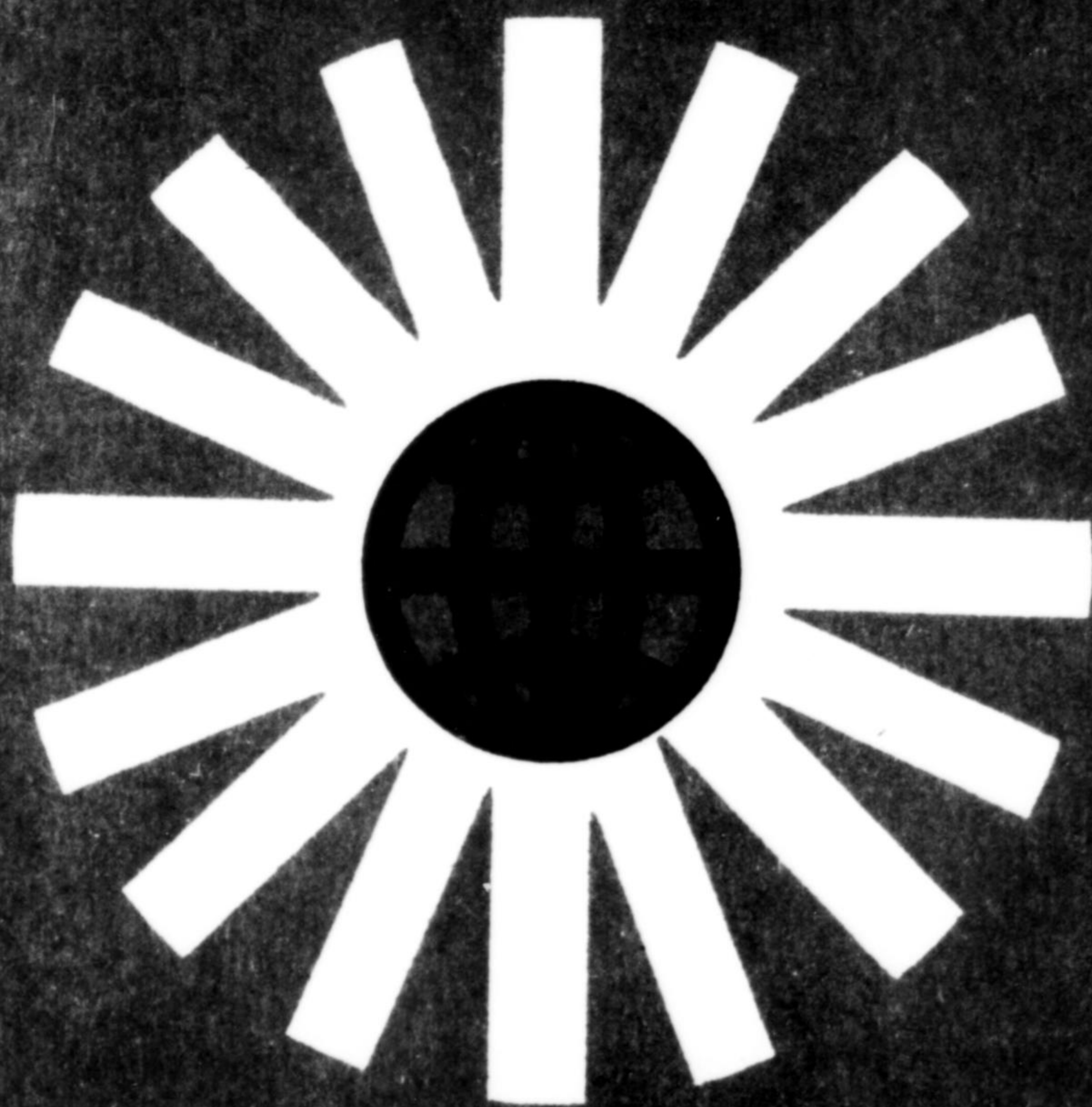
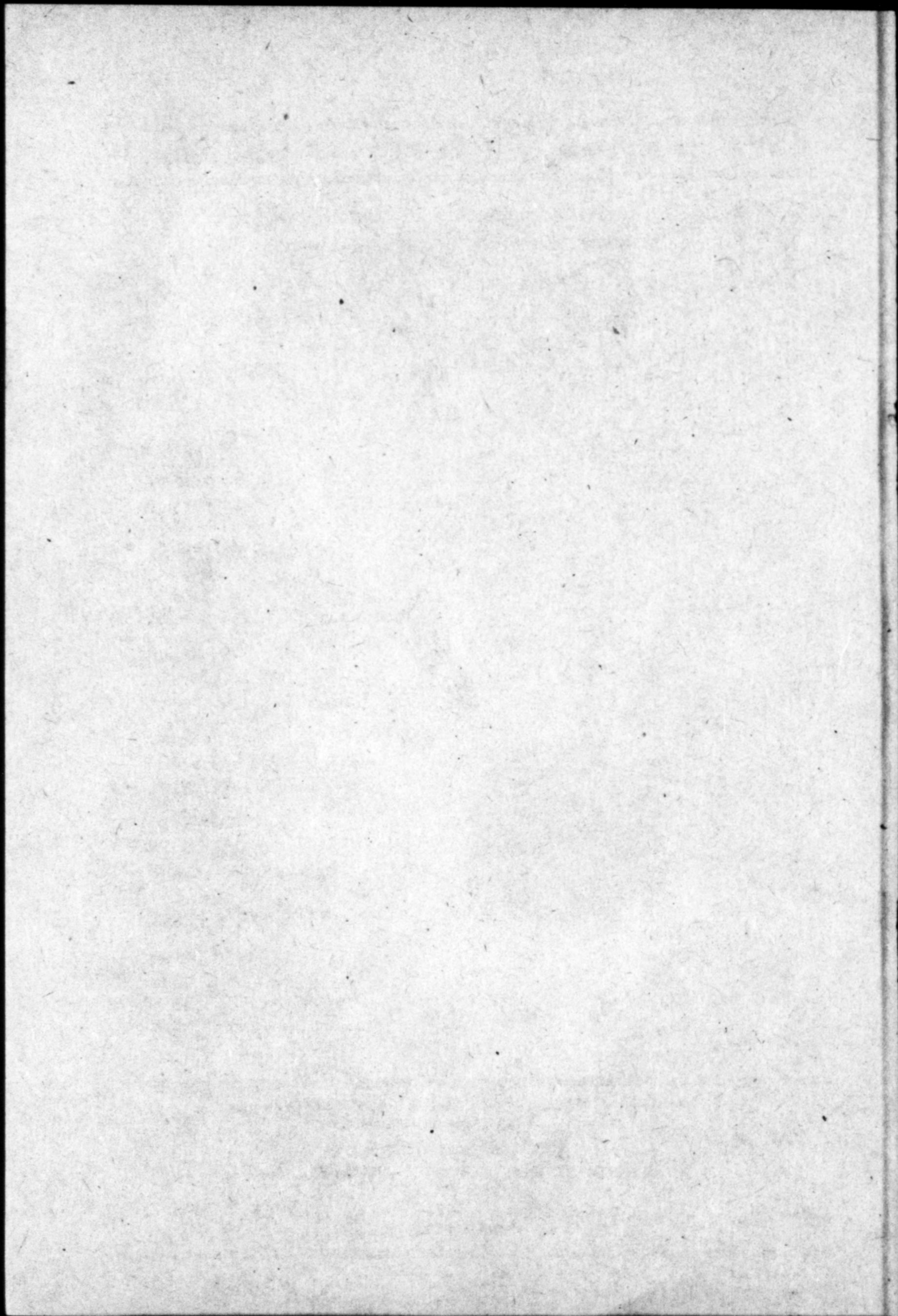


INFORMA





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22ND CONGRESS OF THE CP OF AUSTRIA

The 22nd Congress of the Communist Party of Austria was held in Vienna from January 18-20, 1974. There were 333 full and 114 non-voting delegates representing over 20,000 Austrian Communists. Ninety-five workers, 182 employees, 16 students, 12 professional workers, 41 old-age pensioners and 7 housewives were elected as full delegates. Compared with the 21st Congress, the average age of the delegates had decreased from 48 to 45 years; women delegates numbered 63.

Delegates and representatives from 15 fraternal parties attended the Congress, including a delegation from the CPSU, as well as one from the Journal *World Marxist Review*. Many other fraternal parties sent messages of greeting to the congress.

Congress discussed and approved the Report of the CC CPA, presented by the Party's Chairman, Comrade Franz Muhri, and also the reports of the Central Control and Appeals Commission. Fifty-eight delegates took part in the Congress debate.

Prior to the Congress there were discussions in the Party press and organizations of two documents: "The Politico-Ideological Struggle of the CPA" and "The CPA's Action Program," which continued at the Congress. These documents which included many suggestions and alterations were unanimously adopted.

Congress also passed a number of resolutions on current problems. The delegates, in a separate resolution, reaffirmed their stand on international solidarity, in the first place, with the struggle of the Chilean people, and demanded the immediate release of Luis Corvalan and other Chilean patriots. The Congress called on the working people of the country to intensify their struggle against high prices, for increased wages, and the immediate lowering of taxes on the workers, preservation of existing and the creation of more jobs. Congress also adopted separate resolutions on increasing collection of monies to the Party election and press funds and also the carrying through in March and April of a countrywide Party recruiting campaign under the slogan: "The Stronger the CPA, the Better for the Working Class."

Amendments to the Party Constitution adopted by Congress state that the CPA has close ties with the world Communist movement, the Soviet Union and the socialist countries, and also with progressive, anti-imperialist forces.

In his concluding speech, Comrade Franz Muhri noted that one of the main results of the Congress was the complete consolidation of

the ranks of the Party on principled Marxist-Leninist positions.

Congress elected a new CC of 73 members, a Central Control Commission of 4 and an Appeals Commission of 13 members. Nine members of the old CC were not re-elected either because of illness or old age, and 17 new members were elected, the majority being young Party activists.

At the first Plenum of the new CC held on February 6, Comrade Franz Muhri was again unanimously elected Chairman. Fourteen comrades were elected to the Political Bureau, and the Secretariat of the CC is made up of Comrades Franz Muhri, Erwin Scharf, Walter Wachs and Hans Kalt.

Below we give extracts from the CC Report to the 22nd Congress, the full text of which appeared in "Volkstimme" of January 19, 1974.

THE INTERNATIONAL SITUATION

There have been considerable changes in the international situation since May, 1970, when our 21st Congress met.

The beginnings of a change from cold war in Europe to détente is becoming a reality, and the most important achievement is international legal recognition of the GDR.

Facts show that the improvement in the relations between the U.S. and the Soviet Union by no means implies a "deal between the two super-powers" at the expense of others and of small nations. On the contrary, the U.S. was forced to adopt peaceful coexistence as the basis of its relations with the USSR. This created favorable conditions for strengthening peace throughout the world and had a positive influence on the achievement of the Vietnamese Agreement, on the successes towards détente in Europe, and more recently on the efforts to affect a peaceful solution in the Middle East.

The Soviet Union is a mighty socialist power, and its foreign policy towards small nations is based on the principles of respect for their sovereignty, equal rights and non-interference in their internal affairs.

The U.S. has remained a great imperialist power. And imperialism has not changed in its essence. But it is precisely because the world forces of peace, democracy and socialism have become stronger and increasingly determine the course of world history, that it is now possible to extinguish the local hotbeds of war, make peaceful coexistence a reality and prevent the outbreak of a third world war.

In putting into effect the Peace Program of the 24th Congress of the CPSU, the CPSU has in recent years made a number of initiatory moves, and we are, therefore, justified in speaking of a new Soviet peace offensive. More and more non-Communists now express sincere appreciation of the positive contribution made by Comrade Brezhnev, representing the CPSU and the first socialist state, to the cause of

peace and the people's freedom. The peace policy of the Soviet Union and the countries of the socialist community corresponds to the interests of all peoples.

For this reason we reject the policy of the Chinese leadership, which is more and more directed against the Soviet Union and less and less against American imperialism. The anti-communist and anti-Soviet policy of the Chinese leaders can only benefit imperialism and is also against the interests of the Chinese people themselves.

PLEDGES AND PERFORMANCE OF THE SOCIALIST PARTY OF AUSTRIA

Since our 21st Congress there have been substantial changes, too, in our internal political affairs. As is known, nearly four years ago, for the first time in the history of our country the Socialist Party of Austria (SPA) formed a government which, after the elections to the National Assembly on October 10, 1971, could rely on an absolute Parliamentary majority. Never before has Austrian social-democracy held such a powerful, commanding position in the economy and in the state apparatus. The more than three years' existence of the government of the SPA has demonstrated quite clearly that the dominant figures in the social-democratic leadership have not only long ago discarded any socialist perspective, but have become an important base, the direct agents of the state-monopoly economy of profit.

In March 1970 prior to the elections, Bruno Kreisky stated that the "Socialist Party makes no promises which it would be unable to fulfil after the elections." What is the actual position?

Before the elections the SPA promised to take measures against high prices. In actual fact, high prices have reached gigantic proportions, and further increases have been announced for 1974. Under the existing social system increased prices are a means whereby a small minority of businessmen, speculators, big wholesalers and land-owners can acquire additional profits.

Prior to the elections to the National Assembly in 1970, Federal Chancellor Kreisky demanded "a European level of wages," but despite increased labor productivity, real wages considerably lag behind the levels of other industrial countries. The proportion of wages in the national income has fallen. As formerly, women's wages are, on average, more than a third lower than that of men. Profits have increased considerably faster than wages. The speeding-up process is also playing a greater role.

