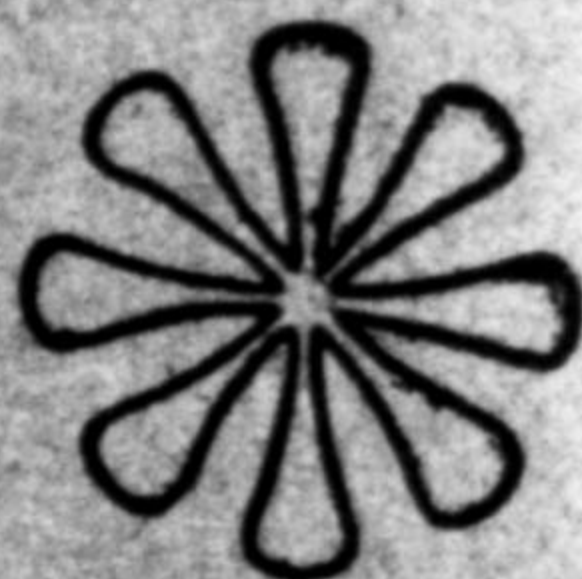
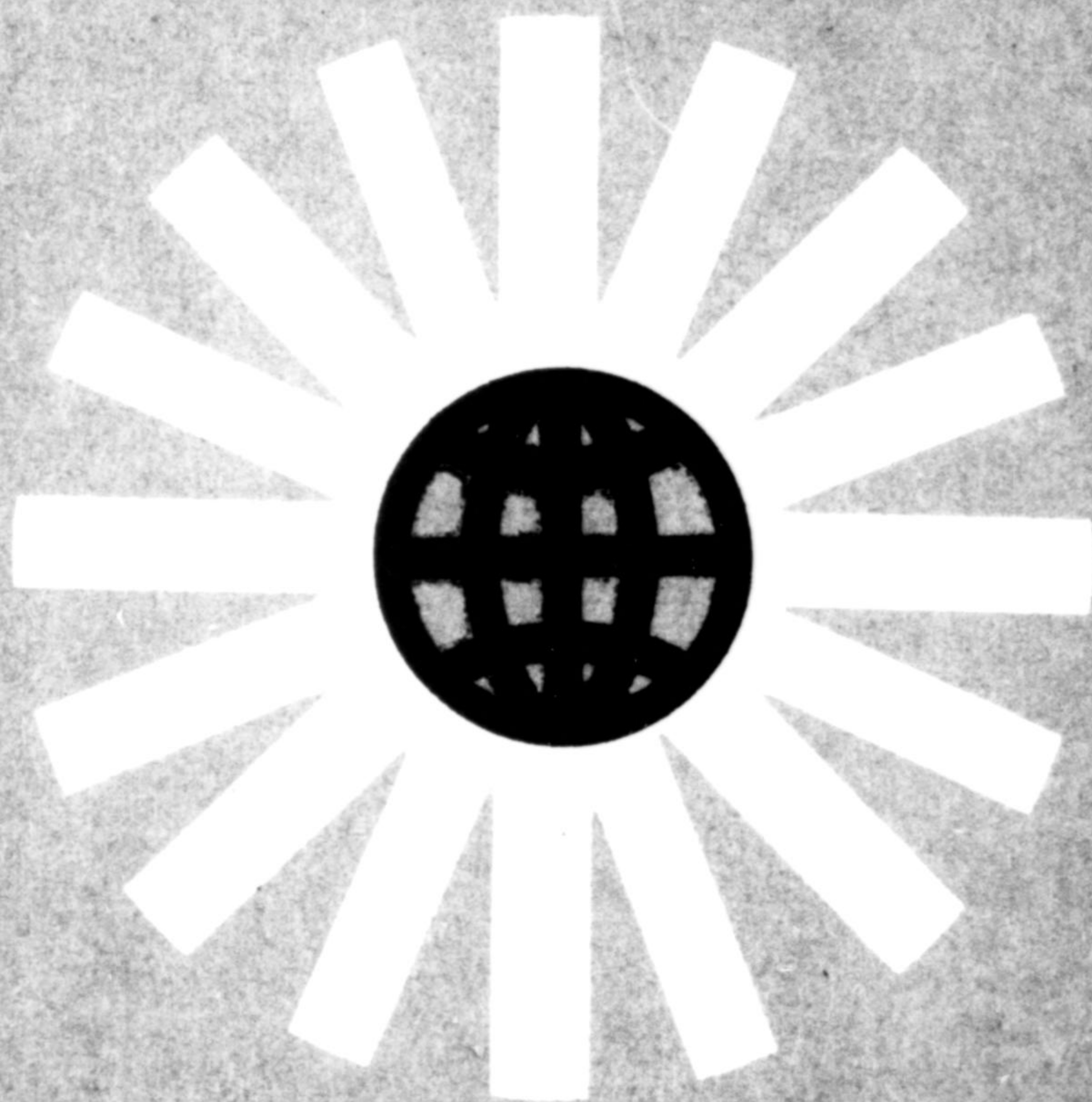


INFORMA



TION



BULLETIN

Issued by

**WORLD MARXIST
REVIEW
PUBLISHERS**

**16th CONGRESS
MEXICAN CP**

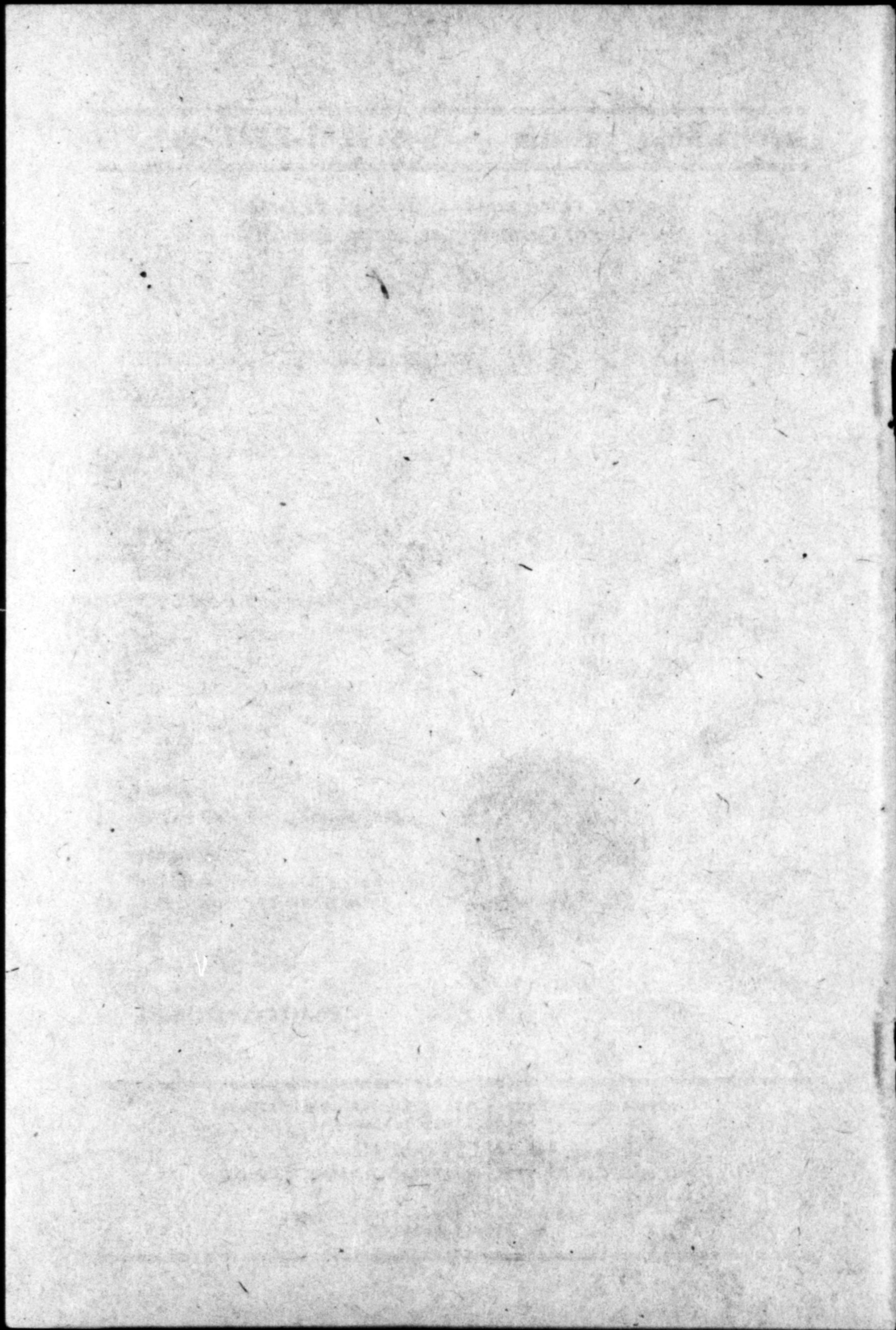
•
IRAQ

•
URUGUAY

•
**SPEECH BY
LE DUAN**

5-6

(261-262) • 1974



information bulletin — 5-6 (261-262) Vol. 12

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

c o n t e n t s

CONGRESSES AND CONFERENCES

Mexico

Political resolution of
16th Congress of MCP 5

In brief 14

PLENARY MEETINGS

Iraq

Plenary meeting of the CC ICP 21

In brief 33

STATEMENTS AND SPEECHES

Guatemala

A new electoral farce 42

Panama

Communique of the PB of PPP 46

Uruguay

Unite the people to
overthrow the dictatorship 48

DRV

Speech by Le Duan 61

BILATERAL MEETINGS 71

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

PROGRESS BOOKS

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

Copyright © 1968 by Progress Books, Canada
ALL RIGHTS RESERVED

PRICE: 10 CENTS
PRINTED IN CANADA
MAY 23, 1974



CONGRESSES AND CONFERENCES

POLITICAL RESOLUTION OF THE 16th NATIONAL CONGRESS OF THE MEXICAN CP

Following is an abridged translation of the Congress Resolution published in *Oposición*, No. 59, December 1973.

I

Ever since its 15th Congress our Party has been carrying forward the efforts initiated by the 13th Congress to evolve a strategy and program for revolutionary change as the working-class and popular alternative to the anti-democratic and anti-popular regime of the Mexican big bourgeoisie.

The Congress debate and the conclusions that were drawn will help to accomplish the great task of organizing and uniting the advanced sections of the working class, poor peasants, students and intellectuals in a vast revolutionary movement for a democratic and socialist solution meeting present requirements.

Recent years have seen our country sink deeper and deeper into a political crisis which is the salient characteristic of the moment. The crisis manifests itself most strikingly in the regime's ideological and political machinery.

It is in this situation that discontent is growing among the masses, first of all among the working class, whose strikes and other actions are the most important developments in the working-class movement since the 1958-1959 period.

A primary factor in the evolution of the political crisis is the upsurge in the struggle of the masses which has gone on ever since 1968 in the face of sustained official repression. The workers' struggle against the union bosses, for higher wages, the peasants' struggle for land, the struggle of students and teachers for a democratic education system, the popular movement for housing and the struggle of the masses against the undemocratic electoral system, a struggle which expressed itself in a boycott of the 1970 and 1973 elections, are all elements of our people's reaction to the despotic rule of a strong presidential authority and steps toward a revolutionary solution of the crisis.

The Communists' role in these actions is becoming ever more

important. However, these actions are still uncoordinated and lack precise programs. Hence our task is to raise their organizational level and link them with the general revolutionary movement.

The political crisis and social conflicts affecting the country have a solid objective basis.

In view of the monopolies' search for a way out, we Communists insist that it is necessary and possible to promote a different solution that would foil the attempts of a small group of big oligarchs to use the labor of all Mexicans in only its own interests and make the entire state apparatus subservient to these interests. It is only this solution, which we describe as *démocratic and socialist*, that can prevent monopoly domination of the country leading to the rapid ruin of the workers and peasants already hit by the system, as well as of medium and small producers.

The solution sought by the monopolies implies, moreover, a new form of subordinating our country to international monopoly interests, especially those of U.S. imperialism. It may lead, unless prevented by the revolutionary and democratic movement, to a terroristic, military and police dictatorship of big capital like the one established in Brazil.

Congress fully endorses the Central Committee's policy towards the Echeverria government. This government, which upholds the interests of the big bourgeoisie, is as anti-democratic and anti-popular as all the recent governments of the so-called "revolutionary family."

The Echeverria government was faced with the imperative need to stabilize the system and ease political antagonisms, especially those resulting from popular discontent, both through repression and by political methods. To this end it defined its policy as one of "dialogue" and democratic development. But that policy miscarried.

At the same time the government is launching a repressive attack to crush the revolutionary movement of the masses.

(The Resolution goes on to cite some of the more striking instances of repression ranging from the dispersal of demonstrations and arrests to tortures and the killings of political prisoners.—*Ed.*)

Pressure from the big oligarchs, the imperialist plan to install "strong-arm" governments in Latin America and the sharpness of class contradictions make it the duty of every revolutionary to be on his guard against a new escalation of repression during the second half of Echeverria's term of office.

The working-class and revolutionary movement must bear in mind that repressive measures are combined with political moves and that the crisis compels even the government to grant the masses a say regarding some aspects of public life. The masses should use this to extend their movement.

In recent months the government's economic and social policies have been developing more and more rapidly in the direction wanted by the more reactionary groups of the oligarchy.

The working people are faced with the greatest reduction of real wages for the last 30 years, which is a result of inflation and higher prices of necessities. Prices will go on rising in the foreseeable future. It is only through stubborn struggles to raise their standard of life that the workers can alleviate the effects of the economic policy of the government and oligarchy. The recent 20 per cent pay rise granted under an agreement between the government, employers and corrupt union leaders is not enough to make up for the higher cost of living, which has increased by more than 40 per cent over the past year, as even Congress of Labor leaders had to admit.

The 16th National Congress considers it necessary to persevere in the policy of "No support, no confidence, no illusions regarding the Echeverria government," which our Party has been carrying on ever since Echeverria became President.

The working class can only count on its own strength, organization and action. Unlike the so-called Popular Alliance advocated by the government, the leaders of the ruling party and the organizations under its control, our Party steadfastly champions an *alliance of the workers, peasants, middle strata, intellectuals and students* to safeguard the people's interests in view of the oligarchy's offensive and pave the way for a revolutionary solution to the crisis. We call this solution *democratic and socialist*.

The "Popular Alliance" is merely a tactic designed to bolster the President's despotic rule and maintain the control over the workers and peasants exercised by the ruling party's political bureaucrats.

To replace the "revolutionary family's" political regime by a bloc of workers, peasants, urban middle strata and democratic intellectuals is a requisite of abolishing the social system of a dependent capitalism which tends to turn into state-monopoly capitalism.

The importance of this objective makes it necessary to bring into political struggle major social forces which are unorganized, have no solid leadership or are influenced by bourgeois reformism. We revolutionaries must convince these forces that only through independent action explicitly intended to remove the ruling block from the helm of state can Mexican society be reorganized on democratic, socialist principles.

This is why our Party must concentrate on *bringing into being an independent revolutionary force as an alternative to the prevailing system*. It should be a bloc of all the forces capable of effecting the changes which the vast majority of Mexicans seeks.

An embryo of this bloc are the coalitions, fronts and councils which are formed in various parts of the country. In addition to the

advanced sections of the working class, they unite all the forces rising to fight for their rights. Their plans for the future envisage democracy and socialism.

PROGRAM FOR UNITY AND ACTION OF THE MASSES*

A program which can unite diverse forces, set them in motion throughout the country and pave the way for advancing to revolution should comprise the following points:

1. *Complete political freedom for all citizens.* End repressive measures against the Left opposition. Enact a law amnestying all political prisoners and all others who are on trial or otherwise persecuted on political grounds.

Repeal the Federal electoral law now in force and the corresponding state laws. Establish an electoral system guaranteeing the participation of all parties in elections and abolishing government control over preparations for and the conduct of elections, as well as over the appraisal of election results.

Freedom for the trade unions and an end to *charrismo* (imposition of reactionary union bosses.—*Ed.*). With regard to the right to strike: repeal the provision on expulsion from the union, introduce voluntary payment of union dues and abolish compulsory payment; freedom of political party membership for workers; ban collective adherence to any political party by unions. Respect every form of labor organization. Abolish the "registration" of trade unions and other forms of government interference in their internal affairs.

2. *Abolish large-scale private land ownership.* Reorganize agricultural production on the principle of preserving small property—up to 20 hectares of irrigated land or its equivalent. Set up government estates or cooperatives on the lands of big farms held by the agrarian bourgeoisie and reorganize the *ejidos*** on the principle of voluntary cooperation. Repeal reactionary agrarian legislation. Nationalize the credit system to extend effective technological aid and credits to peasants.

3. *Take effective measures to improve the living standard of all working people:* reduce the working week to 40 hours, raise wages, salaries and pensions, at least in proportion to price increases, establish price control, freeze residential and other rents and grant unemployment relief.

4. *An independent foreign policy and measures against imperialist plunder.* Maintain world peace and solidarity with the peoples fighting against imperialism. Nationalize the mining industry, take effective steps to curb the outflow of currency in the form of profits, raise

*Subtitle used by *Oposicion*.—*Ed.*

**Lands farmed under a federally supported system of communal land tenure.—*Ed.*

proportionate taxes on foreign and mixed capitalist enterprises and establish control over currency operations.

5. *Democratize and extend the education system* to guarantee the right of every citizen to education and make eight-year education compulsory. Eliminate illiteracy, democratize higher educational institutions, grant the universities autonomy and substitute self-management by teachers, students and working people for the present authoritarian system of management.

6. *Steps against monopoly.* Organize the masses to resist monopoly exploitation in the spheres of production, distribution and consumption. Take measures against cornering and establish control over the market. Encourage the association of small producers in cooperatives. Call a halt to usurious and speculative banking operations.

Congress approves the proposals of the Fourth National Congress of the Communist Youth League regarding the special aspects of Party work among youth at this stage. Congress resolves to dissolve the Communist Youth League of Mexico and organize the admission of its members to the Party according to the Party Rules.

Congress resolves to submit for discussion in the Party the idea of helping to form a movement or organization guiding the revolutionary struggle of working youth. The pattern of a movement or organization of this nature, which must serve the struggle of the masses developing all over the country in the form of workers' councils and committees, peasant cells, student movements, district and state coalitions and fronts should be determined through an adequate exchange of views between spokesmen of these mass organizations.

To provide political leadership for work among youth, Congress resolves to form a National Youth Commission under the Central Committee and corresponding commissions under district Party committees, as well as a National Commission for Work in Educational Institutions. Congress also resolves to step up the work of Party branches with a view to carrying out a series of political and organizational measures enabling them to work among youth on a permanent basis in the factories, peasant centers, universities and communities by organizing Communist youth teams. Congress approves the Resolution of the Fourth Congress of the Communist Youth League on Communist work in educational institutions.

Diverse forms of guerrilla warfare have developed since the 15th Congress, in both rural and urban areas of our country. Their rise is due to the suppression of democracy and systematic repression by the regime, as well as to the difficulty of organizing a mass political movement under a despotic presidential regime.

The formation of this movement was also prompted by erroneous

views on the revolutionary movement, such as the concept of "seats" of guerrilla warfare. Guerrilla operations have so far been carried out by small groups of revolutionaries which, in contributing their share to the fight against the system, operate outside the real mass movement and in some cases divert valuable people from this movement and reduce their effort to sectarian activity. This is particularly evident in the case of groups formed under the influence of the concept of guerrilla warfare in urban conditions. Unlike these groups, the movement led by Lucio Cabanas and brought into being as a peasant self-defense movement is backed by the peasant masses in the areas where it is active and has therefore gained stability.

