side of the progressive democratic forces, fighting for peace and social progress.

Our Party will study with care the problems of university graduates and intellectuals, contributing to the solution of these problems and assisting, to the best of its ability, in winning them to the side of progress, unity and democratic struggle in the service of the people and its cause.

Our Party, which rightly considers the young people as the bright hope of the future, will increase its concern and assistance to the youth movement.

Our Party will wholeheartedly contribute to the development of the peace movement in Cyprus so that Cyprus can play its positive role in the international struggle for détente and peaceful cooperation.

Our Party will increase its concern for the young at school and do its best to assist them.

Our Party will also contribute to the cultivation of real sportsmanship and the athletic ideals as well as to the improvement of facilities in this vital sector.

7. FOR INTERNATIONAL DETENTE, THE ABOLITION OF IMPERIALIST BASES AND MAKING CYPRUS A FOCUS OF PEACE, FRIENDSHIP AND COOPERATION AMONG PEOPLE

Our Party notes with satisfaction the decisive turn away from international tension and confrontation toward international détente and cooperation.

This historically significant change in international relations, which will lead to the termination of the cold war and the universal recognition of the principle of peaceful coexistence in relations between countries of different social systems, will benefit all peoples, especially those fighting for national liberation and social progress.

This historic turn toward détente and peaceful coexistence has come about thanks to the new balance of forces which took shape after World War II with the development of the world socialist system, the collapse of colonialism, the failure of the cold war and

imperialist adventures, and the rise of the anti-imperialist forces throughout the world.

The recent outbreak of war in the Middle East is a cruel reminder of the fact that imperialist, war-mongering forces are at work, reacting against international détente and peaceful cooperation. Nevertheless the forces supporting international détente and cooperation are far more powerful and will finally win.

Our Party pays particular attention and will contribute, to the best of its ability, to the development of international solidarity and unity of action of the world anti-imperialist camp, which is, today, the decisive factor for the final victory of the peoples fighting for peace, national independence and social progress.

AKEL's primary duty is to continue working for the development of many-sided cooperation and close friendly relations between Cyprus and the socialist and non-aligned countries, as this reinforces the international status, independent development and progress of Cyprus.

Secondly, it will fight for the abolition of military bases and espionage centers and the removal of all foreign troops stationed in Cyprus, so that our island can become a bridgehead of peace and cooperation among the peoples of the area.

A basic duty of all members of AKEL and all Cypriot patriots is to be able to combine our liberation struggle with the struggle for the abolition of military bases and the removal of all foreign troops from Cyprus.

Cyprus can play a constructive role in the peaceful solution of the Middle East problem, on the basis of the Security Council resolution, in its capacity as a center of peace, friendship, mutual understanding and cooperation of all the peoples of the area.

8. FOR THE COMPLETION OF THE TURN IN OUR ORGANIZATION POLICY AND IDEOLOGICAL WORK. FOR A MORE MASSIVE, MILITANT, BETTER ORGANIZED PARTY OF THE WORKING PEOPLE

Our Party is a considerable political force enjoying wide influence among the people. Quite rightly, the people of Cyprus expect much of our Party because they see in it the most serious, most consistent, most experienced political force in the country.

In order to be able to meet these expectations and the high demands made by the people, our Party has to continue to work for a rapid turn in its organizational policy and its ideological work and action. It has to put to practice and vitalize its duties as defined by the Pancyprian Organizational Conference of our Party. It must:

Improve the work of the Party nucleus so as to make it attractive to the members and contribute to the raising of their educational

and ideological standards; turn the nucleus into a lively, active mechanism able to deal with the political, economic and other problems of the people and organize the mobilization that will help in their solution;

Improve all the high-ranking leading organizations in order to enable them to become even more efficient and ensure the best possible results in Party work;

Spread the Party even further among the masses and let it acquire roots everywhere, especially where the people work, in factory, workshop, in the village and neighborhood;

Implement with even greater persistence and seriousness the policy of getting the right people to work for the Party, by paying more attention to promising people, noted for their loyalty and devotion to the working class and the cause of socialism; greater attention should be paid to selecting university educated Party workers who can greatly assist the Party;

Uproot with even greater determination all traces of sectarianism, bureaucracy or opportunism that may exist in our work by using the tried methods of criticism and self-criticism;

Safeguard and even strengthen the unity and solidarity of our Party and its leadership on the basis of the principles of collective leadership and democratic centralism;

Eliminate any underestimation we may still have for theoretical education of our Party workers and implement a comprehensive program of providing our party workers with the necessary theoretical tools which they need in order to become even more efficient and productive in their jobs;

Develop to the highest degree our work of enlightening the broad masses of the people through meetings, leaflets, brochures and, especially, by the increase of the circulation of the newspaper *Haravghi* and the other publications of the Party and the people's movement.

In order to complete the turn in our organizational policy and ideological activities, it is imperative to work with greater intensity and simultaneously make the work more in keeping with our modern times, the age of the scientific-technological revolution.

Comrades,

The 13th Congress of our Party will be an important milestone in the struggle of our people for the salvation of Cyprus, for unity, independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity.

The message of our Congress to the people of Cyprus will be one of optimism, a message of faith to the popular forces and victory.

AKEL, the party of the working class of Cyprus, will carry out all its tasks to the full, its tasks which emanate from the struggle of our people for the salvation of Cyprus, for liberty and happiness in the future.

RESOLUTION OF NINTH CONGRESS OF CP GREECE ON CC REPORT

Following is the abridged text of the resolution published in the February issue of "Information Bulletin" of the CC Communist Party of Greece (CPG) together with other documents of the Ninth Congress.

I

Having extensively discussed the Report of the Central Committee, the Ninth Congress of the Communist Party of Greece unanimously approves it.

II

The Ninth Congress draws the conclusions and sets the tasks which follow.

INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT SINCE THE EIGHTH PARTY CONGRESS

Considerable changes have come about in the world since the Eighth Congress of the CPG (1961). Basically, they consist in the further progress made by the forces of socialism, peace and national independence to the detriment of the forces of imperialism, national oppression and reaction. Life has confirmed that the world socialist system, the international working class, and revolutionary forces generally, determine the principal development trend of mankind. The recent period has seen a turn in international relations toward a gradual transition from cold war to détente and to acceptance of the principles of peaceful coexistence. This is due in decisive measure to the Leninist peace policy based on the Peace Program of the 24th Congress of the CPSU, a policy which the Soviet Union has been steadfastly following in common with other socialist countries and with the support of all peace forces.

These changes are favorable to the people's fight for peace, national independence, democracy and socialism.

The nature of imperialism has not changed. Now as in the past, imperialism is a dangerous enemy of the peoples. Coming up against serious difficulties and losing one position after another, imperialism, first of all U.S. imperialism, tries to check the advance of the forces of progress and regain its lost positions. Imperialism does its utmost to maintain and extend its positions in various parts of the globe with the aid of the blackest reaction, as it did first in Greece and then, last year, in Chile, where it brought military fascist regimes to

power and supports them. Vigilance is a permanent necessity.

The change in the alignment of forces is due to the development and activity of the world socialist system, with the Soviet Union leading, in every sphere — economic, political, social and military.

In capitalist countries, on the other hand, the general crisis of capitalism is going deeper and there are growing signs of a recession and of instability.

The high cost of living and the attack on the working people's standard of life and on democratic liberties lead to an uptrend in the class struggle of the workers and other segments of the population against monopoly and state. The multinational monopolies' predatory activity makes it even more imperative to coordinate the struggle of the working class of various capitalist countries against monopoly and reaction, for peace and progress.

Situated at the crossroads of two worlds, in the heart of the Eastern Mediterranean and next door to Arab and African peoples, Greece holds an important place in the aggressive system of U.S. imperialism and NATO. Our country has been converted into a nuclear base of U.S. imperialism with the active aid of domestic reaction. The junta clique now in power is planning further concessions. The dangers which this fact presents to our country cause concern to both the people and non-Leftist political circles. Anti-U.S. and anti-junta sentiment is growing among the Greek people.

The intensive transformation of Greece into an anti-Soviet and anti-Arab bridgehead clashes with the socialist countries' policy of détente and good-neighborliness and runs counter to the aspirations of the peoples of the Balkans and the Mediterranean. The new international climate which is setting in and the socialist countries' effort for peaceful cooperation compel the dictatorship to revise its policy. It professes to favor détente, signs economic agreements with socialist countries and talks about neutrality in the Middle East war. Yet its policy is designed to further U.S. and NATO plans against Arab peoples, the Soviet Union and other socialist countries. The Greek people's interests require cooperation with Balkan countries, the transformation of the Balkans and the Mediterranean into a peace zone and the adoption by Greece of a policy of active neutrality.

Our Party remains loyal to the principles of proletarian internationalism. It welcomed the Warsaw Treaty countries' fraternal aid to the Czechoslovak people. The CPG attended the 1969 Meeting in Moscow which played an important role in uniting Communist and Workers' parties, as well as in international and European conferences of brother parties, such as the 1967 Conference in Karlovy Vary, and had numerous bilateral and multilateral meetings with brother parties.

The CPG rejects Right opportunist concepts which refuse to con-

sider peaceful coexistence a form of class struggle and betray the banner of anti-imperialist struggle. These concepts tend toward undermining the popular movement from anti-Soviet positions. The Party rejects the anti-internationalist theses of the revisionist group active in Greece. It condemns the hegemonist, chauvinist, anti-Soviet line and activity of the Maoist leadership, which has abandoned Marxism-Leninism, and the Maoists' subversive policy in Greece and the Mediterranean.

The CPG continues to strengthen the bonds linking it with the international Communist movement, the CPSU and other fraternal parties. Congress approves the activity and participation of the CPG in the conference of Communist and Workers' parties of capitalist Europe. It shares the brother parties' opinion that conditions are maturing for a world Meeting of Communist and Workers' parties and instructs the Central Committee to go on studying the matter.

Our party strives for a policy of détente and European security, for peace and national independence, for the removal of the U.S. military bases from Greek territory, against the neo-Atlantic plan of the United States. It declares for the definitive settlement of the Arab-Israeli conflict in the Middle East according to the Security Council resolutions of 1967 and later years. The CPG backs the Cypriot people's fight for the independence and territorial integrity of the Cyprus Republic. It declares for coordinating the European peoples' struggle to eliminate the fascist regimes in Spain, Portugal and Greece. The Party is opposed to the Europe of monopolies and advocates a Europe of the peoples.

THE FIGHT FOR DEMOCRACY IN 1961-1967

In accordance with the decisions of its Eighth Congress, which defined the strategic objective of the democratic and anti-imperialist revolution and described the struggle to overthrow the Rightist government under Karamanlis and his police regime as the immediate task, the CPG strove to pave the way for a turn in the country's development toward democracy.

In 1961, immediately after the Eighth Party Congress, reactionary Right-wing forces, taking advantage of the disunity of democratic forces, carried out an electoral coup with the aid of the state apparatus, semi-official agencies and U.S. secret services. The Central Committee fought against the views expressed by some Leftists, who alleged that the coup had run the country into an "impasse" and that the Americans were "omnipotent." It called for struggle to win the working people's immediate demands and eliminate the efforts of the electoral coup. The struggle was led by our Party and the EDA (United Democratic Left. - *Ed.*). The working-class and democratic movement marked a visible uptrend, especially after mid-1962, and culminated in a demonstration of 500,000 people during the funeral

of Grigoris Lambrakis, MP. Nevertheless, the ensuring fall of the Karamanlis government was a result of popular struggle in which the working class, CPG and EDA played a decisive part.

The Right was defeated at the general election in November 1963 and February 1964, as well as in the July 1964 municipal and communal elections.

After the 1964 elections the Central Committee defined the Party's attitude to the Center Union government by advancing a threefold thesis: one, supporting all of the government's constructive measures, two, criticizing all departures from its announced program, and three, organizing the people's fight for their demands.

The more reactionary quarters of the oligarchy, the Right, the palace and the Americans, alarmed by the upsurge in the popular movement and heartened by the Center Union government's policy of concession, began to prepare for an early counter-offensive. The soldiery, the state apparatus and semi-official agencies stepped forward.

This development ended on July 15, 1967 in a palace revolution inspired and backed by the U.S. imperialists. A vast social movement lasting 70 days came out against the coup. The working class and Left-wing forces were in its forefront and it culminated in a political strike on July 27, 1965.

The palace revolution, far from solving economic, political or social problems, complicated and aggravated them. This fact, coupled with Communist and EDA activity, led to a new upswing in the people's struggles, which began by advancing economic demands. In 1966 the number of strikes exceeded 1.5 million and in the first quarter of 1967 it rose to 700,000. At the same time, hundreds of thousands of peasants, handicraftsmen, small employers and scientists joined in the strike movement and organized marches from the provinces to the cities. Protest meetings took place in almost all cities against the threat of unlawful solutions. The Left, which held important positions in the regions and municipalities, launched a serious popular movement for social and democratic demands. The broad democratic movement of youth played an active part in all democratic struggles. The women's democratic movement expanded.

In these conditions extreme reactionaries, pro-dictatorial Rightists, the military and the palace, backed by the Americans and NATO, set out to establish an outspoken fascist dictatorship.

Late in January 1966 the CC Political Bureau pointed in a communique to the danger of a military dictatorship, and somewhat later it supported the EDA's five points calling on all parties to "emphatically condemn and resist the threat of dictatorship."

However, the Political Bureau and Central Committee failed to see the extent of the fascist danger and the fact that the danger was specific and imminent although it was knocking on the door, as it

were. They did not prepare the Party and the people to fight against it. Nor did they fully discern the imminent threat posed by the aggressiveness of U.S. imperialism in the Middle East and Mediterranean. The 10th Plenum of the CC (January 1967), by describing preparations for the general election as the chief task while the threat of a coup was imminent, misled the Party and the democratic movement.

The fact that the CPG and EDA, the working class and the people as a whole were unprepared politically, ideologically and organizationally for struggle against the danger of dictatorship, the absence of a vast anti-fascist democratic movement and of CPG organizations that would ensure closer links with the working people and armed forces, and their inability to use every form of struggle, including joint action by the people and army, robbed the working class and other democratic forces of the prerequisites of effective resistance to junta plans and of a genuinely democratic way out of the situation.

Congress, stressing the responsibility of the Political Bureau and Central Committee, also puts on record the subversive role of the leaders of the revisionist group which expressed itself in advocating legality, underestimating extra-parliamentary activity, emasculating the struggle of the working class, tailing behind the Center Union and obstructing the effort to form at least Party groups.

The Center Union leadership's policy of concession and compromise in respect of the Right, the palace and the Americans, its refusal to rid the state apparatus of fascist elements and democratize the trade unions, its stubborn allegiance to the policy of two fronts and to anti-Communism, and its rejection of democratic unity of action tended to disrupt and weaken those forces and made in effect for the success of the coup. Much of the responsibility for this rests with the Center Union.

