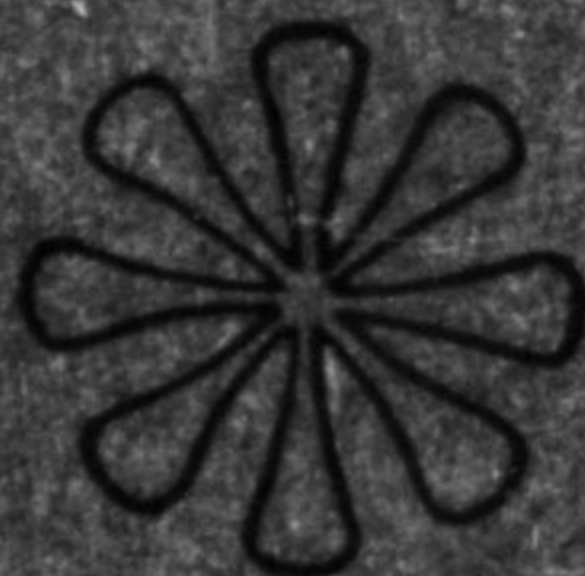
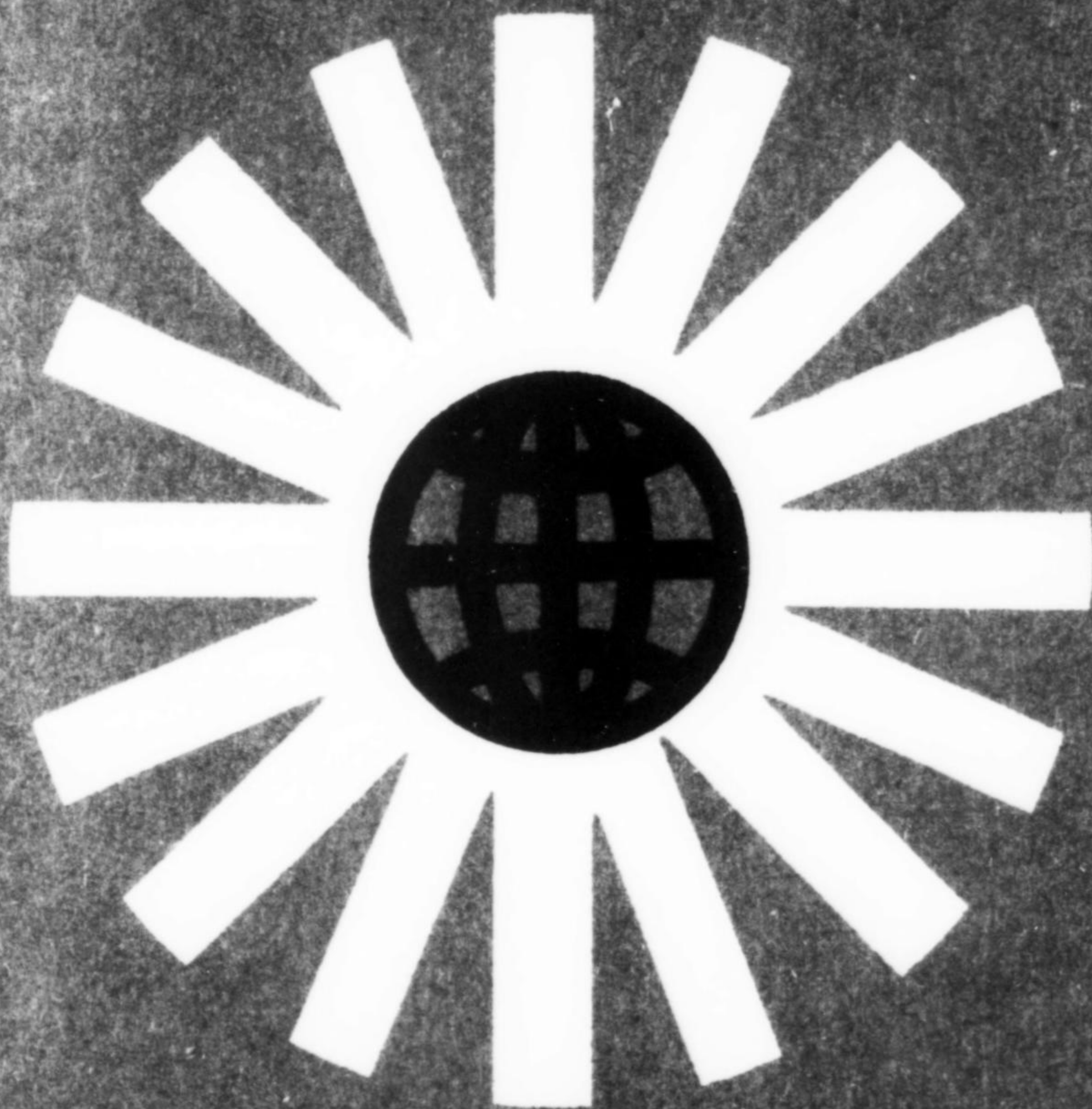