However, the main weakness of guerrilla groups is not the lack of contact with the masses, nor shortcomings in their technical training, which makes them vulnerable to government repression. It is the fact that they are based on a strategic misconception to the effect that revolutionary conditions are ripe enough for resolute action to win power. This misconception diverts guerrilla groups from the tasks set by the revolutionary movement at this stage to hasten a change in the alignment of forces.

The Communist Party considers that the authoritarian and paternalist structure of the state, the despotic political regime, the historical tradition of the masses in settling political questions, the proximity of the United States and the existence of an increasingly strong repressive machinery all make it impossible to advance to socialism by peaceful means. We regard revolutionary transformation as a series of actions and movements in which political and economic struggles in the streets, particular and general strikes and demonstrations link up with a peasant movement for land, street risings and guerrilla operations of every kind and merge into united action against the existing system.

At every given stage of the movement, the working class must choose the form of struggle that should be decisive. In the opinion of the Communist Party, it is political and not armed forms that play this role today. Now is the time for a political offensive of the working class and popular forces to extend their organization and their links with new sectors and, in general, develop their capacity for revolutionary action. Should the revolutionary movement lose its sense of rhythm and go beyond the bounds of reality, the bourgeoisie would be able to disorganize and disrupt it, which is precisely what it seeks at the moment.

In view of the existing atmosphere of repression, the workers, peasants, other working people and the fighting masses generally must devise their own weapons of self-defense enabling them to ensure the continuity of their struggle, preserve their leading bodies and influence the course of development.

II

The struggle of the forces of the socialist world against imperialism and its concomitants, war, economic exploitation and political oppression, remains the focal point of the international situation. The general evolution of the international situation is favorable for the peoples fighting for independence, sovereignty and socialism, the difficulties and temporary setbacks notwithstanding.

Despite the continued policy of aggression and provocation of the U.S. imperialists in different parts of the world during Nixon's presidency, the peoples' anti-imperialist struggle and the development of the peace movement on all continents has initiated a new phase in international relations which helps to strengthen the basis of peaceful coexistence between states with differing socio-economic systems.

In this struggle, a prominent role is played by the peace offensive of the Soviet Union initiated by the 24th CPSU Congress. It is owing to this policy and the efforts of other socialist countries that solutions have been found to acute international problems in the past, and to new conflicts.

In Latin America, contradictory processes are underway showing the difficulties encountered by our peoples' liberation process. On the one hand, there is the consolidation of socialism in Cuba, which continues to exert a powerful influence on the entire continent. The economic and political isolation to which U.S. imperialism wanted to subject Cuba is breaking down, and the different states of the region are showing a growing tendency to re-establish diplomatic relations with Cuba. On the other hand, the military coups in Bolivia, Uruguay and Chile are a serious reverse for the democratic and revolutionary forces of the continent. They show the influence exercised by U.S. imperialism and internal reaction, whose aim is to curb the people's struggle for complete liberation.

The bloody military coup perpetrated in Chile with the aid of U.S. imperialism against the Popular Unity government faces the left forces with a series of problems demanding immediate attention. It is necessary, first of all, to activize solidarity with the revolutionaries and the people of Chile.

Congress gives a resolute rebuff to the irresponsible accusations made against the Communist and Socialist parties of Chile, which can only cause confusion, obstruct solidarity and a serious analysis of the events. We are confident that the Chilean revolutionaries will make a thorough analysis of the causes which impeded the triumphant development of the revolution in the country. In any case, it is but a temporary defeat which cannot prevent the final triumph of the working class and people of Chile.

The movement of solidarity with Chile should be based on a pro-

gram consisting of the following points: 1. Economic, political and diplomatic isolation of the military junta and continued exposure of its fascist methods. 2. Defense of the Popular Unity leaders, whose lives are threatened by the putschists, especially Luis Corvalan, General Secretary of the CPC. 3. Aid to the resistance fighters. 4. Dissemination of the ideas and analysis of the Chilean revolutionary process.

The foreign policy of the Echeverria government corresponds to the interests of the Mexican big bourgeoisie. It tries to solve its contradictions through conciliation, linking its fate to that of world capitalism and Yankee imperialism.

The workers' and democratic movement are fighting for a really independent foreign policy, which can be summed up as follows: 1. Withdrawal from the sphere of influence of U.S. foreign policy. 2. Non-participation in blocs. 3. Active defense of world peace. 4. Establishment of diplomatic relations with the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, the Provisional Revolutionary Government of South Vietnam, Bulgaria, Mongolia and Albania. 5. Friendly relations with the socialist states and all peace-loving countries.

We Mexican Communists are proud of being part of the world Communist movement, a political force capable of the greatest transformations known in history, a force playing an exceptional role in mankind's battle against all forms of exploitation and oppression.

We Mexican Communists consider it our duty to do our modest best to bring about the reunification of the world Communist movement, a unity of a new type, corresponding to the changing world.

The new unity of our movement should develop simultaneously in different directions: through united action of Communist parties in the anti-imperialist struggle; by developing bilateral relations, as well as through exchanges of views dealing with problems of the international situation, theory and practice of the parties.

III

To advance, the 16th Congress holds, there must be a Communist Party grown to the function of revolutionary vanguard of forces aspiring to the democratic and socialist alternative.

To perform this mission, it is not enough for the Mexican CP to draw up a good new program, correct strategy and tactics, pointing to the necessity of uniting the motive forces of the new revolution. To change the internal situation effectively, the country needs a Communist party that would, with its revolutionary theory, day-to-day activity, and association with the working class and the masses, act responsibly in the bitterest battles and the grimmest situations of repression and clandestinity.

This is why the 16th Congress focused its attention on Party build-

ing, on overcoming flaws and, especially, on eliminating organizational weaknesses.

The Congress holds that at the present stage questions of Party building are central, as are questions of applying Marxist-Leninist principles to the Party in the specific conditions of our country, and questions related to the historical experience of building the proletarian party in Mexico. What we need is a clear definition of conceptions, tasks and methods, so that fresh impulse could be given to the development and growth of the Party.

In the present situation, when democracy is absent and revolutionaries, especially Communists, are subjected to repressions, the Party must learn to use diverse forms and methods of work and thereby assure close ties with the working class, all the laboring masses and protect the organization from the police and enemy infiltration.

Theoretical and political education of rank-and-file members and Party cadres is now one of the most important and urgent tasks. Our main aim is to improve the work of the leading bodies and the regional, local and primary committees. The main effort, the 16th Congress holds, should be directed on improving the work of the Central Committee and its standing body, the Executive Commission. The Central Committee must live up to its mission of collective leader.

The Central Committee should take all necessary measures to assure the effective functioning of its apparatus by control and organization through departments and commissions.

It is the duty of all Communists, the 16th Congress holds, to master the Marxist method and continue the elaboration of the crucial problems arising today in the revolutionary struggle, taking advantage of the rich experience of the world working-class movement.

Party education should be organized by the Central Committee and agreed to the last detail with each of the regional committees in order to suit disparate conditions.

The quality of the Party's oral and written propaganda should be raised. Experience shows that when the masses know the Party's political line, they not only show sympathy, but also give active support. Yet the means of propaganda used at present are below the standard required for the Party's political work. It is a positive fact, the Congress holds, that some of the state and regional committees are trying to put out local newspapers, which greatly expand the scope of Party propaganda.

The 16th Congress calls on all Party members to redouble their efforts in building the Party. In this sense, our basic orientation on recruiting new members among the industrial proletariat should not obscure similar efforts among agricultural workers, the poor section of farmers, the intellectuals and students.

The Congress calls on all Party members to improve their work. Rectification of mistakes and new initiatives will enhance Communist activity among the masses.

Today as never before, the 16th Congress holds, it is the duty of all Communists to maintain discipline and sharpen their sense of responsibility and organization, to fulfil decisions, protect the Party's unity, and consciously observe the principles of democratic centralism. The Congress calls on all Party members to denounce the factional and disruptive activity of groups that on the pretext of ideological differences are trying to create a difficult situation within the Party, and thereby benefitting its enemies.

In recent years, the Party began to change its image. Inner-Party democracy has increased. Such practices as expression of differing viewpoints, open criticism of the leading bodies, and discussion of important problems—practices that have nothing in common with a crisis, have proven the growing maturity and development of the Party. This sound climate makes it possible for democratic centralism, which implies conscious discipline, on the one hand, and active participation of all members in the Party's life, on the other, to govern the internal life of the Party.

IN BRIEF

CANADA

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of Canada has resolved to hold the 22nd Convention of the Party in Toronto, May 19-21, 1974. The Convention will debate and adopt a Policy Resolution and amendments to the Party Constitution and elect the Central Committee and Party Leader.

The basis of representation at the Convention shall be one delegate for every 20 members (10 members in the case of Quebec), or a major fraction of this number.

Last January the Central Committee published a discussion bulletin containing the drafts of the main Convention documents. Provincial, regional and local committees of the Party were asked to see to the widest possible discussion of the drafts by the membership.

The draft Policy Resolution now under discussion contains the Party's "plan of action for unity of the working class and democratic forces against monopoly power, for Canadian independence, a new made-in-Canada Constitution, peace, democratic advance and

socialism." It includes the following main sections: the international situation; the situation in Canada; Polarization in Quebec; defense and expansion of democracy; the way forward; strengthening the Party — the key task.

GREECE

The Communist Party of Greece recently held its Ninth Congress in conditions of illegality.

The Congress which represented all of the Party's organized forces, discussed and approved the Central Committee report for the period since the Eighth Congress (1961) submitted by First Secretary Charilaos Florakis.

The Resolution adopted by the Congress stresses that in these past years the CPG has been a loyal defender of the interests of the working class, the people and the nation, and the initiator of the people's heroic struggles for bread, freedom, democracy and national independence and that it has made heavy sacrifices in these struggles. On analyzing the Party's activity over the period under survey and criticizing the mistakes made, the Congress drew appropriate conclusions.

The Congress noted the positive changes which are taking place on the world scene in favor of the forces of socialism and peace. It spoke highly of the constructive peace policy of the Soviet Union and other members of the socialist community. It called on the Greek people to step up their fight for their country to become part of the peace zone in the Balkans and the Mediterranean.

The Congress described the present junta regime in Greece as an "outspoken military fascist dictatorship of domestic and foreign, primarily U.S. monopolies." The junta is intensifying its terror and its attack on the working people's standard of life but the dictatorial regime's crisis is deepening nevertheless. The struggle of the working class and its allies to overthrow this regime is becoming stronger and more politically conscious. It has entered a qualitatively new phase.

The Congress defined the Party's policy line for the period ahead. The CPG strives to achieve the broadest possible unity of the working-class movement and all the political forces opposed to the regime, as well as unity of the people and army against neo-fascist tyranny and U.S. imperialist domination.

With a view to uniting all progressive anti-dictatorial forces, the Congress advanced a program for working people's power and a new democracy. The new regime will take steps to rule out a recurrence of neo-fascist coups and put an end to the diktat of U.S. imperialism and the arbitrary practices of the democratic oligarchy and foreign monopolies. It will be a notable advance towards democratic

and anti-imperialist changes and a stage of development paving the way for socialism.

With this object in view, the Congress pointed out that the primary task is to strengthen the CPG and its links with the working people by forming stronger underground Party organizations, especially among the working class. This is a requisite of the success of every democratic and progressive change and of the entire struggle of the Greek working class and people.

The Congress adopted a new Party Program. The Program states that socialism is a really effective way out of the chaos in which Greece finds itself and that the country will arrive at socialism through a revolutionary process consisting of two stages: the democratic, anti-imperialist stage and the socialist stage. The primary tasks at this stage are anti-fascist, anti-imperialist and democratic.

The Congress approved amendments to the Party Charter and adopted a number of important organizational decisions.

It directed an appeal to the Greek people and sent messages of greetings to the political prisoners and Greek patriots living in exile abroad.

Apostolos Grozos was elected Honorary Chairman of the CPG in recognition of his great services to the Party and people.

In conclusion, the Congress elected the Central Committee and Control Commission. The first meeting of the new CC elected Charilaos Florakis First Secretary of the Central Committee.

STATEMENT OF THE POLITICAL BUREAU OF THE CC CPG

Shortly after the Ninth Congress of the CPG, the Greek authorities announced the arrest of three members of the Political Bureau and 10 members of the Central Committee of the CPG, as well as of 22 leading members of the Communist Youth of Greece and Anti-Dictatorial Union of Greek Students.

Last February the Political Bureau emphatically condemned these arrests and the new wave of repression threatening every patriot. It stated that the arrests, carried out on the pretext of having "discovered a conspiracy against the national regime," show how the regime dreads the people's anger and growing fight for democratic change.

The Political Bureau urges all Communists, the working class and the whole people to intensify their struggle against arrests and tortures, for the abolition of the Youra concentration camps and the release of all political prisoners, as well as for higher wages and pensions, satisfaction of the needs of the peasants and handicraftsmen and protection of the nation's wealth against foreign monopolies.

The Communist Party of Greece appeals to fraternal Communist

Parties and world opinion to protest against repression and help in saving the fighters for democracy in Greece.

INDIA

The National Council of the CP of India held a conference in January to discuss education of Party cadres. Opening the conference, General Secretary Rajeshwara Rao said that education of cadres had improved considerably since the CPI Ninth Congress.

The conference approved an educational program for the period until the 10th Congress scheduled this autumn.

ITALY

The Sixth Conference of Communist Workers met in Genoa from February 8 to 10 last. It was attended by more than 4,000 delegates from the Party organizations of major industrial enterprises and of provinces and regions, as well as by guests representing anti-fascist parties, the trade unions, cooperatives, peasant and other mass organizations.

Di Giulio, member of the ICP Leadership, head of the CC's Labor Department, spoke of the political tasks of the working class in the fight for economic progress, social change and democracy.

He dealt specifically with the political role which every Communist worker has been playing and must play in the production sphere. By breaking down the social barriers raised by capitalism, going beyond the framework of purely economic struggles and Social-Democratic reformism and implementing a policy of alliance with other democratic forces, Communist workers "become exponents of the nation's common interests, a guarantee of Italy's future and a leading force in the country."

Di Giulio stressed the need to extend the struggle for a higher standard of living, primarily in the case of the poorer sections of working people, and for full employment in the backward South.

Pointing to the importance of working-class unity, the speaker reaffirmed the Party's favorable attitude to the effort to complete the unification of the Italian trade union movement.

The present crisis is so acute and the changes sought by the popular movement so vast that to bring about a genuine renovation the country needs a government enjoying the greatest support. This can only be achieved if there is cooperation among the main components of the Italian popular movement: the Communists, Socialists and Catholics.

This Communist proposal, Di Giulio said, calls neither for a truce, nor for an end to social and political struggle. On the contrary, the

Communists say that the only way to put their proposal into practice is sustained struggle to build up forces capable of breaking the resistance of reaction.

The speaker stressed the close connection between the outlook for internal change and international developments, saying that it is also essential to search for new foreign policy lines. He therefore noted the importance of cooperation among both trade union and political organizations of the working class of various countries.

Dozens of delegates representing numerous enterprises joined in the debate. E. Macaluso, G. Napolitano and D. Valori, members of the ICP Leadership, were among the speakers.

On the closing day the Conference was addressed by Party General Secretary E. Berlinguer.

"The crisis affecting all West European countries in one way or another," he said, "is proof of the inability of capitalism, as well as of the political forces and governments linked with the big capitalist bourgeoisie, to solve the serious economic and social problems facing the peoples of the region. By contrast, there are no such crises in the socialist countries and, moreover, their national economy and production continue to make headway and social prosperity is growing."

Noting that only socialism can solve the pressing problems of the peoples of the world and of Europe, E. Berlinguer urged the working class and democratic forces to fight for a "new peace-loving, democratic and anti-fascist Europe."

Communists try in every way to achieve unity of the forces seeking peace. The speaker mentioned the Brussels meeting of Communist and Workers' parties of capitalist Europe as a case in point.

E. Berlinguer analyzed Italy's economic and political situation. He said that the crisis affects every sphere of activity and pointed to the special danger posed by rebel neo-fascist conspiracies.

The gravity of the crisis, he said, calls for the early creation of conditions for a different government policy, one in keeping with the nation's requirements. This requires a democratic swing to the Left and the commitment of more workers, peasants and members of the middle strata.

The strength and prestige of the ICP, E. Berlinguer said, are growing. Communists have become more militant, and more politically conscious and the Party membership is steadily increasing. The exchange of Party cards is continuing successfully and already involves 86 per cent of the membership. The Party has 43,000 members more than last year. It has admitted 82,000 new members.

The success of the Sixth Conference of Communist Workers is indicative of something more than the Party's increased strength and closer links with the working class. It suggests that in step

with growing discontent, the country's working people show a stronger will for struggle and unity and a great awareness of the immediate, intermediate and more distant social objectives for which they must fight if their living and working conditions are to improve and if the country is to overcome its crisis and take the road of democratic progress and reform.

PARAGUAY

In accordance with the decision of its Fourth plenum, the Central Committee of the Paraguayan Communist Party (elected at the Third Congress) convened a National Conference of the PCP last January. The conference was attended by 14 CC members and 16 delegates from Party organizations, as well as by a representative of the CC CP Argentina.

The Conference unanimously approved the CC report based on analysis of the country's international and domestic situation and dealing with the situation in the Party, Party work among the masses and organizational matters.

The conference noted the growing popular resistance to General Stroessner's dictatorial regime. Working underground, the Communist Party is strengthening its organization despite brutal repression. Its regional bodies are working well and the Party newspaper, *Adelante*, is appearing regularly. The membership has increased six-fold during the past 18 months.

The conference called for effort "to strengthen and extend the Marxist-Leninist unity of the PCP." In particular, it declared: "In view of repeated statements by leaders and members of the group which broke away from the Party in 1971, to the effect that there are no fundamental ideological or political differences over the Party Program, Charter, the political organizational line approved by the Third Congress, the fourth plenum of the Central Committee stated publicly and in internal documents that the Party is open to anyone who wants to rejoin the PCP in a spirit of genuine unity. The Central Committee elected by the Third Party Congress firmly carries on the struggle for stronger and broader Marxist-Leninist unity.

"In view of these facts, the National Conference considers that those who say they do not differ with the Party ideologically or politically and want its unity have no real reason to remain in extra-Party groups instead of rejoining the Party. This is the time to renounce any individual position in the interests of the Party, the working-class and popular movement of our country and the world Communist and working-class movement. To make these steps easier, the Party proposes under explicit agreements reached from the standpoint of principle that two of the main leaders of the break-

away group should become members of the Central Committee, including the Political Commission. When the entire extra-Party group has been really dissolved its members will be able to join the Party, not as spokesmen of the group, but as members of a party which they consider a single whole.

The National Conference of the PCP unanimously resolved to help in holding a conference of the Communist parties of Latin America before long and to support the idea of convening a new world Meeting of Communist and Workers' parties with a view to collectively studying international developments and setting new tasks.

The conference participants adopted an address to all political prisoners and in particular to Party leaders Antonio Maidana, Julio Rojas and Alfredo Alcorta, who have been languishing in the fascist dungeons for the last 16 years. Expressing their fraternal solidarity, the conference delegates resolved to enhance the struggle to free the imprisoned Communists and other patriots of the country.

PLENARY MEETINGS

PLENARY MEETING OF THE CC IRAQI CP

The Central Committee of the Iraqi Communist Party met in plenary session on January 25 last.

Tariq al-Sha'b, the CC ICP newspaper, published the plenum resolutions on the situation in the world, the Arab countries and Iraq.