On April 21, 1967, the colonels' junta, inspired and directed by the Americans, carried out a fascist coup. The working-class and democratic movement sustained a telling reverse.

The mistakes made in 1961-1967 were due to certain theses of the Eighth Congress on which the Party based its activity. While correctly defining the character of the revolution, the program approved by the Congress wrongly described the non-monopoly bourgeoisie of Greece as the "national bourgeoisie" and listed it among the motive forces of the revolution. Thereby it mechanistically transplanted to our country the role which the national bourgeoisie plays in other countries. The mistake resulted in opportunist distortions and in tailing behind the Center Union. The program was wrong in stating that the revolution would be accomplished chiefly by peaceful means. This encouraged legalistic sentiments. Last but not least, the Congress endorsed the decision of the Eighth Plenum (1958) dis-

solving the Party organizations at home, which was a fundamental mistake. Those were all mistakes of a Right liquidationist nature. They misled the movement and prevented it from achieving its strategic goal.

The EDA, founded in 1951 as a bloc of parties, groups and individual leaders, was an expression of the strength and scale which the democratic movement had assumed after the civil war, an expression of the necessity for its legal manifestation. Its formation was an important achievement of the democratic movement. The mistakes listed above had an adverse effect on its character and role—they prevented it from directing the movement on to a revolutionary path. Besides, the EDA virtually became a party which was expected to perform tasks and functions alien to it. In other words, its character was changed and its scope narrowed, with the result that the EDA could not carry its mission through to the end.

THE MILITARY FASCIST DICTATORSHIP AND THE PEOPLE'S FIGHT AGAINST IT

The military fascist coup took the Central Committee and the Party as a whole by surprise. The leading Party center in the country was unable after the establishment of the dictatorship to resume contacts and links so as to organize the Party's forces. Some Communists, mostly members of Party groups, took the initiative of re-establishing the Party's forces and organizing an anti-dictatorial movement.

In spite of the blow they were struck, the Greek people refused to submit to the junta. From the very first day, the CC CPG urged the people to fight jointly against the dictatorship. The CPG, the party of the working class, mustered its forces again and assumed the leadership of the people's fight.

Organized popular resistance developed step by step. On the initiative of cadre members of the CPG and EDA and in accordance with the Party line, the PAM (Patriotic Anti-dictatorial Front.—Ed.) was formed. Popular resistance, passive at first gathered momentum and became more organized as it went on.

In the early years of the dictatorship, the people's resistance was spontaneous.

The junta, using terror, leaning on the subversive activity of its agents in the GSEE (General Confederation of Workers of Greece.—Ed.) for support and making occasional concessions to the working people, succeeded for a time in checking the expansion of the struggle for partial demands.

The peasants, for their part, demonstrated their opposition to the junta. Journalists, scientists and other intellectuals, as well as members of the urban middle strata joined in economic and political struggles.

Along with actions in support of immediate demands, there were markedly political ones, such as the campaign against the 1973 referendum.

Recent years have seen the struggles of working people and students gain in scope and militancy. The students' struggles for their trade union and academic freedoms and for democracy in the spring of 1973, which lasted for three months, were of special importance. They caused the first crack in the dictatorial regime. Afterwards diverse contingents of the working class joined in struggle. A direct cause of these struggles was the deterioration of the working people's condition and they were also due to a certain intensification of the work of the CPG and Communist Youth.

Opposition to the junta was on the rise in the armed forces as well and took an open form in the Navy.

The mass struggle culminated in the revolt which broke out in Athens, Salonika, Patras and other cities in November 1973.

That battle, begun by Athens students who put forward their demands and occupied the premises of the Polytechnic, assumed an anti-dictatorial and anti-U.S. character from the first. The insurgents' main slogans were "bread, education, freedom." "Down with Papadopoulos," "Independence," "Americans out, take Greece out of NATO," "Students and workers united" and "The only leader: a sovereign people." What was new in the revolt was the unity of students and large groups of workers and the population at large (this put its imprint on developments), mass heroism and a high morale. That initial confrontation with the junta, during which many people were killed or wounded and thus became victims of fascist tyranny, opened up new prospects for the people's future victory.

The November events showed how deeply the people hate the junta regime and revealed the depth of the gulf separating the regime and its U.S. patrons from the people. They brought out the people's firm refusal to compromise and their desire for freedom and independence. They exposed the neo-fascist regime's "democratization" as a fraud and blew away the "bridge-builders'" declaration and the theses of the revisionist group's leaders about adapting to the regime.

Lastly, they disclosed the regime's deep crisis, the impasse in which it found itself, and shook it.

Comprehensive analysis of the people's fight under the neo-fascist regime leads to the following conclusions:

(a) The military fascist regime is in a chronic crisis which has lately gone deeper. The Americans had to replace the Papadopoulos group by the Ioannidis-Gizikis-Androutsopoulos group. Despite the tightening of fascist rule and the new difficulties that have arisen, the people's morale remains high. There are new prerequisites of organizing and unifying the anti-dictatorial forces.

(b) The struggle for immediate economic demands, for democratic

and trade union freedoms, can become the starting point and pivot of major class battles leading to a powerful anti-dictatorial movement and the overthrow of the dictatorship.

(c) The struggles that took place made for closer unity of action of the masses. This was shown very clearly by the formation of anti-dictatorial action committees during last year's nationwide actions.

(d) The battles fought to date are indicative of the importance of properly combining legal with illegal activity and using the slightest legal opportunity for mass action, as well as the importance of working to extend these opportunities.

(e) Our Party's organized participation in the mass struggle did not meet requirements in spite of the role which the Party played in the recent events.

The November events showed that the struggle is bound to expand, rise to a higher plane and become more complex. This makes it even more imperative to develop Party organizations in the main fields of struggle, so that their combat preparedness may be equal to the morale of the masses. This is the decisive way to limit the impact of the factor of spontaneity, as well as to frustrate subversion by hostile forces against the people's struggle.

With the same end in view, there must be a closer connection between the organized forces of the Party and the masses, a sound knowledge of the mood of every segment of the population, of people active in any sphere, of the whole people, and an accurate appraisal of the enemy's position and intentions. Every particular movement must be a component of the struggle of the people as a whole and correspond to the degree of preparedness and organization of the working class. It follows that slogans should reflect both specific sentiments and the possibilities of fostering the activity of the broadest masses possible, and should be an expression of both the maturing of these sentiments and the possibility of acting on them.

Greek political exiles abroad and emigrant workers make a valuable moral and material contribution to the fight against the dictatorship.

In carrying on their struggle, the Greek people rely primarily on their own strength. At the same time they derive added strength from the support given them by the socialist countries, especially the Soviet Union, and by other democratic forces of the world. The world Communist and working-class movement extends serious moral and material aid to the Greek people's struggle.

ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT OF THE COUNTRY AND THE WORKING PEOPLE'S CONDITION

Important changes have come about in the Greek economy since the Eighth Party Congress, aggravating the contradictions of Greek society.

Notable changes occurred in the scale and pattern of the economy and in the class composition of the population. The national income increased by 180 per cent, the share of agricultural production in it dropped from 30 to 15.3 per cent, or by almost half, and the share of industry and the "secondary sphere" exceeded that of agriculture by 100 per cent. Most industrial enterprises are small. Industrial production is going through a rapid process of concentration and centralization. A few monopolies control the country's economic life. The share of the working class in society has increased. Changes have also taken place in agriculture, with capitalist methods of exploitation becoming more widespread.

The key industries are, or are being, caught in the meshes of big multinational, primarily U.S., companies, becoming subservient to them. This trend was encouraged by Greece joining the EEC as an associate member. The country's economic dependence on foreign monopolies is greater than ever. Foreign capital tries doggedly to penetrate into the Greek credit system so as to establish its control over the entire economy.

The antagonism between non-monopoly companies, on the one hand, and foreign and domestic monopolies, as well as between domestic and foreign monopolies, is growing.

The growth of state monopoly capitalism and the increasing dependence of Greece have aggravated the traditional contradictions of Greek capitalism and bred new ones. The antagonism between labor and capital, the working people and the monopolies, the monopolies and the non-monopoly sections of the bourgeoisie, town and countryside, center and periphery, has sharpened. The emigration of workers, who constitute a valuable productive force, has increased, resulting in a population decrease.

The balance of payments deficit is met through foreign loans and investments. As a result, the country's steadily mounting foreign debt today stands at \$3,500m. Payments on this debt exceeds \$300m. per year.

Irresistibly growing inflation, a dangerous increase in spending under the budget, and the immense military expenditures which Washington and NATO impose on the Greek people are major causes of rising prices and cost of living. There are growing signs of an economic crisis.

The share of the working class and other working people in the national income is steadily shrinking. Monopoly profits almost trebled from 1967 to 1971 while wages showed a nominal increase of only 45 per cent. Even when the working class wrests a small pay rise, the gain is nullified by high prices. The working people's poverty is growing. This is a direct consequence of the economic policy of the state, which aids the monopolies and, on the other hand, lowers

the working people's standard of life by freezing wages, fixing low prices for agricultural produce, raising taxes, and so on.

The working women's condition has deteriorated still more. The working peasants' standard of life is declining. It is not only small peasants that are ruined but middle peasants as well, with the result that peasants migrate en masse to the cities or leave the country, while agricultural areas become depopulated. The economic condition of the urban middle strata is worsening too.

Nor is life easy for working youth. They are exploited more and more brutally. Apprentices are paid roughly half as much as adult workers. Vocational training is a most acute problem of working youth. Young peasants leave the countryside and the country in great numbers. Higher education is out of the reach of working people's children. The education system is antiquated. Progressive students are persecuted.

THE MILITARY FASCIST DICTATORSHIP AND THE PARTY'S OBJECTIVES AND TACTICS

The regime brought into being by the coup of April 21, 1967 is an outspoken military fascist dictatorship of domestic and foreign, mostly U.S., monopolies.

Hence to fight the dictatorship is also to fight imperialism and Americanocracy. The opinion that the Americans are interested in restoring democracy in Greece is groundless.

With the dictatorship in power, the political forces of the bourgeoisie realigned themselves. The junta serves the interests of big monopolies and the Americans. The traditional bourgeois parties, which continue their policy of subservience to monopoly and imperialism, are opposed mainly to the form in which power is exercised.

At the same time, monopoly and imperialist oppression prompts petty-bourgeois strata, as well as some segments of the intelligentsia and middle bourgeoisie, to adhere to a radical position.

On the other hand, as far as the working class and the people are concerned, the road safeguarding them against the threat of a fascist comeback in this or that form and leading to a course of development independent of imperialism consists in bringing popular forces to power and establishing a regime for the people and not for the monopolies or imperialists, that is, people's rule. The CPG champions a new democracy free from the tutelage of U.S. or other imperialists and from monopoly domination, enabling the people really to participate in decision-making on pressing national problems and paving the way for progress.

This power would abolish the fascist machinery of suppression, take measures against Americanocracy and NATO and safeguard national independence. It would follow a policy of positive neutrality

and support the Cypriot people's fight for the independence and territorial integrity of the Cyprus Republic. It would restrict the privileges of foreign and domestic monopolies on the principle of independent national economic development, take steps to raise the living standard of wage and salary earners, as well as of the peasants, handicraftsmen and small employers and adopt a progressive democratic policy toward education, national culture, the arts and letters, science, social maintenance and public health.

The extent to which this program would be carried out and time limits would depend on the unity and struggle of the forces interested in its realization. As the program of new democracy was put into effect steps would be taken to complete the democratic and anti-imperialist stage of the continuous revolutionary process and pave the way for the socialist transformation of Greek society.

The new democracy would benefit primarily the working class, peasants, handicraftsmen, progressive intellectuals, working people generally and youth. It is also in the interest of small and medium employers hit by monopoly domination. The CPG is fighting for the unification of all these forces in a common front, in an alliance against the neo-fascist regime, against domestic and foreign monopolies, against Americanocracy. This idea is increasingly supported by the masses. The Central Committee must decide on the specific forms which the domestic and anti-imperialist front can take.

In fighting to overthrow the dictatorship and bring about a new democracy, the CPG bears in mind that the dictatorial regime is opposed by every segment of society and some bourgeois political forces. The Party considers that irrespective of differences among these forces over the future regime, they can and must form a nationwide front to fight for political freedoms and rights, overthrow the junta, convene a constituent assembly and enable the people freely to express their will.

Seeking unity of action, the CPG must lay emphasis on achieving anti-dictatorial unity at grass roots. This unity should be achieved through sustained, everyday work among the masses in connection with the working people's everyday problems. It will be attained and consolidated by organizing and leading struggles for the working people's economic rights and political freedoms. This will contribute decisively to cooperation on a higher level.

The paramount requisite of achieving anti-dictatorial unity of action is unity of the working class as the vanguard, or leading force, of the front. Working-class unity of action is of decisive importance to the front and constitutes the core around which other working people, all anti-dictatorial forces, will rally together.

Among the neo-fascist regime's characteristics are demagoguery, playing at "democracy," maneuvering and political camouflage, all of which are aimed at holding power.

The CPG has repeatedly exposed these stratagems. The dictatorship is still there and is, moreover, assuming an ever more brutal character. The prison camps on the island of Youra and elsewhere have been reopened. A new camouflage of the regime is in the making as a stand-by solution. But then opposition to the dictatorship's policies is growing.

THE PARTY

The Eighth Congress of the CPG met in a kind of vacuum, there being no Party organizations in the country. This told on the composition and decisions of the Congress, as well as on the composition of the Party's leading committees.

The decisions on the Party adopted by the Eighth Plenum (1958) and Eighth Congress (1961) were fundamentally wrong. They amounted to dissolving the Party organizations. Nor did the Eighth Plenum of 1965 decide to restore Party organizations.

The dissolution and years-long absence of Party organizations had a most serious effect on the Party's entire ideological, political and organizing activity and the development of the organized democratic movement.

The Central Committee failed to evolve correct policies and tactics for the Party or ensure the execution of Party decisions. This made it easier for revisionist and other opportunist views to creep in and gain ground. Party morals and principles declined, so did the sense of Party responsibility, and Party discipline slackened. Ideological work suffered a serious setback. The enrolment of new members, promotion of young people to Party posts and renewal of the Party leadership stopped. The Party's political influence dwindled.

The absence of Party organizations was one of the main reasons why the Party was unable at the time to organize the people's resistance to the fascist coup.

Analysis and criticism of our Party's line and activity between the Eighth Congress and 12th Plenum (1968) invite the conclusion that Party work in that period was dominated by an opportunist deviation. This was due to serious Rightist mistakes in the Party's general line and, more specifically, to the theses about peaceful transition and the national bourgeoisie and to the liquidationist decision to dissolve the Party's underground organizations. There was also the fact that a substantial number of people on the Central Committee and in the leading core itself held frankly Right opportunist views.