The economic program of the SPA stated: "The task of the budgetary and tax policy of the government should be concerned to change the grossly unequal distribution of income and its redistribution from those receiving high incomes to those receiving lower incomes." Here, too, the SPA government did the exact opposite. It sharply raised the tax on turnover, and substantially intensified the burden of

taxes on wages, while taxes on capital were lowered, and very many tax allowances and privileges introduced for employers amounting to tens of billions of schillings.

In place of the promised reduction in the remuneration of politicians, there were substantial increases.

Instead of, as promised, building annually an additional 5,000 homes at reasonable prices there were, on average, 4,606 fewer homes built in 1970-1972 than in 1967-69. At the same time prices and rents increased considerably and the building industry made record profits.

Kreisky repeatedly gave assurances that the Social-Democrats intended to bring about "democratization in all spheres of life" and a "permanent process of democratization." However, important decisions are increasingly being hatched by closed caucuses of the so-called "social partners," and in this manner even the formal rights of Parliament are reduced to nought. Decisions on wages policy are made by the trade union leaders and employers, without the participation of the workers and employees concerned. The fact that company observer councils include one third workers' and employees' representatives in no way alters the situation whereby the process of concentration and centralization in the economy is bound up with the further concentration of power in the hands of the few, as happened in the merging of the steel mills. In many enterprises there is no guarantee of freedom of trade union or political activity. Members of factory councils have been dismissed for consistently speaking out for the workers' interests. There is frequently a virtual autocracy in provinces and communes. The Federal Army is being enlarged and more reactionary forces incorporated in its command. The Bill which the government has drawn up on the reform of the Austrian Radio and Television (ART) in no way foreshadows real democratic control. The system of political deception and manipulation of public opinion has probably become still more refined.

Some reforms have been introduced by the Social-Democratic government which have meant an improvement in the position of working people. But then, those who work have never before worked so hard, or paid so much, as they do now, which means they themselves are paying for the reforms.

However, it should be said that if the government has, after all, carried out certain reforms in the interests of the workers, and may introduce more as "election gifts," this is in no small measure due to the fact that Communists conducted a stubborn fight for these demands and gained in influence during the elections to the factory councils and in other elections.

We believe that in the past we failed to sufficiently appreciate the positive role of the Party's struggle for the interests of the working people and the success of the Austrian working class.

POLICY OF BOURGEOIS PARTIES

An important feature of Austrian political life is the intensified attempt on the part of the Austrian People's Party (APP) and the so-called Austrian Freedom Party (AFP) to take advantage of the disillusionment with the policies of the SPA. For this reason they demagogically conduct a pseudo opposition policy. The APP calls itself a "progressive center party" and wants the fact that it remains a capitalist party to be forgotten.

As for the AFP, although it hides behind a mask of liberalism in its efforts to win new sections of the electorate, nothing can alter the fact that politically and ideologically it is to the right of the APP. Its policy is laid down by the old nucleus of the AFP leadership led by S. S. Obersturmführer Peter. The AFP claims to be a "Party of Freedom and Order" by which is actually meant freedom of employers and the order of the exploiters.

The forerunner of the AFP was the only party in Parliament to vote against the decision on Austria's permanent neutrality. The AFP is a party whose leaders and members in many ways still maintain a fascist ideology. Its program rejects the conception of an "Austrian nation" in favor of a "German folk and cultural community." A substantial element in the fascist ideology of the AFP is racism, anti-semitism and chauvinism, exemplified in this party's attitude towards foreign workers and against the equal rights of the Slovenes of Carinthia.

The AFP is not an opposition party, but a mercenary party which at times works with the APP, at others with the SPA, depending on who gives it more responsible positions and other benefits.

The Communist Party is now the only party in Austria which consistently opposes the AFP and in so doing fulfills its democratic and anti-fascist mission.

ANTI-COMMUNISM OF THE SPA LEADERSHIP

While the leaders of the SPA intensify their policy of class collaboration with home and foreign big capital, do not wage any principled struggle against the policy of APP and favor the formation of a coalition with the AFP after the elections to the National Assembly, Kreisky repeatedly emphasizes that there can be nothing in common between Social Democrats and Communists. There can certainly be no agreement between such a policy and the struggle of the Communist Party.

The leadership of the SPA bases its anti-communist, splitting policy, on the claim that social-democracy stands for "democratic socialism" whereas Communists are "the enemies of democracy." So far as the

so-called "democratic socialism" is concerned, the SPA program contains a formula related to such socialist ideas as the nationalization of large enterprises, democratic management and planning of the economy and the creation of a classless society. However, in practice, more than ever before the SPA leadership is carrying out a policy which contradicts these demands of its Party's program.

So far as our Party's attitude to democracy is concerned, we gave a clear answer in our "Politico-ideological Basis of Struggle." While all three parties, the APP, AFP and SPA are silent about the threat to the democratic rights of the working people from monopoly capital, we see the struggle against monopoly capital, for the defense and extension of working people's democratic rights, as one of the most important tasks of the present period. That is why we fight for an anti-monopolist democracy which will open the way to socialism. The content of our social aims is consistently democratic, and the forms of our struggle to achieve these aims is also democratic.

Kreisky's thesis on the "irreconcilable contradictions" between Communists and Social Democrats has a definite aim—to create an artificial barrier between Socialists and Communists and conceal the actual class relations prevailing in Austria. For it is a fact that Communist, Social Democrat, Christian and non-party workers, despite all the differences of their political outlook and philosophies, belong to one class with basic interests in common. The decisive contradiction of today's society is the antagonism between workers and capital. Hence, in the long term it is impossible to block the united action of the working class.

By its present policy the SPA can claim the sad honor of belonging to the very Right wing of the Socialist International.

EXPERIENCE OF UNITED ACTION

The anti-communism of the Social-Democratic leadership does not absolve us from the task of strengthening contacts and organizing friendly discussions with Social-Democratic comrades and taking joint action for the winning of concrete demands. We can note that since the 21st Congress we have been able to conduct various actions of this kind at enterprises and in towns. We consider that this Congress must analyze and discuss our experiences in this field, and here we should like to make the following comments:

1) The decisive feature in our situation is that, as distinct from other West European countries, the working class struggle is very weak although the Austrian working class is no better and no worse than workers in other countries. The subordination of the Austrian Trade Union Association to government policy and the concept held by many Social-Democratic functionaries that one cannot strike

against "one's own government" is the factor which impedes the development of actions and of the movement.

The main obstacle to developing class struggles and bringing about united action is the ideology and policy of social partnership which, as before, is dominant in Austria, and which has led to class collaboration between trade union leaders and employers to a far greater extent than in the case of traditional reformism. The moral and political consequences of social partnership, the consequent split and political paralysis of the working class, the ideological submission to capital, represent far greater harm than the material deprivation which the policy of social partnership brings to the working class.

Therefore, the struggle for united action of the working class is indissolubly bound up with the struggle against the policy and ideology of social partnership and for new trade union attitudes. The unions must be forced from the paralyzing ties with the employers and the government and transformed into independent, fighting, class organizations of workers and employees. The achievement of this aim is closely bound up with the struggle for the development of inner union democracy. Our aim is to do away with the policy of social partnership. We know that this is not a short-term task, but we also know that greater opportunities are arising for actions and movements, particularly in the enterprises, in the field of community politics, international solidarity and the struggle for peace. Experience will clearly prove that the basic interests and demands of the workers cannot be met through a policy of social partnership. Our Party is called upon to help the Austrian working class to once again become an independent, fighting force. We see this as the great historical task of our times.

2) We can note with great satisfaction that young people participated actively and in great numbers in international solidarity actions, various actions and movements in enterprises, that they were in the front ranks of the struggle. This proves that the line adopted at the 21st Congress of drawing the youth into the struggle and to our side is justified. It must be consistently implemented, for the young workers and students are the most active elements in the class struggle.

3) In recent years, Left radical groups, Maoists and Trotskyites have tried to participate in various actions and movements with the sole purpose of broadening the basis for their splitting and provocative activities. Experience shows that the ideological inspirers of these groups increasingly direct their fire against the Communist Party and against the countries of socialism. Therefore, we believe that the 22nd Congress should confirm our line that there can be no unity of action between ourselves and the inspirers of these groups. At the same time we shall endeavor to draw into joint

struggle those honest people in these groups who take up Left positions.

4) Experience of various actions confirms that different views on ideological questions must not be allowed to impede the joint struggle for peace, democracy and international solidarity, for fulfilling pay demands, social and communal policies. Experience shows, too, that political and ideological struggle must be conducted before, during and after joint actions. There must be criticism of capitalism, exposure of the role of Right-wing Social-Democratic leaders, of the APP, and AFP, and a strengthening of class consciousness resulting from the experience acquired in the course of the struggle. Therefore, the main task is to strengthen Party organization, gain new readers of our press, and new members of the Party. The strengthening of our Party is the decisive factor for further success in developing the struggle of the working class, creating unity of action and uniting all anti-imperialist forces.

It is from this standpoint, too, that we need to consider the draft "CPA Action Program" submitted to the Congress for discussion and approval. Through this Program we show that a democratic alternative to the existing system is possible, that there can be a different, better policy to serve the interests of the Austrian working man. This Action Program will help us to win the confidence of the workers at future elections. Communists will likewise come out in favor of these demands and alternative in the National Council.

This Action Program, however, is primarily the basis for our daily endeavors to promote our work in the enterprises and in the communes, for the implementation of this task.

THE ECONOMIC OUTLOOK

The CPA is definitely against a policy which uses the slower economic development and the difficulties in power supply forecast for 1974 as an excuse for imposing new curbs on wage and salary earners in consumption and pay while raising prices by a considerable margin and nullifying social gains. It is precisely when economic development is slower that a higher purchasing capacity is an important factor in countering crisis trends and providing jobs.

The roots of economic instability and the energy crisis lie in the capitalist system itself. Oil deliveries to Austria were cut by multinational companies and not by Arab countries.

The CPA insists on restricting and neutralizing the power of these companies. It demands a government monopoly on the import, production and refining of oil products under democratic control.

The present energy situation shows that we Communists were right in taking a stand from the first against the policy of limited coal

output and in demanding that all domestic power resources be protected and used more widely under an overall power development plan.

Austria's unilateral orientation towards the EEC, far from creating the much vaunted "big market," made the economy even more susceptible to crisis. Recent economic and political developments showed again that we are right in demanding more extensive economic cooperation on this basis, which implies inclusion in the CMEA energy system, would not only promote the independence of our country but could play a notable part in guaranteeing employment.

We call on Austria's wage and salary-earners to be on their guard against both old and new advocates of curtailing production to make it "healthier."

No amount of effort to embellish reality can conceal the fact that the contradictions of state monopoly capitalism, economic and political instability, vulnerability to crisis and social insecurity have been on the rise in recent years. This is seen ever more clearly in the fact that the state monopoly system of securing profit and the policy of "social partnership" constitute the main obstacle to the progressive solution of the numerous serious problems facing the country. Growing discontent, which still involves the lesser part of the population but is particularly strong among youth, is due to the same cause.

LEFTIST TALK AND RIGHTEST POLICY

In these circumstances, young SPA members insist on promoting "reforms altering the system" rather than reforms within the existing social system. However, the Social-Democratic government has not taken a single step which may be described as tending to change the system. An important characteristic of the recently enacted labor law is that the right of employers and managers to control the means of production is completely intact.

Young SPA members have lately formulated alternative proposals concerning municipal policy. They demand municipalization of the land, social housing construction and healthier cities meeting people's requirements and not boosting capitalist profit. But even in municipal policy, Social-Democratic leaders in the Federal government, provinces and communes are swinging more and more to the right.

We are of the opinion that even among youth leaders there are those who merely talk of a swing to the left. Their task is to resort to leftist-sounding talk as a kind of safety-valve, to sow new illusions and give rise to new hopes regarding SPA policy. But we also see that many young Social Democrats are sincere in both their criticism and their demands. And we would like to call *their* attention to the

fact that Kreisky uses them for his pseudo-left-wing maneuvers. The situation is hopeless inasmuch as young Party SPA functionaries formulate leftist manifestos and concepts with Kreisky's consent while the party leadership sticks to its rightist policy. Rightist Social-Democratic leaders are most skilful in misleading the masses.

The experience of the Austrian working-class movement is as valid as ever. It shows that what counts is deeds and not words and that a really leftist policy necessitates an explicit renunciation of anti-communism in any form. To all who are dissatisfied with the SPA leadership's policy and want it changed, we say: the most effective way to swing to the left is for wage and salary earners, students and intellectuals to fight in common and for us to strengthen the Party.

FAILURE OF RIGHT-WING OPPORTUNISTS

The significance of the 21st Party Congress lies, first and foremost, in the fact that its political and ideological conclusions and the changes effected in the Party leadership brought about a turn from crisis to consolidation. Due to the conclusions drawn by the Congress, the Party has since grown stronger politically and ideologically and won greater influence outside its ranks.

After the 21st Congress the small Right opportunist groups retaining certain positions here and there found themselves completely isolated. The Right opportunist group suffered a crushing political defeat. Its members tried to justify their break with the Party by alleging that they could not reconcile further work on *Volksstimme* and the performance of other functions with their "Communist conscience." But look what the so-called progressive Communists are doing today. Some of them have withdrawn into the backwaters of a petty-bourgeois way of life. Others have decided to run in elections against us, with financial support from the SPA, and joined the ranks of outspoken underlings of rightist Social-Democratic leaders. They cooperate with Trotskyists, Maoists and other such Left radical groups. The only thing still uniting these groups is anti-communism and anti-Sovietism. Some members of these Right opportunist groups have frankly deserted to the class enemy. Those who talked about respect for the truth more than anyone else now hold jobs on Austrian radio and television and in the country's bourgeois press. Their "autonomy" today consists in their drifting more and more to bourgeois and Social-Democratic positions.