The meeting pointed out the change that has taken place in the international situation in favor of détente and peaceful coexistence. This change was a result of steadfast effort by the socialist community, with the Soviet Union at its head. It was also due to the increased strength of the international working-class and national liberation movement.

The meetings stressed that the effectiveness of friendship and cooperation between the Soviet Union and Arab countries was demonstrated again during the October war in the Middle East.

The resolutions describe the problem of Palestine as one of the key problems still facing the Arab countries.

The meeting discussed the domestic situation. In particular, it looked into the activity of the progressive National Patriotic Front and into the Kurdish problem.

Following are extracts from the plenum resolutions on these two issues.

STEPS TO BUILD UP THE PROGRESSIVE NATIONAL PATRIOTIC FRONT

The following were the main factors that helped to establish the front between the Communist and Arab Baath Socialist parties:

First. The common objectives of struggle against imperialism, Zionism and reaction, our common will to deepen the alliance with the forces of liberation and socialism, first and foremost with the Soviet Union, and to achieve progressive transformations, economic, social and political, as well as in a number of basic issues facing the patriotic and social struggle including the orientation to a solution of the Kurdish question.

Second. The determination of the two parties to by-pass the negative relations that prevailed in the past, and to achieve new relations based on cooperation and alliance.

Third. Deepening the patriotic and progressive course of the government led by the Arab Baath Socialist Party.

Ever since its formation, the Patriotic-Nationalist Progressive Front has made considerable headway in its practical levels, the National Charter and Front Statute were approved.

These two political documents are of programmatic importance for the development of the revolutionary movement in Iraq.

On the organizational level, the two parties agreed to form a Supreme Committee, with a secretariat, as well as Front Committees in the provinces. The Front has carried out a number of political actions, the most important of which was against Israeli aggression and occupation during the October War. During the short period that has elapsed since the Front came into being the spirit of co-operation has developed between the rank-and-file and supporters of both parties and the masses of non-party people. This was clearly shown in the common activities and the mass demonstrations staged in support of the war, and for effective participation by the Iraqi government in the war, and for nationalization of the American and Dutch shares in Basrah Petroleum Company.

Nevertheless, it must be said that the work of the Front has not yet reached a level which fully meets the aspirations of the broad masses that enthusiastically welcomed the Front, or with the welcome accorded to it by all the progressive forces in the Arab countries and throughout the world.

The emergence of the Patriotic-Nationalist Progressive Front confronts it with major objectives and basic tasks that have to be solved in the present stage. The realization of its Charter, naturally, presupposes a plan for the achievement of the tasks mentioned therein. It means giving priority to tasks now ripe for fulfilment, defining the ways and means guaranteeing implementation, and removing all the obstacles and shortcomings that inhibit it.

The greatest guarantee for the success of the Front is a constant political mobilization of the masses and the effective participation of Front committees, party and mass organizations in the Front activities.

Another task facing the Front is to extend its work to professional and social organizations so as to become effective instruments of united mass struggle. Trade unions and women, student, youth and peasant federations should become effective instruments for carrying out Front policy. Naturally, this means uniting the forces of the Front parties within this vital people's organization. The elected leaderships of the trade union and professional organizations must, at all levels and in accordance with the freely arrived at wishes of their members, reflect the strivings of the patriotic parties that have come together for unity and common action.

The reactionary forces are using all the weapons at their disposal

and are inventing new methods in their battle to obstruct the revolutionary process in our country. They oppose the development of economic, cultural and political relations between Iraq and the Soviet Union, particularly relations of solidarity and alliance with the Soviet Union. It was for this reason that they ferociously resisted the conclusion of the treaty of friendship and cooperation between Iraq and the Soviet Union, and openly called for its subversion and abrogation as a first step in putting into effect the designs of imperialism and reaction in Iraq. They are placing all sorts of obstacles in the way of implementing the agreements concluded with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries so as to deny our people the great possibilities that the agreements entail for the rapid development of the country.

The struggle for the establishment of the Front was a difficult one. It was openly resisted by imperialist and reactionary forces, and faced hidden opposition and subversion by other forces hostile to the Front. Reaction fought and will continue to fight the Patriotic-Nationalist Progressive Front, against it becoming an effective instrument of the masses for the construction of a new, progressive Iraq, and for forestalling the hopes of the reactionary forces.

Maintaining the strained situation in Kurdistan, and obstructing the settlement of the Kurdish question, encouraging the chauvinist and sectarian trends and nationalist prejudices among Arabs and Kurds; impeding plans of economic development, and making the living conditions of the masses increasingly difficult despite the immense resources available to the state; the efforts of the Rightist elements to strengthen ties with capitalist institutions and allowing them to penetrate into Iraqi economy—all these are the main links in the hostile plans of imperialist and reactionary forces.

In harmony with the activities of imperialist countries and Israel, the internal and Arab reactionaries attempt to split Arab solidarity, isolate Arab countries from each other and encourage conflicts between them.

Having analyzed the tactics of the reactionary forces and the loopholes they use, successful struggle to foil the designs of the enemies of our people presupposes measures and precautions that will blunt their weapons. These are primarily:

First. Consolidating the Patriotic-Nationalist Progressive Front and developing its work so that it becomes the effective vehicle for leading the struggle of our people, and commencing the all-round implementation of its Charter.

Second. Completing the formulae for Kurdish autonomy that would correspond to the people's aspirations and serve as a sure ground for the patriotic unity of our people—Arabs, Kurds and national minorities—on solid democratic foundation. Commencing the forma-

tion of organs of autonomy with the cooperation of all the patriotic forces and all qualified, experienced and sincere elements in Kurdistan; accelerating economic, social and cultural development in the Kurdish region so as to overcome the backwardness of the past, and to liquidate the harm done during the years of bitter fighting.

Third. The principal task for the development of economic and social reconstruction in Iraq is the implementation of economic, cultural and political agreements concluded on cooperation between Iraq and the socialist countries and further developing relations with these countries. It will also assist the revolutionary development of Iraq, the growth in the role of the public sector in the national economy, and make possible the subsequent steps in its social transformation; for continuing the march along the path of social progress and paving the way for achieving the aspirations of our working people in the construction of a socialist Iraq.

Fourth. The resolutions of the CC Plenum held in April, 1973, stressed certain aspects whose realization is essential for reinforcing the progressive situation, intensifying the democratic revolution and consolidating the Patriotic-Nationalist Progressive Front. These still retain their force, particularly those relating to:

- 1) Work to prepare the ground for holding general elections to a National Assembly through direct, secret ballots. As a step in this direction, the formation of a National Assembly with the constitutional functions of a provisional legislative body based on an alliance of the progressive parties and forces.

- 2) Reconsidering the manner of setting up the present local government councils, and their tasks. They should be formed as local people's councils elected directly by the masses and with their allied parties acting as the local administration.

The fulfilment of these constitutional and democratic tasks is essential in order to release the energies of our people and their initiative for struggle against imperialist and reactionary conspiracies.

Following the formation of the Front and cooperation between the Communist and Arab Baath Socialist Parties, there is the objective necessity to try to consolidate and deepen this cooperation among the rank-and-file of both parties, and among the broad popular masses. A struggle should be waged against obstacles to this cooperation, particularly those resulting from the opposition of elements hostile to cooperation because of their exploitative class interests, or the deliberate vilification and sabotage of reactionary Rightist forces in state organs and elsewhere.

The interest of our Iraqi people in general, and our Kurdish people in particular, demand the expansion of the Front through adherence to it. This presupposes that the DPK should take a positive stand

towards the front and define its policy towards it on this basis.

Other tasks in the present struggle to guarantee the success and deepening of this cooperation is to pay attention to methods of mobilizing the masses for common struggle and coordination between the parties in the Front. This does not exclude their right to engage in independent activities for the aims of the Front.

Making the Charter of the Patriotic-Nationalist Progressive Front a reality requires a constant struggle by the two parties and the rest of the progressive forces and the popular masses against erroneous views concerning the Front, against simplifying the great tasks that have to be solved now and in the future; reducing the effects of the past; and carrying out serious work in order to achieve stronger relations among the parties to the Front, and still greater comradely relations between the different social strata of the patriotic parties.

The realization of all this will not only guarantee the success of the struggle for the aims of the Front, but will also aid their extension and will reduce the differences within the Front and improve the likelihood of rapprochement and joint work.

The position of our Party in Kurdistan and its future struggle there has its special features. A full consideration of the negative stand of the DPK leadership makes it clear that our Party and the masses of Kurdish people need to be exceedingly vigilant. The further trend of the DPK leadership to the Right coincides with their continued and intensified struggle against our Party.

In these circumstances our Party and its organization will be faced not only with terror but ideological pressure. This makes it incumbent on our Party to increasingly spread the ideas of Kurdo-Arab fraternity, international solidarity, and of democracy. There will have to be a struggle to make these principles predominate among the patriotic forces and in the minds of the people.

Waging a successful struggle for consolidating and deepening of Front policy, social transformation and programs of social and economic development on a scientific basis, as well as the progressive course of the patriotic regime—all this requires an intensification of the ideological battle. This is necessary for explaining and enriching the principles of scientific socialism and international solidarity among peoples, nations and national minorities, and for keeping these ideas and principles free from many attempts consciously or unconsciously made, to distort and deviate them.

THE SITUATION IN KURDISTAN AND DEVELOPMENTS IN THE KURDISH QUESTION

The attitude of our Iraqi Communist Party on the settlement of the national question in Iraq is well known to the masses of our people—Arabs, Kurds and national minorities, and is equally known abroad.

This attitude, set out in the program and documents of our Party, has always been based on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. On the basis of these principles, our Party has always fought for full national rights for the Kurdish people.

Our Party links the fight for the national rights of the Kurdish people with the overall struggle waged by the Iraqi people against imperialism and reaction, for strengthening national independence, establishing a democratic regime and achieving social changes. Our Party has always emphasized that the struggle of the Kurdish people cannot be separated from the overall struggle of the Iraqi people. The party has always stressed that the Kurdish liberation movement in Iraq is linked to the Arab liberation movement by objective factors and common interests. This approach to the settlement of the Kurdish question expresses the basic and radical interests of the entire Iraqi people—Arabs, Kurds and national minorities.

Under the conditions now prevailing in our country, the concrete form for the settlement of the Kurdish question is through autonomy for the Kurdish people within the framework of the Iraqi Republic.

The establishment of Kurdish autonomy and the fulfilment of all the patriotic, national and social issues now facing our people can only come about through unity of action of all forces within a United Front.

The principled attitude of our Party has not and will not change insofar as the just national rights of the Kurdish people are concerned. However, the concrete stand of our Party takes into account the attitudes of other patriotic parties and institutions on the Kurdish question and proceeds from the interests of the overall struggle of the Iraqi people for liberation, democracy and socialism.

Our Party considers its patriotic responsibility to put into effect together with other patriotic parties and forces, its principled stand on the Kurdish question, as on other patriotic, national and social issues. All the patriotic parties have unanimously adopted the slogan of autonomy even though differing on its form and content. A couple of decades ago the atmosphere did not favor the slogan of autonomy, which must now be realized. While the struggle of the Kurdish people and the democratic forces in the country remain the basis for its realization, an important factor is that there is now a progressive nationalist party in power that wants a settlement of the Kurdish question from a more progressive standpoint than all other nationalist parties and forces that have previously come to power in Iraq and the entire region.

Our Party makes a clear distinction between serious struggle aimed at finding the most suitable way of settling the Kurdish question on a democratic basis in line with the perspectives of its principled

stand, on the one hand, and those that place the Kurdish question in Iraq in isolation from the united joint struggle of the entire Iraqi people—Arabs, Kurds, and national minorities, and all patriotic parties and forces—and oppose the political unity of the people. We consider that the present struggle for the settlement of the Kurdish question must concentrate on seeking to establish political unity on the most suitable basis and relations likely to preserve and enrich it.

The national liberation movement of the Kurdish people in Iraq, which remains an integral part of the patriotic and democratic movement of the entire Iraqi people, embraces various classes and social groups that have a stake in achieving national and democratic rights. However, these classes and groups, and their political representatives, have differing, not common interests in achieving these rights. Nor do they have a similar conception of them. Thus it is by no means strange that in the development of the revolutionary movement these contradictions should arise.

Our Party also distinguishes between its principled stand on the Kurdish question, and its attitude towards the DPK or any other political organization that has its own solution for and role in the Kurdish question in accordance with its own postulates and class interests. It is common knowledge that our Party is associated with the DPK by historical ties of common struggle for achieving the national Kurdish rights, and of struggle against imperialism and reaction, and for realizing the democratic and social tasks that have been adopted by the DPK in its congresses and documents.

Our Party considered the emergence of the DPK at the commencement of the Second World War as an objective phenomenon associated with the concrete historical and national conditions of Kurdish society, and resulting from the emergence in this society of different social classes. Our Party made a scientific appraisal of the DPK regarding it as a patriotic, nationalist bourgeois party hostile to imperialism, reaction, and to national persecution of the Kurdish people. Proceeding from this assessment, our Party found important points of agreement and common objectives with the DPK. Accordingly, our Party outlined its policy of cooperation and alliance with the DPK. As is well known, many joint struggles have been waged together by the two parties. There was a time when ours was the only political party calling for the inclusion of the DPK in the National Front. Our Party established relations of dual cooperation with the DPK, and the terms of that Charter was regarded as the link of the DPK with the Patriotic Alliance Front that was established in the Spring of 1957.

However, this does not mean we have always been successful in cooperating and in engaging in joint struggle with the DPK. Relations between the two parties have varied. There have been periods of

active cooperation as well as lack of cooperation. There has been disenchantment and acute antagonism arising from certain errors on patriotic issues as well as the Kurdish question itself; or owing to the opposition to communism and our Party of certain narrow-minded nationalist elements in the DPK or due to intrigues of hired and reactionary forces.

The differences between our parties were political, ideological and of a class nature or differences on political issues. These can be summed up as follows:

1) The repeated calls by certain elements within the DPK for disbanding our Party organizations in Kurdistan. The pretexts for this were that: "There is no class differentiation in Kurdistan," "there is no working class in Kurdistan," or that "the Kurdish peasants reject communist organizations" or that "it is not wise to tint the Kurdish national movement with red communist color," etc. Lately another pretext has been that the DPK is the leader of the Kurdish liberation movement and is authorized to accept or refuse the existence of other political organizations in Kurdish society, and other undemocratic slogans and calls and which, in essence, gives it a monopoly of the political activity in Kurdistan, and leading to political persecution of other patriotic parties. All these calls, which have lately taken the form of persecuting, murdering and exiling of Communists stem from anti-communism in certain DPK quarters prompted by the exploiting classes, and fed by imperialist and reactionary quarters.

Our Party's refusal throughout its history and now to recognize the right of others to decide on its political existence or its right to work and struggle in the interest of the people, is well known. The party exists thanks to the people—Arabs, Kurds and national minorities—and the working class and all and mental and manual workers in our country.

Our Party totally rejects any interference in the emergence of political parties, or in their future it also rejects the idea of becoming a substitute for any other party. Such a subjective stand would be contrary to the party outlook and program.

2) The negative stand adopted by leading circles in the DPK towards the struggle of the toiling masses for progressive social and economic transformation in Kurdistan in the interest of workers, poor peasants, wage-earners, laboring and intellectuals and the rest of the working people in town and country. These circles try to form a broad front of those feudal and bourgeois elements which are most antagonistic to interests of the toiling masses—under nationalist slogans and the pretext of fulfilling the nationalist program, which means standing against class struggle in town and countryside.

It is obvious that the political and social development of Iraq and

its political organizations and the consciousness of its masses has long since—decades ago—passed this stage of political associations and groupings, and such a thing would mean a return to the past. Naturally, such loose organizations embracing social groupings whose only concern is to combat the progressive course and the democratic measures, will result in the domination of the reactionary trend hostile to the interests of the toilers in Kurdistan.

3) Failure to distinguish, on the part of certain leading DPK circles, between the ruling Arab groups that used to persecute the Kurdish people and usurp their national rights, on the one hand, and between the toiling Arab masses, their progressive and revolutionary forces which were also victims of persecution and exploitation, and have no stake in the persecution of the Kurdish people; on the contrary, they have also struggled, in varying degrees alongside the Kurdish people for democracy and for Kurdish national rights and those of other national minorities in Iraq.

Even though these harmful policies and practices were the outcome of the chauvinist stand taken by certain Arab nationalist forces vis-a-vis Kurdish national rights, they very often resulted in the DPK, particularly certain influential circles in its leadership, taking positions of narrow-minded nationalism which were aggravated or moderated under varying political conditions.

4) The one-sided and narrow approach of these leading circles to the Kurdish question and to requirements of its settlement; in isolation from political developments in Iraq as a whole and the growth of the patriotic movement; and in isolation from the struggle for the patriotic and democratic tasks common to all Iraqi people and their patriotic parties and forces. They were sometimes inveigled into positions of cooperation with the reactionary forces conspiring against the central government. All this became evident from the practical policy contrary to what is said in publications and publicity material.

5) The isolationist approach of certain leading DPK circles to the prospects of settling the Kurdish question in our country on a democratic basis. These circles try to stop autonomy of its democratic content and turn it into a coercive authority to be imposed on the masses against their will. They try to lead the masses into dangerous labyrinths in return for promises by quarters hostile to our entire Iraqi people—Arabs and Kurds alike.

On the other hand, our Party believes in the necessity and possibility of solving the Kurdish question in our country on a democratic basis and achieving autonomy for the Kurdish region within the struggle for a democratic situation in Iraq, consolidating it for the good of Arabs, Kurds and national minorities. Our Party also believes that autonomy should, before anything else, be based

on the will of the toiling masses in Kurdistan, and on the cooperation of the patriotic forces there, that it should be a real gain for those masses and for the entire Iraqi people. It should be a real step towards establishing normal conditions and democratic institutions as an integral part of a democratic situation embracing Iraq as a whole.

Our Iraqi Communist Party shares with the Kurdish masses their legitimate aspiration for making autonomy a step towards the opportunity to express their viewpoints, and actively participate in the reconstruction of all that was destroyed during long years of hostility and lack of stability.

6) Another point of difference between our Party and certain leading DPK circles which cropped up in the last two years was the negative attitude of those circles and their reservations towards the patriotic and anti-imperialist and anti-reactionary line pursued by the patriotic government; and their negative stand and reservations towards the growth and consolidation of friendship and cooperation between our country and the Soviet Union and other socialist countries—specifically the Iraqi-Soviet Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation, which the popular masses and progressive quarters of our country were unanimous in considering a major gain for our people and a sure guarantee for triumphant struggle against imperialism, reaction and Zionism, and for a socialist future for Iraq.

7) The harmful and erroneous stand taken by some DPK leaders toward the imperialist and reactionary states, and enemies of Iraq that pretend to be friendly and sympathetic to the cause of the Kurdish people. Even the simplest members of DPK know full well the enmity and antagonism of these reactionary quarters to the cause of the Kurdish people, and how very much they are frightened lest it should be settled in a democratic and patriotic direction.

Although our Party continued to warn DPK leaders against the policy of seeking so-called support and aid from the imperialist and reactionary states hostile to the Arab liberation movement, these DPK attitudes continued and spelled grave consequences to the Kurdish cause and DPK orientation. Particularly when these bonds changed into rapprochement and political and ideological convergence, with the result that certain influential circles in DPK leadership were obliged to pay the price of these bonds and assistance.

Ever since March 11, 1970, the DPK has exercised government duties in Kurdistan to the exclusion of our Party and the independent democratic Kurdish elements, evading supervision of the popular masses.