The responsibility for all this rests with the Central Committee, and particularly with the Political Bureau, of the time.

The reasons why that deviation prevailed may be listed as follows: the Party leadership was incompetent, Marxist-Leninist theory was not mastered in adequate measure nor applied creatively, there were infringements of basic Leninist principles, first of all the principles

regarding collective work and and Party's social composition, the two reverses sustained by the CPG in a row had created serious difficulties for the Party and the whole movement, especially in the matter of reconstructing Party organizations in the conditions of strict clandestinity and manifold pressures from the enemy, a substantial proportion of cadre and rank-and-file members of the Party and its leadership has long been absent from the country, and it was hard to combine illegal with legal work, with the result that there were illusions about the progress made in legal work.

The CC and PB which were elected by the Eighth Congress and functioned till the 12th Plenum provided guidance to the Communists active in the EDA in organizing and leading a broad mass movement. They carried out a certain amount of work, which intensified in later years, against anti-Marxist and anti-internationalist views, in defense of proletarian internationalism.

Prior to the 12th Plenum the CC and Political Bureau waged no sustained struggle against Right opportunist views or political or tactical distortions and virtually tolerated them. Thereby they objectively made the formation of revisionist splitters' groups all the easier.

These bad mistakes, shortcomings and weak points were due, furthermore, to the composition of the CC, Political Bureau and Secretariat, to their very methods (over-centralization, failure of the PB to inform the CC promptly and fully).

Between the Eighth Congress and 12th Plenum, the Central Committee and Political Bureau were not equal to their mission.

Even before the Eighth Congress Right opportunist concepts cropped up in the Party and as time passed they developed into a platform. Their main feature was the effort to turn the CPG into a Social-Democratic type of petty-bourgeois party, tail behind the liberal bourgeoisie and follow an anti-internationalist and anti-Soviet road. Subsequently these views extended to every key issue of the revolution. Their exponents, who demagogically put "independence" and "self-determination" in regard to brother parties above everything else, cultivated anti-internationalism. Afterwards, when their attempts to impose their views on the Party failed, they broke away, part of the membership following them, and began to operate as the "CPG (Interior)."

The 12th Plenum delivered a decisive blow to Right opportunist views and the main exponents of revisionism and liquidationism and returned the Party on the right path.

The line adopted by the 12th Plenum and the devoted, heroic effort of Communists made it possible to lay the groundwork for the development of underground Party organizations.

The Athens Party organization played a decisive part in upholding

the line of the 12th Plenum. Exiled and imprisoned Communists and other Party members contributed their share.

The leading center was re-established. It set out to reconstitute the Athens and other organizations of the Party and helped to found and ensure the growth of the Communist Youth of Greece in face of the difficulties created by the revisionist group. The blows struck at the Party in 1968-1971 held up its development. They were made possible by the fact that the Party had not prepared for work in conditions of illegality and by serious violations of secrecy rules on the part of leading members, as well as by mistakes and weak points of the Political Bureau.

From the 12th Plenum onwards, the Party line was fundamentally correct. However, the CC and PB made some mistakes before, during and after the plenum in respect of resisting the main exponents of revisionism. The 14th plenum, which worked out theses for the Ninth Congress, failed to make an exhaustive appraisal of the Party's policy and activity since the Eighth Congress and, more important still, to take a correct stand on the erroneous decision to dissolve the Party organizations.

The activity of the CC and PB after the 12th Plenum was in the main constructive but some irregularities in their functioning persisted which necessitated changes in the composition of the leadership.

Subsequently (1972), the decisions of the 17th Plenum on the policy, tactics and organizing activity of Party forces brought about changes improving Party work which, in turn, furthered anti-dictatorial activity and helped the Party to operate in a more organized fashion.

Nevertheless, our Party organizations are still unable to play a decisive role in the working people's struggles.

NEEDED: A STRONG, WELL-ORGANIZED PARTY

To overthrow the dictatorship and establish a new democracy and then carry the democratic transformation and socialist renaissance of the country through to the end, we need a strong and well-organized Communist Party backed by the workers, peasants and other working people and capable of leading the people to victory.

Building solid Party organizations linked with the masses and, first of all, with the working class, especially industrial workers, is the main prerequisite of effecting a turn in the Party's entire effort.

To be able to play their role by leading the struggle against the dictatorship, Party organizations must remove shortcomings in their work, in the matter of always bearing in mind the working people's problems and mass organizations, primarily the trade unions, and enrolling new members, and in the content of ideological, political and organizing work as a whole.

The most pressing task today is to recruit new members. Success

in fulfilling it will depend on how perseveringly Party organizations, being linked with the working people and leading their struggles, bring the more active and class-conscious workers and other working people into the Party. It is in the course of these struggles that they should steadfastly win new people.

A special effort must be made to enroll workers, primarily industrial workers and above all young people. This activity and Party work generally must also be stepped up among women.

We must strive to increase the proportion of workers in the Party, particularly workers in major enterprises.

The numerical growth of Party organizations is not an end in itself. It is the basis for effort to extend economic and political struggles, for work in the trade unions, cooperatives, associations and mass organizations of the working people. The effort to extend the working people's economic and political struggle will help to step up the people's mass movement. It is the duty of every Party member to participate at his place of work in the activities of trade unions, cooperatives and other professional organizations, help in raising their militancy and strive for the formation of united action committees to campaign for the working people's demands in factories and other enterprises, in various industries, in the countryside.

City and district committees and branch organizations of the Party should always be abreast of the working people's problems, maintain close links with their struggles, know where struggles are maturing, assume their leadership and coordinate them, ensure satisfaction of the working people's demands and carry forward the unity of anti-dictatorial forces.

Promotion, education and ideological training of the Party cadre are of vital importance. Our Party should promote people primarily from the working class and train hundreds of people who can lead Party organizations and work in the trade union, cooperative or mass movement. The criteria of promotion should be readiness to contribute to and make sacrifices for the success of the revolutionary movement, unfailing respect for Party principles, awareness of one's responsibility, and the ability to implement the Party line consistently and creatively and maintain close links with the masses.

In today's severe conditions of illegality, an invariable and highly important task of the Party is to safeguard itself against blows from the class enemy. It is necessary immediately to take steps to protect the leading committees of branch organizations and safeguard the Party's entire work. A condition for expanding and consolidating the underground Party apparatus is greater organizing efforts by the Party and more extensive political work among the masses. We must study the methods used by the secret police and adhere strictly to the principle of decentralization.

Greater efficiency of the leading bodies is the basic prerequisite of

improving Party and mass political work. Organizing the working people's struggles, winning new members, promoting people and carrying on ideological and theoretical work should always be part and parcel of their work.

In view of the special importance of seamen and the role of Greek shipping, which hold a prominent place in imperialist and NATO plans for aggression, the Party stresses the need to form a strong Party organization that will lead the seamen's mass struggles.

Work among youth is very important. The Communist Youth of Greece ((CYG)), which has been active for five years now, has registered notable gains in uniting and mobilizing young Greeks to solve problems of youth and in fighting the dictatorship. It is a reliable reserve of our Party and source of reinforcement of Party ranks, and it trains new people for the Party.

The greatest shortcomings of the CYG is that young workers make up a small percentage of its membership. It is a task and duty of Party organizations to help the CYG in eliminating its weak points and shortcomings, in fully giving their attention to working youth, in combating ideological confusion and hostile and opportunist trends among youth.

The growing role of the soldiery in national politics in the past years has brought out more sharply than ever the exceptional importance of political education among the armed forces.

Work among Greek workers and students abroad is very important in view of the aid which they render to the Greek people's struggle and of their contribution to the international solidarity movement, and most important of all, in view of their direct participation in the Party's overall effort. The emigrant workers' contribution to the people's fight will be the greater, the more of them join trade unions and take part in class battles alongside the working class of the countries concerned. We must step up our effort to bring young workers and students into the Party and give adequate attention to work in CYG organizations and among students abroad.

IDEOLOGICAL WORK OF THE PARTY

The struggle between bourgeois and proletarian ideology has gained in intensity on a world scale since the Eighth Party Congress.

In Greece as well, the ideological struggle between Marxist-Leninist and bourgeois, especially fascist, ideology intensified with the establishment of the fascist military dictatorship. It is more imperative than ever to combat Right- and "Left"-wing opportunism.

The Party's ideological work between the Eighth Congress and the junta coup was inadequate even though the Party elaborated some ideological problems and published Marxist-Leninist writings and literary works. Indeed, there were mistakes in it (pointed out already

in general terms). This was also due to the assignment of ideological work to people who held revisionist concepts.

After the 12th Plenum and the firm rebuff administered to the revisionist group, some headway was made in ideological and political work. Nevertheless, this work is still at a low level and falls short of present-day exigencies. It is imperative to remove shortcomings and weaknesses in this sphere and achieve a radical turn for the better. The Central Committee should study the problem, adopt a program for ideological propaganda and mobilize all of the Party's scientific and spiritual forces, all its organizations and committees, to this end.

The CC must evolve a more effective system of training and self-education for Communists.

The Educational Department of the CC, which needs to be reinforced, should improve its activity, adapt it more to the specific requirements of our movement.

Uncompromising struggle against fascist ideology should be a central aspect of our ideological struggle. We must show up the close connection between the ideology of pre-war fascism and that of contemporary fascism, the most reactionary ideology of present-day imperialism. It is particularly important to intensify the struggle against anti-Communism, anti-Sovietism, nationalism and Greek neo-fascism, against its demagoguery about a "healthy democracy" and its misrepresentation of the nation's history and democratic traditions.

Furthermore, our ideological struggle must be aimed at exposing the role of imperialism, especially U.S. imperialism, refuting such basic theories of imperialist reaction as the theory of "convergence" of the two systems, the theory of "two superpowers" — with all their variants in our country — "neo-Atlanticism" and "Europeanization," and unmasking the criminal nature of imperialism in contrast to the tremendous achievements of socialism. We must combat the danger of revision and distortion of our ideological line in the conditions of détente and peaceful coexistence.

The fight against Maoism and Trotskyism, for its part, must be stepped up.

The main purpose of our ideological struggle should be to publicize and creatively apply Marxist-Leninist principles and the line of the World Communist movement, popularize among the masses the Program and policy of the CPG and the heroic record of our Party, refute the theses of Right- and "Left"-wing opportunists and fight on two fronts.

Our Party must continue to combat ideological and political views of the revisionist group, which is slipping more and more into the morass of opportunism, adapting to juntaist and, in general, bourgeois legality. It must continue and intensify its fight against the Rightist danger in its own ranks.

In fighting against the Rightist danger as the main danger at this stage, the Party must also hold the front against sectarian trends, which impede the Party's work in every sphere (unity tactics, work among the trade union rank-and-file, enrolment, collective work, and so on).

The Ninth Congress of the CPG, on summing up 20 years' experience of Party activity at the head of the working class and the whole people, defined the Party's prospects, goals and tasks for the period ahead. The goals consist in fighting to deliver the country from fascist tyranny, imperialist dependence and Americanocracy and bring about a new democracy, a democratic transformation of the country, and socialism.

The great cause will be vindicated through unity and struggle of the working class, the vanguard of Greek society, as well as of other anti-dictatorial, anti-imperialist and anti-monopoly forces. The formation of strong CPG organizations closely linked with the working class and people, with progressive forces of the country, will be the decisive factor in this effort.

It is no easy task. It will require much heroic effort and sacrifice on the part of the working class, of progressives, of the whole people. But today Communists, workers, the whole people, are more experienced politically, which makes them equal to their great mission.

The Communist Party of Greece, whose services to the people are immeasurable and which holds a solid place in the people's hearts, has drawn proper conclusions from its vast and positive activity, as well as from its shortcomings and mistakes. By equipping itself with Marxism-Leninism more effectively, it is becoming more and more capable of leading the struggles that are maturing. This is why the people's enemies — the oligarchy and imperialism — regard and fight the Party as their chief enemy.

The Greek people, who derive strength from the heroic tradition of their struggles for national independence and democracy, the glorious National Resistance and postwar battles for democracy and from resistance to the hated junta, and who draw on both their own experience and that of other peoples, look ahead with confidence. They close their ranks and organize their forces.

Forward, for a strong CPG with solid Party organizations based on factories, neighborhoods, offices, the countryside, universities and colleges, the armed forces!

Forward, for a vast anti-dictatorial front fighting for bread and democratic freedoms, for the overthrow of the dictatorship, for a new democracy, national independence and socialism!

Down with the military fascist dictatorship!

Americans, out!

Long live new democracy!

PLENARY MEETINGS

STRENGTHENING PARTY UNITY

In the course of a long and frank discussion among Communists who differ on certain issues but are resolved to reach agreement so as to prepare effectively for the Fifth National Congress of the Communist Party of Venezuela on the basis of Leninist organizational principles and respect for the right of every CPV member freely to express his opinion, the Central Committee of the CPV examined violations of the standards of inner Party life which were discussed in part by the 10th CC Plenum and are known to numerous Party members.

Discussion of the ways and means of remedying the situation and strengthening Party unity on Marxist-Leninist principles, which proceeded in an atmosphere free from every attempt at "personalism" incompatible with the supreme interests of the working class and the proletarian revolution, led to the following agreement whose unfailing implementation must be a concern of Party organizations on all levels:

1. It is the duty of all full and alternate members of the CC CPV to carry out resolutions of the Central Committee, which is the highest Party authority between congresses.

2. The CC reaffirms its unshakeable loyalty to the principles of democratic centralism specified by the Rules now in force. The Rules lay down the Communists' rights and duties regarding which the following mistakes were made:

- (a) The CC admits that there were infringements of the Communist principle of collective Party leadership established by the Rules. This indisputable fact made for manifestations of individualism and a personality cult on the part of some leaders, which is contrary to Marxist-Leninist principles.

- (b) A Communist whose opinion differs from that approved by the majority may adhere to his opinion in his organization but has no right to block the implementation of the Party's policy or refuse to implement it.

- (c) In line with the relevant provision of the Rules, the CC unanimously condemns every attempt at factional activity by Communists.

- (d) The CC calls attention to the slackening of revolutionary vigilance and to infringements of Communist discipline by rank and file as well as leading members of the Party, including members of the CC and Political Bureau.

(e) The CC emphatically condemns every attempt to enrol new members without the participation of Party organizations and in violation of the relevant provisions of the Rules.

(f) Personal decisions taken in violation of the principles of collective leadership must not be tolerated except in extremely urgent cases.

(g) Party organizations and their leaders should pay greater heed to criticism from members of these organizations.

(h) The CC frankly criticized these and other aspects of the Communists' activity to ensure that criticism of the Party outside its own ranks does not undermine the unity of the Party's will.