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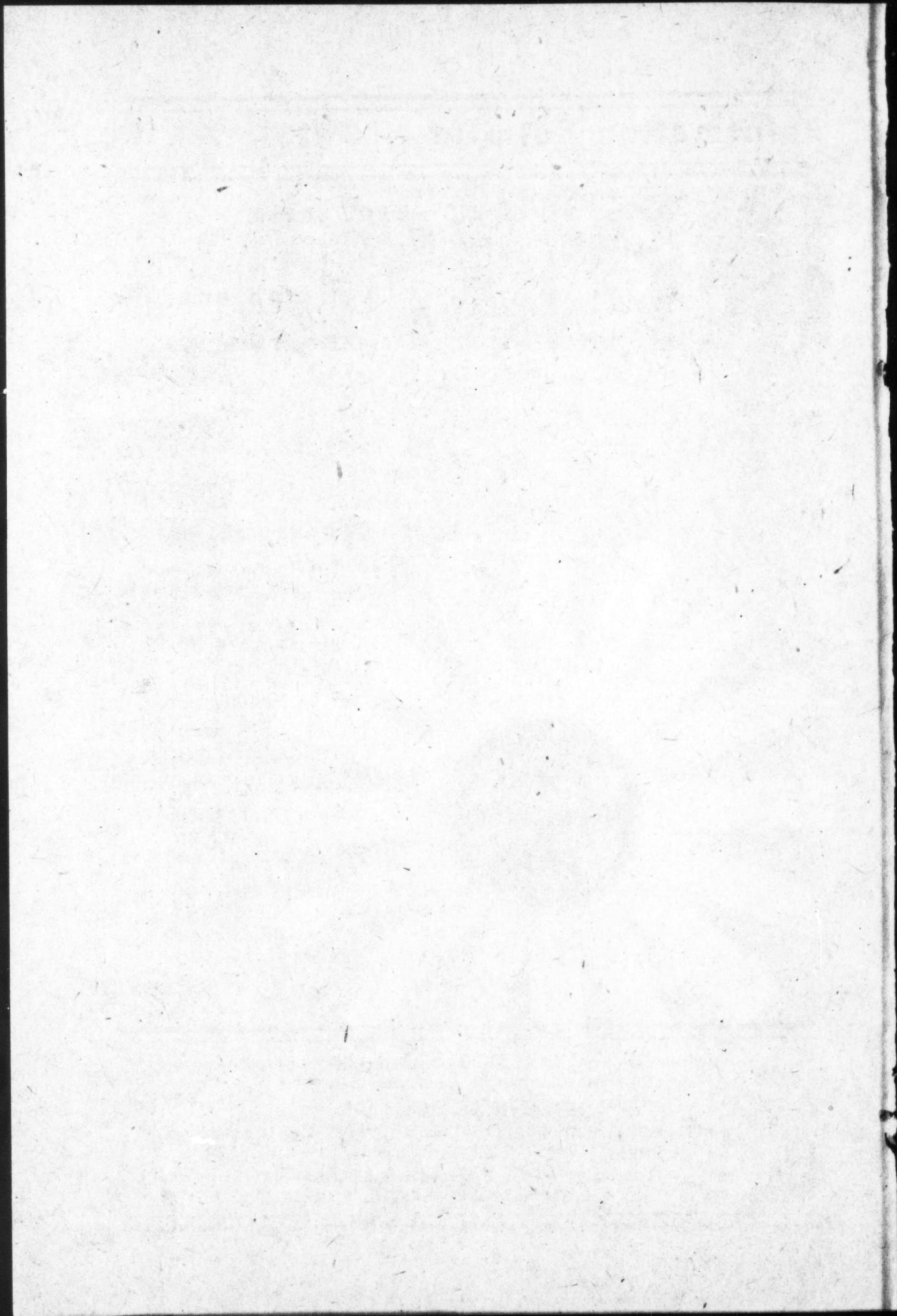
**CP CHILE
STATEMENT**