The experience of the past four years has clearly indicated that the DPK has, basically, utilized this authority in favor of feudalism

and the bourgeoisie. Many DPK leaders and cadres were preoccupied with realizing their private and narrow party ends. A new group of military feudalism appeared; agrarian reform was obstructed in many areas under DPK control, and peasants who had received land from agrarian reform were persecuted and taxes and levies imposed on them in various forms. Many influential people in the DPK and its armed units became rich through smuggling and embezzling allocations for development projects. No attention whatsoever was paid to the interest of the broad Kurdish masses that had borne the brunt of bitter fighting for years on end. Nor did things stop at this; all organs of local authority were used for combating our Iraqi Communist Party and its supporters during the aggressive campaign launched in the autumn of 1973. This rouses indignation against those DPK elements which are responsible for the orientation and stand opposed by our Party and the popular masses in Kurdistan, and also by wide circles in DPK itself.

Despite all the efforts made by our Party and its repeated appeals—through delegations, representations and agreements—to put an end to the policy of combating our Party and to anti-communism—the favorite policy of reactionary forces—all our attempts to come to terms with DPK were in vain. Agreements and sincere efforts were more than once violated. Our Party's accent on national interest and on avoiding bloodshed was grossly exploited. In the autumn of 1973, despite the DPK leaders' denial of hostile policy towards the ICP, professing faith in democracy and freedom for all, the fight against our Party and its organizations assumed before the eyes of our people and progressive world public opinion, its worst aspects, namely physical liquidation, aggressive persecution of Communists and of their friends and families. This was frankly admitted in the official organ of the DPK.

The most sordid crime committed at that period was that of kidnapping 12 cadres of our Party who had been studying abroad and were returning home through the DPK. This crime has been denied and the fate of these militant patriots is still unknown to their party, families and the entire people.

Differences between our Party and the Rightist circles in the DPK arise because our Party organizations in Kurdistan represent the interests of workers and toilers and the resolute defense of the progressive achievements in the country.

These differences are the cause of the hostile attitude and the armed campaigns resorted to against our Party and its organizations in Kurdistan by the DPK Rightist elements. The allegation that this is due to Communists having taken to arms is quite ungrounded. Our Party has published conclusive facts proving that the campaign had begun long before the Communists were obliged to resort to

legitimate self-defense, and the defense of existence of their Party in the face of armed campaigns of suppression.

This policy and the intensified antagonism against the progressive forces, including our Party, indicates a move to the right in DPK policy and a merging with the reactionary forces that encouraged and abetted this policy hoping to fulfil their conspiratorial designs.

Our Party has always called upon the DPK to join with us in long-term political struggle stressing that differences and hostility are not in the interests of both parties, nor of any other patriotic quarters, but can only serve the designs of imperialism and reaction.

Talks are now taking place to establish a joint formula approved by all the patriotic parties and forces in the country for the implementation of autonomy by a set date. The preservation of the gains of the Kurdish people as well as those of the entire Iraqi people is conditional on the struggle of the masses and on the unity of all the progressive and patriotic forces and sincere and honest elements within the Kurdish national movement.

Our Party believes that achieving patriotic cooperation with the DPK within the national front cannot be separated from the task of bringing about a change in the DPK policy back towards the progressive march of the regime and the achievements of our Iraqi people. The dangerous gaps that appeared and grew must be eliminated together with a cessation of the persecution of Communists and respecting the right of our Party to freedom of political activity.

This worthy aim can be achieved primarily thanks to the struggle of toiling masses in Kurdistan, and the unity of all the patriotic and sincere forces, groups and elements there. Its realization is, moreover, conditional on continued and increased support of the progressive and democratic forces throughout the world for the position of our Party and of the National Front on the Kurdish question, in Iraq.

Our Party appeals to all sincere forces and elements in the DPK leadership, to the entire DPK to discontinue the policy which the reaction pursues in Kurdistan—that of alienating the patriotic forces one from the other, deception, whitewashing anti-communism and abandoning the former patriotic and democratic program adopted by the DPK.

The Kurdish question in Iraq is now passing through a crucial phase. It is possible for the progressive forces in our country, including the Kurdish national liberation movement, to pool their efforts and bring about important achievements not only for the Kurdish people in Iraq, but also for the entire Kurdish national liberation movement. The autonomy law now under discussion amounts to an important step on the way to solving the Kurdish question and implementing the March Manifesto in the interest of

the Kurdish and the entire Iraqi people. The realization of this will further develop national rights by a section of the Kurdish people, open new vistas and provide an example to the Kurdish people in Turkey and Persia, inspiring them to further intensify their struggle for their national rights.

The successful implementation of autonomy presupposes the mobilization of all sincere elements in the Kurdish national liberation movement, in particular, members of the DPK, Communists and progressive national and independent forces, cooperation with the Arab Baath Socialist Party and the rest of the progressive forces in the patriotic movement in Iraq and with the support of friendly progressive forces. It also presupposes the reinforcement of cooperation and a united front.

Our Party warns against the wicked efforts made by imperialism and reaction, and calls upon the DPK to participate seriously with the National Front and the progressive regime for the realization of the noble aspirations of the Kurdish and entire Iraqi people.

On March 11, President Ahmad Hasan Al-Bakr proclaimed the law granting autonomy to the Kurdish people, which gives it broad democratic rights in the framework of the Iraqi Republic. The present DPK leaders have, however, declared the provisions of this law "inadequate" and have resumed military operations, thereby creating a tense situation in the country.—Ed.

IN BRIEF

AUSTRALIA

The Central Committee of the Socialist Party of Australia met on February 22-24. Its resolution reads in part:

"We welcome the proposal to prepare for an international conference of Communist and Workers' Parties as a timely step aimed at developing and enriching the decisions of the 1969 International Meeting, which were unanimously endorsed by our Party."

AUSTRIA

The Central Committee elected at the 22nd Party Congress held its first plenary session in Vienna on February 6-7. It unanimously elected Franz Muhri Party Chairman, a Secretariat composed of Comrades Muhri, Erwin Scharf, Walter Wachs and Hans Kalt, a Political Bureau of 14 and appointed the editors of the main journals

and the heads of Central Committee Commissions. The resolutions deal with pressing political problems.

BULGARIA

A plenum of the Communist Party Central Committee was held in Sofia on February 7-8. It adopted a decision on improving ideological work to accord with the aims set by the 10th Party Congress and the Party Program in building developed socialist society.

A central aim, the plenum resolution says, is to assure timely ideologico-theoretical assessment of the profound changes in international affairs, and explain the consistent class and revolutionary character of the peaceful coexistence policy.

The plenum declared that the preservation of peace depends on vigorous action of all the peoples and of every man and woman. A broad platform for ideological work towards this goal is provided by the outstanding speech of L. I. Brezhnev, General Secretary of the CC CPSU, at the World Congress of Peace Forces in Moscow.*

The plenum stressed the importance of combating bourgeois ideology and anti-communism and manifestations of Right revisionism in the international Communist and Workers' movement. Of prime importance in our ideological struggle, the resolution says, is exposure of the theory and practice of Maoism. Uncompromising struggle against anti-Sovietism acquires special ideological and political importance in the present international situation. The steady strengthening of international fraternity with the USSR is not only the supreme revolutionary duty of every Marxist-Leninist Party, the Communist and Workers' movement and all progressive forces, but also a priority task of our time.

The plenum heard a report by CC Secretary K. Tellalov on meetings and negotiations with representatives of various parties and countries in the second half of 1973 and the opening weeks of 1974.

CYPRUS

The Central Committee of the Progressive Party of the Working People (AKEL), at its plenary session on January 7-8, decided to convene the 13th Party Congress on April 25-28, 1974. It also approved the Central Committee theses, which will be discussed in all Party branches.

Addressing the Plenum, the Party's General Secretary, Ezekias Papaioannu, said that the imperialist conspiracy against Cyprus continues in different form but with the same aim of partitioning the island and making it serve NATO's strategic needs. The forthcoming

*See Information Bulletin, No. 21, 1973.—Ed.

Congress, he said, will meet in an atmosphere of détente, and the new international climate should help solve the Cyprus problem in peace and democracy.

DENMARK

The extended plenary meeting of the Communist Party Central Committee held in Copenhagen on January 19-20 adopted a statement on the political situation and the March 5 local elections. In an appeal to the working class, the Central Committee calls for continued struggle for the people's rights, better conditions, withdrawal from NATO and the Common market and opposition to the Right and reactionary forces. •

Local government, the appeal says, must be democratic and in the interests of the working people. The plenum also discussed intensifying the solidarity campaign with Vietnam and Chile.

ECUADOR

A CP Central Committee plenum held in Guayaquil on February 2-3 discussed the internal and international situation, Party work and Party building. The comminque says the "plenum reaffirmed the decisions of the Ninth Party Congress and called for energetic efforts to implement them."

The plenum noted significant progress in safeguarding the country's resources, notably oil and the 200-mile territorial-waters zone. It also noted broader ties with the socialist countries and Ecuador's positive activity in the United Nations, which the resolution says, deserves the support of the Communist Party and the people at large.

The plenum called for an all-out effort to halt the rise in living costs and curb activities of profiteers, who are taking advantage of government laxity to jack up prices and keep goods from the market in anticipation of higher prices.

Government action, the resolutions says, has been inadequate, and the situation is further aggravated by repressive measures, specifically Decree No. 64, which violated established trade union rights and is used to suppress the workers' struggle for their interests and to defend the interests of the employers.

The plenum decided to intensify mass support for the government's progressive measures and against reactionary subversion in order to clear the way for fundamental reform that will improve the conditions of the people.

The plenum welcomed progress in relating international tensions and declared its wholehearted support for all measures designed to carry the process further. A special resolution stresses the importance and value of L. I. Brezhnev's visit to the Republic of Cuba.

The plenum called for a more energetic solidarity campaign with the people of Chile, for the release of all political prisoners, especially Luis Corvalan, and a rebuff to Chilean fascist agents in Ecuador. It also called for solidarity with the people of Uruguay, Paraguay, Bolivia and other Latin-American countries, victims of aggression and internal reaction.

The plenum approved the work of the Executive Committee in fostering closer contacts with fraternal Parties and recommended bilateral and multilateral exchanges to strengthen unity of the Communist Parties of Latin America and the world.

FINLAND

Meeting in Helsinki on January 18-19, the Central Committee of the Communist Party examined ways and means of promoting closer cooperation within the working class and between working-class parties. Its resolution contains these points:

- working class unity is essential to accomplishing the tasks that are part of the Party's general line;

- cooperation of the workers' parties is essential to unity of the working class;

- closer cooperation of the workers' parties is fully achievable if it is based on common goals, a common desire to discharge the historic mission of the working class and, to accomplish that, fight together to abolish the power of capital, extend democracy, promote peace and build socialism;

- though a joint concrete program is not at present possible because of the Social-Democratic leaderships' negative attitude this should still be our goal;

- we can cooperate on individual issues in parliament at leadership level, in the trade unions and other mass organizations;

- we should start a broad campaign to popularize the principles of cooperation of the working class and its parties;

- the growth of Communist Party influence is the biggest factor in promoting cooperation.

The Plenum decided on the following:

- to appeal to all Party members to cooperate with Social-Democrats, especially in mass organizations, at factory level and in local branches;

- to draw up detailed proposals for negotiations with the Social-Democratic Party;

- to instruct the Political Bureau to draft a unity appeal for discussion by workers and workers' organizations;

- to continue the commission appointed to analyze development of the Social-Democratic movement;

—to circulate the Plenum decisions to district Party organizations for discussion in Party branches. Proposals from district organizations to be submitted to a working group by the end of March for examination and discussion at the next Central Committee plenum.

The Central Committee also called for closer cooperation in combating the Right-wing forces, exposing their aim of undermining Soviet-Finnish relations and Finland's foreign policy and weakening the working-class and other democratic forces.

The plenum also urged efforts towards changing Social-Democrat policy, which now is in the interests of the extreme Right; called for wider discussion of the policy and ideological questions involved in strengthening unity of the working class and workers' parties, and for intensified struggle against reformism. In all discussions of cooperation, the plenum declared, we must avoid a one-sided approach, deference to Social-Democrat policy, or a tendency to dictate terms, for this would make cooperation impossible.

Similarly, the trade-union movement should not be identified with, or dominated by, the Social-Democratic Party. Plans should be worked out to increase Communist influence in the trade unions, facilitate their development as part of the labor movement wholly independent of employers and government.

The plenum resolution urges consolidating unity of the Communist Party, and activating efforts to implement the 16th Party Congress decisions.

A special plan is to be drawn up for closer cooperation with the CPSU and other fraternal parties.

Other resolutions deal with Finland's cooperation with the Soviet Union on energy problems, and solidarity with the people of Chile.

FRANCE

A plenum of the CP Central Committee held in Paris on January 18-19 discussed and approved a report by Political Bureau member Madeleine Vincent, "the Party and the role of women in the Popular Alliance fight for better conditions, peace, democracy and socialism."

The Party's General Secretary, Georges Marchais, emphasized the importance of the Brussels Conference of Communist and Workers' Parties of European capitalist countries in the fight for social progress, durable peace and the building of socialism in Europe.

FRG

The second plenum of the Communist Party Executive, held in Duesseldorf on February 16-17, approved a report by Party Chairman Herbert Mies on proposals for safeguarding the workers' social rights in the present economic-crisis situation.

The German Communist Party demands a price freeze, lower taxes, higher wages, pensions and grants, an immediate 15 per cent cut in military spending, and more appropriations for education, health and public transport.

On the energy crisis, the Communists' demands are for an anti-monopoly, democratic national policy envisaging expansion in coal-mining, nationalization and democratic control of multinational oil monopoly assets in West Germany, direct long-term agreements with oil-producing countries for exchanging industrial goods for oil.

The report also urges more trade and other types of cooperation with the socialist countries, fulfilment of agreements concluded with them, action against the flare-up of anti-communism and anti-Sovietism and attacks on the GDR by reactionary parties and trends in the FRG.

The plenum also approved a report by the Executive Presidium, submitted by Party Vice-Chairman Gautier, on policy and tactics in local and regional elections to increase the Party vote and representation.

The plenum appealed to workers, professionals, the youth and students to step up the protest campaign against the fascist terror in Chile.

ITALY

The Communist Party Leadership met in Rome late in January to discuss the political situation. Its resolution says that the energy crisis, continued price rises, shortage of essentials, the threat of unemployment have combined to worsen the conditions of the working people.

Exploiting the widespread feeling of discontent, the anti-democratic and fascist forces are resorting to demagoguery, provocation and outright violence. The Communist Party insists that the government safeguard the people's democratic rights. The Leadership calls on all Party members, all working people, democrats and anti-fascists, to heighten their vigilance and foil fascist provocation and actively support the mass struggle for economic reform.

ISRAEL

The 11th Communist Party CC plenum, held in Tel Aviv on January 17-18, approved the disengagement agreement between Egypt and Israel as a start towards fulfilling the Security Council resolution and creating favorable conditions for the Geneva peace conference.

JAPAN

The second plenum of the Communist Party Central Committee, held in Tokyo in February, discussed preparations for this summer's parliamentary elections and Party building.

KOREAN PEOPLE'S DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

The Eighth plenum of the Central Committee of the Korean Party of Labor met in Pyongyang on February 11-13 to discuss the following questions: mobilization of all forces to complete major construction projects; the repeal of taxes; price reductions on manufactured goods.

The report on the first agenda item was delivered by Kim Il Sung, General Secretary of the Party Central Committee.

The plenum adopted a letter to Party members calling for mobilization of all forces to accelerate socialist construction, assure pre-schedule fulfilment of the 6-year plan, substantially accelerate building operations and expedite construction of major projects. The Central Committee emphasizes, in this context, the great responsibility devolving on Party cadres.

The plenum decided to submit the proposal to repeal all taxes to the Supreme National Assembly, and the proposal for a sharp reduction of prices on manufactured goods to the Central People's Committee.

NORWAY

The Communist Party Central Executive concluded its plenary session in Oslo on January 13. It reviewed the ideological and political discussion within the socialist election alliance with a view to uniting all its affiliated parties. On the energy crisis the CC called for nationalization of all oil companies operating in Norway. Rolf Nettum and Martin Gunnar Knutsen were elected Vice-Chairmen of the Party. The plenum also elected members of the Secretariat and of a number of Committees.

POLAND

A CC Plenum of the Polish United Workers' Party attended by members of the government and of the Central Trade Union Council concluded in Warsaw on January 19. It discussed and approved the government program for implementing the decisions of the First Party Conference* presented by Piotr Jaroszewicz and decided to submit the program to the next session of parliament.

The Party's First Secretary, Eduard Gierek, summed up the discussion.

A Central Committee Plenum met on February 15 to discuss ideological and educational work in connection with the 30th anniversary of People's Poland. It approved the CC theses drawn up for the oc-

*See Information Bulletin, No. 22, 1973.—Ed.

casion, called on all Party organizations to make them the basis for education and propaganda aimed at strengthening the moral and political unity of the people and promoting their activities in trade-union and other mass organizations.

The meeting was addressed by Eduard Gierek, First Secretary of the Party Central Committee. The Theses, he said, should be seen as a directive for a broad ideological offensive that should be conducted according to the decisions of the First Party Conference.

Poland's independence and security, he said, is today based on the moral and political unity of our people, our vast and rapidly growing economic potential, our defense might and our alliance with the Soviet Union and other fraternal socialist countries. The Party's main task is to cultivate in the people patriotic, socialist consciousness, promote assimilation of Marxism-Leninism by wide sections of the population and their acceptance of the socialist code of conduct. He emphasized that the program adopted by the Sixth Party Congress has the universal support of the working people.

We have consistently worked, Gierek continued, for closer unity of the socialist community and the international Communist movement, and we have just as consistently countered every attempt to undermine this unity, especially the anti-Leninist, chauvinist theory and policy of Maoism.

The plenum also dealt with organizational matters.

VENEZUELA

The 11th plenum of the Communist Party Central Committee ended in Caracas on February 20 after deciding to hold the Fifth Party Congress on November 7 and appointing several commissions to make the necessary preparations.

The plenum approved a political resolution on unity of all the anti-imperialist forces in defense of the national interests. It calls for immediate nationalization of oil, price curbs and higher wages and salaries. It stresses the need to strengthen Party unity to rebuff the forces that are seeking to divide the Party.

Another resolution, on solidarity with the Chilean people, demands the immediate release of Luis Corvalan, General Secretary of the CP Chile, and of other patriots. The plenum appealed to all Venezuelans to step up the campaign in defense of the brother peoples of Chile, Bolivia and Uruguay, now living in an atmosphere of fascist terror.

WEST BERLIN

The Executive of the Socialist Unity Party of West Berlin has decided to hold branch-committee elections from March 15 to May 30.

Speaking at the Executive meeting, which was held on January 25,

Party Chairman Danelius said that big capital and its machine of government had launched an all-out onslaught on the workers' conditions, the present price rises affect rents, service charges, heating, electricity, food and essential consumer goods.

The West-Berlin working class Danelius emphasized, will this year have to ght hard against monopoly dictation to safeguard its social and political interests and press its demands. In the final analysis, the workers' fighting capacity will depend on their organization, class consciousness, readiness to fight, united action by all contingents of the working class, the strength of the trade unions and the influence of the Marxist-Leninist working-class vanguard.

Our Party, Danelius said, welcomes unity with the Social-Democrats in the fight for the workers' interests, democratic progress, peace and socialism.