(i) The CC must fully use its powers to prevent excessive concentration of authority in the hands of one person. No leader may place himself above the collective leadership, the Communists, or the organization he leads.

(j) No matter how anyone expressed his opinion, the CC must carefully weigh his criticism, remembering that there have been violations of the standards of inner Party life.

(k) The CC admits that Communists, including CC members, have allowed themselves to insult each other. An end must be put to this arrogant and anti-Party behavior, which runs counter to Communist moral principles. Prejudice and groundless accusations are incompatible with the name of Communist. Criticism aimed at rectifying mistakes should be objective and may only be offered inside Party organizations. Everyone should realize this. No one may stifle criticism but criticism should be exercised at a suitable time and place.

3. The CC CPV calls on all Party members to be prepared to contribute to the framing of Party policy, program, strategy and tactics during the discussion held in preparation for the Fifth Congress. No one objects to the congress being held in 1974. All Communists are looking forward to it. It is necessary to ensure, however, that this highly important event in Party life makes for closer internal unity of and helps the Party to solve its problems, and that the congress sets the working class and other working people an example of high revolutionary principles, demonstrates the Party's efficiency in the struggle against imperialism and home reaction and its active solidarity with the brother parties of other countries, primarily Chile, Brazil, Bolivia, Uruguay, Paraguay, Spain, Portugal, Indonesia, Guatemala and Haiti, sets an example of solidarity with Cuba and other socialist countries, and declares for the unity of the working-class movement in Venezuela itself and in other countries. It must be a congress of Communists fighting for peace, socialism, freedom and national independence, in support of the principles of proletarian internationalism, for a powerful united progressive movement guided by a national liberation program.

The CC CPV neither restricts, nor tries to curtail the right of any Communist to put forward his own proposals, including proposals for statutory sanctions against Communists violating the standards of inner Party life. Facts of this nature must be heeded and sharply criticized. However, all these measures should be aimed at helping the Communists concerned and inducing them to submit consciously to Party discipline.

Through mutual assistance and constructive criticism, we must rectify mistakes and eliminate harmful methods so as to foster the progress of the Party.

The CPV wants to strengthen its ranks on a Leninist basis. The only way to achieve this is to apply Leninist principles even though these principles were violated in some cases.

The history of the CPV, like that of all other fraternal parties, abounds in sacrifice and challenging problems. It teaches us that the simplest solution is not always the best. Unity of the Communist Party is a task which Communists must fulfil daily. It is a very delicate matter and therefore Communists should refrain from drastic moves which may cause the Party what is sometimes irreparable damage.

The CC does not prohibit and, indeed, encourages the joint activity of CC members and their right to express an opinion on the work of leading bodies, including the Central Committee, as well as to propose improvements in their activity. This can be done at conferences of the Political Bureau or the Secretariat or at meetings of CC commissions.

However, there must be no interference in work which is the direct responsibility of the leading committee in charge of the fields concerned, for this interference leads to clashes and in the end breeds dissatisfaction among Communists and gives rise to unnecessary conflicts between them.

11th PLENARY MEETING OF THE CC CPV

The 11th Plenum of the CC CP Venezuela took place in February. Below follow two of its decisions, published in the **Tribuna Popular** for March 15-21.

That issue of the newspaper also carries a list of the members of working committees approved by the plenum to draft documents including a new Party Program and Constitution, for the Fifth Party Congress, to be held next November.

NEW POLITICAL SITUATION IN VENEZUELA

The 11th plenum of the Central Committee of the CPV continued the analysis of the election results begun by the 10th plenum and considered a number of outstanding questions to be discussed at our Party's Fifth Congress. The plenum decide to submit the following conclusions to the members of our Party and the Communist Youth, our allies, friends and sympathizers, the working class and the whole people of Venezuela for their information and study.

ELECTION RESULTS

The revolutionary, national anti-imperialist and democratic movement suffered a serious setback on December 9 of last year. This fact should be analyzed to allow us to advance confidently in the struggle for national independence and socialism. Among the causes of the defeat of the revolutionary and national-liberation movement we point out the following:

(a) The importance which imperialism and the ruling classes attached to the elections in Venezuela, making the best use of their resources;

(b) Trends of polarization between the two big parties of the dominant system in the country as part of the strategy of imperialism and the ruling classes;

(c) The overthrow of the Allende government and establishment of a fascist regime in the fraternal republic of Chile; this had an obvious influence on the election returns;

(d) The systematic anti-socialist and anti-Communist campaign waged by both national and international reaction; it was conducted by all the mass media throughout 1973 and was part of an anti-Communist offensive on an international scale; in the last three months of the election campaign it reached its culmination, with all stops pulled out;

(e) The inability of Venezuela's Left forces to unite in these conditions and put forward a joint presidential candidate with a chance of success;

(f) Weakness of links between the revolutionary camp, in particular the CPV and the masses of the people, the working class in the first place;

(g) Absence of an upsurge in the mass movement in the country;

(h) Insufficient knowledge of the problems that face different strata of the people, as expressed in the absence of an appropriate policy with regard to the middle sections, intellectuals, professionals, specialists, students, etc.;

(i) Cases of lack of discipline which created a wrong impression of the CPV's policy; abuses and fraud systematically practised by the parties representing the existing system;

(j) With respect to the CPV, especially the fact that a considerable reserve of the Party in the provinces was lured away by the "Movement to Socialism" party, which we are fighting correctly but in the ideological aspect still insufficiently; in the eyes of the masses we have not yet succeeded in fully dissociating ourselves from it.

These and other causes should be studied by the Party more deeply; the 11th plenum holds that the considerable and unexpected defeat of the progressive movement should be regarded as a temporary setback; the fact that the two candidates of the regime polled 85 per cent of the vote and its two parties 75 per cent, should not be regarded as a vote for the system of neo-colonial rule; it is due to the fact that some Venezuelans opposed to the government voted for the first opportunity for an anti-government victory; other Venezuelans preferred to vote for a government which, in their view, could prevent a return to the past.

The 11th plenum also emphasizes that our tactic of Popular Unity endorsed by the Fourth Congress and reaffirmed at subsequent CC plenum was correct and remains in force; also in force is our idea of bringing the majority of the people together with the purpose of changing the regime of imperialist domination. For a number of reasons that have to be analyzed more thoroughly, the New Force movement was unable to win the majority of the population over to its side and guarantee the victory of the progressive forces.

However, its anti-imperialist program, which opens the way to socialism, has left a deep impression in our people's mind; this should provide added impetus for expanding the struggle for popular unity.

As a positive aspect of the election returns, the plenum also pointed out that more than half a million Venezuelans voted for certain revolutionary changes, and half of these votes were for the New Force.

The Venezuelan state, dominated by the oligarchy and big, mainly North American, monopolies, is multiplying its efforts to consolidate the existing system of capitalist exploitation dependent on them. In accordance with this orientation, traditional methods of strengthening the regime will be supplemented by attempts to use reforms to foster illusions among the working people and thereby weaken the class struggle.

IMMEDIATE OBJECTIVES

The events of December 9 should be viewed from the angle of the world and Latin American confrontation between capitalism and socialism, between dependence and liberation, as well as in the context of the current worldwide détente. Venezuela is a link in the chain of the world system of capitalism, and imperialism will not easily relinquish its valuable prey.

Détente is daily attacked by agents of imperialism trying to revive the cold war. Hence we must elaborate an extremely flexible tactic which would enable us to advance and defeat the vast reactionary and anti-Communist conspiracy in Latin America. We must clarify our immediate objectives and proceed from a serious analysis of Venezuela's development in the coming years; we must, in particular, take into account the inflation caused by the huge state budget, which this year will be as high as 42,000 million bolivars, and the burden of rising prices which rests on the shoulders of the less affluent sections of the population.

To advance we must expand the Front we created, without sectarian complexes or prejudices. We need a policy which, while remaining true to principles and proceeding from the correct assessment of the Democratic Action and COPEI as the two main bourgeois parties in our country, would help in working out a new tactic going beyond the traditional forms and bringing us closer to the electorate and the mentioned parties' rank-and-file, which does not and cannot side with imperialism and oligarchy.

We must be able correctly to judge different social classes, their different sections, different political groupings and their behavior in every given case. We should not reject offhand all that comes from other parties, even those supporting the present status quo; it is necessary first to analyze the content, significance and prospects of their positions.

We should draw up correct guidelines for the new Venezuela which began to emerge since 1958, take into account the growth of middle sections of the population and the resultant political and ideological developments. We should formulate slogans to appeal to all sections: workers and peasants, women and the youth, intellectuals and students, to those sections of the bourgeoisie which offer even the slightest resistance to imperialism, including nationalistic forces of the Social Christians and Social Democrats.

Able exploitation of the contradictions that will arise within the government and the ruling classes, correct choice of the direction of the main blow, as well as formulation of a minimum program taking into account the most urgent demands of the masses, *provide the basis for an upsurge of the popular movement and restoration of our Party's positions*. Only a correct policy, discipline obligatory for all, and a broad mass movement can enable us to gather strength and go over to the offensive with a chance of success.

MINIMUM ACTION PLAN

We must proceed from what we already have, from consideration of our own strength and the strength of our allies who followed us before and after the elections, so as already now to launch the process of resurgence of the popular movement, without drifting

into adventures or leaping in the dark. For this we should lay emphasis on the need to place the huge funds of the state treasury at the service of the people, the working people of town and country, the blue-collar and white-collar workers.

We should demand that the new government: (1) nationalize the oil in 1974 without compensation to the companies; (2) nationalize the iron ore fields; (3) strengthen the main industries; oil, iron ore, iron and steel, gas, electricity, transport, railways, the merchant marine, etc.; (4) give special attention to the main problems of our people: health, housing, education and employment; (5) finally do away with big land ownership and organize farming on a new basis which would guarantee both self-sufficiency and affluence for peasants, nationalize agricultural trade; write off the debts of poor farmers to the state; (6) halt the rise of the cost of living and immediately increase wages, introducing a sliding wage scale to take inflation into account; (7) tackle the problem of child vagrancy and solve youth problems; (8) observe the Labor Law and reform it in favor of the working people.

On this basis we can advance together with the people, act in unison with their moods, aspirations and demands, while forming and consolidating a disciplined and firm Communist Party and working for a broad anti-imperialist front which would help pave the way to socialism.

Forward to the fifth congress with the will to win! Resolutely face the people, the masses! Firm opposition to the government and the regime of imperialist domination! Welcome to the Party's allies and the independents of the New Force!

Long live proletarian internationalism! Friendship with the Soviet Union, Cuba and other socialist countries!

For the freedom of Comrade Luis Corvalan and other patriots languishing in the dungeons of the Chilean fascist junta! For the freedom of our comrades, the patriots languishing in the jails of Brazil, Uruguay, Paraguay, Guatemala, Haiti, Spain, Portugal, Bolivia and other countries!

For the freedom of the political prisoners of Venezuela! For the unity of the working class and peasantry of Venezuela! Long live the Communist Party of Venezuela!

Caracas, February 21, 1974

STATEMENTS AND SPEECHES

STATEMENT OF THE GCP PRESIDIUM ON BRANDT'S RESIGNATION

Below is a statement issued by the Presidium of the German Communist Party (GCP) in connection with the resignation of Federal Chancellor Willy Brandt. The statement was published in *Unsere Zeit* on May 8.

The resignation of Federal Chancellor Willy Brandt is a reflection of the intensifying crisis which has arisen from the capitalist drive for more profit and has become more pronounced of late in all spheres of public life. It is against this background that the unholy alliance has developed between reactionary big business and armaments magnates and their political adherents in the CDU/CSU, as well as in the key government departments. The activities of all these elements and their attacks on the policy of détente, on democracy and the working-class demands were made easier by anti-Communist and anti-democratic actions and by the intrigues of the Right-wing leaders of the Social-Democratic Party. This led to the government crisis and the resignation of Brandt.

The CDU/CSU and its backers, big business and arms barons, have recently pulled out all the stops in order, aided by anti-Communist baiting, falsehoods and slanders, to put up a barrier in the way of carrying out the agreements concluded by our country with socialist states. They are against the further relaxation of tension and try to prevent Europe being transformed into an area of stable peace and fruitful cooperation between all countries.

The government headed by Chancellor Willy Brandt has not fulfilled the hopes of its electors. It pushed into the background the needs of the working people, giving preference to the interests of profits and the power of the monopolies. It did not support the trade union demands but opposed them, and the burden of the capitalist crisis was placed on the shoulders of the workers. The government also encouraged anti-Communism. All this made it easier for the CDU/CSU to develop an unbridled campaign against the policy of détente, peace and social progress.

Brandt's resignation in no way solves the problems facing our country and the working people. On the contrary, we Communists warn the people that powerful big business circles and Rightist forces in all parties, taking advantage of this resignation, plan to push our country further to the Right.

The GCP calls on all working people, all peace-loving and democratic forces not to permit the obstruction and perhaps even the destruction of the successes achieved on the way to détente and peace. Reactionary circles must not be permitted to launch new attacks on the social conditions of the workers and intensify attacks on the democratic rights and freedoms won and on all those who stand for fundamental changes benefitting the working people. It is essential to come out strongly against the attempts of anti-détente forces to use the "Guillaume affair"* as an excuse to intensify anti-Communist baiting and the fanning of new hotbeds of tension in relations with the GDR and other socialist states. To increase tension will be to the detriment of the working people, peace and security, while détente benefits all those who want peace.

Events in Bonn underline that the working people cannot afford to await quietly the outcome of the crisis. The problems it has created cannot be solved by a reshuffle of the government while the old policy, aimed against the workers' interests, continues in an intensified and sharper form.

It is necessary to uphold more strongly than before a policy oriented on the interests of the working people. The purchasing power of the people must be increased and an end put to rising prices and the devaluation of money as a result of inflation. The social and economic demands of the working people must be satisfied at the expense of the profits of big business and military-industrial capital. Energetic defense of democratic rights and freedoms and the carrying out of long overdue reforms in the interests of the working people are needed. A steadfast policy of peace and détente must be pursued.

In the past, the GCP supported all steps taken by the Brandt government for promoting détente and peace. It backed all government measures which could, to some extent at least, fulfil the workers' demands. At the same time, the GCP decisively opposed all measures which ran counter to the working people's interests and obstructed the process of détente. The GCP will continue to adhere to this position.

Precisely at this moment it is very important that all democratic and progressive forces, Communists, Social Democrats, Christians and non-party people act together to put into effect their common demands: fulfilment of the agreements concluded with socialist states; relaxation of tension and cooperation in Europe; cuts in armaments and the spending of the money thus made available for social and cultural needs; effective measures against concerns that raise prices; participation in management; free choice of professions and

*On April 24 the aide of the Federal Chancellor, Gunther Guillaume, was arrested on the charge of espionage on behalf of the GDR.—Ed.

democracy in enterprises; restriction and eventual abolition of the influence and power of big capital. It is especially important now that the newly formed government is made to heed these democratic demands. The joint action of all democratic and progressive forces is an earnest that the machinations of big and military-industrial capital will be foiled.