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**CP MEXICO
STATEMENT**

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**CP VIETNAM
45 YEARS**

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PLENARY MEETINGS

FRANCE

The French Communist Party Central Committee held a plenary meeting in Paris on January 20-21 to discuss the political situation in the country and the Party's tasks.

The meeting approved the report on this question made by Jean Colpin, Politburo alternate member, and adopted resolutions on the political situation and on the condition of the youth.

In his concluding speech, Politburo member Gaston Plissonnier said that the main task of the Communists at present was to expand the struggle for the working people's interests and in support of the common program, to strengthen the alliance of left forces, and to raise the Party's influence. He criticized the stand taken by the French Socialist Party. Its rejection of united action on a national plane was detrimental to the working people's class struggles, he said.

The Central Committee resolved to carry on a nationwide campaign in support of *L'Humanité* and *L'Humanité Dimanche*.

Below follows the resolution on the political situation.

The government tries to disguise its policy of serving big business by reckless demagoguery. The situation of the working people is deteriorating. Millions of them are finding it hard to pay for food, clothing, rent and taxes. A million workers are fully unemployed; and partial unemployment is growing. Month by month prices are going up and the buying power is decreasing.

The regime's anti-social policy is accentuating its authoritarian and one-man character. It disdains the demands of the social sections who are the victims of its policy, and sends the police against the working people who are carrying on a social struggle; it is increasing its control over the main information media and preparing an election reform that would reduce even more working-class representation through our Party and thus deal blows at the alliance of left forces.

On the international plane, the regime is integrating our country in the West European and Atlantic blocs, thereby prejudicing our national independence and sovereignty. It connives at the hegemonic claims of U.S. imperialism and its dangerous threats with regard to

the Vietnamese and Arab peoples. It goes to the length of granting the U.S. Sixth Fleet marines the right to use the Canjuers camp.

To make French men and women accept this policy, the regime and its supporters are conducting a diversified campaign to convince them that a crisis would be fatal and would lead to shortcomings and restrictions.

The situation and its development confirm the conclusions of the 21st Congress.

The crisis is neither worldwide nor fatal. The sacrifices of the working people are not inevitable. France is a rich country. The demands of the popular masses are legitimate and conform to the national interests. They can and must be satisfied by tackling the real causes of the crisis, that is the enormous profits amassed by a handful of big companies, and the scandalous squandering of resources resulting from the dominance of the multi-millionaires over our national life and the state.

The aim of "operation truth," launched by the Party, is to explain these questions to the millions of working people. The Central Committee calls on all Party organizations to ensure its success.

This campaign of truth is inseparable from the active support given by Communists for the demands and struggle of manual and mental workers, the working people in town and country who refuse to shoulder the burden of a situation for which they are not responsible.