PEOPLE'S DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF YEMEN

The National Front Central Committee held its sixth plenum in Aden on February 26-28. The communique says it discussed the economic situation specifically memorandums drawn up by the Central Committee's economic department and the Ministry of Planning, a report of the Ministry of Economics and Industry, and the five-year plan. The plenum set out the main targets in the all-out effort to fulfil the five-year development plan. These envisage continued development in agriculture, cattle raising, fishing, trade, and a steady rise in cultural and living standards.

YUGOSLAVIA

The Presidium of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia met on January 5 to discuss the draft of the country's new Constitution, presented by Presidium member J. Bilic. The new Constitution, the Presidium resolution says, will play a crucial part in the continued social and economic development of Yugoslavia, will enhance the role of the working class and consolidate the unity and equality of Yugoslavia's nationalities and ethnic groups. The Presidium called on Party members to step up ideological work in explaining the provisions of the Constitution and helping to implement them.

At its meeting on February 14 the Presidium of the League of Communists decided to convene the 10th Party Congress on May 27 in Belgrade and approved the following agenda: "The struggle for the further development of socialist self-management in Yugoslavia and the tasks of the League of Communists." The report will be made by Josip Broz Tito, Chairman of the League of Communists.

STATEMENTS AND SPEECHES

A NEW ELECTORAL FARCE

On March 3 last, Guatemalans elected a new President for the next four-year term. There were another two generals and one colonel who aspired to the Presidency, held by General C. Arana Osorio ever since 1970. Before and during the election, the ruling coalition of two reactionary parties, backed by the authorities, did its best to win the post for its candidate, General K. Laugerud, former military attache in Washington, Chief of the General Staff and War Minister, who had helped Arana to carry out brutal repressive measures against patriots, including assassination. But hard though he tried, that extreme reactionary failed to win an absolute majority. In the circumstances, the Congress of the country had to confirm him as president, which it did on March 13. He will assume his functions on July 1. E. Montt, a retired general, put forward by the Christian Democratic Party (CDP) of the National opposition Front, collected a substantial number of votes. He declared that only the authorities' fraudulent methods had prevented him from obtaining an absolute majority and becoming President.

Following is the slightly abridged text of an electoral appeal of the Guatemalan Party of Labor (GPL) analyzing the domestic situation before the election and stating the Party's position.

VOTE AGAINST THE REACTIONARY REGIME AND REPRESSION

The oppressor class is preparing for a new electoral farce. Elections in Guatemala are merely a stratagem used by the ruling classes which impose their will on the people, especially the peasantry, by fraudulent and forcible methods. The masses vote unwittingly against their own interests.

The election is to be held under one of the most reactionary constitutions our country has ever had.* This Constitution was prompted by the desire of oligarchy, imperialism, the army and conservative forces to maintain the climate of repression and exploitation which benefits reaction.

Elections in our country are entirely undemocratic and involve only a minority of Guatemalans. Indeed, less than half of the voters are included in electoral lists and less than half of them go to the polls.

*The reference is to the Constitution adopted in 1965. Ed.

In other words, only one-fourth of all citizens actually vote and ever since 1959 winners have had only a relative majority—usually about one-tenth of the electorate.

The U.S. armed intervention in 1954 suppressed the revolutionary process that had been going on ever since October 1944 and led to the current social, economic and political crisis, which is intensifying. Hunger, poverty, unemployment and disease gain ground from year to year, there are more and more children outside school, more people who cannot read or write have nothing to wear and eat less than their fill. Food prices have been rising while wages and salaries have been unchanged for almost 20 years. The country has numerous internal and external debts. It has been virtually sold out to U.S. monopolies and is strongly dependent on foreign countries. This situation, in which the rich are becoming richer and most Guatemalans are poverty-stricken, is going from bad to worse.

Furthermore, an increasing number of Guatemalans are denied democratic rights. More and more men, women and young people lose their lives at the hands of gangs protected by the government, the reactionary clique in the armed forces and the coalition of the National Liberation Movement (NLM) and Institutional Democratic Party (IDP).*

More and more people are registered as "missing" and clandestine graveyards set up by the government are discovered one after another.**

Hunger, oppression, ignorance and repressive measures which have resulted in thousands of deaths are all the handiwork of the ruling classes. Through governments such as those under Carlos Castillo Arma, Miguel Ydigoras Fuentes, Enrique Peralta Azurdia, Julio Cesar Mendez Montenegro and Carlos Arana Osorio, these classes exploit the people and organize assassinations in the interests of the United States, landed proprietors and reactionary bourgeoisie. The NLM and IDP, as well as the ruling Revolutionary Party (RP) clique have been, and remain, instruments of this anti-popular, anti-national, anti-democratic and terroristic policy.

The social, political and economic crisis of the country and the fast-developing world crisis of capitalism have led the reactionary NLM/IDP coalition upholding the interests of the bourgeoisie and landowners to the conclusion that it can no longer rule in the old way. Dreading the growth of the people's revolutionary movement under the impact of the worldwide offensive of democracy and socialism, it tries to establish a still more centralized, authoritarian and repressive regime inspired by neo-fascism.

The ruling RP clique has turned its party into a tool of the rul-

*The two parties have a majority in the national Congress.—Ed.

**Mass burial grounds of the victims of repression and terror.—Ed.

ing classes, which use it as a facade for a constitutional dictatorship, as in the case of Mendez Montenegro or for splitting the democratic petty-bourgeois opposition, taking advantage, as in the case of the candidatures of Ernest Paiz Novales and Carlos Sagastume Perez. The RP is the bridge linking the intrigues of the U.S. imperialists and reactionary classes with the exploitation of the country's backwardness.

The leaders of the reformist parties—the CDP and the Revolutionary Democratic Unity Front (RDUF)* — cannot at the moment enter the government to maintain a democratic atmosphere in it, which is necessary if the people are to reorganize and to fight by legal methods. These leaders give ground too readily in talks with the ultras and imperialists. They are not prepared to come out into the streets or uphold in struggle an election victory. They are afraid of alliance with revolutionary forces which might put forward and sign at least a provisional democratic program. Operating behind the people's backs, they seek military and imperialist support at all costs.

U.S. imperialism banks in this election on everything—it backs those who have a chance to be elected to the Presidency, “works” among all bourgeois and petty-bourgeois parties so as to use them, and even comes to terms with prospective putschists. Should a problem arise, the U.S. imperialists would step forward as go-betweens or, if necessary, hasten a coup.

The grave social, political and economic situation also tells on the armed forces, and their character as a political instrument of the ruling classes stands out more than ever. All bourgeois, petty-bourgeois, reactionary and reformist parties, in trying to use the armed forces as an arbiter, end by nominating a military man. Neither these candidates, nor the parties backing them present any threat to the armed forces, which safeguard the interests of the ruling classes and of imperialism.

REVOLUTIONARY AND DEMOCRATIC UNITY

We are passing through a period of revolutionary decline when the alignment of forces is favorable to counter-revolution, the revolutionary movement is relatively stagnant, the split among the democratic petty-bourgeois and revolutionary forces persists and the main danger lies in the likelihood of a still more authoritarian and repressive fascist regime. It is necessary to strive for the unity of revolutionary, democratic and popular forces in every sphere so as to defeat the government's repressive and reactionary policies. Elections are a form in which the imperialists, bourgeoisie, landed proprietors and well-to-do section of the petty bourgeoisie make deals. The people

*In the March 1974 election, the RDUF belonged to the National Opposition Front. Ed.

should not delude themselves about election returns but rely solely on their own strength. They must step up their struggle for immediate objectives and fight tenaciously against terror and repression, the high cost of living and rising food prices, for a general pay increase in town and countryside, for land, credits and technological aid to peasants, for democratic rights. In campaigning for these immediate demands, the workers, peasants, salary-earners, students and intellectuals must bar the way of their chief enemy, the NLM/IDP coalition and its accomplices in the ruling RP clique.

The Guatemalan Party of Labor has no illusions about election results or the policy which reformist parties like the CDP or RDUF may adopt if they find themselves in opposition or even in power. Our Party considers that one of its important duties is to discourage such illusions among the masses. The people must not vote for those who have killed or kill Guatemalans, aggravate hunger, poverty and ignorance among the working people, deliver the country to U.S. monopolies or deny political rights to substantial segments of the population.

Not a vote for the fascists of the NLM IDP coalition nor their accomplices in the RP leadership!

The people must vote to stop the endless succession of reactionary regimes and to end the repression and terror which in the past 12 years have covered the country with dead bodies. The people must vote to make any new government discontinue the "pacification policy," known as the policy of massacring Guatemalans.

The GPL repeats that the people should not delude themselves. They should only rely on their own struggle, organize in every form and unite in action for their interests. This is the only way out for the working people of town and country alike.

The chief task before, during and after the election is to carry on propaganda among the masses and mobilize, organize, unite and lead them in revolutionary struggle.

For Guatemala, for the Revolution, for Socialism!

Political Commission of the CC
Guatemalan Party of Labor.

Guatemala City, January 28, 1974

COMMUNIQUE OF THE POLITICAL BUREAU OF THE PEOPLE'S PARTY OF PANAMA

Below is the text of a document published in Panama on February 7, 1974.

The governments of Panama and the United States have signed an Agreement containing eight clauses agreed upon during their preliminary talks.*

These eight clauses define the nature and limits of future talks so that the drafted Agreement will include decisions which the governments concerned will either sign or reject.

The Political Bureau of the People's Party of Panama (PPP) notes that this preliminary Agreement has been arrived at when we have a government of progressive tendencies that has given voice to the basic wishes of the Panamanian people about the Canal Zone. This government is gradually solving the problem of altering the old social structure so that changes for creating conditions for a new life may be brought about. This makes for a sharpening of the struggle against the oligarchy.

The Political Bureau also notes that in sum, these clauses include the popular demand for the return of the Canal zone, its liquidation as a colony, and they indicate the limits of the area to be used by North American imperialists, to which they still stubbornly lay claim.*

We regard the inclusion of the people's demands in this Agreement as a step forward brought about by the new balance of forces in our country in favor of national liberation, progressive democracy, and the anti-imperialist and anti-oligarchic struggle.

This preliminary success of the popular and patriotic forces has resulted from the positive support given by the forces for world peace, democracy, national liberation and socialism, as well as the objective factors of the break-up of colonialism and the general crisis shaking, in the most diverse manner, the entire imperialist system.

But we warn that this is a temporary success. With the destruction of colonialism, imperialism here, as elsewhere, will not entirely relinquish its domination, but will change from the direct colonial form to neo-colonialist domination.

The contents of this Agreement in principle are actually a reflection of this situation. This is natural for in this dispute, there is an oppressed country—Panama, and the oppressor nation—the United States. This Agreement also shows that since there is the desire to

*This refers to 'an agreement in principle' signed on February 7, 1974 in Panama by the U.S. Secretary of State and the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Panama on the forthcoming talks about a new agreement on the Panama Canal and the adjacent zone. Ed.

repeal the 1903 Agreement and abolish the principle of "forever," to achieve recognition of our sovereignty in the Canal zone, and that there is far more understanding that the Panama Isthmus constitutes our main natural resource and should be used for our progress, then this predicates that North American monopolies will forfeit the domination they imposed on us in 1903.

The inclusion in this Agreement in principle of the North American demands on the defense of the Canal and extension of its capacity and its effectiveness of movement from one sea to another is, in its turn, an expression of their determination to maintain their domination through neo-colonialist measures. We show that the signing of this Agreement in principle and support for it does not imply agreement with these claims, but is only the basis for discussion.

Consideration of the problem of freeing the Canal zone, therefore, indicates a new phase in the talks. It is essential that now, as never before, all patriotic and progressive forces in Panama rely firmly on the masses, and act in order to achieve an Agreement reflecting the national demands and demands of the historical epoch in which the world is now living, when the oppression of other nations is going through a crisis and new relations are being established, relations of equality and the cooperation of nations.

The struggle for national liberation and for the democratic and progressive development of our country will now become sharper, and the whole of our people must prepare itself to achieve the final victory over imperialism and the oligarchy.

This makes it incumbent on all progressive and patriotic forces—workers, peasants, intellectuals, students, small proprietors the national industrial bourgeoisie and the military—to achieve the closest unity based on the program of national liberation the many-sided and progressive development of Panamanian society. Politically, the form of this unity envisages the unity of the government and the people, thus preventing the restoration to political power of the oligarchy and guaranteeing a stable front which would bar the way to any further domination by imperialism.

The Political Bureau of the PPP calls for the strengthening of the anti-imperialist unity of the Panamanian people and the utmost support for the patriotic stand adopted by the Panamanian government in the face of the attempts by the U.S. government to perpetuate our dependence. This front of patriots must lead to the completion of the great task of national liberation.

UNITE THE PEOPLE TO OVERTHROW THE DICTATORSHIP

Below is an abridged version of the text of the Manifesto of the Executive Committee of the Communist Party of Uruguay which since February 1974 is being circulated throughout the country.

1. More than seven months have elapsed since the coup d'état of June 27, 1973, and two months since the Decree of December 1st declaring the Communist Party and other Left forces illegal. In the light of the upheavals, political and social struggles that have marked the commencement of 1974, the Communist Party stands by its August Appeal and its Declaration of December 3rd, 1973. The Party also considers it essential to supplement these documents with materials touching on recent events and the conclusions it has drawn from their analysis. The perspectives for further development and the precise direction to be taken by the working class and the people's struggle are also indicated.

This has become absolutely essential in view of the government's decisions during past weeks, particularly in relation to prices and wages, which have aroused the widespread popular discontent.

Events have confirmed that we were right when we stated in August that "an open Right dictatorship" had come to power. However, the repressive measures of the first few months against civil liberties were successful. On December 1st Bordaberry and his top military men took a new and serious step following the Brazilian pattern. This revealed a qualitative change in the government "towards the creation of a fascist-like government, similar to the gorillas who are oppressing Brazil." It is steadily putting into effect a series of planned measures of a pro-fascist type in order to wipe out the democratic nature of the Uruguayan state. Parliament has been suspended, the National Labor Convention (NLC) banned, and provisions affecting the trade unions have come into force which bear the hallmark of fascism. Any action by the workers or the mass of the people is severely repressed and accompanied by arrests, tortures and murders of workers and students. Political parties may no longer function and the opposition press has been banned. Only *El Dia*, trying to sing in chorus with the government, competes with it in attacking the working class and communism.

The government interferes in the internal affairs of the university, creating chaos throughout the entire educational system, and infringes the historic principles of its autonomy and independence of the Church.

The Communist and Socialist Parties and other Left groupings, as

well as the Uruguayan University Students' Federation, have been put outside the law. The political reliability of candidates for positions of public responsibility now vacant is examined by the police to keep out people not in step with the regime. General Liber Seregni, arrested seven months ago, is imprisoned in inhuman conditions and has been refused his constitutional right to leave the country. At the present moment the regime is endeavoring to organize a monstrous frameup against him and his comrades, as well as against Communist Party leaders, Rodney Arismendi, Jaime Perez and others.*

2. The dictatorship is also maneuvering, trying to give an appearance of law and order behind a civil or military-civilian mask of government. After five and a half months it is setting up a Council of State, to which it arbitrarily appoints various politicians whom it has unearthed; fascists and mediocrities prepared blindly and servilely to carry out the measures of the administration. A constitutional reform is under way which, given a skillful election campaign and the absence of any active opposition, freedoms or proportional representation, may ensure an obedient "Parliament" and destroy any autonomy in the educational system, various organizations and municipal authorities. The dictatorship is trying to gain time and not to arouse the hatred of the masses, and so all its promises are timed for 1976. They are trying to establish a common language with big business and the Right-wing, reactionary top echelons of the military and prevent the unification of the people on the path to democratic development as proposed by the Broad Front and the National Party, unity based on a minimum program of six points which would guarantee genuine participation by the people in running the state, freedom for the trade unions and also free and legal activities of all Parties.

If the struggle of the working class and of all patriots, civilian and servicemen, takes the first course, i.e. the democratic and national path of development as indicated above, this will save Uruguay from fascism, from development in the spirit of the Brazilian gorillas. The second path will bring the Republic to fascism and bloodshed, economic confusion and corruption, with everything up for sale, starting with Bordaberry himself and his backers. There will be no freedom or national independence.

*On February 15 it was announced that a military tribunal had set in motion a case against General Liber Seregni for "covering up a plot and activities designed to attack the Constitution, and also for inciting law-breaking." The statement of the Communist Party and the Broad Front that the accusations are disgusting lies has been confirmed. The accusations are based on statements extracted by means of torture. They allege that prior to the 1971 elections Seregni met members of the Tupamaros movement. They are also trying to involve in this frameup Communist Party leaders, Rodney Arismendi and Jaime Perez. Hence the international and national campaigns to free the Chairman of the Broad Front need to be raised to a much higher level. (Comment by CPU Executive.)

Neither the working class nor the people as a whole will remain on their bended knees. This has been proved by the historic general strike of June-July 1973, the heroic day of July 9th, the university elections and the campaigns to reinstate trade union members and to defeat the yellow unions; the hundreds of popular actions throughout the country, both large and small, and also the constant propaganda of the NLC and FUSU, the Broad Front, the Communist Party and other political forces accusing the dictatorship. It is proved, too, by their organizational strength and possession of funds. They will struggle until victory is theirs. Everybody can see that there can be only two outcomes to the present situation—the first is to throw out Bordaberry and his supporters and open up new horizons for our country, horizons of patriotism and democracy, the second is to continue along the path of repression by the dictatorship which will lead to bloody tyranny and civil war.

Obviously, the people prefer the former path and should the dictatorship try to force the second on them, then they will resort to the highest forms of mass struggle.

Despite the savage repression and likelihood of new repressive coups which must be guarded against, Bordaberry and his colleagues, both civilian and military, continue their discussions in an atmosphere of political decay, sharp contradictions and economic and political problems which they cannot solve. But no dictatorship has ever fallen of its own volition. In order to achieve the main objective of the present period, the overthrow of the dictatorship, and not to ignore the whole gamut of possible solutions, we must realize that the main thing is to raise the fighting ability and activity of the working people and other sections of the population, to strengthen and develop to the utmost the political unity of all oppositional forces; strengthen the fighting ability, fighting spirit and organization of the leading forces on all sectors of the struggle against the dictatorship. We must encourage and make easier joint struggle with the patriotic servicemen, who have remained true to the spirit of February* and do not want to be the fighting arm of the oligarchy.

There must not be a moment's peace for the dictatorship. The widest sections of the popular masses and the most diverse social and political groups must be united in this struggle for freedom and bread. The working class and the broad popular masses will, without doubt, give the dictatorship the answer which the circumstances call for with the utmost determination.

3. The arbitrary rule of the dictatorship is no proof of genuine strength. A government and a regime are only genuinely powerful

*In February 1973, during a sharp political crisis, the country's military command published two communiques. Numbers 4 and 7, which outlined a program of 19 points. This program reflected progressive trends among the armed forces and was basically democratic in nature. It was supported by mass actions of the workers.—Ed.

when able to solve the massive economic and social problems in the country; when they have the support of classes and broad sections of the population, as well as of political parties representing these sections; when, implementing a genuinely independent foreign policy, they enjoy the respect and support of other governments, in particular those playing a leading role internationally. The Uruguayan government has none of this. On the contrary. While we realize there could be some subsequent insignificant change, we will make a short analysis of the main pointers to the profound weakness of the dictatorship.

a) There can be no doubt that the reasons for the economic decline into which the Republic has been plunged are to be found in the country's socio-economic structure. The responsibility for this lies on the previous government, while the present government has brought the country to complete catastrophe. The stagnation in agricultural production, decline in industry and trade, rocketing inflation reflected in soaring prices and falling living standards, unemployment, the bankruptcy and closure of thousands of small and medium-sized enterprises in the towns and the villages, the miserable results of foreign trade, rising foreign debt, inflation, balance-of-payments deficit, the decline and ruin of state enterprises and institutions; all these are but a few items of the indictment against the regime.

b) The foregoing has meant a lowering of real wages and purchasing power of the broad masses, who have been brought to the brink of hunger and poverty. It has meant the systematic loss of our gains in social security and the welfare of which we were so proud, and the inevitable impoverishment and ruin of broad sections of the middle classes.