The attempts by the enemies of peace and of the workers to push our country further to the Right and to put the interests of the working people in greater danger make a strong Communist Party essential for the workers and all democrats. Strengthening of the GCP, the party of the working class, will also benefit our Social Democratic friends and comrades, who see with anxiety that reaction rejoices at the resignation of Federal Chancellor Brandt. The stronger the GCP, the better for all who want peace, democracy and social progress.

APPEAL BY POLITICAL BUREAU OF CENTRAL COMMITTEE, COMMUNIST PARTY OF GREECE

To the Working Class!

To the People of Greece!

To Soldiers and Patriotic Officers!

Seven years have elapsed since a gang of colonels, supported and led by U.S. imperialism and NATO, usurped power and set up a fascist dictatorship under the slogan of countering the "communist menace." They promised "prosperity" and "regeneration," but their rule brought in its wake the most severe exploitation and domination by home and foreign monopolies. The fascist dictatorship declared that it would introduce "a healthy democracy." Instead, it established a regime of cruel persecution, concentration camps, repression and bloodshed. Elementary democratic freedoms and human rights are being trampled upon. It spoke with shameless demagoguery about defending our national independence, but brought our country more firmly into the grip of U.S. imperialism. The doors were flung wide open to foreign monopolies so that they could plunder our natural resources. Our motherland was transformed into an American-NATO springboard against the socialist countries and the Arab peoples; into a fomentor of opposition to détente and peaceful coexistence, into a center of provocation and risky gambling. Never before has the country's economy been in such a crisis. Never before have the profits of the monopolies reached such proportions, nor the income

of the working people been so low. The dictatorship has opened up our country for super-monopolies, U.S. and other imperialists. The junta is not only a tyrant, lording it over the Greek people, and a servant of U.S. imperialist monopolies, but also their agent in adventurist plans aimed at destroying the independence of Cyprus.

But the seven years of the dictatorship have also been years of heroic resistance and staunch struggle by the working people and all patriots against the plutocratic oligarchy, the dictatorship and its masters. The peak of the anti-dictatorship struggle was the heroic demonstration of workers and students in November last year. This was a new stage of the anti-dictatorship fight and the precursor of new battles to overthrow the hated dictatorship.

The successors to the bankrupt Papadopoulos dictatorship, placed in power in November by the CIA, are intensifying repressive measures, directing their main blow against the leaders and members of the Communist Party. They are whipping up anti-Communist hysteria in an attempt to cover up their anti-popular, anti-national and pro-American policy. But there is no end to the crisis affecting the regime, which exposes the depth and scale of the bankruptcy and the blind alley in which the junta finds itself. The internecine strife within the junta itself has never before been so sharp.

The Greek people are standing firm and finding ways to fight the junta. They are gathering strength, preparing for a wide, organized and decisive struggle for their life and freedoms.

But behind-the-scenes maneuvers are going on to replace the present regime, without the knowledge of the people.

The insistent demand for the people for a democratic outcome is reflected in the line mapped out by the Communist Party at its Ninth Congress. For the Greek people to breathe freely and move toward progress, it is essential that the hated dictatorship be overthrown and a new democratic system established, a democracy which will restore the people's freedoms, eliminate all danger of a renewed fascist or semi-fascist regime, free our country of the nightmare of American domination and make it possible to build a new Greece, a democratic and independent Greece, which will pave the way to progress and socialism. This is the patriotic way out proposed by our Party.

The working people, who sacrifice so much to free themselves of the dictatorial regime and American domination, cannot put up with false and vague promises of "the restoration of democratic rights," etc. They want a concrete program, whose fulfilment will assure genuine freedom and democracy, rights and freedoms for all citizens and political parties without exception. Such a program can unite all forces fighting the junta and coming out for genuine democracy, irrespective of their different political aims.

The Communist Party, as was stated at its Ninth Congress, is ready for joint action with any force which supports these objectives.

The road, which will bring deliverance to our people, is a road of undeviating and decisive struggle.

Workers, peasants, employees, young workers, students, pupils, patriots and intellectuals, unite! Demand!

—No more arrests or tortures, and release of all political prisoners.

—That the Youra Island concentration camp be closed, the state of war and censorship ended, and political and trade union freedoms guaranteed.

—Wage and pension increases related to the rising cost of living. Fair prices for agricultural produce.

—An end to interference by the junta and imperialism in the affairs of Cyprus.

—Soldiers and patriotic officers, refuse to carry out the orders of the junta and CIA to jail and murder the people.

Let us all unite to free our motherland from the nightmare of tyranny and American domination and to win victory for New Democracy.

April 1974

THE COMMUNISTS AND THE AGRARIAN QUESTION

Early in the year the Agrarian Commission of the Central Committee, Communist Party of Argentina (CPA), published a document under the above heading. Below are extracts from this document.

The Communist Party of Argentina considers that alongside the enormous role of multinational enterprises in the Argentinian economy the outstanding problem of our country is the agrarian question. For this reason it pays considerable attention to the present government's agrarian policy. The Communist Party is guided by the 14th Congress directives which state that it is essential to support all the positive steps of the government, that is, any step it takes toward profound changes which the country needs in order to put an end to foreign domination and achieve national liberation. The 14th Congress likewise indicated the necessity to expose the weak aspects and inconsistency of the government policy in general, and to openly oppose everything interfering in the achievement of these great aims.

THE MUTUAL ENGAGEMENTS PACT

The Mutual Engagements Pact entered into by the government and influential landowners' organizations plays a leading part in the agrarian policy of the Justicialist government. As we shall see later, the measures taken by the government are contradictory and inadequate. They are contradictory in the sense that alongside their positive features, which to some extent take into account the vital demands of the farmers, they also have considerable defects and negative aspects since they depart from the pledges given by the Peronists during the election campaign. They are insufficient because they in no way touch on the key problem of our country, that of carrying out a comprehensive agrarian reform.

The Mutual Engagements Pact differs considerably from the agrarian plan of the latifundist oligarchy which was ruthlessly applied by the dictatorship from 1966 to 1973 and was given concrete expression in Act 17253. The people called this the "peasants' eviction and ruin act." The Pact reflects the point of view of the reformist bourgeoisie which came to power after the March and September elections last year. In particular, this bourgeoisie is represented in the Ministry of Industry and Mining.

Generally speaking the aim of the Pact is to reinforce the position of the industrial and agricultural capitalists in the national economy. Only to a very limited extent does it cater for the interests of the working class, the poor and middle peasants and agricultural workers.

The positive and negative features of the Pact can be assessed only from this class standpoint. There must clearly be no illusions that the positive measures provided for in the Pact can, without an agrarian reform, solve Argentina's agricultural problems once and for all.

THE ATTITUDE OF OUR PARTY TO THE PACT

We have repeatedly stated that we have no wish to see the defeat of the government which has been formed following the March 11 and September 23 elections and for which we voted. The question at issue is to carry out its election program which in general coincides with the basic features of the program of the Popular Revolutionary Alliance and also, to a large degree, with the immediate program of our Party and of other parties and political trends, which represent more than 80 per cent of the electorate.

However, we know that the Yankee imperialists are trying to tighten their grip on our country and that their supporters — the Right circles (mainly the landed oligarchy and big business and their servants) — are weaving a plot in and outside the government and are preparing a coup on the Chilean style. They intend yet again to deceive the people who voted in the elections under the slogan, "Against Dependence, for Liberation."

One of their aims is to prevent the implementation of the positive aspects of the Mutual Engagements Pact, to strengthen and implement its negative aspects and, first and foremost, to obstruct a genuine agrarian reform, which the overwhelming majority of peasants and agricultural workers, the industrial workers and the entire people want to see realized.

In this connection our Party proposes:

1. To work to carry out the positive features of the Pact, to neutralize and oppose the realization of its negative features which harm the interests of the small and middle peasants, the peasant youth and agricultural workers, and, in the final analysis, to achieve the abolition of negative features.

2. To insist that, in order to implement the positive features of the Pact and achieve its targets of agricultural production, it is essential first to adopt measures, as for instance, the repeal of Act 17253 passed by the dictatorship; return the land to 40,000 peasant families driven off the land under this Act which favors the land-owners; annul the 100,000 unjust contracts and lower rents by 20 per cent; guarantee the peasants security of tenure; guarantee to the agricultural laborers 300 paid working days annually; establish government control over all foreign trade and with the participation of agricultural cooperatives; to develop and protect our merchant marine in order to ensure fair prices and the transportation of our agricultural produce, expand our markets and mutually advantageous relations with the socialist world.

In face of the threat of a coup, the main task is to defend the constitutional regime and democratic freedoms.

3. To avoid the illusion that the Pact automatically solves the serious problem of Argentina's agricultural economy and its relation to the economic, political and social life of the country.

4. To continue the struggle for an extensive agrarian reform without which it is impossible to ensure the realization of the Pact's positive features. Otherwise, it will mean yet another unsuccessful attempt by the reformist bourgeoisie to solve the country's basic agricultural problems and will create further differentiation in the countryside, with greater concentration and centralization of capital there.

There can be no successful struggle for national and social freedom without a comprehensive and fundamental agrarian reform which includes development of the water resources and electrification of the countryside.

THE CPA AND AGRARIAN REFORM

Our Party considers that objective conditions in Argentina are ripe for a democratic, agrarian and anti-imperialist revolution, envisaging,

alongside other measures reform through expropriation of the latifundia and transfer of the land to those who till it, and also a whole number of additional measures such as a water reform, land reclamation schemes, maintenance of the railways, increasing the network of roads, development of the river and sea fleet and of deep-water ports and their rational integration in the entire transport system, granting low interest rate credits for the development of agriculture and cattle-breeding, introduction of an insurance system and guaranteed prices, and a policy of a comprehensive government support to the broad sections of the peasantry.

The national conference of our Party, held as far back as December 1946, gave an analysis of the first Five-Year Plan of the Peron government (1947-1951). Victorio Codovilla said in his report then that the agrarian reform "will help increase production and lower its cost, improve the living standards of the peasants, expand the home market by bringing prices down and so increasing consumption, and guarantee a foreign market for surplus farm produce thanks to its lower cost."

On the basis of these fundamental propositions an analysis was made of the 1946 Peronist plan for agricultural development, and the positive and negative features of this plan were pointed out. The conclusion was made that the plan envisaged no genuine agrarian reform but proposed the "Prussian road" of merging the capitalist mode of production with feudal property relations. "This road," the analysis stated, "will not lead to a radical change in village life but will enable the big landowners and rich peasants to become richer while the peasant masses become more impoverished."

These conclusions made by our Party in 1946, 27 years ago, remain true today. In actual fact, neither the first nor the second Peronist government made any substantial changes in agriculture, and this equally applies to the subsequent governments.

With the coming to power of the dictatorship in June 1966 the situation worsened, since the already scandalous privileges of the landlords and monopolies became even greater.

A few figures given below show the seriousness of the present situation arising from latifundist ownership of the land and its effects on the national economy.

Out of the 205 million hectares covered by the land census only 8.8 per cent is under cultivation; 130 million hectares are owned by a small group of big landowners and 35-40 million hectares belong to joint-stock companies of imperialist monopoly interests.

This latifundist system of land ownership has led to an alarming drop in agricultural production. In 1928-29 world production of wheat was 109,980,000 tons, of which Argentina's share was 9,449,000 tons, that is, 8.16 per cent, while in 1970-71 world production of wheat to-

talled 207,400,000 tons, with Argentina's share falling to 4,215,000 tons, or 1.37 per cent.

This has led to the ruining of small and middle peasant households and also to the eviction of tenant farmers and share-croppers. Approximately 40,000 were evicted in accordance with Onganía Raggio Act 17253. Over 100,000 experienced tenant farmers who had the necessary machines and implements were forced to conclude agreements which did not provide for continuity of production cycles, and were also forced to pay increased rent which could reach 50 per cent of the output. Therefore, it is not surprising that Enrique Zeni, president of Buenos-Aires Corn Exchange, said that over the past 35 years Argentina's wheat exports had decreased on an average by one million tons annually, with harmful results to the country's balance of payments. This policy of the landed oligarchy hindered the independent development and the demographic growth of our country, which is one of the lowest in the world (+1.42 per cent).

Other inevitable consequences of the present socio-economic structure of Argentina's agriculture are the serious diseases spreading in the rural areas. About two million people suffer from Chagas' disease, tuberculosis, brucellosis, etc. The people are illiterate and their living conditions are inhuman. There are 700,000 unemployed, mainly in the rural areas. Because of the restricted home market only 50 per cent of the country's industrial capacity is being utilized.

The agricultural situation worsened under the governments that succeeded Peron after 1955, particularly under the pro-imperialist and pro-landlord dictatorship which ruled our country from 1966 to 1973, and acted in the interests of the latifundists and rich peasants, driving the tenant farmers and sharecroppers off the land, ruining the middle and small peasants and dooming agricultural workers to unemployment.

This explains why the last few decades, just as the earlier period, have been marked not only by the fearless struggle of the Argentinian workers, but by the militant action of the peasants. The latter played an active part in the general movement of our people, particularly during the rule of the recent reactionary dictatorship, adopting forms that were characteristic of peasants' struggles, as well as other original methods.

Pointing to the character and scope of the struggle of the peasantry which was increasingly becoming part of an alliance of workers and peasants, Arnedo Alvarez said at the 14th Party Congress:

"The struggle of the peasantry assumed new, hitherto unknown forms. Peasants marched over long distances, carrying their implements, travelling on tractors or trucks. Roads were blocked and public squares and city centers were occupied. There were clashes

with the police. Peasant families, wives and children took part in all these actions, travelling on horseback, on trucks, or on foot."

It was this struggle of the peasants, increasingly coupled with the action of workers, students and other people, which prepared the way for the political defeat of the pro-oligarchic and pro-imperialist dictatorship and its subsequent complete defeat in the March 11 and September 23 elections.

Today the people of Argentina demand an agrarian reform. It is being fought for by the Union of Agricultural Producers (UPARA) the Agrarian Federation (FAA), the Agrarian and Youth Leagues (LAY), and other peasant organizations. Declarations at many meetings and congresses of trade unions, trade union federations, and specifically the General Confederation of Labor (at Sante Fe) make it crystal clear that the agrarian reform is one of the chief objectives of the working class. In some provinces the local authorities and legislative bodies have drafted bills for expropriation of the latifundia, and have also passed municipal ordinances imposing a graduated tax on the latifundists and relieving the small and medium-sized producers of taxation.