Apart from this, the Party and its organizations should pay special attention to the needs of the working class and the working people generally, in particular those strata who suffer most from the negative aspects of the present policy. At the same time, the Party defines the economic, social and political demands conforming to the aspirations of the working people and based on the serious and effective measures proposed at Albertville in order to check inflation, liquidate the balance of payments deficit, and maintain the living standards and employment. In this way the Party contributes decisively to the development of many-sided militant actions in all spheres.

During this struggle the Party organizations will continue their efforts to prove the urgency of the common program and get active and growing popular support for the solutions it proposes. They will continue to popularize our concept of socialism for France.

With the development of joint action by the masses conditions will appear for rallying a vast majority capable of defeating the government of big business and implementing the policy defined in the

common program, that is of building an alliance of the French people in the struggle for democratic change.

To attain this, the Communists call on the working class, the popular masses, all those who reject the combinations of the past and want real and lasting change to support the efforts to preserve the left alliance and raise it to the necessary level.

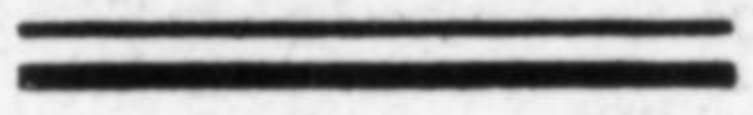
With this aim in view, the Party organizations will continue to explain to the working people the disturbing problems created by the stand of the Socialist Party, which does not give the necessary rebuff to the government's campaign on the need for sacrifices and at times even justifies these sacrifices, shuns the struggle for the common program, maintains an ambiguous position with regard to the terms of joining the government, and seeks to strengthen its positions to the detriment of our Party. Abstract references to the common program and the alliance of left forces are not enough.

The democratic debate now under way touches on major questions. It directly concerns everyone interested in real change. It concerns the future of our people and country. It cannot justify the Socialist Party's rejection of the nationwide united action proposed by our Party.

At a time when the difficulties of the working people are growing, and often dramatically, united action confirming the correctness and urgency of the common program is needed more than ever.

In these circumstances many workers and office employees, intellectuals and peasants are ready to join the Communist Party. The Party organizations must always be ready to respond to their aspirations. In the present period every branch is boldly displaying the initiatives needed to make the 1975 Party card exchange and the strengthening of the Party an exceptional campaign, in particular at enterprises, among working men and women, among the youth, trade unionists who want to impart to their actions a dimension conforming to present-day demands.

The strengthening of the Party, of its influence and organization acquires a political importance essential for explaining the causes of the crisis, promoting our action and consolidating the alliance on the basis of the common program.



GREECE

Rizospastis, organ of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Greece, published a resolution of the CC's second plenary meeting held in Athens on January 11-12.

Since the Party's Ninth Congress, the resolution says, important changes in the world have served to strengthen the forces of peace, democracy and progress. The policy of détente and peaceful coexistence pursued by the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, coupled with the ceaseless anti-imperialist struggle and the efforts of all peace forces, have yielded new results. Opportunities have developed for the final stage of the European Conference on Security and Cooperation in 1975.

Imperialism is forced to give up its positions, though it continues to hang on by every means, including force and conspiracies. It relies on reactionary fascist regimes like those in Chile and South Vietnam, and creates hotbeds of tension as in the Middle East. A similar situation is taking shape in Cyprus and in the Aegean Sea, where Turkish chauvinistic actions are being encouraged. All this requires the utmost vigilance of the peoples.

While capitalism is in a stage of general crisis, the resolution says, the socialist world headed by the Soviet Union is rapidly developing. The socialist camp's economic and military might is growing, as are the living and cultural standards of the people in the socialist countries. The capitalist world has begun the year 1975 with the greatest aggravation of its general crisis since the end of the war. The economy is in a crisis, industrial output is declining, unemployment is rising, the monetary system is disintegrating, inflation is spiralling, and the cost of living is climbing. The energy crisis is further aggravating capitalism's economic situation. The plight of the masses is getting worse than ever. The working class of the capitalist countries, which is in the vanguard of all anti-monopoly forces, is strengthening democratic unity and expanding the struggle for peace, national independence and socialism. The Communist and Workers' parties are organizing and directing the working people's struggle.