While all this is taking place, a small handful of tycoons continue to amass millions, engaging with impunity in dishonest trading practices, brutality and corruption. In this they are supported by the government, led by these self-same tycoons, who reduce equality and social justice to a bitter farce, arousing the indignation, protest and wrath of the people.

This dissatisfaction with the government by the workers, middle strata of the intellectuals and also among small and middle owners of land, industrialists and trades, is now affecting sections hitherto regarded as economically powerful. The social basis of the dictatorship is narrowing daily, and very soon it will be limited to only tiny oligarchical circles, numerically insignificant, but economically powerful. The support of the people is almost nil. Only big business and the military top brass uphold the existing state of affairs. The working class and popular organizations, however, although persecuted by the government, have maintained their ranks and authority.

They are united and unshakeable in their social and political beliefs. The working people maintain a high morale and fighting spirit, which reflects to their advantage when compared with the supporters of the dictatorship, who have no clear perspective.

c) Not a single political party worthy of its name, including even the extreme Right, supports the government. Not only the Broad Front, but all groups and leaders, on both sides of the spectrum and of varied importance and principle, are opposed to the government. Politically the members of the cabinet and the Council of State represent no one.

d) The savagery of the June 27 coup and the repression unleashed by the dictatorship, and also the December 1st Decree, aroused a wave of protest and indignation throughout the world. Protests came from the peoples of socialist and non-aligned countries, progressive governments and organizations, whose influence is increasingly affecting the balance of forces internationally, and also many governments in capitalist countries. The dictatorship is aware of this international isolation and hostility and sees the solidarity actions with the Uruguayan people, institutions and democratic traditions, and also with the persecuted leaders—with General Liber Seregni, an important figure on the continent, and others.

All this is explained by the extreme weakness of the dictatorship which relies only on force, by its instability, its internal contradictions which are painfully obvious, its threats and advances, halts and vacillations.

This situation is intensifying and must inevitably lead to new economic, social, political and military crises, and also to sharp changes and coups.

The government, which is incapable of leading the country along the path of progress and is pushing it into catastrophe, must, sooner or later, be overthrown by the people. This does not however, mean that we have to adopt a policy of wait and see, i.e. passively waiting on the development of objective factors and fortuitous events. On the contrary, the situation which obtains and the regime's weakness makes it imperative for a powerful blow to be struck by the people in order once and for all to destroy the crumbling walls of the dictatorship.

4. The basic reasons for the economic problems are to be found in the socio-economic structure of the regime, and these are added to by the policy being pursued by the present government. The government tries to disclaim all responsibility to divert the people's attention and hide the real reasons for the crisis with lying and superficial explanations. It propounds the false theory of the "wages and prices spiral" (at the moment when the unprecedented growth of prices is far in excess of the miserable wage increases clearly

exposes the deception of this outrageous theory); talks about a "revolt" (and for two years nothing has been heard of it); of "Parliament" and "political leaders" (who also are non-existent or for seven months have been reduced to inactivity); spreads the myth of "security" (nobody knows what may be used as an excuse to suppress the workers); accuses "Marxism" (it is sheer idiocy to pretend that an ideology can affect the interests of foreign trade or cause higher prices); and now there is the problem of oil (the shortage was already apparent at the beginning of the year and, according to official statements, existing stocks can last only until May).

No, all this is merely throwing dust in people's eyes. The people have known for a long time that the authors of all these misfortunes are the oligarchy, big business, imperialism, and latifundists, and so on, which the military and civil dictatorship serve. To these and other false and unconvincing attempts to hide the substance of the state of affairs we counterpose facts hard as granite and far more revealing than any statement of theirs. And they are proof of the country's economic and financial catastrophe.

(The Manifesto then goes on to give a detailed analysis of the country's economic situation based on convincing data proving the deeply anti-popular, fatal nature of the dictatorship's policy which is leading the country to catastrophe.—Ed.)

8. The enrichment of the oligarchy through government policy knows no bounds, while the people are condemned to hunger, the Republic destroyed and being made increasingly dependent on imperialism. The dictatorship wants to introduce into Uruguay the much-valued "Brazilian model" which propaganda calls an "economic miracle." But even the fascist newspaper *La Manana* published the data of one economist, which revealed the tragedy behind this "miracle": more than 50 million Brazilians, half the population, live in conditions of the utmost poverty. The greater proportion of Brazilian industry is in the hands of imperialist capital. The economic problems of a country cannot be solved without an improvement in the economic position of the working people and expansion of the domestic market. The military-civilian dictatorship of the oligarchical clique does precisely the opposite. By every possible means they continue the wages' freeze policy introduced by Pacheco Areco. If we take January 1968 as 100, then real wages, that is the actual purchasing power of the working people, fell to 57.5 in December 1972 and 54.7 in December 1973. The most favorable estimates indicate that in January 1974 it decreased to 43.7 per cent, and in March may reach 52.7. Thus, in round figures, the workers have been robbed of half or even more than half the real value of their wages since 1968.

The position of pensioners is even worse, and the standard of living of the middle sections has sharply declined. If to this we add taxes and other difficulties, then it becomes clear that thousands of small and medium-sized enterprises as well as comparatively large ones are being ruined or are on the brink of ruin.

1974 promises to be a tragic year—even more so than last year. And this is all due to the work of the dictatorship.

The uncontrollable indignation, protest, and hatred of the people against the oligarchy, the dictatorship and its backers, is bound to grow. The emigration of thousands and thousands of our compatriots is a negative and desperate expression of this dissatisfaction. The social basis of the government is bound to shrink considerably, for it is a poisonous growth that has no roots among the people. How can they prevent the growth of the people's struggle against all these misfortunes?

Class struggle was not invented by Marxists: it is provoked by people who can only reply with still greater repression and reprisals against freedom and democracy. But social and economic questions cannot be solved by using the mailed fist. The class struggle, which they themselves stimulate, grows, and the time will come when there will be an explosion of mass actions which will end in the overthrow of the dictatorship and the present regime; all the corrupt dealers and scoundrels who support the dictatorship and its regime will be thrown out. No power can withstand the holy anger of the people.

On the other hand, the international situation does not favor fascist tendencies. The might of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries is growing, the national-liberation movement is becoming stronger. Parallel with this the comparative strength of the imperialist powers is weakening, including the U.S., shaken as it is by severe military defeats and deep economic and political problems at a time when the general capitalist crisis is considerably deepening. It is true that Yankee imperialism is seeking to get even by strengthening its domination in Latin America and organizing a gigantic plot against the liberation movement of our peoples. A component part of this plot was the coup d'état in Uruguay. The plotters succeeded in dealing a heavy, albeit temporary, defeat on the Latin American revolutionary movement by the overthrow of the Popular Unity government and the murder of Allende in Chile, and also by the bloody fascist terror unleashed in that country. But the repudiation of these coups by world public opinion, particularly in the case of Chile, the wide international solidarity with the resistance of the peoples of Uruguay and Chile, are eloquent signs of the way in which the winds are now blowing. And the Uruguayan dictatorship, which

runs in one pack with the Chilean fascists, can see in Chile the serious consequence of isolation and world indignation.

On the other hand, throughout the whole of Latin America, just as in Uruguay and in Chile, reactionary fascist coups cannot solve the existing economic, social and political problems, but only deepen them, thereby preparing the way for new, and still more radical, revolutionary outbursts. (The recent events in Bolivia are one small example.) On our continent, Cuba and Peru hold their banners high, and a small country like Panama asserts its national rights in the face of imperialism; revolutionary-nationalist and socialist trends draw new millions to their ranks. And no one doubts that the new progressive regimes of the future will be fully and selflessly supported by the vanguard of the world revolutionary movement—the USSR and the socialist system, the national-liberation movement, and the working class of the developed countries of Europe and North America.

9. MASS UNITY IS ESSENTIAL FOR THE DEFEAT OF THE DICTATORSHIP

In these circumstances the central task of all the popular, democratic and progressive forces is to smash the Bordaberry dictatorship and its supporters. In the next few months there will be new and even deeper economic, social, political and military crises. People no longer put up with these corrupt rulers, this foul clique who are betraying their country, and the group of reactionary military chiefs supporting them. The overthrow of the dictatorship is not simply a destructive act but is the first step to a new political construction which is patriotic, democratic and progressive. The new state of affairs cannot be a simple return to the past. The new reality, freed of imperialist diktat, must guarantee the genuine participation by the workers and the popular masses in the management of the state, must end for ever the outworn socio-economic structures on which the power of the clique rests, and ensure the genuine economic development of the country which is inseparable from satisfying the material and cultural needs of the people.

This is no easy task. It demands intense, selfless struggle. The people have no other choice. It is essential that there be an unswerving determination to traverse this path to the end, no matter what the cost. The people, having taken such a decision, cannot be defeated, and this was their decision during the glorious days of June and July.

Reliance on the broad masses and their unity is an essential condition for fulfilling the main task of destroying the dictatorship. Any other conception of the way forward in this situation, such as military paternalism, isolation from the people, a wait and see policy

or the adoption of terrorist, and adventurist actions by groups isolated from the masses, will be basically mistaken and can only lead to defeat and still further suffering. The struggle must embrace all opposition forces, without anyone being arbitrarily excluded, since this can weaken the movement.

The owners of small and medium-sized enterprises, businessmen and rural producers can and should take part in achieving this main task together with the workers, students and intellectuals who are true to the people. The National Party and some sections of them, persecute them, kill and torture them, can and should be with the Broad Front; the patriotically inclined servicemen who really wish to go over to the side of the people and not act against them, persecute them, kill and torture them, can and should work alongside civilians; and believers of all denominations can and should work with atheists. Opposing all false juxtapositions such as civilians versus the military, Marxism versus development, we call on all patriotic forces who wish to save the Republic from economic bankruptcy, fascism and imperialist domination to unite. The sole alternative is: the oligarchy or the people, the fatherland or the oligarchic clique, freedom for the people or an even more putrid and reactionary dictatorship.

It is not easy to forge such a broad unity, but the maximum effort and maximum loyalty must go into this task. All trivial sectarian calculations must be set aside. Anyone who today remains deaf to the calls for anti-dictatorship unity or tries to distort this unity, hiding its profound idea of renewal, or who conducts an unworthy political game in order to benefit from the noble struggle of the people and the workers, will be judged by the people with all due severity and, in the final analysis, they will be wiped off the political arena of the country. Only by overcoming the dictatorship and winning freedom, in a free and open battle of ideas, will the people determine what their new steps will be.

This unity must be created around a minimum program. We Communists and supporters of the Broad Front are more than ever convinced that fundamental solutions for the country's problems can be found in the Communist Party program, in the NLC platform, in the basic program of the Broad Front, and that in the final analysis history will develop along the lines outlined in these documents. This does not clash with our complete and loyal support of the 6-point platform signed by the Broad Front and the National Party. Furthermore, in order to ensure still wider unity, we put forward even more generalized premises for unity in the document of last December 3rd: 1) an independent foreign policy in Uruguayan interests in the Artigas spirit; 2) increased wages, salaries and pensions; 3) socio-economic reforms to solve the country's present

crisis; 4) restoration of democratic freedoms, rights and aspirations of the people, 5) freedom for General Seregni and his comrades; and we are ready to work out with other forces some other platform acceptable as the basis for an agreement satisfactory to all!

For this to be realized the breakup of the dictatorship is essential. A provisional government needs to be set up that will open the way to participation by the people, introduction of democratic liberties, legal activities of parties, political forces, trade unions and popular organizations.

There must be but one aim: active participation in the anti-dictatorship struggle. We recognize that this presupposes and requires tactical agreements which are probably more difficult to conclude than agreements of a programmatic nature. We believe that on the basis of a united will, imbued with the spirit of patriotism and democracy, an urge to serve the people and mutual loyalty, this problem will also be resolved.

10. THE COMMUNIST PARTY IN THE FRONT LINE OF THE PEOPLE'S STRUGGLE

At this moment of crisis we Communists once again reiterate our profound belief in the role which the working class, our Party and the Broad Front is called upon to perform to successfully solve current political problems and in future historical developments. These turbulent seven months and particularly the heroic experience of the general strike reinforces this faith.

Our Party and Marxism, the revolutionary ideology of the working class that is conquering the whole world, have been made illegal by the dictatorship. This is the gesture of pygmies, who cannot compare with such monsters as Hitler and Mussolini; they also tried to do the same, but disappeared covered in shame, defeated in this retrogressive aim.

Our Party always supports and will continue to firmly support the working class and the country's finest representatives. The future, when no one will remember, or if they do, only with loathing, the people who signed the decree, belong to us. The indestructibility of our Party is shown by the 53 years it has been devoted to the people's cause by the depth and stability of its ties with the working people and its prestige among the country's intellectuals, the youth and other broad sections of society.

The dictatorship is the first to recognize this. That is why the Decree has another base objective: to take advantage of backwardness and anti-communist prejudices accentuated by lying propaganda, in order to obstruct the unity of the people, which, unless Communists and other Left forces are also involved will not be able to fulfill their tasks. With this aim in view the propagandists of the

dictatorship adopt outworn or more or less fortuitous "arguments."

They say that this measure was essential in order to "clear the ground" and launch an "economic drive," although everyone can see that if it was a prelude to anything, it was to the sharp rise in prices and to poverty. They want people to accept the new, spurious, alternative of "Marxism or development" in order to hide the real alternative, "the oligarchy or the people," which becomes daily more obvious. They spread the concoction that the Communists have two contradictory policies: one legal and generally known; the other illegal, subversive, aimed at fomenting economic chaos, strikes and the radicalization of the middle strata. But everyone can see the nature of the oligarchy which relies on the dictatorship and its minions, who continue to rob the country and benefit, individually and collectively from the "advantages" of the military-civilian government. Through them social inequality descends to the poverty line and economic crises ensue. It is they who logically and quite justifiably arouse the indignation of the masses.

We are accused of being "aliens." We are accused by those who for a mess of pottage sell their country to satisfy the insatiable greed of imperialist capital! It is precisely they who betray the people and their country, competing with the heroes of Cisplatina who betrayed Artigas and the people's revolution which he led! Who can agree that a scientific ideology such as Marxism can be described as an alien ideology? Ideas have no fatherland, they belong to the whole of mankind, irrespective of the nationality of those who absorb them! The correctness of Marxism and the fallacy of fascism, which inspires the dictatorship, have been proved a thousand times over by contemporary history.

We Communists are sincere patriots, because politically we represent the working class, the steel core of the Uruguayan people. The Fatherland is first and foremost the common people who built it in the past and continue to do so, day by day. We are patriots because we love our land, its traditions of freedom and democracy, social justice, cultural and material progress the foundations of which were laid by Artigas, the great people's revolutionary of his epoch, and which are continued by the most outstanding personalities of our history. We are patriots because for half a century we have been an integral part of that history, because we want complete independence for our country from imperialist domination, because we are consistent anti-imperialists. That is just why we are internationalists, and we proudly proclaim it. Because in the modern world the interests of the working people of all countries coincide in the main, and are international in character. They oppose the dirty interests of imperialism and the oligarchy in various countries, which, too, are mainly international. That is why we are for solidarity

with the socialist countries, firstly, with the Soviet Union, Cuba, etc., with all those who struggle for national liberation, with the peoples of Latin America, Asia, Africa, with the working class and progressive forces throughout the world. That is why in this struggle against common enemies we must act in unity shoulder to shoulder, until our common victory. For we know that in this struggle against the powerful enemy, the Uruguayan people are not only not alone, but enjoy the noble support and help of other peoples. Patriotism and internationalism are two closely bound aspects of unity and the national struggle for the liberation of our people and the international struggle for freedom of the people of the whole world, for the abolition throughout the world of imperialism with its exploitive and predatory nature.

At the same time, while courageously and proudly proclaiming our ideology and our Party organization, we Communists, continue openly to declare the full effectiveness of the Broad Front, this powerful united force which the Uruguayan people have forged as the main weapon in their national and social liberation. Nobody can destroy the unity and historical succession of the Broad Front, nobody can prevent it from playing its predestined leading role, nobody can weaken its attractive force which it now has for thousands and thousands of men and women, who did not vote for it in 1971, but who now recognize the correctness of its position. We Communists pledge ourselves to redouble our efforts within the Broad Front to ensure its growth, bring to it new political trends arising among the people, to enable them to play their appropriate role in the common struggle. Never before has the prestige of the main leader of the Broad Front, General Liber Seregni been so high, who embodies the honor of the Republic's armed forces, with two other extremely authoritative comrades in arms. We must all redouble our efforts to secure their release. The noble behavior of General Seregni and his comrades will become part of the history of our country, as will too, the cowardice and meanness of those who keep them in harsh conditions of isolation and humiliation. The people will not forget the hangmen!

In its Appeal of August 1973 the Communist Party indicated five main lines of work in order to bring nearer the realization of the people's main goal, the overthrow of the dictatorship.

1) Mobilization, unity and all forms of organization of the working class and the broad mass of hired labor, the concentration of efforts at the present moment to support the campaign for re-forming the trade union ranks and in the struggle for economic demands, particularly in relation to wages; development of solidarity with dismissed workers.

2) Active participation by the peasants and wide sections of the

middle strata in the towns, particularly in the struggle for specific demands and against the regime which mercilessly exploits and ruins tens of thousands of small and medium landowners, ranchers, farmers, industrialists, businessmen, artisans and other self-employed workers, as well as students, teachers, and intellectuals.

3) The struggle for the political unity of the people against the dictatorship concentrated on the reaffirmation, strengthening and heightening of the fighting spirit of the Broad Front, in the process of which it is necessary to work with determination for unity of action with the National Party and opposition sections in the Colorado Party.

4) A principled policy towards the armed forces devoid either of illusions of military paternalism or of vulgar anti-militarism; a policy which can arouse sound patriotic forces among the military and win them over to the people's side, particularly those who remain true to the spirit of February and Communiques Numbers 4 and 7;* a policy also capable of unmasking those who, having betrayed the interests of the people and the country, went over to the service of the oligarchic clique, arousing the people's legitimate hatred, and who by various means are profiteering from their participation in the dictatorship.

5) To imbue ever-increasing sections of the population with the fighting spirit and will to struggle against the dictatorship in all spheres, to go forward with the masses, not retreating even in the face of the greatest trials, if they are necessary. In all circumstances Communists must set an example.

In confirming this orientation, the Executive Committee calls on the Party to develop work among the masses with even greater intensity and depth for their demands and rights. It is essential to develop explanatory propaganda, increase the efforts to organize and collect funds within the Party itself and among the people, and to constantly recruit new members to the Party and the Young Communist League making every new recruit an organized member carrying out specific tasks, no matter how modest they might seem. In this way we shall promote the daily struggle for immediate demands, for wages, for the restoration of trade unions, against every manifestation of arbitrariness on the part of the dictatorship, creating a new political situation in which the balance of forces will finally change in favor of the patriotic and democratic, progressive forces.

Long live the Fatherland. Down with the clique! A united people can never be defeated!

February 1974.

Executive Committee
Communist Party of Uruguay

*See previous footnote.—Ed.