The Party's program contains the basic principles of an agrarian reform needed by our country. The main emphasis is laid on the expropriation of the best lands (pampas with a humid climate) now belonging to the landlords, and national and foreign joint stock companies, which are usually imperialist. The lands are then to be handed over to the peasants, small owners, tenant farmers, agricultural workers and young people who are engaged in farming, or wish to be farmers. Only in this way will the best land be put in agricultural use, the production targets provided for in the Pact achieved, and the home market rapidly expanded to meet the increased demand for produce among millions of peasants, workers, technicians and people in the professions. The living standards of the population will improve. It will be possible to raise labor productivity by applying the latest scientific-technical methods, and wide prospects will open out for the independent development of our industry and for the sale of its products.

With this aim in view and in accordance with our election program, our deputies and those of the Popular Revolutionary Alliance will submit to Parliament a draft bill of a comprehensive and radical agrarian reform drawn up on the basis of the UPARA original draft. The approval and carrying out of such an agrarian reform can lead to revolutionary changes in the structure of Argentina's agriculture and in the national political process as a whole.

Thus, to fight for a fundamental agrarian reform means to fight for liberation and to start a democratic, agrarian and anti-imperial-

ist revolution essential to the country in its inevitable advance toward socialism.

It is obvious that the success of this struggle depends to a great extent on the active and conscious participation by Communists in the peasants' movement and in the peasants' struggle to achieve their demands within the framework of the general struggle for an agrarian reform. It also depends on a correct and energetic implementation of our policy and tactics in the new situation prevailing in the country. All the efforts of the provincial, regional and local Party committees must be concentrated on the achievement of this main task.

The success of the struggle for transforming the structure of agriculture which is a part of our struggle for national and social liberation, will also depend on the numerical growth of our Party and the Communist Youth Federation in the peasant sector, in the predominantly agricultural regions and populated areas. Success depends on to what extent the Party attracts the more staunch and best representatives of the peasantry, tenant farmers, sharecroppers and agricultural workers, members of their families and young people who wish to work on the land and need appropriate help from the government to cultivate our fertile soil with complete confidence.

The Central Committee calls for increasing the ranks of the Party and those of the Communist Youth Federation in the villages. This is the best guarantee for achieving our immediate demands and opening the way to an agrarian reform which provides the main link in the advance to national and social liberation.

THE EVENTS IN PORTUGAL

Following are two statements of the CC South African CP, published in May 1974.

The whole of progressive mankind celebrates the fall of Caetano's fascist regime. But for the people of Portugal and those of unliberated Africa, the event has a special significance.

After 50 years of fearless resistance our comrades in Portugal's revolutionary underground, liberated from Caetano's jails, emerging from their enforced illegality and returning from exile, are leading the Portuguese people to consolidate and advance the historic gains of the April events. In the embattled Portuguese colonies in Africa the armed liberation forces of FRELIMA, PAIGC and MPLA, after decades of struggle, have made a direct contribution to the toppling

of one of the oldest and most entrenched fascist regimes. In doing so they have made a giant stride in their own advance to inevitable victory.

The events are a major set-back for Vorster, Smith and those groups in Mozambique and Angola still dedicated to minority rule. It is no longer possible for Portuguese imperialism to be in intimate and open embrace with them. They fear that the sweep of the Portuguese revolution may erode completely this important pillar of the unholy tripartite alliance.

In South Africa our people will gain enormous encouragement from the changed situation. It has shown them once again that the power of a people struggling for their just rights, is supreme. To continue its domination, fascist Portugal poured into its territories hundreds of thousands of troops, the most modern and advanced weaponry, and billions in money. Yet faced with this overwhelming military superiority the guerrilla in the bush — the peasant and worker soldiers of the people's liberation armies — backed by the material and moral solidarity of the OAU, the socialist countries and the working class and democratic forces of the world, struck blow after blow until it became obvious to the enemy that no amount of force could put out the fires of liberation. It was proved in Vietnam. It is being proved once again in the Portuguese colonies and the blows for freedom which have been struck there are also blows for our own freedom.

In South Africa the fear within the enemy camp of the liberation forces creeping closer is no longer a projection for the future, but an immediate reality and we can, as a result, expect a heightening of the tensions and contradictions within the ruling class on the most effective answer to this threat.

In Zimbabwe the conditions for struggle by the liberation forces will become increasingly more favorable in direct proportion to the successes of FRELIMO, with Smith facing a situation in which he has not safe access to the coast except through South Africa and a hostile border of over a thousand miles.

In Mozambique, Angola and Guinea Bissau, a new and more favorable dimension has been added to the struggles of the people in these areas.

At the time of writing it is too early to predict the precise course of the future and, in particular, the extent to which reaction both in Portugal and Africa will manage to regroup and take steps to stem the tide of change which the events so far seem to make possible. For the Portuguese people, the taste of freedom and the new release of democratic political energies place on the agenda a thorough-going, social transformation internally, and an immediate end to Portuguese *imperialist* domination. This task is a complex one and, as stated by the general secretary of the Portuguese Communist Party, Alvaro

Cunhal, "The popular movement is on the upsurge but difficulties caused by the vestiges of the Salazar corporative state remain."

Communists supported the junta, he said because it was the result not of a military state coup, but a mass movement of the people, and the democratic measures undertaken by the junta would get the support of all communists.

On the situation in Africa, comrade Cunhal stated unequivocally that the people stood for the granting of immediate independence to the peoples of Angola, Guinea and Mozambique, although "among a part of the armed forces there is not yet the necessary clarity as to the ways and means and the time-table of the solution to this problem."

For the liberation movements in the Portuguese territories the stage has been set by their struggle which played such an important part in the destruction of the Caetano regime, to force an early settlement in their areas on the only acceptable basis — genuine independence under the leadership of the liberation organizations.

For the liberation movements in the other embattled areas of the south — in South Africa, Zimbabwe and Namibia—the new situation calls for an intensification of all forms of struggle, not only in the interests of their own people, but also to weaken Vorster's and Smith's capacity to pre-empt the full consequences of the recent events by direct or indirect intervention.

But whatever the outcome, and from whatever angle we examine the latest developments, it is crystal clear that the new situation has made the conditions of struggle, both in Portugal and in Africa, more favorable for the freedom forces, and has brought closer the ultimate triumph of the cause of national and social liberation.

POWER TO THE PEOPLE!

29 April, 1974

THE SOUTH AFRICAN ELECTIONS

The all-white electorate in South Africa has once again gone to the polls to elect its all-white Parliament.* Vorster's regime has received a renewed "mandate" with an increased majority to rule over a country in which 80 per cent of our people have neither the right to vote or to stand for government office.

The 26 years since the Nationalist government took power have

*Under the racist law of the Vorster regime, only 2,200,000 whites had the right to vote in the parliamentary elections held April 24, 1974. The more than 16 million indigenous Africans, 2 million coloreds and around 700,000 Asians living in the South African Republic are denied suffrage.—Ed.

seen an unprecedented attack on the rights of the black people and their political leaders by techniques ranging from administrative and political dictatorship to open terror. Those who should be sitting in our country's Parliament are incarcerated in Robben Island and other notorious prisons.

The gap between white wealth and black poverty is greater now than it was in 1948 when the present regime took office. Lying statistics are poured out externally, comparing the income of South Africa's black people with those of the independent states of Africa still suffering from the ravages of centuries of imperialist exploitation. Yet there is no country in the world, whether in Africa or elsewhere, in which the majority of the people have such a small share of the wealth which they create, as in South Africa. It is in an attempt to perpetuate this state of affairs that the overwhelming majority of the white electorate showed in this election its renewed commitment to a policy of race domination.

It would be illusory to exaggerate the significance of the gains made by the Progressive Party.* In the first place the Progressive Party is neither committed to a policy of immediate majority rule, nor does it recognize the right of the black majority to use its organized strength to wrest power from the white racists. Secondly, the minor Progressive Party advances must be seen in the context of an overall hardening of support by the overwhelming majority of the white voters for a regime committed to race exploitation and a white monopoly of all levels of social and political power.

On the whole this latest election reinforces the conviction of our voiceless people that no answer can be found within the white monopolized constitutional framework. In place of meaningful political power the black majority are offered so-called "homelands" in 13 per cent of the country's land in which is to be found hardly one per cent of its industrial and financial riches created by the black people's labor. More and more this Bantustan fraud is advanced by white politicians and those appointed by them to run these impoverished tribal reservations in order to divert the black majority from their undoubted stake in the whole of our country.

It is clear that the will of the true majority in South Africa can only be expressed through mass organization and mass resistance, including armed struggle, and not through choices made by those whose privileges and comforts are based on race domination. And when the people's liberation struggle inevitably triumphs there will be an end to the "democratic" charade which is played out every five years among the whites to choose a regime best suited to safeguard their interests.

*This party won 46 seats in parliament, five seats more than in the previous elections.—Ed.

FREEDOM FOR RODNEY ARISMENDI!

Below follows the full text of a statement released by the Communist Party of Uruguay on May 13, 1974.

On May 8, the repressive forces of the Uruguayan dictatorship arrested the First Secretary of the Communist Party, Comrade Rodney Arismendi. Also arrested was Comrade Alberto Altesor, member of the Executive Committee, outstanding member of the labor and revolutionary movement.*

For the anti-imperialist, popular and labor movement this is an extremely serious development adding to the numerous other heinous acts being perpetrated for almost a year by the Brazilian-style dictatorship of the "gorillas" headed by Bordaberry and his civilian and military accomplices. The coup d'état liquidated democratic institutions, dissolved parliament, violated all freedoms and established a dictatorial regime at the service of the oligarchy and Yankee imperialism, supported by the CIA and Brazilian "gorilla" generals.

Rodney Arismendi, outstanding political figure, intellectual, scholar and revolutionary, Marxist-Leninist and consistent fighter against imperialism, has passionately defended the social rights and demands of the working class and people of Uruguay through the press and in parliament. His whole life has been dedicated to the struggle for the unity of the people of Uruguay and other peoples in the worldwide struggle against imperialism and capitalism, the enemies of progress, peace and human happiness. His personal prestige goes beyond the boundaries of his native land, his beloved Uruguay and his public activity has gained him continental and even worldwide stature. Arismendi has travelled a long road of an internationalist and fighter against imperialism, to say nothing of his valuable creative contributions in the last 25 years as a publicist, speaker at international Marxist forums and leader of the Communist Party of Uruguay.

Together with his Party, Rodney Arismendi is actively fighting for the unity of the international Communist movement. He is the author of a number of books, notably on the Latin American revolutionary movement.

Rodney Arismendi's arrest is an attempt by the Uruguayan dictatorship to stem the mounting tide of the popular struggle and resistance to the obnoxious regime. It is a grave blow to the working class and the Uruguayan people, who in Rodney Arismendi and the

*As reported later by the CPU, the person arrested together with Rodney Arismendi was not Alberto Altesor but his son Ivan, member of the Young Communist League of Uruguay. At the same time the owner of the house where Arismendi and two other Communists were staying was also arrested and tortured.—Ed.

Communist Party he headed have always had a reliable support and leadership in the many diverse social and political confrontations in which the past and present history of Uruguay has abounded.

The ultra-right dictatorship, which now holds Arismendi in prison, has for more than 10 months been keeping behind bars General Liber Seregni, that great patriot and military man of merit, president of the Broad Front upholding the dignity of the Uruguayan people, who is now seen as a symbol of the hundreds and thousands of people arrested, tortured and killed by the Bordaberry dictatorship. Seregni is being kept in harsh, inhuman conditions aimed at gradually wearing him down physically and morally. Torture and murder is what characterizes this grim period in the life of Uruguay.

Rodney Arismendi and his comrades have been arrested at a time of the steadily rising struggle of the working class, students and middle sections, at a time when the isolation, decay, decomposition and internal contradictions of the dictatorship are becoming apparent, when its reputation has plummeted because of the catastrophic economic and social situation into which it has led the country, and because of the worldwide protests leading to the isolation of Bordaberry and his reactionary clan on the international scale as well.

Internal isolation is growing. It should not be forgotten that the immediate response to the establishment of the dictatorship of June 27, 1973 was the glorious 15-day general strike headed by the National Labor Convent, and that a sustained struggle has been waged against the dictatorship throughout this period in spite of fierce repression, unimaginable torture and the murder of patriots. The large demonstrations on May Day, the international labor day, were the culminating point of a new wave of protests against the dictatorship, despite new arrests, beatings up and torture.

All Uruguay knows that the Communist Party, whose main leader is Arismendi, is at the very hub of the struggle and that, as a component of the Broad Front, it is a prime force in the struggle and resistance which will sooner or later topple the vile oppressors.

This is one reason, among others, why imperialism, the CIA and reaction have sought Arismendi's arrest. And that is why the life and personal safety of that fine fighter are in jeopardy and will remain in jeopardy as long as he remains in the clutches of the dictatorship.

Revolutionary activity at home and abroad, the prestige of a fearless fighter for social justice, a bright life from early youth devoted wholly and irrevocably to the cause of democracy, socialism and humanity — all this has made Rodney Arismendi a genuine son of the land of Artigas in the eyes of Communists and all fighters against the dictatorship in Uruguay, a prestigious leader of their struggle.

Arismendi's arrest has deeply shaken the people of Uruguay be-

cause it means that the dictatorship holds in its hands one more hostage, and unless the struggle of the Uruguayan people and international solidarity intervene, the life of this new victim of Bordaberry is in danger, for there is adequate proof of the brutal, criminal hate of the present leaders of Uruguay.

We therefore appeal for the broadest solidarity of all fighting democrats, all revolutionary organizations and, especially, all brother parties. We are confident that the Uruguayan people will not retreat, that, on the contrary, it will step up its struggle for the release of Arismendi, General Seregni and all political prisoners. International solidarity is of decisive importance to stay the hand of the dictatorship. The life and freedom of Rodney Arismendi depend on this active solidarity. We count on it in the name of the Communist Party of Uruguay and all revolutionary fighters and democrats.

STATEMENT OF THE CC OF THE CPSU IN CONNECTION WITH THE ARREST OF COMRADE RODNEY ARISMENDI

Rodney Arismendi, prominent Uruguayan statesman and politician, elder member of Parliament, First Secretary of the Communist Party of Uruguay, was arrested May 8 in Uruguay.

Comrade R. Arismendi is an eminent member of the international Communist and workers' movement, a tireless champion of peace, democracy and social progress, of the vital interests of the working people and all Uruguayans. For many years he has consistently spoken in defense of the country's national interests, for social and economic change, sparing no effort to see them realized in conditions of democratic rights and freedoms.

Having launched repressions against the nation's democratic and patriotic forces, the reactionary circles of Uruguay banned the Communist Party and the National Labor Convent. Today they are engaged in an extensive campaign of intimidation and persecution against Communists, Socialists and other genuine patriots and democrats.