The major changes in Greece in 1974, the resolution notes, concluded an important stage of the democratic struggle and paved the way to a new one. The hated pro-American military dictatorship collapsed under the pressure of popular resistance supported by other peoples. The bourgeois parliamentary system has been restored. The

Communist Party of Greece has come into the open after a 27-year ban. The monarchy, bulwark of plutocracy and capitalism, has been abolished. These events were an indubitable victory for the Greek people and the working-class party. However, the changes since July 23, 1974, are limited in nature, as the dictatorship's removal was achieved by agreement between the junta, capitalists and conservative political forces. As a consequence, conservative forces have come to power. In other words, what we have is a forced change in the form of government by domestic and foreign monopolies seeking, in the new conditions, to ensure a stable position for Greece in the capitalist system and the Common Market framework, and to slow down and emasculate the popular movement for radical democratic change.

The character of the changes was also affected by the fact that the working class and the popular movement were not sufficiently organized. This also explains the Karamanlis government's policy with regard to punishing those responsible for the dictatorship, a policy out of keeping with popular demand and leaving a substantial part of the junta structure unchanged. Nonetheless, the resolution notes, the changes have opened up new opportunities for the popular struggle.

Despite the short time that had passed since the Ninth Congress and the blows the CPG had to sustain, especially in February 1974, the resolution goes on, it was sufficiently prepared for the events of last summer. Steps were taken to strengthen its organizational structure and prepare the Party for assuming its leading role after its emergence from underground. The Party urged the formation of a government representative of all the anti-dictatorial forces, it sought a radical purge of junta representatives from the state apparatus and called for consistent democratization of public life, assuring national independence, and for resolving the Cyprus question in the best economic and political interests of the working people. The 1974 events confirmed the correctness of the Ninth Congress resolutions.

The Plenum resolution goes on to note that in the new conditions the Party attaches special importance to the strengthening of local branches. Party publications, notably the newspaper *Rizospastis*, have begun to appear. The Communist Party took an active part in setting up the United Left political alliance, which worked to dispel the myth of Karamanlis as the saviour of the nation and exposed the lying program of his New Democracy party. It opposed the policy of conciliation with the right-wing of the Center-Union — New Forces party, exposed the negative stand of Papandreou's party on the

question of cooperation of all anti-dictatorial forces, and unmasked his unscientific slogans. The resolution regrets the disintegration of the United Left bloc after the parliamentary elections. It also points out the Party's shortcomings in its work in the United Left framework. The Communist Party holds that Left unity is the base for the building of a broad general democratic front. The victory of Karamanlis' party in the elections does not reflect the Greek people's actual political leanings. It does not denote the people's turn to conservatism, is purely temporary, and is a reflection of the form in which the changes took place, the fear of a new coup, the haste with which the elections were called, the extensive promises and some of the political moves of the Karamanlis government. On the other hand, Karamanlis' victory was facilitated by the difficulties experienced by the CPG and the Left movement as a whole. The resolution notes that subsequent developments — numerous meetings, demonstrations, strikes, etc. — clearly showed the Greek people's real wishes and political aspirations.

The section of the resolution dealing with the current situation states that the big bourgeoisie hopes to establish a regime that would protect it from the pressures and struggles of the working people and all progressive forces for a long time to come. In this it enjoys the approval and support of U.S. and West European spokesmen. The government's policy statements and, especially, the draft Constitution submitted to Parliament, are indicative of these intentions of the bourgeoisie. An attempt is being made to set up a regime of personal rule, which cannot guarantee democratic change and creates dangerous prerequisites. In these conditions neo-fascist and terrorist elements are beginning to raise their heads, and extremist groups are becoming more active. The CPG Central Committee calls for the vigilance of the Party and the people.