Development over recent years has shown again that one can fight consistently for socialism only in the ranks of the Communist Party. Those people mocked arrogantly and cynically our Party. They said the Party must accept their (revisionist) line to win greater influence among the masses and greater confidence. However, devel-

opments showed that these self-styled "renovators" have no chance. Wherever they tried to win election they discovered that the workers ignored their policy and refused to support them. Nevertheless, we must be vigilant, for these groups will go on trying to harm our cause and help the SPA.

NEW OPPORTUNITIES AND THE TASKS OF THE COMMUNISTS

Our Party is concentrating on constructive effort. The Party has already won back many comrades with whom it differed seriously during the crisis and who now want to serve the working class cause in good faith. Drawing on the lessons of the past, our Party has again scored some gains. We polled 38 per cent more votes in the National Council elections (October 1971). The CPA and Trade Union Unity collected up to 41 per cent of the votes and secured up to 50 per cent of the seats on factory councils and in various government bodies and agencies, including the railwaymen's committee. Almost one-third of the Trade Union Unity candidates were Socialists or non-party people. Excellent results were achieved in communal elections in Lower Austria, Graz and Upper Austria. Progress was most marked in Carinthia, where the number of our representatives increased from 10 to 26.

A particularly welcome achievement is that about 2,000 new people, including 1,000 young men and women, have joined our Party since the 21st Congress.

However, we do not wish to overestimate the headway made or dismiss shortcomings and weak points, which make themselves felt above all in our organizing work.

The principal means of strengthening the Party and heightening its militancy is to recruit more young people. The Party needs the young and the young need the Party. This line means much more than merely backing the organizations of Communist Youth, Communist Students or the Kinderland—Young Guards. It implies that our overall policy, the content and forms of our activity, our work in the enterprises and municipalities, our ideological work and political propaganda must be aimed at drawing young people into our ranks.

Better Party work in the enterprises is among the key problems and major tasks facing us.

One of the Party's weakest points in the enterprises today is that political and ideological work still lags behind work relating to the trade unions, production and everyday politics. We registered gains in elections to many enterprise councils but the number of Party members and Party organizations in the enterprises is the same and in many cases it even shows a decline.

A further important aspect of our Party work is municipal policy. We have made considerable progress in ideological work since the 21st Congress. However, we still have serious shortcomings and big tasks in this field as well.

The Party's daily press is a decisive political and ideological weapon. In the period under review, we have been able to improve the content and layout of *Volksstimme*, our daily newspaper. But we must continue improving the political and ideological content of the paper and its layout. More important still, the paper must focus attention on youth. Sharp criticism of the existing three party system of capitalism should be coupled with friendly discussion with Social-Democratic, non-party and Christian class brothers, whom we can draw into joint struggle by adducing sound arguments and proposing realistic alternatives.

There is also the important task of publicizing the Party press and of distributing it more widely. We owe it to the unrelenting effort of our promoters that in the period under review 3,526 and 6,635 new readers were won for our daily and weekly press, respectively.

A highly important task in building up the Party is to win seats in parliament at the next general election. The progress made by us in recent years and the new international and domestic situation entitle us to consider this a realistic goal.

The greatest responsibility rests on the Vienna organization.

In parliament, Communists will abide by the principle of supporting whatever serves the working people's interests and opposing every measure to the contrary. Communist MPs could, with backing from the masses outside parliament, make the SPA follow a policy meeting the working people's needs.

In Austria today, the Communist Party is the only political force independent of capital and the government.

SOLID COMPONENT OF THE WORLD COMMUNIST MOVEMENT

We note with satisfaction that due to the 1969 Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties, substantial progress has been made in restoring and furthering world Communist unity. Since the 21st Congress, our Party has established closer links and stepped up cooperation with the brother parties of socialist and capitalist countries.

The CPA is taking an active part in preparations for the Conference of Communist Parties of Capitalist Europe. In view of the new situation in Europe and a largely changed world situation and the resultant new problems and tasks, we think the time is ripe for an all-Europe as well as a world Meeting of Communist and Workers' parties. The CPA declares for still closer unity of the world Com-

munist movement on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism.

Through its history, our Party has fought heroically against exploitation and oppression, for the freedom and independence of Austria, for peace and socialism. It recognizes, theoretically explains and reveals the causes of the rise and development of the Austrian nation. It contributed in decisive measure and at the cost of a heavy sacrifice to the anti fascist Resistance, to the struggle to free our country from foreign German fascist rule. It is one of the founders of the Second Republic and the first champion of our country's permanent neutrality and independence.

Our Party is a component of the world Communist movement, which, in turn, is the most influential and most powerful force of today. The Communist movement has overcome many difficulties, mistakes and reverses in the course of its evolution. It has been able again and again to score new gains in the interests of the working class and other working people of all countries. We are passing through a period of immense upheavals, a period in which socialism is going from strength to strength. the peoples' liberation struggle is surging higher and class battles in capitalist countries are gathering fresh momentum. This is the epoch of transition from capitalism to socialism. Developments in Austria show, as elsewhere, that the working class needs a strong Communist Party.

SECOND CONGRESS OF THE CP OF BANGLADESH

The Communist Party of Bangladesh held its Second Congress in Dacca from December 4 to 8, 1973. The first congress to meet legally, it opened in a festive atmosphere.

There were 143 delegates from district Party organizations and delegations from the brother parties of the Soviet Union, GDR, Bulgaria, Hungary, Poland and India.

Among the guests were leaders of the ruling Awami League, the National Awami Party, cabinet ministers, MPs and the heads of diplomatic missions of socialist countries.

The Congress was addressed by Prime Minister Mujibur Rahman, Chairman of the Awami League, who heartily congratulated the CPB on its first legal congress.

The Bangladesh government and myself, he said, greatly appreciate the Communist Party's contribution to the Bangladesh liberation

struggle. We will forever revere the memory of the Communist heroes who gave their lives for national independence.

Immediately after the founding of the People's Republic of Bangladesh, the Prime Minister continued, the Communist Party and National Awami Party declared, in common with other patriotic forces of our country, their full support for the progressive policies of the government.

The Prime Minister welcomed the formation of the People's Unity Alliance comprising the ruling Awami League and the Communist and National Awami parties, saying that it had become the bulwark of the struggle against domestic reaction, which tried to divert Bangladesh from its socialist road.

"The Communists," he said, "are sincere friends of the people and patriots, which means that we can all work together to build in common a socialist society in Bangladesh. I am certain that the Communists are firm adherents of the government, which they have always supported in the arduous but noble task of achieving social and economic progress. I am sincerely grateful to them for their patriotic activity."

"However," the Prime Minister added, "there are forces in our country which use Leftist phrases to carry on anti-government subversion in the interests of imperialism and reaction. These people, grouped in motley political alignments, are our main enemies because they resort to shameless fraud by calling themselves 'socialists' and take advantage of passing economic difficulties which are natural in the early years of independence to foment discontent among the people and carry on rabid counter-revolutionary activity."

Speaking of the republic's foreign policy, the Prime Minister said that the government would always support the people's fight against colonial oppression, for national liberation. It will expand relations with the Soviet Union, other socialist countries and India, which gave the Bangladesh people invaluable aid in the struggle for independence. The imperialists and Left extremists try to isolate Bangladesh from the Soviet Union and India. "I wish to tell them that the government knows the real friends and enemies of our country very well. Our foreign policy will always be directed towards peace and peaceful coexistence. We will seek friendly relations with all the people of the world.

"Bangladesh will never turn off the socialist road chosen by the people. However, building a socialist society will take a long time and the greatest discipline and devotion on the part of all working people."

The Prime Minister called on all patriotic forces to close their ranks and make a fitting contribution to the building of socialism in the independent People's Republic of Bangladesh.

Amid stormy applause, the Congress was greeted by M. Gapurov, leader of the Soviet delegation, member of the CC CPSU, First Secretary of the CC, Communist Party of Turkmenistan. He conveyed to the Communists of Bangladesh warm fraternal greetings from the Soviet Communists, the Central Committee of the CPSU and its General Secretary, L. I. Brezhnev.

The floor was also taken by the leaders of other delegations. Messages of greetings came in from the brother parties of the DRV, France, Italy, Britain, the United States and many other countries, as well as from progressive organizations.

Muzaffar Ahmed, Chairman of the National Awami Party, made a brief speech of greetings.

Abdus Salam, General Secretary of the CC CPB, presented the Central Committee's political and organizational reports.

Tremendous changes have occurred in our country and abroad since the First Congress of the CPB (1968), he said. In 1971 the people won full independence and democratic rights. Their victory was made possible by firm and resolute support from the Soviet Union and the Republic of India. It was largely due to the efforts of these two countries that a climate of peace was established in South Asia.

The Soviet Union, birthplace of socialism, is successfully carrying out its ninth five-year plan as it advances to communism. Good progress is also being made by other socialist countries. The socialist community has become the dominant force of today's world. The Peace Program adopted by the 24th Congress of the CPSU and the specific steps taken by the Soviet leaders to ease international tensions have contributed in decisive measure to world peace.

On the other hand, these past years have seen the Chinese leadership completely abandon Marxist-Leninist principles, set out to divide the international Communist movement, and take an openly hostile stand against the Soviet Union, bulwark of peace, socialism and national independence.

Speaking of the domestic situation, Abdus Salam stressed that the country's patriotic and progressive forces firmly resist the subversive activities of reactionaries and extremists. Three patriotic parties have set up a popular unity alliance. This was a historic achievement in our country's progress. The minimum program of the alliance, designed to bring about early social and economic changes in the interests of the masses, is being carried out.

Communists must firmly and resolutely support the government of Mujibur Rahman.

The CPB must do its utmost to strengthen the People's Unity Alliance and make it a genuinely mass organization. The Alliance

should not only carry on political work but mobilize the masses to increase production and fight against reactionaries and extremists. It should popularize the ideas of socialism and friendship with socialist countries and India.

Abdus Salam expressed confidence that the Communists of Bangladesh would accomplish the tasks facing them.

Going on to organizational matters, he pointed to the need to strengthen the Communist Party so as to foster the process of revolutionary change taking place in the country. The revolutionary liberation struggle in our country, he said, paved the way for the formation of a disciplined mass party of Communists. This possibility should also be fully used to carry on propaganda and provide the Party membership with a Marxist-Leninist education.

The delegates discussed and unanimously approved the political and organizational reports of the Central Committee.

Khoka Roy, Secretary of the CC, submitted the draft of the Party's new program, "Strategy and Program of the Communist Party of Bangladesh." It defines the Communists' current and long-range tasks.

On its closing day the Congress adopted a political resolution and the new Party program, a resolution in support of a collective security system in Asia and a number of other decisions and elected a Central Committee of 28.

Moni Singh, prominent leader of the Bangladesh Communist movement, was elected Chairman of the Central Committee, Mohammad Farhad, General Secretary and Abdus Salam, Secretary of the CC. The new Secretariat has 10 members.

Following is a summary of the documents approved by the Congress.

POLITICAL RESOLUTION

The political resolution calls for the unity of all patriotic forces to build a socialist society in Bangladesh, for closer relations with the socialist countries and friendly India and for struggle against imperialist and Maoist influence.

The main tasks of the CPB at this stage are to consolidate independence, won at the cost of much sacrifice, complete the national democratic stage of the revolution and foster friendly relations with the Soviet Union and India, which gave Bangladesh decisive support in the trying days of its fight for freedom.

Socialism is the goal of our Party. However, the Communists of Bangladesh realize that socialist construction is a long process requiring definite social and economic conditions. This is why, at

this stage, the CPB advocates implementation of the government program of progressive measures. We call on all working people and patriots to back the government's foreign and home policy based on four principles: socialism, democracy, nationalism and religious freedom.

Our country, which has passed through centuries of colonial rule and which made great sacrifices during the 1971 armed conflict, is faced with numerous social and economic problems. In solving these problems, the people must be highly vigilant towards the external enemies of our state, the imperialists and Maoists, who endanger inner political stability by helping and encouraging various subversive groups. To achieve its selfish ends, the Peking leadership tries to create an atmosphere of distrust and tension on the South Asian subcontinent. The Maoists are operating as direct accomplices of the most reactionary forces, intent on stirring up anti-Soviet and anti-Indian sentiments. However, the possibilities of these forces are limited because the people of Bangladesh are aware of their growing responsibility for the country's destiny and will not allow them to overthrow the existing system.

Anti-government forces are trying to form a united front on an anti-Soviet and anti-Indian basis. With support from the United States, China and Pakistan, they obstruct implementation of the government's progressive measures, above all in the foreign policy sphere, and use the tactic of political terror in an effort to bring on a civil war. It must be admitted that extremist propaganda has had an impact on certain segments of the population, in particular the intellectuals.

The contest between the forces of progress and reaction has entered the decisive phase. Consolidating national independence and carrying out the government's progressive decisions is the only realistic basis on which the patriotic forces of our country can achieve victory.

The ruling Awami League and the Communist and National Awami parties recently formed the People's Unity Alliance as a bulwark in the struggle against home reaction, with a view to consolidating progressive forces.

The CPB appeals to the working people, students and intellectuals to support the social and economic program of the alliance, which is intended to advance industry and farming, combat banditry, terrorism and corruption, promote law and order, bring down prices and recognize the state apparatus.

Communists should widely publicize the Alliance's program and achievements among the workers and, above all, among the peasants, who make up the majority of the population, and defend the Alliance against imperialist and extremist attacks.

The success of the Alliance will depend entirely on how effectively its program is implemented, the support it receives from the peasants, workers, youth, students and intellectuals, and close cooperation among its member parties.

The Party's long-range objective is to form a broader democratic front on the basis of People's Unity Alliance so as to achieve the goal set by the latter, which is to build socialism in our country.