The Central Committee of the CPSU resolutely protests against these illegal, arbitrary acts, against the persecution of Uruguayan patriots and democrats, and calls upon the democratic and progressive forces of the world to come out actively in defense of all Uruguayan democrats, to save the life of Rodney Arismendi and prevent any acts of violence against him.

The CC CPSU demands freedom for Rodney Arismendi, an end to the persecution of Communists and all other Uruguayan patriots and democrats.

Pravda, 15 May, 1974

Many other Communist and Workers' Parties have also issued state-

ments demanding the release of Rodney Arismendi and other political prisoners, Uruguayan patriots and democrats, and an end to the continued repressions. The movement of international solidarity with the Communists and democrats of Uruguay is expanding in Latin America and all over the world.

FROM THE PARTY PRESS

COMMUNIST PARTY OF AUSTRALIA — WHITHER?

M. FAROOQI

The Communist Party of Australia, (CPA) is facing another crisis. In 1968 a section of the CPA membership, including a section of its leadership, left the party and formed the Socialist party of Australia (SPA). Recently the president of the CPA, John Sendy, sent a letter to the party leadership as well as made it available to party members. Expressing his "grave concern for the party," Sendy's letter opens with a sharp poser:

Is the party going to develop as a responsible communist political organization?

"Or is the party going to degenerate into a tiny isolated sect abdicating its mass influence and merely rivalling the various left group-lets abounding in the country?"

He has warned that "unless a stern stand is made against certain trends which are in evidence at the present time" the party will "inevitably arrive at the latter destination," i.e., degenerate into one of the many left grouplets.

Neither the tragic split of 1968 nor the present crisis situation in the CPA was inevitable. It is only because the dominant section of the present CPA leadership (the national secretary Laurie Aarons among them) has been pursuing in recent years a course which is not only different from but even fundamentally opposed to Marxism-Leninism and to the generally accepted positions of the international communist movement. In fact reading through the published documentary material of the CPA one feels aghast, as well as sorry, that a party which calls itself communist should descend to such opportunist positions as expressed in its official policy documents, speeches and statements.

REPUDIATION OF MARXISM-LENINISM

The CPA now does not even recognize Marxism-Leninism. In an article entitled "Explosion, explosion exploded," published in the official weekly of the party, *Tribune*, 21-27 August 1913 (which was a

Party Life. Fortnightly journal of the Communist Party of India. Vol. X, No. 3, 22. II. 1974.

number 9-10, 1974 89

polemical review of a book: "A False Philosophy Exploded"* written by W. J. Brown of the SPA), one of the CPA leaders, Harry Gould, calls Marxism-Leninism a "misnomer." He declares that the term Marxism-Leninism was coined by Stalin "to advance his own cultist standing."

The CPA National Committee adopted on 7-8 April 1973 a statement: "The Communist Party of Australia and the International Communist Movement," wherein the party is merely described as "an independent revolutionary party working for socialist revolution . . ." Nowhere in the document is the term Marxism-Leninism or Marxism, mentioned even once. A Communist Party does not describe itself merely as a "revolutionary party" or a party "working for socialist revolution." In many capitalist countries (including Australia) there are all kinds of groups and organizations calling themselves "revolutionary" and proclaiming "socialism" as their goal. But does that make them communist? What distinguishes a communist party from any kind of a revolutionary party is the former's adherence to the ideology of Marxism-Leninism. And that is a fundamental point.

In the aforementioned document the CPA national leadership has affirmed that it maintains the "position adopted at the 1969 international meeting, subsequently reaffirmed and never openly challenged, namely, that all parties in the international communist movement are independent, have equal rights and shape their own policies according to their own specific situation."

But the CPA statement has neatly avoided to mention that the relevant paragraph of the 1960 statement (of 81 parties) to which the CPA has referred says something more than this. It specifically lays down that shaping of policies will be on the basis of "Marxist-Leninist principles." The relevant paragraph of the 1960 statement is as follows:

"All the Marxist-Leninist parties are independent and have equal rights; they shape their policies according to the specific conditions in their respective countries *and in keeping with Marxist-Leninist principles . . .*" (emphasis ours—M.F.)

Is this omission about Marxist-Leninist principles in the CPA policy document accidental? We do not think so. *First*, as stated earlier, the position of the present CPA leadership is that Marxism-Leninism is a "misnomer." *Second*, the CPA leaders seem to have become very fond of the "virtues" of Trotsky. And to cover up fondness for Trotsky, even Lenin's name is misused. Harry Gould, after commending Trotsky's "leadership of the Red Army" and his "presentation of dialectical materialism" (and quoting Lenin in this context) and his writings on literature and art as "very important additions to Marx-

*"A False Philosophy Exploded" — a reply to E. Aarons' "Philosophy for an Exploding World." Published by the Socialist Party of Australia—July, 1973.—Ed.

ist ideology," makes the astounding statement: "Harm done by 'trotskyism,' past and present, is not one-thousandth as destructive as Stalinism, past and present . . ." (*Tribune*, 21-27, August 1973).

The conclusion is inescapable that Harry Gould (who is part of the present CPA leadership) would have preferred Trotsky to succeed Lenin — to carry forward his (Trotsky's) "world revolution!" The whole struggle about whether or not socialism can be built in one country (i.e. the Soviet Union) — the struggle between Trotsky on the one hand and Lenin and the Soviet Communist Party on the other — is sought to be completely glossed over!

THE SO-CALLED THEORY OF "SOCIALIST-BASED"

The CPA has coined a new theory about the Soviet Union and other socialist countries — that they are *not* socialist but "socialist-based." The CPA national secretary Laurie Aarons, reporting to his National Committee on 3-4 November 1973, formulated that "the essence of socialism is complete human liberation, economic, social and spiritual; *this is neither achieved in the USSR, nor is it the perspective for development of Soviet society in the present conditions*" (emphasis ours—M.F.)

In fact reading through the report one gets the impression that Laurie Aarons accepts even this formulation (i.e. "socialist-based") very grudgingly. He seems to be almost at the point of refusing to accept even the "socialist-based." This is what he says:

"More needs to be said about social relations in the USSR — not 'classes' in the classical sense, but questions raised by large inequalities in incomes (and other privileges); the differences between peasantry and working class; the nature of the bureaucracy (whether one calls it an elite, a caste or even a class). There are problems in the social base; they do and must interact upon the superstructure" (*Tribune*, 13-19 November, 1973).

That the dominant leadership of the CPA actually denies the existence of a socialist society in the Soviet Union (and in other socialist countries) is evident from the fact that in the week following the publication of this report by Aarons, there appeared in the *Tribune* (20-26 November 1973) the text of a resolution adopted by a state committee of the CPA (South Australian State Committee). The resolution among other things proclaims that:

"In the light of these points our party must conclude: (a) that the USSR cannot be described as 'socialist' or even 'socialist-based'; (b) that the CPSU cannot be assumed to be furthering the cause of socialism, let alone leading it; (c) any close association with it would seriously damage our relations with revolutionary progressive forces here and overseas, and would lay us open to opportunist manipulation by the CPSU."

The very fact that the official organ of the CPA chose to give publicity to this resolution under the amazing caption "Is the USSR Socialist?" shows that the dominant leadership is in sympathy with this understanding. So if the CPA leadership is to be believed, there is no such thing as a socialist system in the world; peoples of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries have yet to conduct a struggle to bring about a socialist society!

And what kind of "socialism" would the CPA leadership like to have? Dubcek is their obvious model. The CPA leadership continues to adopt till today a hostile position in regard to the Warsaw Pact countries' friendly support to Czechoslovakia in 1968 (which became necessary to save the socialist system from being overthrown by the forces of counter-revolution which were preparing themselves under cover of Dubcek's so-called "socialism with a human face"). The CPA leadership is also hostile to the present leaders of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia for the same reason.

Thus the CPA leadership is prepared to use all the discarded names (from Trotsky to Dubcek) to strike at the Soviet Union and the socialist countries. It is a strange amalgam of revisionism of both types, left and right.

OPPOSITION TO POLICY OF DETENTE

Having disposed of socialism in the USSR and in other socialist countries, the dominant CPA leadership turns its "analytical" attention to the concept of peaceful coexistence and particularly to the new phase in the struggle for peaceful coexistence between two social systems. While paying lip service to the concept of peaceful coexistence between imperialist and socialist countries as "clearly necessary as an alternative to world war," the CPA national secretary Aarons in his report to the National Committee of his party (published in the *Tribune*, 20-26 November, 1973) denounced Soviet foreign policy as "primarily concerned with its state interests," and its (Soviet) support to national-liberation struggles as dictated by "clearly national-state interests." Aarons accuses the Soviet Union of having "the bigger design of U.S.-Soviet accommodation and cooperation" at the expense of revolutionary movements in various parts of the world. He particularly mentions Indochina where the Soviet Union is supposed to have attempted to "trade some interests of the Indochina revolutionary struggle with U.S. imperialism." Aarons claims that such "trading of interests" did not succeed because of the opposition of the Vietnamese. No wonder that Aarons fails to mention the invaluable help rendered by the Soviet Union and other socialist countries in the heroic struggle of the Vietnamese people (as well as other people of Indochina), which has been repeatedly acclaimed by the Vietnamese.

Earlier, in July 1973, the Tribune carried a report with a bold caption: "Nixon-Brezhnev Deal." It is accompanied by a most horrifying cartoon in which Nixon and Brezhnev are embracing each other and Karl Marx with his *Das Capital* in his hand finds himself crushed under this embrace. This is the report "by a special correspondent" analyzing the results of Brezhnev's historic visit to Washington last summer. Reading this report one cannot but draw the conclusion that in the opinion of the CPA leadership the policy of peaceful co-existence as is being carried out by the Soviet leadership means "maintaining the status quo and the existing division of the world," etc. Thus the Soviet leaders are accused of entering into a collusion with U.S. imperialism to divide the world for their "national-state interests" and of betraying the revolution!

Progressive mankind throughout the world, communist and workers' parties, all the other anti-imperialist and peace forces, are rejoicing at the new, positive turn in the world situation — the transition from the era of cold war to that of détente. This has come about because of the *decisive change in the correlation of forces in the world in favor of the anti-imperialist forces fighting for peace, independence and socialism*. The socialist system, headed by the Soviet Union, has played the most important role in bringing about this changed correlation of forces. Only the blind anti-Sovieters cannot see the victories of our great cause in Europe (recognition of GDR and the postwar realities), in Vietnam and even to some extent in West Asia, etc. Does the operation of Soviet foreign policy lead to the maintenance of status quo or its opposite? Has the Soviet Union stopped supporting the anti-imperialist revolutionary movements because of its policy of peaceful coexistence? Genuine revolutionaries all over the world recognize the assistance and help of the great Soviet Union.

Fidel Castro in a recent speech has called the existence of the Soviet Union a privilege for the socialist countries, for the revolutionaries. The CPA leadership instead of joining the ranks of anti-imperialists in welcoming these changes in the international situation has chosen the opposite course of indulging in calumnies and slanders invented by anti-Communists against the Soviet Union.

IS IT HONESTY?

It is amazing that the CPA leadership makes such accusations against the Soviet Union even after having agreed in public statement following a discussion with the CPSU leadership in Moscow (talks between the two delegations were held between 28 September and 2 October 1973*) that:

"The CPA delegation noted with pleasure, during its stay in Mos-

*For full text of the communique see Information Bulletin No. 20, 1973.— Ed.

cow, new achievements of the Soviet people in implementing their program of communist construction and welcome the peace initiatives of the USSR in the international arena" (Tribune, 6-12 November 1973. Emphasis ours).

In Moscow the CPA delegation headed by Laurie Aarons (1) notes with pleasure achievements in communist construction; (2) welcomes peace initiatives in the international arena.

Back in Australia, Laurie Aarons forgets (!) both these things, What are we to make of it?

The CPA chairman Sendy in his letter (already mentioned) has expressed concern at this kind of development in his party. He says:

"Some leading comrades really want a decisive break between the CPA and the CPSU. They want to finish with the CPSU 'once for all.' They think to do so will assist us to build and develop the CPA . . ."

He calls the idea of equating the USSR with U.S. imperialism as "ludicrous."

Sendy has also expressed alarm that "a growing number of leading comrades have concluded that the USSR is not a socialist country nor even a socialist-based country."

He adds: "It seems that the main stress at the coming congress* will be on our analysis of USSR and the CPSU. Should this be so?"

Obviously things in the CPA have gone so far as to compel even its chairman to express his concern and alarm.

TRADE UNION POLICY

With the earlier split in the party, the CPA lost a great deal of its trade-union base and cadre. Now whatever is left is sought to be disorganized by hounding out old and important comrades having a mass base and experience of mass struggles. This is being done, *first* by branding these comrades as reformist and *second* by "trying to impose some queer amalgam of a few militant industrial workers, high-school and university students, and protagonists from small narrow political groups trying to set up special organizations to 'lead' the industrial masses," as CPA chairman Sendy points out in his aforementioned letter.

An idea is being propagated that the CPA has to start all over again on the trade-union front — an idea which Sendy terms "an insult to hundreds of party trade-union activists and to not a few

*"International Bulletin," Communist Party of Australia, No. 5, published May 1974. The 24th National Congress of the Communist Party of Australia will take place in Sydney from June 14 through to June 17, 1974.

The Congress will consider four draft statements submitted by the National Committee. These are a political resolution, a resolution on the workers' movement, a resolution on women and their social liberation, and a statement on the international movement in the struggle against imperialism. Congress will also consider resolutions submitted by members and party organizations.

trade-union officials who, with whatever weaknesses they may display, have worked solidly for the working class and the party."

NIHILISM IN PARTY ORGANIZATION AND REJECTION OF LENINIST PRINCIPLES

The CPA under its present leadership has repudiated the Leninist principles of party organization on which all the Marxist-Leninist parties in the world base themselves. In 1967 itself, the 21st Congress of the CPA, on the recommendation of the leadership headed by Aarons, more or less eliminated the principle of democratic centralism from the party constitution.

The new program (adopted in 1967) says:

"We reject the idea of so-called 'monolithic organization . . .' It (the party) aims to subject all theories and forms of organization to critical analysis."

The CPA program is also prepared to welcome into its ranks "all socialists who share its (party's) basic ideas, even though they may differ on some points . . ."

It is obvious what they aim to build is not a revolutionary Marxist-Leninist party, but a kind of amorphous organization, some sort of a debating society.

Here one is compelled to recall the controversy between the bolsheviks led by Lenin, and the mensheviks in the first decade of this century — a controversy in which the bolshevik principles of party organization triumphed. It seems the CPA leadership is trying to build this party on the discarded organizational principles of menshevism.