SPEECH BY LE DUAN, FIRST SECRETARY, CC WPPV

Following is an abridged translation of the speech "Tasks of the Trade Unions in the New Period of the Revolution" delivered by Le Duan, First Secretary of the CC, Working People's Party of Vietnam, to the Third Congress of the Federation of Trade Unions of Vietnam, Hanoi, February 11, 1974.

The recent 22nd Plenum of the Central Committee of the Working People's Party of Vietnam adopted a number of highly important decisions. These decisions add up to a specific action program for the Party and the people aimed at speedily rehabilitating North Vietnam's economy and carrying it forward in 1974-1975, as well as at providing the prerequisites of extensive socialist construction in subsequent years. It is in the light of these decisions that this congress is meeting.

The trade unions are broad-based organizations linking the Party with the working class—the foremost class and main force in the struggle for socialism—and they play a very important role in putting the Party's new decisions into practice. The CC WPPV is certain that the unions will accomplish their high mission.

The Vietnamese revolution has entered a new, most favorable period. However, a very difficult, bitter struggle will yet have to be waged for the independence and freedom of the whole country. This necessitates all-round development in North Vietnam, which must advance to socialism even more rapidly and actively. It is also a necessity imposed by the internal development laws of the socialist revolution in North Vietnam.

The 22nd Plenum of the CC WPPV set at the new stage tasks which are valid for the whole of North Vietnam: ensuring the people's unity, preserving peace, carrying on intensive socialist industrialization, effecting three revolutions, working for North Vietnam's rapid and steady advance to socialism, closely coordinating the economic and the defense effort, exercising constant vigilance, being prepared to defeat every design of the U.S. imperialists and their underlings, and unfailingly fulfil our duty towards the revolutionary fight for independence and democracy in South Vietnam as a contribution to the effort for the country's peaceful unification, as well as our internationalist duty towards the revolution in Laos and Cambodia.

In 1974 and 1975, North Vietnam will be faced with the following tasks: rapidly healing the wounds inflicted by the war, doing our utmost to rehabilitate and carry forward our economy and culture,

continuing to build the material and technical basis for socialism, promoting socialist relations of production, consolidating every aspect of the socialist system and normalizing the people's economic condition and life, strengthening the country's defenses and vigorously fulfilling our duty to heroic South Vietnam.

With socialist construction at a new stage, the working class must play a bigger role and the trade unions must accomplish more serious tasks. The greatest achievement of the socialist revolution in North Vietnam is the elimination of the exploiter system and exploiter classes, and the collectivization of small-scale production. The individual peasant, who had lived in poverty and ignorance from time immemorial, has given way to a new class, the cooperative peasantry. A fast-growing socialist intelligentsia has emerged. By far most of its members are of working-class or peasant stock and were educated under the new system. The working class, which for half a century has been helmsman of Vietnamese national history, is daily growing in numbers and quality. Under the leadership of the working class, which our Party represents, the working people of North Vietnam have become masters of society, of their country and destiny. This is the greatest leap in our national history, a source of inexhaustible strength of the vast rear and citadel of the revolution of the whole country. It is the greatest motive force in abolishing poverty and backwardness and in building a powerful and prosperous socialist homeland.

Due to these fundamental changes, our economy and culture have scored some early gains. In the war years the economy of North Vietnam, as well as helping to fight the aggressors by supplying a vast front, continued to grow in scale and strength. Needless to say, this growth was limited due to war-time conditions.

Our transport and communications were a target for concentrated and continuous enemy air raids. Nevertheless, they continued to function. Millions of people were mobilized to participate in military operations or service the armed forces. However, production on the home front went on and, indeed, made progress in many respects. Farming made substantial headway in a number of areas. Many industries supplied the needs of production, the war front and the people. Public education, culture and public health developed fast in the war years. In spite of war-time difficulties, we supplied the population with food and clothing, enabled it to study and provided it with medical care. There was nothing like hunger or poverty, which are so common in countries engaged in a brutal and protracted war.

In 1973, the first year of economic rehabilitation, the direct effects of the war were largely eliminated. Production and everyday life are reverting to a normal course. Some production indices were higher

than in 1965 and we also made considerable progress in economic management.

Speaking of effort and victory of our working class and people, we will never forget that we owe them largely to the tremendous, valuable and all-round aid of fraternal socialist countries, primarily the Soviet Union and China, the working class and other working people of the world, of all the countries and peoples championing independence, freedom, justice and peace.

While we have registered some notable advances, it is perfectly evident that we cannot be satisfied with the present situation, especially in the economic field. We cannot settle for what we have achieved because we could have done more but for mistakes and miscalculations. North Vietnam's economy is faced with great difficulties and problems that must be dealt with in a radical way, some of them without delay. Unless we do so we will be unable to take a new step towards socialism. It may even happen that the early successes of socialism of which we are speaking will find themselves in jeopardy.

Had it not been for the war, the economic situation of North Vietnam would be much better now. The war threw back an already backward economy again and again, sometimes as far back as a dozen years. In addition to material damage mounting to thousands of millions of dong, the war had disastrous effect on many spheres of the country's life that will take considerable time to remedy.

We do not say this because we regret anything. We will never regret what we had to pay for independence and freedom. Independence and freedom for our people, for our class, for every one of us, are truly priceless. President Ho Chi minh spoke on more than one occasion of the will of the whole Party, the whole people, the whole army. "Hanoi, Haiphong and other cities," he said, "may be destroyed but we are unafraid of that. Nothing can be more precious than independence and freedom! The day of victory will come and then we will make our country more prosperous and beautiful than ever."

There is peace in North Vietnam today. We must fully use the situation to expand construction and build up our economic and defense potential if we want to be strong enough to maintain peace and make the enemy scrupulously respect the Paris agreements. This is a sincere desire of the people of the whole country. However, should the enemy forget the lesson he was taught and start another destructive war against North Vietnam, we will be prepared to make any sacrifice to defeat the aggressor. In either case—in building as in waging war—we fight for independence and freedom.

Our chief everyday task in North Vietnam today is to build. Our

economy, which was backward and lopsided for centuries and is, moreover, ravaged by war, is confronted with great, manifold and growing postwar requirements. All this has revealed its imbalances and the weakness of its foundations in addition to our mistakes and the immaturity of our leadership and management.

We command large labor resources but we do not use them fully as yet and productivity is still very low. The state apparatus is inflated and this applies especially to unproductive administrative staffs. We spend on wages more than our economy can afford. On the other hand, the population is growing fast—it increased by 10 million between 1960 and 1973. This aggravates the imbalance we already have between requirements in every sphere of life, on the one hand, and our present economic and financial potentialities, on the other. Agricultural production is still very unstable and its development varies greatly from area to area. It cannot meet the most pressing food requirements of the population, industry's demand for raw materials or export needs. As for industry, almost all major enterprises were destroyed during the war. While many of them have already been rebuilt, production has yet to be normalized in many respects. We have so far accomplished little in stabilizing the people's living conditions. Food supply still falls short of plan targets and many consumer goods are scarce. We cannot yet balance our exports and imports because output is low, the population is growing fast and the national income cannot yet meet consumer demand. In short, the economic situation in North Vietnam today may be described as follows: our society has yet to make full use of its labor resources and economic potential, the level of social production is still very low, there is no internal accumulation and the people are still faced with numerous difficulties.

This situation is due, among others, to the mistakes, miscalculations and immaturity of our Party and state in leading and managing the economy. As soon as a serious mistake is made in any echelon of leadership or management we must analyze it with the utmost care and correct it.

Be that as it may, we cannot as yet bring about a radical change in the character of our backward and poor country. For while it is true that North Vietnam began its socialist revolution almost 20 years ago, it has actually been engaged in construction for only eight years. The war entailed heavy losses for us and greatly held up our progress.

The main characteristic of the present situation is its abnormality, the fact that we are not yet advancing as we should. What we call socialism is in reality small scale production still based on farming. We already have new relations of production but we cannot say that we have a socialist mode of production. What we can say is that

we have socialism and yet do not have it. This is a contradiction of growth. To this we should add that the root of the problem lies in the fact that we have not yet been able to provide the material and technical basis for socialism. So long as this basis is lacking nothing can exist or develop in a normal, natural way and numerous difficulties will be inevitable.

This situation confronts us with a challenging problem: either building rapidly the "material framework" of socialism, or leaving what socialism has brought into being in its embryonic, unstable state for ever: either making rapid progress, or falling back on private, individual production.

The only conclusion to be drawn from the foregoing is that we must launch socialist industrialization and advance rapidly to large-scale socialist production. It was to this basic end that the 19th and 20th plenums, and above all the recent 22nd Plenum of the CC WPPV, adopted their decision. These decisions bear on numerous fields of construction, of economic development, leadership and management. However, their common purpose is to accomplish the central task: carrying out socialist industrialization and ensuring that North Vietnam advances rapidly to large-scale socialist production. They are designed to meet basic requirements, rapidly developing the productive forces while at the same time promoting and continuously perfecting socialist production relations.

To develop the productive forces, we must have new relations of production, perfect and foster these new relations by every means, and use their advantages.

Agriculture and handicraftsmen's cooperatives are still very feeble in a number of areas. Their members may be said to be both in and outside them. We must firmly and promptly remedy this situation and at the same time improve management by strictly socialist methods. Unless we do this we cannot advance our production or productive forces.

On the other hand, we must make rapid development of the productive forces the principal method of promoting and perfecting new production relations. It is quite obvious that the new relations of production are still loose in both the state sector, and above all, the cooperative sector. There are many reasons for this. We must therefore carry out a series of measures simultaneously. However, the decisive measure if we want to foster and perfect the new relations of production is to develop the productive forces at a fast rate. This means carrying out socialist industrialization and advancing the entire economy towards large-scale socialist production.

There can be no socialism with small-scale production. The victory of socialism over capitalism can be final only if socialism achieves higher productivity of social labor than capitalism.

Large-scale socialist production is a system of social production based on socialist ownership of the means of production in its two forms: property of the whole people and collective property. Large-scale industry is the basis. It is a production comprising numerous industries, areas and economic units and is conducted on the principles of specialization and cooperation, under the central and unified leadership of the state of proletarian dictatorship.

Le Duan analyzed the trend of social development under capitalism which creates the material prerequisite of socialist development. We are following a different road, he said. We have by-passed the capitalist stage of development and are advancing directly to socialism. This means that in our case it is not capitalism but socialism that must ensure the transition from small-scale to large-scale production. This makes the tasks set by history before the working class of our country doubly difficult. We must set up large-scale production that will bring about higher productivity than in the case of either individual, small-scale production or large-scale capitalist production. Unless this is done the victory of socialism can be neither complete, nor final. Socialist industrialization is the only road we can follow. To go over to large-scale socialist production in our country, we must reshape production relations while at the same time effecting a technological revolution and transforming handicraft labor into mechanized labor. It is a process of building a national, independent economy while at the same time extending economic relations with other, primarily socialist, countries.

It is impossible to build up heavy industry and develop industrial production without a steadily developing agriculture. However, it would be wrong to speak of advancing to large-scale production with agriculture as the sole basis. It would mean misunderstanding or denying the role of industry and hence virtually denying the historical role of the working class.

Our country should advance to large-scale production along the following lines: judicious priority development of heavy industry on the basis of developing agriculture and light industry; building a central economy while at the same time developing local economy; combining economy with defense. This is the only road if account is taken of the specific conditions of our country. It is expressive of the primary role of industry and accords with the law of the priority development of heavy industry whose violation would prevent us from setting up large-scale production. This road will also enable us to avoid excessive economic and social tensions resulting from the priority development of heavy industry. By following this road, we can overcome two sharp contradictions in our industrialization; first, the contradiction between the need of rapid and large-scale accumulation and a backward and poor economy and small-scale, low-produc-

tion farming, and second," the contradiction between simultaneous accumulation and the need to improve the people's standard of life.

These contributions were aggravated by the war, for we had to use large manpower and material resources. Although North Vietnam now has peace it is as important as ever to strengthen its defenses and support the revolution in South Vietnam.

We favor proper coordination of industrial with agricultural production, provided heavy industry is given priority. This coordination begins with and lasts throughout the industrialization process. This is why our road to large-scale production is truly the road of worker-peasant alliance, with the working class leading.

North Vietnam's agriculture was put on a cooperative basis at an early stage. The main reason for this was the need to reorganize labor, use the land judiciously and carry out irrigation projects. Besides, we wanted to use the latest achievements of agronomy. Collectivization was effected early because our peasants took a very active part in the revolution and advanced shoulder to shoulder with the working class immediately after the Party was founded. While during the national democratic revolution the worker-peasant alliance was based on the slogan "Independence for the nation, land for the peasant," during the socialist revolution it is based on cooperative farming and socialist industrialization. There can be no worker-peasant alliance unless agriculture is collectivized. And cooperative farming in turn can only exist on the basis of large-scale industry. Due to the nature of North Vietnam, we were able to carry out collectivization before mechanization and it was a wise step. But now the time has come for vigorous socialist industrialization, since it alone can consolidate the new relations of production in agriculture and hence strengthen the worker-peasant alliance and enhance the leading role of the working class. The socialist revolution in the North implies, above all else, transforming small-scale into large-scale socialist production.

This transformation consists in something more than shaping a socialist mode of production and strengthening and extending the economic basis of society's political life. It also consists in discarding conservative traditions, fragmentation, and lack of discipline and organization, which have always been concomitants of small-scale production. In short, the transformation of small-scale into large-scale production is a comprehensive revolution.

Le Duan dealt in detail with the trade unions' role in the life of the country. We cannot conceive of a regime of collective rule, he said, without trade unions enjoying ample powers guaranteed by law. "The trade unions," Lenin said, "must be a direct and necessary collaborator of state power, whose entire political and economic activity is led by the politically conscious vanguard of the working class,

the Communist party. Being a school of communism in general, the trade unions must, in particular, become a school of managing socialist industry (and then, gradually, agriculture as well) for the whole mass of workers and then for all working people."

The trade unions must actively participate in the country's political life and the effort to advance our society. Specifically, they must lead all wage and salary earners in building and developing the economy.

The unions have ample powers to carry out their tasks. We have a law on trade unions, and a short time ago the main principles of relations between the state and trade unions were laid down in the statutes of the Government Council. In accordance with these principles, we will have to draft at an early date a number of documents that will have the force of law and will specify the duties and powers of trade unions, which share in economic management and in government.

Trade union activity is based on enterprise union organizations. An important line in reorganizing union activity is therefore, to increase the unions' role in the enterprises. We must ensure that enterprise union organizations have adequate powers to represent the employees' interests in every sphere of production and labor, of material and cultural life.

Relations between trade unions and the state and between enterprise union organizations and the management should be based on unanimity.

We must therefore see to it that collective agreements between the enterprise management, which represents the state, and the trade union concerned, which represents the employees becomes a common practice. The collective agreement should be a specific program for the everyday activity of the enterprise and its every employee. Everyone, from the manager to the worker, should respect and strictly adhere to it.

A primary task of the unions today is to organize a widespread revolutionary competition between working people for greater output, higher productivity, strict economy and effective implementation of the decisions of the 22nd Plenum of the CC WPPV.

Public opinion should be urged to take a firm stand against parasites and idlers. The authorities do their best to provide all able-bodied people with jobs. We must strictly apply the fundamental principle of socialism: "He who does not work shall not eat."

Speaking of labor, we must necessarily speak of productivity. It is still too low and in some sectors it is even below the 1965 standard. Yet the capacity of machinery and equipment is used by roughly 50 per cent. In some places there is a shortage of instruments of production while elsewhere they are used inadequately or are damaged and have to be discarded. This is impermissible wastefulness. Since

mechanical facilities are limited, we must make a greater effort to improve techniques, rationalize and reorganize production and muster labor resources. These are factors of special importance in raising productivity. We must at least make full use of the plant we have and organize management and labor properly, to say nothing of the need to make a greater overall effort.

Labor discipline is the main indication of people's new attitude to labor and a very important factor in raising productivity. Trade unions should make a special effort to educate the masses accordingly. Indiscipline, lack of organization, fragmentation and laxity must be firmly combated. There must be precise work quotas for job holders. These quotas existed for a number of jobs but were ignored during the war. They must be restored at once. Outdated quotas should be revised. Managing bodies and trade unions should jointly evolve work quotas where none exist. The principle of remuneration according to output should be widely applied with due regard to quotas.

Better vocational training is highly important for raising productivity. It is for the unions to organize training. Members of the new society must not only have the right ideology, revolutionary fervor and a socialist attitude to labor but also a high cultural standard, which connotes culture in production and management. A very important task of the unions today is to help the state in stabilizing and gradually improving the working people's life. After years of war, this task is particularly pressing. We must ease difficulties, preserve and support labor power, take steps to meet production requirements and solve the social problems created by the war. The economic and financial potential of the state is very limited at the moment. We cannot take loans or ask to be supplied with consumer goods. This means that the general line of our effort should be for the state and people jointly to overcome difficulties. It makes the unions' responsibility all the greater.

Conditions for substantial changes are still lacking. We must concentrate on meeting the population's most pressing requirements with regard to food, housing, education and health and on helping families which experience difficulties as a result of the war. Preference should be given to people directly engaged in production. We must resolutely call a halt to arbitrary reductions of the quotas of foodstuffs and other goods allocated to people directly engaged in production. Wherever possible, we must campaign for increasing food output. We must assign labor power and funds for the early construction of housing and schools for working people's children, take special care of the families of disabled war veterans and soldiers who died in battle, demobilized soldiers and people injured during the war.

In view of economic conditions in North Vietnam, the trade unions

must bring the connection between consumption and accumulation home to the working people. It is perfectly clear that we are only just taking the first small steps as we advance from an exceedingly poor, backward, war-ravaged economy to socialism. Numerous difficulties are inevitable at this stage. The only way in which we can radically transform our backward country is diligently and thriftily to build it, to accumulate assets for industrialization and for advance to large-scale socialist production. At the initial stage of industrialization, we cannot but give priority to accumulation if there is to be a proper balance between accumulation and consumption. We must therefore make sacrifices and put up with existing shortages in the name of a happy future. The unions should make this clear to their membership.

This is a most glorious period of our national history. But it puts a great responsibility on us. The Vietnamese revolution is part of the world revolution. Closely linking class interests with national interests and national with international interests, the working class of Vietnam is carrying on and on the banner of socialism, independence and democracy as it firmly leads the people to the completion of the new stage of the revolution.

The outlook for the revolution in our country is magnificent. No reactionary force can break us. Our people are bound to win. Compatriots in South and North are bound to merge into one family.

The trade unions constitute a vast organization linking the Party with the working class. Backed by the important decisions of this congress, they are certain to fulfil their mission in educating and organizing the working people and in mobilizing them for the fulfilment of the political and economic tasks set by the Party.

BILATERAL MEETINGS

CUBA

A Party and government delegation of the GDR led by Erich Honecker, First Secretary of the CC SUPG, paid its first friendly visit to Cuba from February 20-26.

Fidel Castro, First Secretary of the CC, Communist Party of Cuba, Prime Minister of the Revolutionary Government and E. Honecker held official talks during which they discussed the state and perspectives of bilateral relations, as well as current international problems.

The talks revealed that the two parties and countries take the same view of bilateral relations and key problems of today. Both sides declared their unshakable loyalty to Marxism-Leninism, the principles of socialist internationalism and the common cause of building socialism and communism.

As a result of the talks, the two sides on February 26 signed a Declaration announcing their desire for closer friendship and cooperation in every sphere between the CP Cuba and the SUPG and between Cuba and the GDR, and their inviolable friendship with the CPSU and the Soviet Union.

New agreements were signed during the visit on cooperation between the two parties and scientific, technological and cultural cooperation between Cuba and the GDR.