RESOLUTION IN SUPPORT OF A COLLECTIVE SECURITY SYSTEM IN ASIA

The CPB hails the efforts of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the General Secretary of its Central Committee, L. I. Brezhnev, to ensure peace and security in Asia.

Our republic, which has won independence through grim struggle, wants to end its economic and social backwardness. For this it, like other countries, needs peace. Economic progress can only be made in a climate of peace. We have a stake in such a climate prevailing on our subcontinent and throughout Asia.

But imperialism, primarily U.S. imperialism, continues to build up tensions in this region. It still has military bases here, arms Iran and Pakistan, and ships of the U.S. Seventh Fleet patrol the coastline of many Asian countries, specifically in the Indian Ocean. The Congress calls on the people and patriotic parties to foil enemy attempts to poison the atmosphere of friendship and cooperation between Asian countries and discredit the idea of a collective security system in Asia.

We are seriously alarmed by the activities of Maoist China, which resists all efforts to create an atmosphere of friendship and cooperation in Asia. The Maoist leadership tries to increase tension in this region and carries on an infamous slander campaign against the Soviet Union, bulwark of world peace.

Maoist China cooperates with the reactionaries of many countries, including Bangladesh, and incites them to engage in subversive activity.

All this notwithstanding, the peace forces continue to grow and gain strength. The formation of an independent Bangladesh and the signing of treaties of friendship and cooperation between the Soviet Union and India, between the Soviet Union and Iraq, and between India and Bangladesh, as well as of agreements normalizing relations between India and Pakistan, went a long way towards creating an atmosphere of peace and cooperation in Asia.

L. I. Brezhnev's visit to India and the further consolidation of Soviet-Indian friendship furthered this process of improving the prospects of peace and security. The recent World Congress of Peace

Forces made for unity and provided opportunities for a new and more powerful offensive of these forces.

The possibilities of setting up a collective security system in Asia today are greater than ever before. Such a system would contribute immensely to lasting peace on the Asian continent. "Realizing the need for peaceful conditions for ensuring progress in Bangladesh, the Second Congress of the Communist Party of Bangladesh declares that the Party will step up and greatly extend its activity to bring into being a system of peace and security in Asia."

OTHER RESOLUTIONS

A special resolution of the Congress expresses warm solidarity with and support for the Arab people's fight to free the territories occupied by Israel and restore the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people.

The Congress also passed a resolution on the situation in Chile. The CPB emphatically protests against the Chilean junta's unlawful practices and white terror, demands the immediate release of Luis Corvalan, General Secretary of the Communist Party, and other patriots and expresses warm solidarity with the heroic struggle of Chile's patriots.

A further resolution, concerning the situation in Pakistan, points to the intensified struggle of the country's peoples "against the reactionary government, for national rights and democracy." The Congress resolutely identified itself with the Communists and other progressives of Pakistan and expressed deep gratitude for their courageous campaign to bring about the recognition of Bangladesh by Pakistan and a normal situation on the South Asian subcontinent.

NEW PROGRAM OF THE CPB

The program specifies the current tasks of the Party and people on the strength of an exhaustive analysis of the political situation at home and abroad.

"The people of Bangladesh," it states, "won their independence at a great turning point in history, when over one-third of the earth's population had established a socialist system, having freed itself from capitalist exploitation. The banner of socialism flies proudly over a large part of Europe and Asia, and even in Latin America. The leading force of the socialist camp, the Soviet Union, is at the stage of transition from socialism to communism. The socialist countries are making progress in the political, economic, cultural and all other fields."

The victory of the Bangladesh people confirms the indisputable

principle of the world Communist movement that the forces of national liberation can triumph only if they ally themselves with the socialist camp.

"The CPB is a party of scientific socialism guided by Marxist-Leninist teachings. Its goal is to build socialism in Bangladesh. But in view of the social and economic conditions prevailing in our country, socialism cannot be built overnight. The CPB urges the people therefore to go ahead along the road of non-capitalist development and complete the national democratic revolution with a view to achieving socialism."

In Bangladesh, this objective possibility of victory for the national democratic revolution exists as a result of its national liberation.

The program closely analyzes and defines class forces and parties, and indicates their role in the revolution.

State power in independent Bangladesh is exercised by the Awami League, the political party of the middle strata. Under the League's leadership, a democratic system of government has been established, with socialism as one of its principles. The program lists other progressive measures of the government in foreign policy, industry and agriculture.

Bangladesh has established friendly relations with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries and is committed to an independent, neutral policy. Due to these progressive measures, a revolutionary process is going on in the political, economic and social life of Bangladesh. The people have been enabled to carry forward this process, set up, in cooperation with the socialist community, an economy independent of imperialist influence, eliminate survivals of feudalism and advance along the road of non-capitalist development.

The program also points to the great difficulties being encountered on this road: the lag in every economic sphere due to the country's colonial past and the ravages of the 1971 war, mass unemployment and the landlessness of a large number of peasants. The economy is semi-feudal and semi-capitalist. The administrative and legal system is unchanged. It has been infiltrated by numerous pro-imperialist, venal reactionary elements obstructing the government's progressive measures. "The administrative and legal system of government virtually blocks the country's progress."

The program proposes a number of specific measures which, if carried out, should bring about the victory of the national democratic revolution.

It calls for resistance to the attacks of imperialism, China's Maoist leadership and their agents against the freedom and progress of Bangladesh, and for stronger friendly relations and cooperation with

the Soviet Union and other socialist countries and India. It proposes economic and administrative changes which would mean reorganizing the state apparatus and ridding it of people opposed to the building of socialism in Bangladesh.

The program warns the people that as the government's progressive program is carried out the struggle between the forces of progress and reaction will intensify. It notes that within the ruling party itself there are forces opposed to its progressive measures.

To accomplish the national democratic revolution, the program stresses, we need unity of all national democratic forces, which should form one front. The CPB is willing to take part in drawing up a program for this front acceptable to all who join it.

The program calls on the Party membership vigorously to promote the national democratic revolution, heighten the working people's political consciousness and publicize the ideas of scientific socialism. To carry out this task, the Party must strengthen its ranks. Everything must be done to raise the Party's political and ideological standards.

The CPB is a party of proletarian internationalism, a component of the world Communist movement, the program states in conclusion. By striving for peace, freedom and progress for its people, it contributes to the worldwide movement against imperialism and helps to promote unity and solidarity of the internationalist Communist movement.

ADDITIONAL INFORMATION

Last January a conference of the first secretaries of area Party committees was held in Dacca. CC General Secretary Mohammed Farhad spoke on the political situation at home and some organizational matters.

The meeting discussed steps to improve the Party's organizational structure in line with the decision of its Second Congress. It resolved to launch an extensive campaign among the membership and the working people to explain and ensure the fulfilment of Congress decisions. Members of the Secretariat and Central Committee of the CPB, who are joining in the campaign, will go shortly to various parts of the country.

PLENARY MEETINGS

MEETING OF CENTRAL COMMITTEE CP ARGENTINA

Comrade Geronimo Arnedo Alvarez, General Secretary of the CP of Argentina, outlined the political situation in the country and the Party's tasks at a plenary meeting of the Central Committee of the CPA in Buenos Aires, held December 15-16, 1973. Members of the Central Committee approved the General Secretary's report, and cited facts and examples from each of the provinces and different social strata to confirm the correctness of the Party's political line and show the considerable advances of all Party organizations in consolidating ties with the workers and laboring masses, and also with other anti-oligarchic and anti-imperialist political quarters.

The Plenum discussed the dangerous activity of the Right forces, who, working hand in glove with the CIA, are preparing a coup à la Chile to impose a reign of terror and suppress the laboring masses.

With the overwhelming majority of the nation aspiring to progressive changes, the CPA is straining all its resources to promote a broad democratic anti-imperialist and anti-oligarchic front encompassing all political parties and movements—Communists, Peronists, Radicals, Socialists, Irreconcilables, members of the Argentine People's League, Demo-Christians, Progressivists, members of other parties and movements, and independents—with the aim of forming a truly popular government to carry out the changes so necessary for the working class, the peasants, the entire nation.

All speeches were imbued with the spirit of proletarian internationalism, referring to movements of solidarity with the fraternal Chilean people and other peoples of Latin America languishing under such blood-stained reactionary dictatorships as those in Brazil, Paraguay, Bolivia and Uruguay.

Culminating the discussion, Comrade Crestes Ghioldi called on the Party to work more energetically in acquainting the masses with the Party's policy, and to bend every effort in meeting and surpassing the projected Party membership target of 200,000.

Below is a precis of the report made by Comrade Geronimo Arnedo Alvarez published in the *Nuestra Palabra* on December 19, 1973, under the following title.

FORWARD TO NATIONAL LIBERATION

The Party's 14th Congress said that public opinion in general and the Peronist masses in particular were asking the following questions: What is the direction of the course of events? Would Argentina join the bloc of countries in which the national revolution is unfolding victoriously? Or would it swim between two currents, content with a few superficial changes that will leave the pillars of the old regime untouched? And it was strongly emphasized that everything would ultimately depend on the breadth and depth of working-class and popular action, on the unity and coordination of the democratic, patriotic forces working for national liberation. Today, Alvarez said, there is a visible increase of tension between sectors that strive to further the implementation of election promises, particularly those contained in the Program Guidelines and the corresponding items of the election platform backed by the majority of the voters, on the one hand, and pressure groups seeking to contain the action of workers and popular masses for national and social liberation and preparing to perform a coup d'état if and when circumstances permit. Therefore, the Party is calling for vigilance; it must not be caught unawares and must as of today plan joint action by all patriotic forces.

Imperialism and oligarchy, Alvarez said, are trying with Pentagon and CIA support to turn their election defeat into a "victory" that would squash the popular movement and lead to a regime like that of Pinochet in Chile. "Today," Alvarez continued, "the main objective is to repulse the putschists by powerful joint action in support of the complicated and difficult process that began on March 11 against dependence and for national liberation, and, if the hardcore reactionaries should in spite of everything try to perform a coup, to block their way, organizing and coordinating popular resistance, but also pressing for more tangible progress of the liberation process, striking harder at monopoly and imperialism and the oligarchy—the chief enemies of the nation and people. It is now quite possible to do all this successfully. Among other things, it is necessary to give battle to fatalistic ideas, such as: 'the government is invincible, and nothing can be expected of it'; 'the struggle against the government must begin now on another plane'; 'matters are moving towards fascism,' and the like. These defeatist ideas impede the liberation process, will only politically disarm the masses, and are objectively facilitating the enemy's plans. To accept them is to retreat from the line we are occupying today in the struggle for liberation despite our well entrenched positions and superior conditions.

"Those who hope the battle can be won by arrow-straight means are wrong and are wasting time in useless debate. The process is

not straightforward, but contradictory. To ignore its darker sides is no less dangerous than to ignore its opportunities. In the final analysis the outcome depends on the mobilization of the working class, the peasant and popular masses, and on the unity and coordination of the democratic patriotic forces. This is the task in which we must now persevere."

It is not an accident, the speaker further said, that kidnappings and attempts on the lives of Peronists, Communists, Radicals and other patriots and freedom fighters, have become more frequent. It is not an accident that repressive gangs choose the anti-imperialist fighters as their victims, and operate with total impunity. Who condones their actions? Who is behind these designs? It is not an accident that the atmosphere is beginning to be charged with alarming rumors over every political or economic event. It is not an accident, too, that a situation of fear and discontent is being wrought in the country, and that confidence is being undermined by such speculative maneuvers as price increases, food hoarding, black marketeering, and so on. The government cannot afford to stand aloof in face of these facts. The alarming growth of terrorism amounts to *Pinochetism* in action. Terrorism, Alvarez stressed, is expressive of the fear felt by reaction, which knows that it might be thrown over by the onslaught of the masses; it is part of a far-flung reactionary plot, organized and directed by the CIA, the International Monetary Fund, and such powerful monopolies as the ITT, to stop the revolutionary process maturing in the nation.

The putschists' terrorism, Alvarez pointed out, must be opposed by determined mass action. The self-defense of the masses must be built up, and the campaign of exposure, in which all popular forces can and should participate, must be as vigorous as heretofore.

Pointing to the necessity of determining coinciding points of view more quickly in order to avoid a fascist coup along Chilean lines, and to open a new chapter in Argentina's history that would ease the fight of the peoples of Chile, Brazil, Bolivia and Uruguay against fascist dictatorship, Alvarez added:

"We must act in order to compel reaction to retreat, elaborating and creating the foundations for coinciding viewpoints with all popular movements; this would vitalize the struggle in defense of the constitutional regime, blocking the way to any fascist adventure. We must demand the fulfilment of the Program Guidelines. We must demand effective and real price controls that would rule out speculation. We must demand higher wages that would not lag behind growing prices; on the contrary, the purchasing capacity of the laboring masses must rise. This was promised by the economic agencies, though until now everything has been going the other way. We must

win the fullest respect for civic freedoms (freedom of organization, assembly, the press, strikes, etc.)."

"Our country," Alvarez said, "can act and defeat imperialism and the oligarchy, because the necessary political and economic factors to assure victory are available in Argentina. Apart from the natural wealth (which Yankee imperialism covets greedily, as evidenced by its plans of retaining fishery rights or of seizing the oil in Patagonia and the off-shore fields in the southern part of the Atlantic Ocean), we possess productive capacities, production experience and skill, and also sufficient financial means that could be further expanded through international commerce conducted in the real interests of the country and nation. But above all else, as the main factor, we have the will of the majority of the nation as evinced in the presidential election when more than 80 per cent of our citizens supported the program of genuine and deep-going changes. This factor can be a dependable support for a popular government of a broad democratic coalition. In other words, we are quite capable of progress, because the country possesses enough resources and there is a nucleus of political and popular forces that, given unity are quite able to advance the process against dependence and for national liberation.