It is known that while the proletarian elements in the CPA are being thrown out, the doors of the party has been opened for elements hostile to communism, to known trotskyites and to the elements from the so-called "neo-left." It is amazing that the well-known leader of one of the two Australian trotskyite groups, D. Freney, has been included in the editorial board of the *Tribune*.

By pursuing such organizational norms the dominant leadership of the CPA has landed the party into a quagmire. Sections of the CPA have even degenerated and their approach can by no standards be called revolutionary. For instance, we were shocked to find that the state conference of the West Australian branch of the CPA adopted a resolution asking that incest (sexual relations within prohibited kindred, like brothers and sisters) be made legal! It also demanded that sodomy and homosexuality should not be considered a criminal offence.

Perhaps the West Australian communists have nothing better to do than pass resolutions on such questions.

It is a great tragedy of the CPA that its present leadership by repudiating Marxism-Leninism, proletarian internationalism and taking recourse to anti-Sovietism has brought the party to such a pass. The CPA is more than 50 years old. It produced in the past several leaders who were known for their fidelity to Marxism-Leninism, to proletarian internationalism, leaders like G. B. Miles, Lawrence Sharkey, James Healy and Katharine Susannah Prichard (renowned novelist) and others. The party has many rich revolutionary traditions. The present leadership of the CPA appears to have said good-bye to all that revolutionary part of the CPA.

The Australian communists, true Marxist-Leninists, will no doubt strive to build once again a genuinely revolutionary party based on Marxism-Leninism. It will be a difficult struggle. But we have confidence in the ultimate victory in the struggle for the reassertion of the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism.

BILATERAL MEETINGS

JOINT COMMUNIQUE ON THE VISIT TO GDR BY DELEGATION FROM CP NORWAY

Below is the slightly abridged text of the communique published in **Neues Deutschland** on May 2nd.

At the invitation of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany (SUPG), a delegation from the Communist Party of Norway (CPN) led by its Chairman Reidar Larsen visited the German Democratic Republic from April 25-29, 1974.

The delegation included Rolf Nettum, Deputy Chairman of the Party, and Birger Bakken, CC member and chairman of the Party leadership in the Buskerud district.

Erich Honecker, First Secretary CC SUPG, warmly welcomed the Norwegian delegation and there was a wide-ranging exchange of views with the CC SUPG delegation headed by Hermann Axen, Political Bureau member and a secretary of the CC SUPG.

The talks revealed a complete identity of views on all the questions under discussion and contributed to the further strengthening of fraternal relations between the two parties.

I.

During the talks the delegations exchanged information on the policies of their respective parties. The CPN delegation paid high tribute to the successes achieved by the SUPG in fulfilling the decisions of its Eighth Party Congress. It emphasized the significance of the crisis-free uninterrupted development of the GDR and expressed appreciation and praise for the big and rapid successes achieved in all spheres of social life in the country.

In view of the profound crisis of capitalism, it is now more clear than ever that only socialism can solve social problems in the interests of the working people.

The SUPG delegation was highly appreciative of the successes of the CPN in its struggles on behalf of the Norwegian working class, for the creation of a broad alliance of progressive anti-monopoly forces and the defense of Norway's national independence. It highly praised the formation of the "Socialist Electoral Alliance" in which the socialist and democratic forces of Norway conduct a successful struggle for the national and social interests of the Norwegian people. It also expressed its pleasure at the fact that the CPN had made

substantial advances in carrying out the decisions of its 14th Congress.

II.

The delegations welcomed the current changeabout from cold war to détente and the practical application of the principles of peaceful coexistence between states with differing social structures.

They stressed that the successes on the road to détente and peace had been achieved mainly due to joint action by the countries of the socialist community and their active policy of peace, and to the struggle of the working class, led by the Communist parties in the capitalist countries, as well as the struggle of the progressive forces throughout the world.

The SUPG and CPN stand for an early and successful completion of the European Security and Cooperation Conference through top-level agreements and consider that political détente must be supplemented by measures for cuts in the armed forces and armaments.

Both delegations agree that, in the future too, it is essential to exert great efforts to consolidate and continue the process of détente in Europe and to weaken its opponents. They also stress the need for consistent opposition to the imperialist campaign of slander against the Soviet Union and other socialist states.

III.

The SUPG and the CPN are agreed that the 1969 International Communist Meeting held in Moscow made a great contribution to strengthening the unity of the world communist movement on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism; and also proved the great significance and value of such meetings.

Both delegations regarded the conference of Communist Parties of the capitalist countries of Europe, held in Brussels in January 1974, as an important step in strengthening the unity of the international communist movement.

The delegations declared their complete solidarity with the struggle of the Chilean people against the fascist military junta. They reiterated their demand for the release of the General Secretary of the Communist Party of Chile, Comrade Luis Corvalan and all other imprisoned Chilean patriots. Both delegations favored a political solution to the Middle East conflict in line with the resolutions of the UN Security Council. They demanded a strict observance of the Paris Agreement on Vietnam by the Saigon regime and the U.S.

The delegations of both parties noted with satisfaction that the cooperation between the SUPG and the CPN had made good progress

and welcomed the strengthening of existing fraternal relations in the spirit of proletarian internationalism.

Berlin, April 29, 1974.

IN THE SOVIET UNION

Alexei N. Kosygin, Political Bureau member, CC CPSU, and Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR, met on April 13 with Pham Van Dong Political Bureau member, CC WPPV and Prime Minister of the DRV government, and Nguyen Duy Trinh, Political Bureau member, CC WPPV, deputy Prime Minister and Foreign Minister of the DRV who had arrived in Moscow on their way home.

Pham Van Dong told the Soviet leader about the DRV delegation's visit to Cuba, Algeria, Yugoslavia and Sweden and stressed its importance for closer relations between the DRV and these countries.

The two sides exchanged views on Soviet-Vietnamese cooperation in various fields, on the situation in Vietnam and on some international problems of interest to their countries.

The Soviet side declared its firm and constant support for the unremitting efforts of the DRV government and the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Vietnam toward ensuring strict implementation of the Paris agreement. It spoke highly of the proposals contained in the PRG RSV declaration of March 22, 1974, which offer a constructive program for settling South Vietnam's internal political problems on the basis of democracy, national concord and conciliation.

The formation in Laos of coalition government bodies was noted with deep satisfaction as a new important step to carry out the agreement on restoring peace and achieving national concord in that country.

The talk, held in an atmosphere of fraternal friendship and cordiality, was attended by other officials of both sides.

Mikhail A. Suslov, Political Bureau member and Secretary of the CC CPSU, had on April 16 a meeting at the CC CPSU with Knud Jespersen, Chairman of the Communist Party of Denmark, who was on a visit to the Soviet Union. M. A. Suslov and K. Jespersen exchanged opinions on steps to extend cooperation between the CPSU and CPD, as well as on current problems of the world Communist movement and the international situation. The exchange confirmed complete unity of views and standpoints on the questions discussed.

K. Jespersen stressed that the Soviet Union's achievements in building communism and carrying out the Peace Program of the 24th CPSU Congress are a factor inspiring the Danish Communists in their fight for the vital interests of the working class and other working people of the country, for peace and social progress.

On behalf of the Soviet Communists, Mikhail Suslov expressed solidarity with the fraternal Communist Party of Denmark, which adheres to consistently internationalist class positions, in its struggle for peace and the cause of the working people of Denmark.

The conversation proceeded in a warm, friendly atmosphere reflecting the nature of relations between the CPSU and CPD.

V. S. Shaposhnikov, deputy head of the CC CPSU International department, took part in the talk.

Leonid I. Brezhnev, General Secretary of the CC CPSU, met in Moscow on April 24 with Yumzhagiin Tsedenbal, First Secretary of the CC MPRP and Chairman of the Council of Ministers of Mongolia.

L. I. Brezhnev and Y. Tsedenbal exchanged information on progress in carrying out the decisions of the 24th Congress of the CPSU and the 16th Congress of the MPRP and on the achievements of their countries in building socialism and communism.

A fruitful exchange of views took place on steps to promote fraternal relations between the two parties and the two countries, as well as on current international problems of interest to either side.

L. I. Brezhnev and Y. Tsedenbal expressed confidence that the Warsaw meeting of the Political Consultative Committee of the Warsaw Treaty countries on April 17 and 18, which had discussed important problems of present-day world politics, would make for closer unity of the socialist countries and for stronger peace and security in Europe and throughout the world.

The talk proceeded in a spirit of cordial friendship and complete identity of views.

Leonid I. Brezhnev, General Secretary of the CC CPSU; Mikhail A. Suslov, Political Bureau member and Secretary of the CC CPSU; Boris N. Ponomarev, alternate member of the Political Bureau and Secretary of the CC CPSU; and Mikhail V. Zimyanin, member of the CC CPSU, met on May 6 with a delegation of the Communist Party of the USA composed of Gus Hall, General Secretary; Henry Winston, National Chairman; and James Jackson, Daniel Rubin and Helen Winter, Political Committee members of the CC CPUSA.

The CPSU delegation told the American CP leaders about its Party's meaningful and steadfast effort to put the decisions of the 24th Congress into effect. Special mention was made of the outstanding achievements made in completing the ninth five-year plan, carrying out new tasks in communist construction and implementing the Peace Program of the Congress, which is expressive of the Soviet Union's fundamental policy of actively upholding peace and the freedom and security of peoples.

The CPSU delegation spoke of the activity of the American Com-

munists and of the Party's struggle for the vital interests of the working people of the United States, for genuine equality, against racism, for democracy and social progress.

The CPSU and CPUSA leaders stressed with satisfaction that the trend toward détente is the dominant feature of world development today. The principle of peaceful coexistence asserts itself more and more in international relations. It was pointed out that détente provides favorable conditions for promoting peace and the security of nations and for safeguarding their freedom and independence.

The CPUSA delegation voiced its support for the favorable turn in Soviet-American relations which has been coming about during the past two years and which serves the interests of both countries and all other nations, being an important factor for détente. CPUSA leaders re-emphasized that Leonid Brezhnev's visit to the United States in 1973 was of exceptional importance to the improvement of the international situation. They voiced their full support for Soviet-American summit meetings, which provide a sound basis for the normal development of Soviet-American relations on the principles of peaceful coexistence, and for closer mutually beneficial cooperation between the two countries.

The CPSU delegation stressed that all Soviet people approve the Party's policy of improving Soviet-American relations and of making this process irreversible, seeing this as the road to lasting world peace and international security.

Both delegations unanimously pointed to the need of advancing along this road and to the importance of achieving new favorable results in Soviet-American talks in the interest of peace.

The representatives of both parties condemned the opponents of détente and advocates of cold war, who try under different pretexts to check the process of détente and prevent a further improvement in Soviet-American relations. The American Communists noted that the activity of these ultra-reactionary forces in the United States is detrimental primarily to the national interests of the American people.

The leaders of the two parties exchanged views on the situation in the world Communist movement and reaffirmed the necessity for the most determined struggle against distortions of Marxism and against Maoism, which has become an outspoken enemy of the Communist and national liberation movements and opposes détente in common with the ultra-reactionary forces. They stressed that international meetings of Communist and Workers' parties play an important part in furthering the unity and cohesion of the world Communist and working-class movement on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism.

Both sides expressed their internationalist solidarity with the just

struggle of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism. They condemned racism in any form and denounced the arbitrary practices of the Chilean fascist junta, and demanded an end to the persecution of Chile's democrats and the immediate release of Luis Corvalan, General Secretary of the Communist Party of Chile, and other political prisoners.

The meeting, held in a cordial, comradely atmosphere typical of relations between the two parties, was attended by members of the Central Auditing Commission of the CPSU, A. M. Alexandrov, assistant to the General Secretary of the CC CPSU, and Y. I. Kuskov, first deputy head of the International Department, CC CPSU.

IN FRANCE

Nikolai V. Podgorny, member of the Political Bureau, CC CPSU and President of the Presidium, Supreme Soviet of the USSR, who had arrived in Paris for the official ceremony in memory of Georges Pompidou, President of the French Republic, met on April 8 with Georges Marchais, General Secretary of the French Communist Party. They exchanged views on steps to promote fraternal cooperation between the CPSU and FCP.

The meeting proceeded in a friendly and cordial atmosphere typical of relations between the two parties.

Other participants in the meeting were: for the French side, Roland Leroy and Gaston Plissonnier, Political Bureau members and Secretaries of the CC FCP; and Jean Kanapa, member of the CC FCP and head of the International department of the CC FCP; for the Soviet side, Vladimir A. Kirillin, member of the CC CPSU, and deputy Chairman, Council of Minister of the USSR; Stepan V. Chervonenko, member of the CC CPSU and Soviet Ambassador to France; and V. V. Kortunov, Assistant to the President of the Presidium, Supreme Soviet of the USSR.

IN CZECHOSLOVAKIA

A Party and government delegation of the Hungarian People's Republic, led by First Secretary Janos Kadar, was on an official visit in Czechoslovakia, April 10-12, at the invitation of its Communist Party and Government.

Wherever it went, the Hungarian delegation was warmly received by Czechoslovak officials and ordinary people. A Czechoslovak-Hungarian friendship rally held in Prague on April 11, was addressed by General Secretary Gustav Husak, and Janos Kadar.

The talks between the two Party and government delegations, head-

ed by G. Husak and J. Kadar respectively, took place in a friendly and comradely atmosphere and a joint communique was published on April 13.

The communique says in part: "The representatives of the CPC and HSWP emphasized that in their international activities both parties will continue to proceed from the documents adopted at the 1969 International Communist Meeting held in Moscow, and also from the decisions of the 14th Congress of the CPC and the 10th Congress of the HSWP. They will ceaselessly strive to strengthen the ideological unity, unity of action and solidarity of the Communist and Workers' parties on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism.

"Both Parties are confident that conditions are now ripening for holding a conference of the Communist and Workers' parties of Europe and for starting preparations for a world conference of the Communist and workers' movement.

"Both fraternal parties reaffirmed their determination to fight against Right-wing opportunism and 'Leftism', revisionism, dogmatism and nationalism, anti-Sovietism and anti-Communism in any form.

"They decisively condemn and will conduct a principled struggle against the splitting activities and great-power chauvinism of the Chinese leadership which are directed against the policy of the Soviet Union, the unity of the international Communist and workers' movement, and the unity of the socialist community of nations. The Chinese leadership joins with the most reactionary forces in the world and strives to weaken the anti-imperialist front. This is detrimental to the Communist and workers' movement, the common cause of all anti-imperialist forces, and the interests of the Chinese people.

"The representatives of both parties noted with satisfaction that in the recent period the struggle of the international working-class movement against the monopoly bourgeoisie has expanded and that the struggle of the peace-loving and progressive forces against imperialism has grown stronger."

PRICE: 10 CENTS