E. Honecker expressed deep gratitude to the Central Committee of the CPC, the Revolutionary Government of Cuba and the whole Cuban people for the warm, cordial reception given to the Party and government delegation of the GDR. He invited Fidel Castro and Osvaldo Dorticos, member of the Political Bureau, CC CPC, President of the Republic of Cuba to pay an official friendly visit to the GDR. The invitation was accepted with satisfaction.

GDR

At the invitation of the CC SUPG, State Council and Council of Ministers of the German Democratic Republic, a Party and government delegation of the People's Republic of Bulgaria led by Todor Zhivkov, First Secretary of the CC, Bulgarian Communist Party, Chairman of the State Council of the PRB, paid an official friendly visit to the GDR from January 21-24. The Party and government delegation of the GDR was led by Erich Honecker, First Secretary of the CC SUPG.

During the visit the representatives of the two parties and states held an extensive and fruitful exchange of opinion on problems of

socialist construction in the GDR and Bulgaria and steps to carry forward fraternal cooperation between the two parties and between the two states, as well as on both parties' active contribution to the consolidation of the socialist community united around the Soviet Union.

Furthermore, they discussed current international problems and various issues of the world Communist and working-class movement and the peoples' anti-imperialist struggle.

The talks proceeded in a cordial and fraternal atmosphere and revealed complete unanimity on all the points discussed.

The Joint Communique on the results of the visit, published on January 25, states, in part:

The Party and government delegations of the GDR and PRB exchanged views on topical issues of the international Communist and working-class movement. Both sides expressed the conviction that implementation of the line of the 1969 Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties brought about a new uptrend in the Communist movement and the fight against imperialism. The progress made since then fully confirms the correctness of the meeting's assessment of the international situation and its conclusions therefrom. The strategy and tactics developed by collective effort proved their worth in the fight against imperialism and went a long way towards strengthening the unity and cohesion of the Communist and working-class movement and achieving closer unity of all anti-imperialist forces.

The last few years have seen renewed confirmation of the vanguard role of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. The Soviet Union's achievements in building communism and the initiatives taken by it in the diplomatic sphere to carry out the Peace Program of the 24th Congress of the CPSU provided still more favorable conditions for all progressive and democratic forces to step up their struggle with a view to carrying the world revolutionary process deeper.

The SUPG and BCP reaffirmed their resolve to continue promoting fraternal friendship and cooperation with the Party of Lenin.

Both parties consider it necessary constantly to exchange experiences and generalize them as well as to coordinate their political activity. They put it on record that the fundamental objectives set by the action program of the 1969 Meeting in Moscow have been achieved. They fully agree with the opinion held by many brother parties that the time has come to call a new international meeting.

As the principles of peaceful coexistence of countries with different social systems win recognition the ideological struggle between socialism and imperialism will gain in scale and intensity. This calls for more effective propaganda of Marxism-Leninism and of socialism as a reality.

The SUPG and BCP will continue firmly to uphold the purity of Marxism-Leninism and combat every shading of revisionism, opportunism, anti-communism and anti-Sovietism.

They emphatically condemn the Chinese leaders' unprincipled policy directed against the vital interests of the international Communist and working-class movement, the socialist community and anti-imperialist forces, as well as against the interests of the Chinese people themselves. The Peking leaders have broken completely with Marxism-Leninism. Prompted by reckless anti-Sovietism, they openly ally themselves with the opponents of international détente.

The SUPG and BCP will go on fighting with determination against Maoist ideology and the Chinese leaders' policy.

On January 29, Erich Honecker, First Secretary of the CC SUPG, received Volodia Teitelboim, member, Political Commission of the CC, CP Chile in Berlin. There was an exchange of views on the policies of the two parties.

V. Teitelboim, describing the situation in Chile, stressed that the fascist military junta's activity fully confirms the conclusion that its policy serves the interests of foreign monopolies and the most reactionary quarters of the domestic oligarchy. A minority blinded by anti-communism, he said, its now faced with a vast anti-fascist, democratic majority.

The Communist Party of Chile, closely cooperating with the Socialist Party and other Popular Unity parties, strives for the broad unity and solid cohesion of all democratic, anti-fascist forces of Chile, V. Teitelboim said.

He noted that international solidarity, which involves the whole world, provides valuable aid and support to the Chilean people in their difficult struggle. He stressed that the health and very life of Luis Corvalan, General Secretary of the Communist Party of Chile, and other concentration camp inmates is in serious danger.

E. Honecker asked V. Teitelboim to assure all Chilean patriots and democrats that their struggle against the military junta's policy of terror would continue to receive fraternal support. He described the GDR's granting of political asylum to more than 500 Chileans as a manifestation of the internationalist duty of the people of the GDR.

On January 30, Erich Honecker also received Carlos Altamirano, General Secretary of the Socialist Party of Chile. Speaking of the situation in Chile, C. Altamirano said that the crimes perpetrated by the military junta are reminiscent of the orgy of fascist terror in Hitler Germany. But in spite of the junta's savage terror, popular resistance in Chile is growing. On behalf of his party, C. Altamirano expressed gratitude to the anti-imperialist forces of the world, prim-

arily to the working people of the socialist community with the Soviet Union at its head, for their solidarity.

E. Honecker expressed confidence that the united patriotic and democratic forces of the Chilean people would stop the crimes of fascist reaction in Chile and pave the way for Chile to become a happy and independent country.

On February 11 an exchange of views and information took place between Erich Honecker, First Secretary of the CC SUPG, and Georges Marchais, General Secretary of the French CP.

The two Party leaders discussed current problems of the international situation, specifically in Europe, and of the world Communist movement, as well as steps to promote fraternal relations between the two parties.

E. Honecker informed G. Marchais of the progress made in carrying out the decisions of the Eighth Congress of the SUPG as a result of which the GDR has entered a new phase of socialist development. This expresses itself in notable economic gains a steadily improving standard of life, spiritual and cultural advances and expanding socialist democracy. E. Honecker stressed that the GDR has every prerequisite of putting into effect the provisions of the long-term plans for economic development and social policy made by the SUPG.

In the international sphere, the GDR will go on steadfastly advocating a healthy climate in Europe, détente, security and lasting peace. It will continue in common with the Soviet Union and other fraternal socialist countries doing its utmost to ensure that the process of détente is consolidated and becomes irreversible.

G. Marchais informed E. Honecker of the political situation in France and the FCP's struggle for the interests of the working people, for progress, democracy, peace and socialism. He stressed that the Left parties' Common Program is the only way out of the crisis in which French society finds itself due to the unlimited control of the nation by a group of financial and industrial magnates and major commercial enterprises. He pointed to the Party's unrelenting effort to strengthen the alliance and unity of action of Left-wing parties and bring about a broad alliance of the people.

The two Party leaders stated that the evolution of the balance of world forces compels imperialism to adapt to the new conditions marked by peaceful coexistence. To make peaceful coexistence irreversible, the socialist countries and other peace forces must persevere in their joint struggle for international détente, security and peace.

E. Honecker and G. Marchais pointed out the favorable outcome of the Brussels conference of Communist parties of capitalist Europe as an important stage in the development of united action by the working class and progressive forces in defense of the interests of

the masses and peoples in this part of Europe. They assessed the Brussels conference as a contribution to closer unity of the world Communist movement.

E. Honecker and G. Marchais shared the opinion that a new meeting of Communist and Workers' parties of Europe would be timely. They stressed the readiness of their parties to do their best for the success of such a conference.

They voiced deep satisfaction over the fraternal relations linking the two parties and reaffirmed their will to promote cooperation between them.

The meeting proceeded in a comradely, fraternal and cordial atmosphere and revealed full agreement on the issues discussed.

Paul Markowski, member of the CC SUPG, head of the Department of International Relations, took part in the interview.

IRAQ

Delegations of the Syrian and Iraqi Communist parties held talks in Baghdad in February. They exchanged views on the situation in the Middle East and the role of the Arab liberation movement and progressive Arab countries at this stage.

The two delegations noted the coincidence of their points of view regarding the necessity for using political and other means to bring about the withdrawal of Israeli troops from all occupied Arab territories and guarantee the legitimate rights of the Arab people of Palestine.

The two delegations reaffirmed the determination of their respective parties to continue defending the democratic gains of their countries, follow a policy of strengthening the national fronts in Syria and Iraq and step up the common struggle against the forces of imperialism, aggression and reaction.

POLAND

On February 25 a joint communique was published on the results of the visit which a delegation of the German Communist Party led by Herbert Mies, Chairman of the GCP, paid to Poland at the invitation of Edward Gierek, First Secretary of the CC PUWP.

The communique notes that the changes which have come about in the alignment of world forces in favor of peace, democracy and socialism are due to the consistent peace policy of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, the struggle of Communist parties and the anti-imperialist movement of the world.

"The Karlovy Vary Conference of Communist and Workers' Parties" (Czechoslovakia, 1967.—Ed.), the communique goes on to say, "played a big part in the struggle for peace and security in Europe. The program drafted as a result of the conference was realized in the main thanks to the joint efforts of socialist countries and the Communists of the capitalist countries of Europe." Both parties are

convinced that "a new meeting of a similar nature would greatly benefit the subsequent development of the Communist movement and the forces of progress and peace on our continent, and help in fighting steadfastly for a peaceful Europe and cooperation among all European peoples."

The two parties noted with satisfaction that the process of détente in Europe is gathering momentum. They are resolved to contribute to the complete success of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe.

The PUWP and GCP, the communique says, are convinced that the unity and cohesion of the international Communist and working-class movement is the main prerequisite of strengthening the worldwide front against imperialism, for peace, social progress and socialism.

SOVIET UNION

A delegation of the Arab Socialist League of Egypt, led by Muhammed Idris, member of the CC ASL, head of the CC department in charge of relations with socialist countries, was on a visit to the Soviet Union from January 5 to 12, 1974, at the invitation of the CC CPSU.

The delegation was received at the CC CPSU by B. N. Ponomaryov, alternate member of the Political Bureau and Secretary of the CC CPSU. During the interview, which took place in a warm, comradely atmosphere, opinions were exchanged on steps to further relations and cooperation between the CPSU and ASL. There was also a discussion of current problems of the international situation, the national liberation movement and Soviet-Egyptian relations.

The delegation had talks with members of the Central Auditing Commission of the CPSU, functionaries of the International Department of the CC CPSU and members of the CC of the Young Communist League. It acquainted itself with the activity of Soviet Party organizations, and its members had a meeting with members of the USSR-ARE Friendship Society.

The delegation visited the Lenin Mausoleum and laid a wreath at it. Besides Moscow, the guests visited Leningrad, where they had an interview with functionaries of the Regional Party Committee.

During the delegation's stay in the Soviet Union, a plan was signed for 1974 to promote relations between the CPSU and ASL.

On January 16, B. N. Ponomaryov, alternate member of the Political Bureau and Secretary of the CC CPSU, M. V. Zimyanin, member of the CC CPSU, and Y. I. Kuskov, member of the central auditing commission of the CC, CPSU, met at the CC CPSU with a delegation of the Communist Party of Venezuela composed of Jesus Faria, General Secretary of the CPV, and G. Garcia Ponce and A. Ojeda Olachea,

members of the Political Bureau and Secretariat of the CC CPV.

The Venezuelan comrades told about their Party's activity and the struggle of the workers and people of Venezuela for their vital interests and democratic rights.

The representatives of the CC CPSU, for their part, informed the CPV delegation of how the CPSU leads communist building in the Soviet Union and works to consolidate the international détente achieved under its Peace Program.

There was an exchange of views on topical aspects of the activity of both parties. The participants stressed the resolve of their respective parties to continue their active contribution to the movement of solidarity with Chilean, Uruguayan and other patriots fighting for the freedom and independence of their peoples and to foster friendly relations between the CPSU and CPV.

On February 13, A. P. Kirilenko, member of the Political Bureau and Secretary of the CC CPSU, received at the CC CPSU a delegation of the Mongolian People's revolutionary Party led by D. Molomzhamts, member of the Political Bureau and Secretary of the CC MPRP. The delegation had arrived in the Soviet Union to acquaint itself with the experience of the CPSU in leading economic planning and management. There was an exchange of information on the activity of the CPSU and MPRP in carrying out the decisions of the 24th Congress of the CPSU and 16th Congress of the MPRP, respectively, and on further steps to extend Soviet-Mongolian cooperation in every field.

During its stay in the Soviet Union, from February 6 on, the MPRP delegation had meetings and talks with department staff members of the CC CPSU and CC CP of Lithuania, at the State Planning Commission of the USSR and in a number of ministries and other government agencies. The Mongolian comrades visited several industrial enterprises in Moscow and the Lithuanian SSR, where they familiarized themselves with the Party organizations' organizing and political work to foster the social emulation movement for fulfilment of the economic plan for 1974 ahead of schedule, raise labor productivity and achieve a high standard of output.

The meetings and talks took place in an atmosphere of fraternal friendship and cordiality.

On February 14, M. A. Suslov, member of the Political Bureau and Secretary of the CC CPSU, and B. N. Ponomarev alternate member of the Political Bureau and Secretary of the CC CPSU, received Aarne Saarinen, Chairman of the Communist Party of Finland, Ville Pessi, Honorary Chairman of the CPF, Taisto Sinisalo, Vice-Chairman of the CPF and Erkki Kivimäki, member of the Political Bureau, CC CPF.

During the interview, which proceeded in a comradely atmosphere, the participants informed each other of the activities of their parties and exchanged views on topical problems of the international Communist and working-class movement and on other matters of interest to both parties.

The Finnish comrades told about their Party's current struggle for the vital interests of Finland's workers and other working people and for closer friendship and all-round cooperation between Finland and the Soviet Union.

M. A. Suslov and B. N. Ponomaryov informed the representatives of the CPF about the activity of the CPSU in leading Communist construction in the Soviet Union and about progress in implementing the Party's Peace Program, which has paved the way for international détente and favorable changes in the world.

The representatives of both parties pointed out that there are opportunities to extend trade between Finland and the Soviet Union and Soviet-Finnish cooperation in every field, especially energy. They stressed the need to defeat the intrigues of those forces which try to block this cooperation by resorting to anti-Soviet lies.

The CPSU representatives wished the CPF, which this year marks the 30th anniversary of its operation in legal conditions, success in its work, specifically in the steadfast implementation of the decisions of its 16th Congress to strengthen the unity and heighten the militancy of the Party.

The spokesman of the CPF, and CPSU noted their parties' readiness to go on promoting fraternal relations and cooperation between the two parties and contribute to closer unity of action and greater cohesion of the Communist and Workers' parties.

V. S. Shaposhnikov, deputy head of the International Department, CC CPSU, took part in the interview.

A delegation of leading members of the Italian Communist Party, led by Gerardo Chiaromonte, member of the ICP Political Bureau and Director of *Rinascita*, national theoretical journal of the Party, stayed in the Soviet Union from February 8 to 17 at the invitation of the Central Committee of the CPSU.

The Italian comrades had talks at the International and Propaganda departments of the CC CPSU and in the editorial offices of *Pravda* and the journals *Kommunist* and *Agitator* and acquainted themselves with the activity of the Novosibirsk Regional Committee of the CPSU. Delegation members visited the Institute of World Economics and International Relations of the Soviet Academy of Sciences, the Siberian branch of the Academy and the International Institute of Economic Problems of the World Socialist System of the Council of Mutual Economic Assistance.

G. Chiaromonte was received at the CC CPSU by B. N. Ponomaryov alternate member of the Political Bureau and Secretary of the CC CPSU, and V. V. Zagladin, member of the Central Auditing Commission of the CPSU and deputy head of the International Department CC CPSU.

During the interview, which took place in a business-like and comradely spirit, G. Chiaromonte informed the Soviet Party representatives about his Party's activity at this stage. The Soviet side reaffirmed the invariable solidarity of the CPSU with the Italian Communists' fight against reactionary, neo-fascist forces, for the working people's rights, the democratic progress of Italy, peace and peaceful coexistence.

On February 20, B. N. Ponomaryov, alternate member of the CC CPSU and Secretary of the CC CPSU, and Y. I. Kuskov, member of the Central Auditing Commission of the CPSU, First Deputy Head of the International Department, CC CPSU met at the CC CPSU with Jorge del Prado, General Secretary of the CC, Peruvian Communist Party and Mario Ugarte, member of the Political Commission and Secretary of the CC PCC.

During the interview, which proceeded in a warm, comradely atmosphere, views were exchanged on matters of mutual interest. Both sides noted with satisfaction the coincidence of their positions and the unity of their views on the international problems discussed and on steps to further the cohesion of the Communist movement. They saw this as an indication of the bonds of friendship and brotherhood linking the two parties on Marxist-Leninist principles.

The CPSU delegation told about the Soviet people's work to carry out the decisions of the 24th Party Congress and about the Party's activity in mobilizing the people for the fulfilment of five-year plan assignments.

J. del Prado and M. Ugarte told about the deep-going social and economic reforms being effected in Peru by the Revolutionary Government of the Armed Forces under President Juan Velasco Alvarado. The Soviet side expressed its solidarity with the Peruvian people's struggle to consolidate the political and economic independence of their country.

The Peruvian comrades spoke highly of the Leninist general line of the CC CPSU and the progress made in fulfilling the Peace Program of the 24th Congress of the CPSU. They laid special emphasis on the historic significance of the visit of L. I. Brezhnev General Secretary of the CC CPSU, to the Republic of Cuba in furthering friendly relations and cooperation between the Soviet people and the peoples of Latin America.

The participants in the meeting voiced their satisfaction with the

successful development of friendly relations and mutually beneficial cooperation between the Soviet Union and Peru. They stressed the determination of their respective parties to go on promoting the movement of solidarity with the patriots of Chile and other Latin American countries who are fighting for their peoples' freedom and independence and for democracy and social progress.

On February 27, A. P. Kirilenko, member of the Political Bureau and Secretary of the CC CPSU, B. N. Ponomaryov alternate member of the Political Bureau and Secretary of the CC CPSU, and R. A. Ulyanovsky, deputy head of the International Department, CC CPSU, received at the Central Committee of the CPSU a delegation of the Lebanese Communist Party in Moscow at the invitation of the CC CPSU and consisting of Nicolas Chaoui, General Secretary of the CC LCP, Nadim Abdel Samad and Halil Debs, members of the Political Bureau and secretaries of the CC LCP and Rafiq Samhoun, member of the CC Political Bureau.

Delegation members told about their Party's activity and the Lebanese Communists' effort to uphold the working people's social and democratic rights. They pointed out that a highly important activity of Lebanon's Communists is the effort to achieve unity of the country's anti-imperialist, patriotic forces in order to promote national independence and progress and strengthen the democrats' positions in the Lebanese Republic. The LCP contributes its share to the effort to consolidate progressive, patriotic forces in the Arab countries.

Members of the CPSU delegation expressed their satisfaction over the increased activity of the Lebanese Communist Party in defending the national interests of their country and the rights of the working people.

The two sides exchanged views on current international problems, above all the situation in the Middle East, and assessed the Geneva peace conference as an important step towards solving Middle East problems. They stressed the importance of the conference as an international legal agency for bringing about a radical political settlement of the Middle East conflict by fully implementing Resolution 242 of the Security Council. They noted that a lasting and just peace in the Middle East cannot be achieved unless the Israeli forces are withdrawn from all the occupied Arab territories and unless the legitimate rights of the Arab people of Palestine are safeguarded in accordance with UN resolutions.

The CPSU and LCP representatives declared for still closer friendship and cooperation between their brother Parties on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. The meeting took place in a warm, comradely atmosphere.