"If the government really wishes to advance the liberation process, it will have the support of 80 per cent of the nation, the majority in the national parliament and provincial legislatures. It will be backed by the majority or even all the popular political parties, the organized forces in town and country both civilian and military, the overwhelming majority of the rising generation and by the broad women's masses. The opposition will be insignificant: never before have we had as favorable a historical situation to advance towards progress, liberation, independence and prosperity."

Replying to charges of excessive haste, Alvarez said: "It is not a question of priorities but primarily of the nature of the measures that must be taken to lead the country forward when all the conditions for this are available, which is something no one can deny." He amplified: "At present, we must attack the positions of imperialism and the oligarchy more resolutely."

As regards economic decisions, Alvarez said, we note as the 14th Congress did, efforts to carry out a bourgeois reformist plan which, rather than attacking a backward structure, that is monopoly property and the latifundia, tries to "weather the storm" with proposals of passing value. The impact of many of the proposed measures, while positive, is transitory. They will dangle and may in the end be by-passed or nullified if things go no further, if the workers and the people do not through everyday and resolute struggle urge lasting solutions, such as agrarian reform, nationalizing the key levers of

the economy, really expanding the home market by raising the working people's purchasing power and diversifying foreign trade in all directions, in particular with socialist countries. If important economic levers are left in the hands of imperialist monopolies and latifundium owners these will retain much of the power and will use it, as they are doing already, against the people and country.

Let us look at the price situation, Alvarez continued. Supplies are undercut by the practice of double invoicing, many consumer goods are disappearing, the black market is expanding, usury and smuggling are on the rise. Wage curbs, effected with the aid of corrupt union bosses, reduce the working people's purchasing capacity, lower their standard of life and hold up production growth. Considerable production capacities are still idle and unemployment persists, threatening to become worse through the application of redundancy provisions.

Listing the relatively positive aspects of the 'Concerted Agrarian Policy Act, Alvarez said: "We said at the 14th Congress that the proletariat and working peasantry, the people as a whole, can consolidate and extend their gains by supporting every positive measure, rejecting negative ones and carrying on their independent struggle until they bring about fundamental changes. If popular pressure prevails the revolutionary process is bound to go deeper. This is why we said at the congress that 'it is necessary to promote the revolutionary potential of the working class, which has powerful allies. With these allies it can defeat the oligarchic and imperialist Right and neutralize conciliatory petty bourgeois and bourgeois currents.' "

In the months that have passed since the 14th Congress, Alvarez said elsewhere in his report, most of the important political forces having roots among the people, have defined more clearly the likely points of coincidence. They offer to contribute their share to the decisive cause of achieving a better future. Of special importance in this sense are frequent contacts between leaders of democratic parties in search of common paths. It is a search in which our Party has always taken initiatives and committed itself to a great extent. In view of the danger of a coup on the Chilean pattern, we must enhance our Party's guiding and organizing role. We must foster at every Party level a spirit of political initiative aimed at establishing links between all democratic and patriotic forces which declare for the preservation of constitutional legality, against coups. We must boldly promote joint action for common objectives to create conditions for setting up a coordinating center that would group political parties of the people, trade union and peasant organizations, progressive cultural and social forces and the national, progressive, democratic section of the armed forces.

It was said at the 14th Congress, Alvarez pointed out, that the

government's initial economic measures are a step back compared with the Program Guidelines which underlay the Justicialists' election campaign. The Guidelines included the following points:

—A Massive wage increase. Measures to end unemployment. Nationalizing foreign trade. An end to imports of goods produced in the country. Protecting national enterprises. Repealing emergency laws and abolishing special courts. An amnesty for the political and social prisoners. Establishing relations with Cuba, Vietnam and North Korea.

—Trade without ideological barriers. Elimination of the latifundium system; a comprehensive agrarian reform. Reconstruction of the railways. Minerals and waterfalls, oil, coal and gas to be the nation's imprescriptible and inalienable property. A sliding wage scale guaranteeing a living wage minimum. Autonomy of the university. Repealing repressive legislation, including Law 11491 which proscribes communism.

"There is no doubt," General Peron affirmed in a television speech on September 5, "that we need a change of system. What many call 'revolution' I call a 'change of system' . . . I want to arrive at revolution through reform."

However, the facts are much more modest. For instance, the agreement reached by the General Confederation of Labor and General Economic Confederation, which contains two basic chapters, turns out to be the fundamental instrument of the government's economic policy.

On the one hand, Alvarez added, the agreement imposes a wage freeze, and on the other, promises that prices will be controlled and kept stable. The social and political aim of the authors of the agreement is obvious. First of all, they want to corner and contain wage and salary earners by imposing a compulsory pay system. This system implies the replacement of parity commissions and collective agreements. Basically, it pretends to seek the working people's support through the union bosses, the aim being to ensure the hegemony of the national bourgeoisie in directing the process begun in our country. This hegemony by no means guarantees consistency or stability. On the contrary, it is a source of vacillation.

For months now, Alvarez continued, work has been continuing on a three-year plan to be published, we understand, in a few days. We Communists have seriously analyzed every measure proposed by the government and will do as much when the draft plan is published. It is clear as Victorio Codovilla said in 1946, that to launch genuine economic planning and interlink the various economic sectors in such a way as to ensure their development for the good of the country and people, it is necessary to regain the controls, win the right of decision-making and end dependence and backwardness.

This means effecting an agrarian reform and nationalizing foreign monopolies.

The economic plan should set targets for crop-farming, animal husbandry, industry, transport, home and foreign trade. It should specify the financial sources to be drawn on, the time limits and key projects. Among other things, it should also provide for steps to spur the growth of national enterprises.

The plan should not skirt such cardinal problems as that of the ratio between production and consumption; in regard to foreign trade it should indicate how the country should search for new lines of development to obtain means for harmonious and independent industrialization.

In short, the economic plan should sum up what the government proposes to make the main content of its policy. The people should compare it with the Program Guidelines, ascertain its validity in the present situation and insist on their voice being heard in elaborating and executing the plan and controlling execution. In line with the attitude we have adopted towards the present government, we Communists will carefully study the plan and stress the positive aspects it may have. We will also point out and criticize its limitations and negative aspects, always on the understanding that we are not interested in a government defeat and with a view to paving the way for struggle for national and social liberation and advancing to far-reaching changes in the country's social and economic structure.

Speaking of the announced reform of the Constitution, Alvarez pointed to the Communist Party's favorable attitude and proposed that our Party should prepare its own draft after consulting the masses and should make it widely known.

A. Alvarez devoted part of his report to the situation in Chile and the fascist coup abetted by U.S. imperialism. He stressed the need to promote the Argentine movement of solidarity with Chile, for an end to assassination and torture and for the release of the imprisoned Chilean patriots and Luis Corvalan, the eminent Chilean Communist leader.

He said that the Party's Central Committee reaffirms our solidarity with the brother party and with the people of Uruguay fighting for democratic freedom, national and social liberation and the country's progress.

It is also necessary to go on extending the movement for the release of the patriots imprisoned in Paraguay, Brazil and Bolivia who are brutally persecuted by reaction.

We consider it of decisive importance, A. Alvarez said, boldly to further every mass movement uniting the workers and other working people and blaze new trails for the fight against imperialism, for an agrarian reform, and so on. All specific steps and initiatives likely

to serve these lofty goals should receive our decisive support as they always have.

Reaffirming the minimum points of agreement set out at the 14th Party Congress, A. Alvarez continued, we consider that today we could proceed, in particular, from the following essential demands:

1. Full exercise of democratic freedoms. Combat the gangsterism of the armed bands of reaction and imperialism and all attempts at a coup.

2. A better standard of life for the people, beginning with the realization of decisions on maximum prices, preventing every unwarranted price increase and all speculation, and ensuring people's control. An immediate readjustment of wages and salaries in line with previous price increases to raise the people's purchasing capacity. Normal functioning of the parity commissions, a sliding wage scale guaranteeing a subsistence minimum.

3. Protect the national wealth, with the state reserving the right to exploit the country's natural resources, especially oil, iron ore, uranium and hydropower. Protect state enterprises and national industry and promote cooperatives. Safeguard national interests in the La Plata Basin.

4. A foreign policy facilitating trade with all countries, contributing to world peace and strengthening Latin American anti-imperialist solidarity.

These minimum points could be adopted as standards of democratic coexistence in the country, the starting point of progress and a real condition for, all subsequent advance.

The final part of Comrade Alvarez's report was concerned with the need to strengthen the Party ideologically, politically and numerically, so that it may fully exercise its vanguard role in the fight against imperialism, oligarchy and reaction. In this context, he stressed the importance of expanding the circulation of *Nuestra Palabra*.

"The line adopted by the 14th Party Congress," A. Alvarez said in conclusion, "will enable our Party organizations and membership to take their bearings in the complex domestic situation as they carry out the tasks set before the Party. In this way we will make a still greater contribution to the struggle against dependence, for liberation and an advanced democracy later on leading to socialism."

FOR A PATRIOTIC ANTI-FASCIST FRONT

Resolutions of the CC of the Brazilian CP, published in *Voz operaria*, No. 106, Dec. 1973.

I. THE SITUATION IN THE COUNTRY

The situation in the country is, on the whole, evolving along the lines presented in an earlier analysis of the Central Committee. The regime has evolved from a reactionary military dictatorship into a military dictatorship of an overtly fascist type.

The Medici administration has stamped out the last vestiges of "liberal" ideology which had still flickered, albeit weakly, under the previous dictatorial governments. It has brought into action all the mechanisms devised by it to weaken and crush the struggle of the working class, the masses of the people and all sections of the population dissatisfied with the situation in the country. Oppression has grown worse, a reign of fierce terror has been installed, with roundups of people and torture and murder of political prisoners. Rigid censorship of the mass media has been introduced, and the media are being systematically used for demagogic propaganda. Its purpose is to neutralize the opposition, mislead the masses and win at least some measure of support which would enable the government to continue its anti-democratic, anti-national policy.

The Brazilian regime lacks the characteristics of the Italian and German fascism of the past; its main features are: a semblance of representative democracy involving a regular succession of dictators; all-out efforts to isolate the people, the working class in the first place, from political life; use of the armed forces as a tool of political repression and direct support of the regime; a marked increase in the number of so-called security bodies which play a basic part in the state machinery and the life of the country; terror as the main method of government; mounting control over the structure of the trade unions, which are imbued with the spirit of corporativism and are "tied" to the state machinery; greater repression against worker trade unions with the aim of turning them into mutual assistance and recreation organizations; active official propaganda aimed at the complete distortion of national events; an economic policy based on greater exploitation of the working class and mounting plunder of the nation to satisfy the interests of monopolies, foreign in the first place, and latifundists; an expansionist foreign policy reliably promoting the interests of American imperialism and accompanied by a persistent chauvinistic campaign.

The "Brazilian model" of economic development is in crying contradiction with the political forms characteristic even of bourgeois

democracy. It operates in the interests of monopoly capital, foreign in the first place, and the latifundist system of land tenure. This "model" is based on fierce exploitation of the working class and the toiling people in general, infringes on the interests of even some sections of the bourgeoisie and throws open the doors for foreign monopoly plunder and domination. It thus gives rise to a profoundly anti-democratic political superstructure the purpose of which is to suppress all the exploited and dissatisfied social forces by force and terror. It breeds fascism.

The development of fascism has spurred the struggle of those social and political forces which offer some degree of resistance or opposition to the regime. Dissatisfaction with the dictatorship's fascist terror and the consequences of its treacherous anti-national policy is mounting. The forces of resistance are launching militant action, which may develop into a broad anti-fascist movement. This struggle, though still poorly organized, embraces the most different classes and sections of the society. Its characteristic feature is that it is a manifestation of the revival and growth of the mass movement.

The symptoms of a new surge of the mass movement are a reflection of the mounting contradictions between the predatory nature of the dictatorship's economic policy and the interests of the overwhelming majority of the population, between verbose official statements concerning the success of this policy and demagogic declarations about "successful projects," on the one hand, and the daily realities encountered by the masses, on the other.

In analyzing the economic situation we should not underrate the fact that the government has so far been able to maintain, at the people's expense, a high rate of economic development, nor fail to reckon with the fact that the development of the political struggle will depend on the growth of the economic crisis. Nevertheless, in the last few months we have seen the government come up against the first acute problems consequent on its financial and economic policies.

Crisis symptoms are evident in such things as shortages of essential foods, raw materials, increasing economic dependence on foreign markets, rising foreign debt, climbing inflation, housing shortages, deterioration of the public health and education services. The people are the ones to suffer, and they are coming more clearly to understand the character and implications of the much vaunted "Brazilian miracle," despite all the attempts of the dictatorship to sidetrack attention from the mounting difficulties and hardships. There is growing realization, also, that Brazil's problems can be solved by ridding the country of fascism. The struggle against the dictatorship is, to a certain extent, broadening. Despite all the repression, the trade union movement is gaining ground both in town and

country. Recent union congresses have condemned the government's wages policy and its attempts to deny the workers a share in national politics and have called for joint action. The working class has become more active in pressing its demands and in finding new forms of struggle against fascist oppression. At some factories there have been campaigns against overtime and in support of wage demands.

The church, too, has stepped up its campaign in defense of human rights and its opposition to legalized terror. The manifestos of the Bishops of the north-eastern, central and western provinces add up to a program containing demands that are essentially anti-capitalist. There is now a more realistic opportunity for joint action by Catholics and all the anti-fascist forces for immediate and longer-term democratic demands.

The fascist regime could not silence the parliamentary opposition. The Brazilian Democratic Movement Party is taking a more consistent stand, notably in its opposition to General Geisel.