The only alternative to the establishment of a regime of personal rule, the danger of a pro-NATO solution of the Cyprus problem, the threats of the Turkish chauvinists and the possibility of the country being drawn into U.S. imperialist gambles in the Middle East and the Eastern Mediterranean, the resolution states, is the consolidation of the Greek people's patriotic and democratic forces. These forces are striving for the establishment of popular government, for an independent foreign policy. Only such a policy can assure genuine national unity. Only a correct assessment of the peaceful foreign policy of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, the independent countries and all peace-loving forces can guarantee the national independence

and territorial integrity of Greece and Cyprus. The results of the latest Greek-Bulgarian talks are vivid testimony of this.

The national economy is in a state of crisis, which is continuing to deepen; industrial production is declining, and unemployment is growing, the resolution notes. The trade deficit has exceeded \$2,500 million, and Greece's total debt is in excess of \$4,500 million. Inflation and prices are soaring, undermining the people's purchasing power. At the same time, the profits amassed by domestic and foreign monopolies are rising. The position of the peasants and urban middle strata is rapidly deteriorating. All this is due mainly to the country's economic and political dependence on foreign monopolies and the capitalist world system. The economic situation will continue to deteriorate in 1975, and the Karamanlis government's intentions to tie the country to the Common Market cannot save it.

The resolution notes that the Karamanlis government is taking no concrete measures to restrict the influence of domestic and foreign monopolies on the economy. On the contrary, the continued rise of consumer and utilities prices, the tax system and the government's austerity program shift the burden of economic difficulties to the working people, leaving big capital unaffected.

The CC plenum defined the main problems facing the country as inflation and rising prices, elimination of the consequences of junta rule and punishment of those responsible for the dictatorship, democratization of public life and restoration of citizenship to political refugees, the Cyprus question, dismantling of all foreign bases and abrogation of shackling treaties, and complete and final withdrawal from NATO.

The resolution states that the Karamanlis government's approach to these issues does not meet the people's interests and leads to growing anti-government sentiments among the masses. The Communists have a duty to organize and direct the people's struggle for the solution of economic and democratic problems.

Last year the Party achieved considerable success in consolidating its organizational structure, improving the functioning of all its detachments and strengthening its ties with the working people. But there is still much more to be done in this respect. The CPG must step up work to enlist new members. The CC points out the need for strict observance of Party rules in the local branches, to expand Party work among the youth, and other tasks facing the Party. It highly assesses the activity of the Communist youth organization, which made major contributions to the development of the democratic youth movement.

The section dealing with the trade unions states that government declarations concerning the restoration of democratic freedoms have not yet been carried out. Trade union activity is still influenced by anti-democratic elements. Undemocratic restrictions of trade union rights and activities remain in force. Key positions in trade union leadership are held by junta appointees. There are no representatives of the Left among the provisional labor leaders appointed by the Karamanlis government. The state is trying to establish full control over trade union activity. In these conditions it is the Party's duty to promote organized labor and work actively to prepare for the election of leading trade union bodies.

The resolution stresses the need to devote special attention to work among the peasantry, the urban middle strata, handicraftsmen and professional associations.

The CC resolution stresses the importance of preparing for the forthcoming municipal elections, and points to the importance of expanding and improving ideological work and raising the political maturity of Party members. Concluding, the resolution endorses the activities of the Party Central Committee and Political Bureau in the past year.

POLAND

EDWARD GIEREK'S SPEECH AT CENTRAL COMMITTEE PLENUM

The Central Committee of the Polish United Workers' Party held its 16th plenary meeting in Warsaw in January 7 to discuss ideological-political and organizational strengthening of the Party — the leading force in building socialism — and convocation of the Seventh Party Congress. The following is a summary of the speech delivered by the Party's First Secretary, Edward Gierek.

Our Marxist-Leninist Party is the leading force in building socialist Poland and upon it devolves responsibility for the country's development. It is therefore only logical and natural that the working class and the people generally should expect much of the Party.

Indeed, their hopes and aspirations are closely associated with the Party, its program and activity. Our Party grew and developed together with People's Poland. It built up a fund of experience, increased its ideological influence, formed closer links with the working class and became the party of the people. Poland's achievements in all fields and the development of the Polish state furnish irrefutable corroboration of the correctness of our Party's program and evidence of its leading role.

The Party's general line has stood the test of the past 30 years. Essentially, this line is determined by Marxism-Leninism, by our experience and that of the international Communist movement, above all, by the rich experience of the CPSU. We are an integral part of the international Communist movement and our working class, our people, are contributing to its historic mission of bringing the world peace and socialism.

It is now four years since the December events that so dramatized the political crisis in the country and the Party. We were able to overcome that crisis and eliminate its aftermaths and have forged ahead with vigor and determination. Central to our policy is the welfare of the men of labor. We have strengthened in the Polish people faith in their own strength and a feeling of commitment to the country's future.

In the past four years all the efforts of the Party, the working class and the people have centered on implementing the social and economic development program approved by the Sixth Party Congress, and based on combining dynamic economic growth and modernization with a substantial improvement of living standards. We regard improvement of the people's conditions as the main task of socialism and the strengthening of socialist Poland as the main task of the people. That development strategy applies to all fraternal socialist countries.

Fulfillment of our development program will require mobilization of the people's spiritual energy. This can only be done by working among the people. That is the main task of the Party and the main criterion in judging the activity of its organizations at all levels, its activists and members. We must constantly draw inspiration from Lenin's teaching, do away with routinism and conservatism, constantly improve the style of Party work and political leadership, combining ideological fidelity and high moral standards with knowledge, competence and perseverance in our work, and realistic assessment with bold action.

We can say that the political situation in Poland is good. But strengthening the indissoluble ties of confidence between the Party and the working people is a long process requiring unflagging effort. Every Party activist and member must be fully aware of the insistent need to accentuate the Leninist features in the Party's work and policies. This implies closer ties with the working class and the people generally, exacting demands on oneself and others, hard work and modesty, fidelity to principle and honesty. We must never succumb to complacency and never rest content with what we have achieved.

Characteristic of our policy today is the harmonious coordination of short-range and long-range targets. That is the only way to attain a high growth rate, raise material and cultural standards and clearly define our long-range perspectives. A high rate of economic development implies modernization of the economy, rapid introduction and efficient use of new technology, better organization, higher productivity and more rational use of investments and manpower.

In the coming five-year plan period the Party will be solving even more complex problems, and first among these is a better supply of consumer goods. Without that we cannot devise a consumption structure based on socialist principles. We shall also work for much higher food production in line with the policy mapped out at the last Central Committee plenum.

Under the current five-year plan, People's Poland created the basis for modern housing construction, but the main task in this respect still has to be accomplished. Economic modernization will require much effort. Economic planning and cooperation with the socialist countries has spared Poland the negative impact of the world energy and monetary crises, though we cannot fully evade their effects. We shall continue on our chosen road of closer economic integration and cooperation with the Soviet Union and other members of the socialist community.

The determinative principle of our ideology and our social system is social justice and we attach special importance to its consistent implementation. There cannot be a feeling of justice where there is group rivalry, where initiative and criticism are suppressed, where people are not judged by their work and attitudes. All these questions must be kept in the focus of Party attention.

The main duty of every Party link is attentively to heed the voice of the masses. Never should we ignore or disparage public opinion. On the contrary, we should always watch it and react to everything that concerns a definite group or work collective. In some cases we have

to correct widely-held views, explain to the people, convince them. In other cases we have to draw immediate conclusions and eliminate the negative factors people complain about.