Nor could the regime break the opposition of certain ruling-class institutions which have often supported it. Opposition to the fascist ideology prevailing in the state apparatus is coming from some elements with a more "liberal" outlook. One example is the recent statement of the judicial authorities, and another is the increasing demands in the press and the university circles for respect of democratic rights.

Despite all its demagogic propaganda, the regime has not been able to win broader support. Nor have the small group of generals who now run the country been able to eliminate the sharp differences within their own ranks, and this has resulted in constant conflict.

So far there is a gap between mass resentment and the concrete forms of its expression. However, even the limited progress we have made in organizing and directing the mass struggle is helping to narrow the gap. Seen in that light, our achievements should not be underestimated.

Such is the situation in Brazil at a time when General Geisel is preparing to take over from Medici. The changeover is being made against a background of mounting political opposition, and more contradictions within the ruling clique, both of which are isolating it not only from the people, but even from the ruling party. The government is fully in the hands of a tight group of generals. The ruling party and the National Congress are expected to approve any general nominated by this group. General Geisel was selected to continue and intensify the policy of his predecessor. His choice was influenced also by the general situation in Latin America, for he is believed to be best suited to continue the expansionist policy and smooth out differences within the dictatorship. The way the new

dictator was selected, his repeated statements of loyalty to the regime and his close ties with reactionary groups, should leave no illusions about General Geisel substantially changing things when he assumes office. On the contrary, all the evidence suggests that his administration will continue the anti-democratic and anti-national policy of the preceding one.

However, the change of president could stimulate more political debate, enabling the democratic forces to intensify their struggle in defense of democratic freedoms. One way of doing that would be to expose the farce of choosing the new president. This struggle could also produce better conditions for the 1974 Parliamentary elections. The Communists must make full use of the higher political activity in the country to organize the masses, primarily the working class, to fight for their immediate demands and democratic freedoms. This will help to build up a broad anti-fascist movement.

II. THE INTERNATIONAL SITUATION

The aforementioned processes are unfolding in a qualitatively changing international situation. Cold war policy is losing ground. The principles of peaceful coexistence are gradually becoming standard in relations between countries with opposite social systems. Imperialist strategy, centered on confrontation with communism and the working class movement, is suffering a serious defeat.

The main reason behind the changed international situation is the change in the balance of forces to socialism's advantage. The strengthening of the socialist world system and the sharpening of the general crisis of capitalism and of inter-imperialist contradictions, are vital parts of the process. The peoples' struggle against imperialism, and for peace, democracy and socialism, and the consistent foreign policy of the socialist countries, first of all the Soviet Union, are the main factors that made these changes possible, as borne out by the victory of the Vietnamese people.

The changes are influencing all areas of life internationally and in each country, helping to create conditions favorable for further positive changes in the balance of forces. They are an obstacle to the creation of military blocs and ideological frontiers, a brake on anti-communism and fascism, and tend to sharpen imperialist contradictions.

Imperialism and reaction are resisting bitterly and have mounted counter-offensives in some countries and regions, as evidenced by the fascist coup in Chile and events in the Middle East. In its world strategy, imperialism is ever more frequently resorting to fascist methods, particularly in developing countries. It is therefore necessary that all peoples, all revolutionary forces, should redouble their vigilance and protect, consolidate and extend their gains. We must

consider all the facets of the new, complicated international situation, and expand and intensify the struggle of the anti-imperialist forces for peace, democracy and socialism in line with the guidelines of the 1969 International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties.

There are also far-reaching changes in Latin American countries: the struggle between the anti-imperialist, democratic forces and the pro-imperialist, reactionary forces headed by U.S. imperialism, is more intensive. Alongside socialism's advances in Cuba, the consolidation of the working class and democratic movement on the continent, and the victories in Argentina, Peru, Ecuador, Panama, and other countries there are also events such as those in Chile.

The imperialist inspired tendency of establishing authoritarian, militarist and fascist regimes to assure capitalist development, has grown more pronounced among the ruling classes in Latin America.

In line with its reactionary theories and practices, the Brazilian dictatorship has become a bulwark of U.S. imperialism in the region. And its political and economic "model" is hailed as a prototype by the reactionary and pro-imperialist forces of the entire continent. Hegemonical aspirations and expansionist tendencies are a conspicuous element of its foreign policy, as illustrated by Brazil's interference in the internal affairs of Bolivia, Paraguay, Uruguay, Chile and other Latin American countries. The differences between Brazil and Argentina, which have grown much sharper of late, reflect the clash of interests between their ruling classes, their two different political processes. Brazil is ruled by a fascist dictatorship, whereas neighboring Argentina's reactionary military government has been deposed by the working class and the people. Patriots and democrats in the two countries are strongly opposed to the policy of friction and provocation and have hoisted the banner of internationalism and fraternal alliance.

Internationally, the Communist movement is growing stronger. Its unity is more solid, despite all the problems, notably the splitting anti-Soviet policy of the Chinese Communist Party leadership. The socialist camp's successes in building the new society and in foreign policy, and especially the achievements of the CPSU in implementing the Program of its 24th Congress, are of tremendous significance. Our Party declares its firm determination to help fortify the unity of the world Communist movement and promote the struggle for peace, democracy, national liberation and socialism.

The changes in international affairs are influencing all social and political processes in Brazil, all her classes, social strata and political forces. They have undercut international support of fascism and anti-communism, are creating better conditions for uniting popular movements, building up the anti-fascist movement, strengthening our Party, and making for a more effective performance of its unifying

role. But to make the most of the opportunities and secure a qualitative change in the internal situation, all democratic, progressive and revolutionary forces must struggle and work still more energetically.

III. THE ANTI-FASCIST FRONT

A party of the working class, the BCP considers the fight against fascism to be its main task today.

The Party calls on all forces suffering from the fascist military dictatorship to unite in a broad anti-fascist patriotic front comprising all segments of the population—workers, peasants, urban petty bourgeoisie, those sections of the bourgeoisie that are at odds with the regime, political opposition forces and the ARENA groups rejecting the regime's fascist character. Our Party appeals primarily to the working class, which has a greater stake in this struggle than any other class and must play the leading role in it. As activity at enterprises and in trade unions in support of pressing demands grows, all anti-fascist forces will participate more actively in the struggle for democracy. This is a decisive factor for the success of the movement.

The BCP proposes as a basis on which to start specific talks on unity of action that all patriots and democrats set themselves the following political objectives, first among which are democratic freedoms to be won through common struggle:

- political freedoms, rights and guarantees for the individual, the right of association, legal protection, freedom of trade union activity, direct election of persons to leading posts;

- repeal of Institutional Act 5 and Decree⁴ 477, which has the force of law, and safeguarding the powers and autonomy of the judiciary and executive;

- an amnesty for persons convicted or prosecuted on political charges.

As the fight for democracy is the main task of the anti-fascist movement, the most important problems facing all anti-fascists are:

- resisting the attack on wages and salaries; effective measures against the high cost of living, for a higher standard of life; respect for labor legislation and social insurance in the countryside; an agrarian reform and other measures to improve the condition of the vast rural population;

- protecting the nation's resources and interests;

- a foreign policy of peace, friendship and cooperation with all peoples.

The Communists see their paramount task in stepping up the fight for the above objectives.

IV. OUR TASKS

We must intensify the fight against fascism, for the ideological, political and organizational consolidation of the Party and its links with the masses, primarily with the working class. A task of key importance is to build up Party organizations at major enterprises. We must operate with due regard to the intensification of repression in the country, beat off reactionary attacks on our Party with determination and revolutionary staunchness and defend it effectively.

The political tasks which all Party organizations must accomplish are the following:

1. Greater solidarity on the part of our people with fraternal Latin American peoples, above all with those that have become victims of aggression by the Brazilian dictatorship and U. S. imperialism (Chile, Uruguay, Bolivia, Paraguay and other countries). Sustained struggle against the Brazilian dictatorship's policy of generating and increasing friction with Argentina. Every effort must be made to step up unity of action of the Argentine and Brazilian peoples against imperialism and reaction.

2. Party organizations and every Communist should do their utmost to publicize and put into practice the policy of unity of the working class and people, political parties, currents and groups, trade union and labor leaders, students, political, public and religious leaders and patriotic-minded military men to isolate and defeat fascism.

As for immediate action, we must concentrate on the following primary tasks:

- (a) stepping up Party activity in the urban and rural trade union movement according to the resolutions of union congresses and conferences;

- (b) working to extend the movement of solidarity with political prisoners and people persecuted on political grounds; defending democratic freedoms with greater energy;

- (c) using all legal methods of struggle, including activity during the succession of dictators, to expose the character of the regime and strengthen the opposition movement against fascism;

- (d) beginning immediate preparations for the general election to be held in 1974;

- (e) campaigning against the growing cost of living.



NEW COLONIALIST MANEUVERS

Following is the full text of a memorandum of the Portuguese Communist Party on the new maneuvers of the colonialists.*

1. The PCP considers it necessary to call the attention of the anti-fascist movement of Portugal and world public opinion to the fact that the Marcelo Caetano government is planning to carry out new extensive demagogic measures in connection with the colonial problem; with the help of these measures it hopes to cover up its real policy of exploitation, oppression and war.

2. The opinions expressed by Rebelo de Sousa, the new Minister of Overseas Provinces and Caetano's confidential representative, at public meetings during a recent visit to Angola and Mozambique and his statement to the *Financial Times* leave no room for doubt. Although the colonial war remains the main direction of their activity in Africa, the colonialists are hurriedly preparing a second line of defense of their sordid interests.

The appearance of "clear heads" in the government, as contrasted to the generals who persist in their contention that government should continue to strive for a military victory, the promotion of corrupt Africans, encouragement of legal organizations expounding "evolution," the advocacy of an "honorable peace," as the fascists define it, the efforts of Caetano's diplomacy of rapprochement with conservative African governments—these are some of the obvious steps in their preparations.

3. The government's new measures clearly confirm the failure of the policy of colonial war.

The generals of the colonial armies who had predicted early victory have returned to Portugal defeated. The liberation movements are gathering new strength. And although the territory of Guinea-Bissau is still occupied and devastated by the colonialist forces, the Republic of Guinea-Bissau was proclaimed and is recognized by tens of governments. The fascists' hopes of a military victory have been shattered. The colonial war is swallowing up more than two-thirds of government funds, devouring both material and human resources badly needed for the development of Portuguese capitalism. The country's economic situation is becoming more acute and there is growing inflation. The struggle of the Portuguese people against war has acquired a new dimension, becoming an extensive national movement. At the same time, the international condemnation of the Portuguese government's colonial policy is gaining in scope. Détente

*The memorandum was released before the coup in Portugal of April 25, 1974.

and the new phase of inter-governmental relations in Europe also exert a positive influence in this direction.

The policy of colonial war has run into a blind alley, and the difficulties and contradictions in the economic, social and political life of Portugal are growing day by day. Sooner or later, a reappraisal of the policy of colonial war will become inevitable.

4. The CC PCP, in analyzing the situation in July 1973, came to the conclusion that conditions are ripening for putting an end to the colonial war and for a political solution of the problem. Refusing to accept the realities of the situation while being forced to retreat, the fascist and colonialist government is attempting to forestall the total collapse of colonialism. Its plan, which is becoming ever more clear, is to launch a broad demagogic operation with the aim of creating a semblance of a "political solution to the colonial problem" as demanded by Portuguese and international democratic opinion.

Proceeding from the "autonomy" and the establishment of "states" mentioned in the 1971 amendments to the Constitution, the colonialists are planning "decentralization" measures, conferring legal powers on pseudo-governments and legislative assemblies within the framework of what is beginning to be called the "Portuguese Commonwealth" or a "Lusiada commonwealth." Nor can it be excluded that they are contemplating "negotiations" with the corrupt or declassed elements with this aim in view.

5. The main aim of such a maneuver, should it be realized, would be to keep intact, within the new administrative structure, the positions of Portuguese and foreign monopolies and the exploitation and oppression of the peoples under the Portuguese colonial yoke. This maneuver, misleading a part of these peoples and curtailing aid from other countries, would deal a blow to the liberation movements in Africa as well as in other parts of the world. And this maneuver would be used to attempt to convince world opinion of the beginning of Portuguese "decolonialization" and evolution the only "realistic" political solution. Such a maneuver would help the countries backing Portuguese colonialism to justify their support in the eyes of their own peoples.

This maneuver would be an important political retreat of fascism and colonialism. Nevertheless, it would also entail serious dangers, which should not be underestimated.

6. Exposing these plans and aims, the PCP reaffirms its resolute condemnation of the colonial war, which to this day remains the government's main policy line in Africa. The PCP reaffirms its complete solidarity with the peoples fighting Portuguese colonialism and with their revolutionary parties; the PCP is convinced that their struggle will win them complete freedom. The PCP stresses the necessity of early negotiations with the legitimate representatives of

the people of Guinea-Bissau, Mozambique and Angola—the leaders of the Republic of Guinea-Bissau, FRELIMO and the MPLA. There are no other legitimate and genuine participants for such negotiations. Nor can there be any other political solution of the problem than the recognition of the Republic of Guinea-Bissau and the granting of immediate and complete independence to Angola and Mozambique.

7. The PCP appeals to the working class, to all working people, the youth and democratic forces, calling on them to be vigilant and to give an immediate rebuff to government plans for the perpetuation of Portuguese colonialism in a new guise. It is imperative to continue the stubborn struggle against the colonial war, which brought considerable success last year. The Portuguese people must step up their activities, demanding an end to the colonial war, negotiations, immediate and full independence for Guinea-Bissau, Mozambique and Angola.

Secrétariat of the Central Committee,
Portuguese Communist Party.
January, 1974.

CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN CP HOLDS PLENARY SESSION

The Central Committee of the South African Communist Party recently held a plenary session. The meeting discussed South African and international problems and adopted a number of practical decisions and guidelines for the work of the Party in 1974.

A report, "South Africa—A Time of Challenge" was presented by Party Chairman, Yusuf Dadoo on behalf of the Secretariat. The report, which is published in *The African Communist* (No. 56, First Quarter 1974) covers a wide range of developments, including the present crisis of apartheid, the rise of workers' militancy, and the growth of Black consciousness. It was thoroughly discussed and its main theses approved unanimously.

A detailed report on the Party's political and organizational work and future tasks, presented by the Assistant General Secretary, recorded important advances in underground activities and laid the basis for a number of concrete decisions.

The General Secretary of the South African Communist Party, Comrade Moses M. Kotane, participated in the concluding session of the Plenary Meeting of the Central Committee. The meeting, which marks an important stage in the Party's history, took place in a spirit of warm comradeship and unity.

The Party's policy on a number of major issues of international affairs are embodied in a resolution, extracts from which are reproduced below.

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

The Central Committee notes the major developments in the international situation that have taken place since its last plenary session, marked by a decisive shift in favor of the forces of peace, socialism and national liberation; against war, imperialism and reaction.

The heroic people of Vietnam, backed by the unstinting support of the USSR and other socialist countries and by the world democratic movement, have gained a brilliant victory.

Imperialism has been forced to retreat from its cold war positions in a number of important areas and to recognize the principle of peaceful coexistence between states with different social systems.

These developments also create more favorable conditions for the struggle of all oppressed nations and classes striving for national and social emancipation.

Great credit for the worldwide advance of the progressive forces is due to the peace initiatives of the socialist countries, notably the Soviet Union. The world socialist community has won major victories for the cause of peace.

The sustained struggles of the international working class, national liberation and other democratic movements are a vital factor in the forces against imperialism and war.

We are confident that the continued vigilance of the world peace forces can defeat those tendencies within imperialism which favor a return to world confrontation.

The unity and might of these forces was reflected in the historic Moscow Conference of Peace Forces in November 1973. Our Party, recognizing that the fight for world peace is a necessary part of our struggle for national and social liberation in our country, pledges its support for the fulfilment of the decisions of this great Congress.

The bloody events in Chile show that reaction and imperialism have not relinquished their aim to halt and reverse the forward march of the peoples by every possible means.

We declare our complete solidarity with the working masses of Chile, with the Communists, Socialists and Democrats.

We demand the release of Luis Corvalan, General Secretary of the Communist Party of Chile and of all imprisoned patriots and democrats.

We express our full support for the determined fight of the Chilean people, led by Popular Unity, for the overthrow of the fascist junta and the restoration of Chilean democracy on the road to socialism.

By their aggressive, annexationist, anti-Arab racist policies, the

Zionist rulers of Israel, acting as a bridgehead for U.S. imperialism, have created a constant situation of tension in the Middle East. They bear the full responsibility for the renewed outbreak of war in October 1973.

Our Party aligns itself firmly with the just cause of the Arab peoples. We uphold the brave stand of the Communist Party of Israel, led by Vilner and Toubi. We call for firm international action to ensure Israeli compliance with the ceasefire orders and Resolution 242 of the Security Council. We demand the withdrawal of Israeli forces from all occupied Arab lands and the guarantee of self-determination for the Palestinian Arabs.

The African peoples' struggle for social progress, peace and the liquidation of the survivals of colonialism, racism and neo-colonialism, has made significant advances. The 10th Anniversary Session of the Organization of African Unity confirmed this trend and adopted measures to strengthen it further. It has successfully contributed to the solution of territorial disputes and other areas of conflict between African states which weakened their unity in the face of imperialism. The African states have taken a common stand in negotiations with the EEC. They have unanimously rebuffed Vorster's crude attempt to penetrate African states under the cover of opening a "dialogue" with them.

The cause of African freedom scored a major success with the declaration of the independent Republic of Guinea-Bissau which has won recognition from the majority of states of the world. This historic declaration marks a culmination of the prolonged and heroic fight of the people of the country, headed by the PAICC, and is a significant contribution to the inevitable defeat and destruction of all the forces of colonialism and racism in Southern Africa. We demand the withdrawal of all Portuguese forces from Guinea-Bissau and the Cape Verde Islands, and universal recognition of the Republic.

The peoples of the countries of Southern Africa, under the leadership of their national liberation movements, and using both military and political methods of struggle, continue to deal deadly blows at the Unholy Alliance of Vorster, Smith and Caetano. Our Party, in firm alliance with the liberation movement centred in the African National Congress, will intensify its efforts to raise the level of unity and militancy of the people and hasten the struggle to a victorious conclusion. This is our main contribution towards the cause of all-African freedom and unity, and towards world peace.

The South African Communist Party vigorously condemns the unprincipled policy and tactics, based on anti-Sovietism, of the leadership of the Communist Party of China. It has betrayed Marxism-

Leninism and proletarian internationalism and embarked on a path of accommodation to imperialism.

The Maoist group openly allies itself with NATO, the EEC and the most reactionary forces in the world. It brazenly incites these forces against the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries. Its false theory of the "two super-powers" is designed to isolate the national liberation movements from their natural and most steadfast allies, the socialist community, to confuse and split these movements and weaken the united fight against imperialism.

The contemptible actions expose the great-power chauvinism and national ambitions of the present Maoist leadership.

Our Party rejects the opportunist concept of neutralism in the so-called "Sino-Soviet dispute." We shall continue to fight actively against efforts to spread the disruptive theories of Maoism, especially in Africa.

The Communist Party expresses its profound appreciation to the Socialist countries, the independent states of Africa, and to the working class, democratic and humanist forces of the world, who have given generous assistance to the fighting liberation movements of Southern Africa and helped expose the role of imperialism in sustaining the South African, Rhodesian and Portuguese regimes.

We call on the world's workers to uphold the correct decisions of the ILO-UNO Geneva Conference on Apartheid held in June 1973, to mobilize all the progressive forces for the implementation of these decisions, and to combat all tendencies to appease the white racists of Southern Africa and their imperialist backers.

We resolve that our Party, in conjunction with the entire liberation movement, should take the most energetic steps in the period ahead to place in the forefront of the agenda of the international community: the universal condemnation of Apartheid as a crime against humanity; the complete isolation of the Pretoria racists as being totally unrepresentative of the great majority of our people.

Reaffirming its historic and unvarying principle of proletarian internationalism, the South African Party considers itself an integral and inseparable detachment of the world Communist movement. We shall ever uphold and work for the unity and cohesion of the movement.

To this end the Party will work consistently to strengthen its links with fraternal Communist and Workers' Parties on a bilateral and multilateral basis. It mandates the Executive to take or support suitable initiatives to ensure timely discussion and agreement within the world Communist movement as a whole of new tasks and problems placed on the agenda by history.

BILATERAL DISCUSSIONS WITH FRATERNAL PARTIES

Delegations of the Central Committee of the South African Communist Party, headed by its Chairman, Jusuf Dadoo, visited the Soviet Union, the German Democratic Republic, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia and the Federal Republic of Germany at the invitation of the leadership of the Communist and Workers' Parties of these respective countries. In each case the delegations, which were warmly received by their hosts, held high-level discussions on the international situation, on the South African developments and the work of the SACP, and on the achievements and policy of the fraternal parties — the CPSU, the SED, the CPB, the CSCP and the DKP. As reflected in the communiques, full agreement was reached, in the spirit of working-class internationalism and Marxist-Leninist principle on all the subjects under discussion.

FROM THE PARTY PRESS

TRIUMPH OF SOCIALIST INTERNATIONALISM

25th Anniversary of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance*

In January 1949, the Communist and Workers' Parties of the fraternal socialist countries judged that the logic of historical development made the time ripe for setting up a Council for Economic Assistance.

Those early postwar years witnessed the birth of a new type of relations between states and the establishment of the socialist world system.

The Communist Party of the Soviet Union and other Communist and Workers' Parties of the socialist countries firmly adopted the strategic line of all-round political, ideological and economic rapprochement of the peoples of the socialist community. The creation of CMEA was one of the most important joint decisions in pooling efforts for the establishment and development of the material and technical basis of socialism, for the build-up of the economic potential of the socialist community.

Together with the Warsaw Treaty Organization, which coordinates political and defense cooperation of the socialist countries, the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance, which has laid down the foundation for an extensive process of economic integration, contributes to that constant change in the correlation of forces in favor of socialism and democracy which determines the entire course of current development.

Effecting scientific guidance of the social process, the Communist and Workers' Parties have provided full scope for the operation of such objective development factors as the need for the further unity of the socialist countries and the trend for the internationalization of the material and cultural life of nations. Thus, thanks to the coordinated action of Communist and Workers' Parties, V. I. Lenin's theoretical prevision is becoming a reality, the prevision that, in contrast to imperialism, which alienates nations from one another, socialism creates "new and superior forms of human society, in which the legitimate needs and progressive aspirations of the working

*Pravda editorial, January 23, 1973.

masses of *each* nationality will, for the first time, be met through international unity . . ." (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 21, pp. 38-39).

The successful work of CMEA over the last 25 years means a fresh triumph of socialist internationalism. Its experience confirms the invaluable significance of internationalist relations which have been established among Parties, countries and peoples cemented by a common Marxist-Leninist philosophy.

Socialist internationalism permeates all spheres of life of our community. The strengthening of world socialism as a whole and the achievements of each of the CMEA countries are inseparably linked by the fraternal Parties with the solidarity, mutual assistance and cooperation of the socialist states. Internationalism means a great responsibility for the destiny of socialism not only in one's own country, but elsewhere in the world.

Today nine socialist countries, with an aggregate population of more than 366 million and situated on three continents, in the spirit of Lenin's behests, are closely cooperating in the production of material values, in the consolidation of the world positions of socialism. The cooperation promoted by the peoples of Bulgaria, Hungary, the German Democratic Republic, Cuba, Mongolia, Poland, Rumania, the Soviet Union and Czechoslovakia under the leadership of the Communist and Workers' Parties reveals the great vitality of socialist internationalism. Relations have shaped up among the CMEA countries which not only ensure complete equality, sovereignty, mutual benefit, and the voluntary nature of cooperation between them but also the invariable triumph of laws of unselfish fraternal mutual assistance and class solidarity.

Guided by their Communist and Workers' Parties, the peoples of the socialist states have scored successes considered unheard-of and amazing not only by our friends, but even our enemies. Indeed, in 25 years of work (1949-1973), industrial production in the CMEA countries has increased more than 12 times. A comparison with the growth (almost four-fold) in the advanced capitalist countries over the same period shows where the advantage lies. The CMEA countries have surpassed the United States and Western Europe in gross industrial production. And yet not so long ago, prior to taking the road of socialist development, most of these states were agrarian-raw material appendages of the capitalist powers. There is no doubt that, leaning on the attained level of cooperation, the CMEA countries will in time overtake and surpass the most developed capitalist states in both per capita production and labor productivity.

Today the fraternal countries account for 25 per cent of world national income, which is the main gauge of economic development. The aggregate national income of the CMEA countries grows at surprisingly high rates. Since 1950 it has increased by nearly 5.7 times,

about double that of the developed capitalist countries. The steadily growing rates of economic development are a characteristic of our community. It is extremely important that the new social system creates optimal socio-economic conditions not only for the growth of production and the scientific and technical revolution, but also for the utilization of their results for the good of the people. Socialism means full employment; concern for labor safety, recreation and every-day life of the people; the solution of the housing problem; and access for all to national and world culture.

The high rates of production development in the CMEA countries lead, correspondingly, to a rapid growth of the well-being of their peoples. Having satisfied a number of vital requirements of the people, socialism is moulding an entirely new way of life. Socialism abhors the utilitarianism of consumer society with its base egoistic aspirations. Under socialism all members of society have equal rights, class differences are being gradually overcome, and there emerge entirely new standards of relationships between the individual and the collective, the citizen and the state, the nations and nationalities.

Hence, the optimism and confidence in the radiant future, which the advances of socialism instil in the working people.

Fraternal cooperation is a tested way of tackling extremely complicated problems, the solution of which is beyond the capacities of any other social system. These problems include such universal issues as protection of the environment and the rational utilization of energy resources.

As distinct from the world of capitalist exploitation, and its uneven economic and political development, socialism fully abolishes the exploitation of man by man, and ensures the evening out of the socio-economic development levels of the fraternal countries and nations. Cooperation within the CMEA framework has helped the once economically backward countries make vast strides forward. Socialist integration thus promotes the growth, gradual bringing closer together and evening out of economic development. Whereas in the period of the formation of the world socialist system agrarian-industrial and agrarian countries predominated in the community, now all European CMEA countries derive the bulk of their national income from industry. Being involved in international socialist division of labor, the Mongolian People's Republic which joined CMEA in 1962, and the Republic of Cuba which became a member in 1972, modernize their agriculture and, simultaneously, develop up-to-date industries.

Until the emergence of the world socialist system there had never been a community of states in which the stronger nations unselfishly promoted the economic development, progress and prosperity of their weaker partners. These relationships have become a reality within the framework of the socialist community. The Council for Mutual

Economic Assistance is an alliance based on genuine equality. Within its framework the big nations are not set against the small ones, all have absolutely equal rights, and the principle of genuine equality is strictly adhered to. This indisputable fact gives the lie to all slanderers, including the Maoists with their concoctions about the "subordination" of the fraternal socialist states to "Soviet domination." Have the "dominators" ever helped the "subordinates" to reach their level? No, this they have never permitted.

The peoples of the countries of the socialist community set a revolutionary example for all mankind, for a world where the developed capitalist states alone have millions of unemployed living in poverty, for a world where millions suffer from hunger and the oppression of imperialist monopolies and neo-colonialism, for a world with countless victims of the aggressors and the militarists.

Under imperialism with its antagonistic contradictions there are not, nor can there be, organizations such as the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance. The CMEA is an organization of socialist cooperation, whose aim is fraternal mutual assistance and not extraction of super-profits. It promotes the common good of the peoples, not the enrichment of the monopolies. It ensures the equality and sovereignty of all its participants, not the subordination of the economically weaker countries to alien interests.

Some evilly intentioned politicians and propagandists endeavored to prove that the CMEA "only tries to copy the Common Market." However, neither in its aims, form, statute principles, nor in essence, can the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance be likened to the monopoly-dominated EEC.

The Council for Mutual Economic Assistance is the center of friendly cooperation in the main sphere of human activity, that of material production. The CMEA is the greatest community the world has ever known. The founders of the new community of peoples and states based themselves on a scientific analysis of the prospects of development, while the 25 years of CMEA's activity and its fruitful results convincingly confirm the historical correctness of Marxism-Leninism, the creative power of socialist internationalism.

In assessing our common achievements, it should be emphasized that economic, scientific and technical cooperation within the framework of the CMEA results from the tremendous political and organizational work of the CPSU and other fraternal parties. The development of the socialist system presupposes the constant strengthening of the leading role of the Marxist-Leninist vanguard, the continuous improvement in the forms and methods of Party leadership, and of inter-Party cooperation, of the creative approach to the solution of pressing problems.

The 24th CPSU Congress proceeded from this when it stressed that the community of social systems and the similarity of vital interests

and aims of the peoples in socialist countries made it possible, with the correct policy of Marxist-Leninist parties, to steadily advance the course of the development and the strengthening of the world socialist system. The 24th CPSU Congress confirmed the Leninist course towards the wide many-sided cooperation between the USSR and other socialist countries. The congresses of other fraternal parties of the CMEA member-countries showed their aspiration to develop and strengthen all-round cooperation in all spheres, including the economy.

Inter-Party relations have become a basis of the entire system of cooperation. Consideration is given to the most important problems by the leaders of the fraternal parties at their friendly meetings and at meetings of the Political Consultative Committee of the parties to the Warsaw Treaty. At the friendly meetings in the Crimea, for example, they worked out the decisions defining the ways to further strengthen unity and intensify the coordinated actions of the community's countries in politics and in the economy. The Political Bureau of the CPSU Central Committee and personally L. I. Brezhnev, General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, are making a tremendous contribution to the unity of the socialist states and the fraternal parties. Revealing the importance of our philosophy of historical optimism L. I. Brezhnev stressed in his speech at the World Congress of Peace Forces in Moscow that this philosophy of peace was based above all on the might and dynamism of real socialism, on the identity of views and actions of the majority of the socialist countries.

The working out of problems of socialist economic integration is an example of the creative Marxist-Leninist approach to the urgent problems of our community's development. The successes of the CMEA from the first days of its activity gradually made for a transition from commodity exchange to cooperation and specialization of production; from coordination in development of trade to coordination of national economic plans; from the exchange of know-how, scientific and technical documentation and information to the establishment of joint scientific-coordination centers and international economic organizations. In accordance with the objective tendencies of development, it was necessary to pass from separate integration undertakings to comprehensive, long-term economic integration.

At the 23rd (special) Session of the Council in 1969 the leaders of the Communist and Workers' Parties and the heads of government of the CMEA countries summed up the results of the previous stage of cooperation and mapped out a master plan for further joint actions. The Council's 25th Session (1971) was able to adopt a remarkable innovative document — the Comprehensive Program for the Further Extension and Improvement of Cooperation and the Development of Socialist Economic Integration by the CMEA member-

countries over the next 15 to 20 years. It covers cooperation in material production, science and technology, as well as in foreign trade, currency-financial and legal relations. This comprehensive character is a new feature in principle of socialist economic cooperation, whose paramount role was noted at the 24th CPSU Congress.

The Political Bureau of the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers, after examining the results of the 25th session of the CMEA, described the Comprehensive Program as a document of great political importance, and pointed out that "The implementation of the program measures will enable the CMEA countries more effectively to use the advantages of the socialist economic system and international socialist division of labor in the interest of strengthening the economic and defense potential, and raising the people's living standards in the CMEA member countries."

The adoption of the Comprehensive Program meant that the countries of the socialist community were entering upon a new stage of their cooperation and in competition with the capitalist world. Socialist integration has become the highway of their coordinated economic development. Its main aim is to raise the people's living standards and cultural level in the fraternal countries on the basis of the greatest degree of scientific and technological progress and the maximum effectiveness of social production and highest labor productivity.

Socialist economic integration is a process of international socialist division of labor, consciously regulated and planned by the Communist and Workers' Parties and governments of the CMEA member-countries. The gradual evening out of the levels of economic development of the member states, the drawing closer together of their economies and the restructuring of the national economies on modern, highly effective basis, take place in the course of integration. Deep and stable links are being established in the major economic, scientific and technological sectors; the international market of these states is expanding and growing stronger, and commodity-money relations are improving. Socialist economic integration helps build up the economic might of the socialist community and strengthen the national economy of each country, and is an important factor in promoting their cohesion and increasing superiority over capitalism in all spheres of social life and in ensuring victory in the competition between socialism and capitalism.

Although it is only two and a half years since the Comprehensive Program was adopted, much has already been accomplished. It is in vain that slanderers try to belittle the importance of what were actually the early stages of the program's implementation. Thus, on January 4, the *Financial Times*, the newspaper of the British financial and industrial circles, in an article entitled "Integration Soviet Style" tried to prove that the main concern of the CMEA was its alleged

disappointment over the slow pace at which the Comprehensive Program was being fulfilled. The socialist countries are fully aware of the value of time even without the *Financial Times*, but they also understand the entire complexity of carrying out integration (this, incidentally, is excellently illustrated by the really slow, zigzag-like road of West European integration). That is why there is no disappointment whatsoever in the CMEA countries, but rather greater activity in accomplishing the new and complex tasks of substantially expanding and deepening mutual economic relations.

The successful start in implementing the Comprehensive Program makes it possible now to proceed more boldly, at a faster rate and more energetically. Socialist economic integration is gaining momentum, and reveals its inexhaustible possibilities. The present situation demands that the maximum use be made of these possibilities. The Marxist-Leninist Parties are paying more and more attention to the development of economic integration as the material basis of the entire process of bringing the peoples of the fraternal countries closer together, of the flowering of their economies and cultures.

At the same time, the fraternal parties constantly emphasize the importance of the ideological aspect of the integrational process. Indeed, the joint work done by millions immeasurably accelerates the formation of an internationalist world outlook. There is a deep historical meaning in the lively and direct communion among the tens and hundreds of thousands of people building socialism and communism, communion that has become customary—this is how the foundations for the future worldwide fraternity of nations are being laid.

The most important result of the efforts of the fraternal parties and of the activities of CMEA over a quarter of a century is that the socialist community today possesses an appropriate integrational machinery.

In addition to CMEA, cooperation is being carried out through credit and financial institutions, industrial organizations, scientific and technical and information centers, transport and communications bodies of mutual coordination, and other organizations jointly set up by socialist countries.

The management of economic relations is being improved so that it conforms to the level and scope of the tasks being tackled. Joint planning by the CMEA countries is the principal means of developing the international socialist division of labor. Effective forms and methods of this work have taken shape, such as multilateral consultations at different levels, coordination of economic plans, prognostication and the exchange of know-how. For instance, parallel with the coordination of five-year plans for 1976-1980, socialist countries are jointly working out a number of large-scale measures to be carried out within the community till 1990, and are drafting a

five-year plan of multilateral integration measures, with a section on integration ties to be included in the national economic plans. The development of particular branches and types of production is also being planned jointly. In this way, the basis for a successful fulfillment of the Comprehensive Program is being strengthened.

During the two and half years since the Comprehensive Program was adopted, agreements have been reached on the joint construction in the Soviet Union of a large pulp and paper mill at Ust-Ilimsk and of a large Kiembayevsky asbestos plant. The products of these enterprises will be supplied to the socialist countries participating in their construction. It was decided to develop jointly the gas deposits near Orenburg and then to build a gas main to the European socialist countries. A plan is being drawn up to link the Mir power system with the unified power system of the European USSR by a 750 kv line. Cooperation is also being planned in the building of large additional capacities for nickel production in Cuba.

Seventeen multilateral agreements have recently been signed on specialization and cooperation in the manufacture of up-to-date engineering products of more than 1,700 kinds.

The leading positions in the world held by the CMEA member states in many fields of scientific and technical progress have been consolidated by their latest achievements, one of them being the development of a single system of third-generation electronic computers, called Ryad. The joint designing and manufacture of digitally controlled machine tools and improved material and technical supply of the joint container transport system have been envisaged in other important agreements.

The CMEA states have a powerful research base. At the present stage, the fraternal parties are planning a wider promotion of intrinsically socialist forms of linking science with production and a more intensive combination of scientific and technical achievements with the advantages of the world socialist economic system.

New ways of pooling the efforts of the fraternal countries are emerging in the process of integration. One of the promising forms of cooperation is the establishment of international economic organizations. They include: Interatominstrument, in the sphere of nuclear instrument making; Interatomenergo, in the manufacture of equipment for atomic power stations; Interelectro, in the manufacture of high-quality electrotechnical products; Intertextilmach, in the production of equipment for the textile industry. Thus, by accumulating all the achievements of previous stages of cooperation, socialist economic integration is yielding a new qualitative effect and is broadening the horizons of the interaction of the socialist countries.

The CMEA has become a major factor in the economic, scientific and technical progress of each member state and the community as a whole. For proof of this one has but to take the experience of

solution of the energy and raw materials problems by the fraternal countries and of the development of branches decisive for scientific and technological progress. It is known that the CMEA countries meet a greater part of their requirements in modern machines and instruments through home production or reciprocal exchanges. The Soviet Union, for instance, receives in this way 65 per cent of the machines and other equipment imported by it for its industry, and of consumer articles. The countries of the socialist community almost fully meet raw materials and fuel needs through their own resources.

Like any ambitious project, socialist integration has, of course, its problems which spring from the big distances between some CMEA countries, their unequal territories and populations, different historical traditions and levels of economic development, making for various forms and different stages of transition to socialism. However, the CMEA countries can accomplish the most complex tasks of integration, because they have the same new social system, with its general regularities of development. In pursuing their goal the Marxist-Leninist Parties of the socialist countries rely on the advantages of the socialist system.

One indication of the achievements scored by the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance over 25 years is its unchallenged international prestige and the growing interest to cooperate with it displayed in various parts of the world. A more and more active part in the work of its bodies is played by Yugoslavia. The Democratic Republic of Vietnam and the Democratic People's Republic of Korea are also represented in some of the CMEA organs.

International practice has borne out the desire of the socialist community also to develop wide-ranging and mutually advantageous economic links with states belonging to a different social system. A graphic example is provided by the agreement between the Republic of Finland and the CMEA. Being an open organization the CMEA encourages the building of relations among states on the basis of peaceful coexistence. It is no accident that the historic Peace Program adopted by the 24th CPSU Congress emphasizes readiness to develop mutually advantageous cooperation in all areas with states which for their part desire this cooperation. The Soviet Union suggests that such problems as protection of the environment, tapping of energy and other natural resources, perfection of transportation and communications should be tackled jointly. Experience shows that, as the Comprehensive Program is carried forward, the opportunities for the CMEA member-countries to take part in the world division of labor, far from being reduced, grows considerably.

In building up their economic potential, the countries of the socialist community are better able to assist the national-liberation movement, the rise and consolidation of the independence of the

developing countries. According to tentative estimates, the CMEA member states have extended to the developing countries long-term credits to the tune of about 11,000 million rubles. Over 2,900 economic projects have been built or are being built in these countries with the economic or technical assistance of the socialist community countries. More than 25,000 students and post-graduates from over 100 countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America annually study at universities and colleges of the CMEA countries.

The further advance of socialist economic integration, and the spectacular successes of the fraternal countries in developing the economy and using the achievements of the scientific technological revolution increases the influence of socialism on the solution of the problems of war and peace, social and national liberation throughout the world.

The CPSU and the fraternal countries stress emphatically that under present world conditions, cooperation among the socialist countries, the perfection of the CMEA and the development of socialist economic integration take on an ever greater significance. As for the CPSU, the April and December (1973) Plenums of our Party again noted the paramount importance of economic and scientific-technical links with the framework of the CMEA. Soviet Communists and all the working people of the USSR regard the all-round advancement of these fraternal relations as their priority duty.

The heroic work of Soviet people to meet the plan targets of the determining fourth year of the five-year plan, the work of our brothers in the socialist countries, and the timely and effective solution of problems arising in the course of economic integration, makes a decisive contribution to the further strengthening of world socialism. Our Leninist Party and its Central Committee do everything necessary for the success of this historic endeavor.

"We want to see every fraternal country a flourishing state harmoniously combining rapid economic, scientific and technical growth with a flowering of socialist culture and rising living standards for the working people," Comrade L. I. Brezhnev said at the 24th CPSU Congress. "We want the world socialist system to be a well-knit family of nations, building and defending the new society together, and mutually enriching each other with experience and knowledge, a family, strong and united, which the people of the world would regard as the prototype of the future world community of free nations."

The CPSU and the other fraternal parties spare no efforts to attain this noble goal. The unity of the Communist and Workers' Parties of the socialist countries, the unity of all revolutionary forces of today is a token of the further swing in the world balance of forces in favor of the forces of peace, democracy and socialism.

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