We are a Party of the new type. Our constitutional standards are based on the Leninist principles of democratic centralism. This determines the ways and means of improving Party work, and the first requirement here is stringent observance of these standards in practice. Party membership is not a privilege; it entails a special responsibility for socialist Poland, for all aspects of its life and work and, of course, for one's own contribution to its future. Being a Party member means ideological loyalty and discipline, setting an example at one's job, a friendly attitude to fellow workers and the entire collective; it means high moral standards in personal life, supporting everything that is just and good and combating everything that is bad and false. Such are the qualities the Party can rightly demand of its members.

The Party draws its main support from the working class, and we shall continue to concentrate on the working-class kernel of the Party, increase the share of workers in the membership and strengthen the Party's positions within the working class. We must also strive for wider influence among the peasants, which is especially important in the context of the problems we face in agriculture. The Party enjoys continuing support among intellectuals and more and more young people are joining its ranks.

The main features of the socialist Polish people have taken shape in the 30 years of People's Poland. By overcoming sharp class antagonisms and the resultant deep political divisions, we were able to unite the vast majority of the people around the aims set out in the Party program. There are still class enemies, those who reject the principles of socialism and violate them by their behavior. But their social support is constantly diminishing, while the new, socialist patriotism, which combines traditional love of country with acceptance of socialism, is exerting a dominant influence. Deep internationalist fraternal ties with the Soviet people and with the entire socialist community is now a component of the Polish people's political thinking.

The Party is resolved constantly to develop and deepen socialist democracy. In this respect it is important to apply in practice the formula adopted by the Sixth Congress: the Party guides, the government rules. This means that the government enjoys full powers in carrying out the policy decided on by the Party and in drawing up

social and economic development plans. And the government is consistently and actively implementing Party policy, the decisions of the Central Committee and decisions and recommendations of the Political Bureau.

Gierek drew attention to the need to develop the social sciences: Without comprehensive development and dissemination of culture and art imbued with socialist and humanist ideals, we cannot cultivate the man of socialism, his ideological and moral qualities, his social commitment.

The problems involved in ideological work have been examined at earlier Central Committee plenums. The new, higher phase of socialist construction poses more complex ideological problems, and ideological work acquires greater importance also at this new stage of the two-system competition.

The change from cold war to détente is due to the changed world balance of forces, the economic and defense strength of socialism, the closer ideological and political unity of our countries and the Leninist policy of peace pursued by the USSR, Poland and other members of the socialist community. Peaceful coexistence opens the prospect of banishing world war, provides opportunities for preventing local wars, restraining the arms race, and for mutually advantageous economic cooperation. We must improve our ideological work in this area, advance more convincing arguments and raise the caliber of our ideological cadres. This is not only a Party task; it is a task for the whole country, for the development and dissemination of socialist consciousness is in Poland's vital interests.

This is an exceedingly important year for fulfilling the program adopted by the Sixth Congress. For 1975 will sum up our progress over the past four years and set the stage for our next five-year plan. Fulfilment of the plan depends on the Party, the working class, all working people, on better organization of the nationwide effort at every factory and farm, on maximum mobilization of all our energies.

The exchange of Party cards must become an important factor in heightening membership involvement. We are now in the midst of elections at branch level and are approaching the county and provincial Party conferences. The programs they will adopt will be the basis for mustering all our forces.

The Seventh Party Congress is due at the close of this year. The Political Bureau, Gierek said, proposes that we set the date now, so as to provide ample time to prepare for the Congress. We want to present to it a draft program that continues and develops the strategy

of social and economic development followed in the current five-year period. But above all, we want to be able to report to the Congress full implementation of the program adopted at the Sixth Congress. It is a matter of honor for our Party, for the entire people, to register good results in 1975.

The Central Committee plenum adopted resolutions on the questions discussed and unanimously decided to convene the Seventh Party Congress in the fourth quarter of 1975.

Trybuna Ludu, January 1, 1975

PLENUM OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE PORTUGUESE COMMUNIST PARTY

At a plenary meeting held January 26, the Portuguese CP Central Committee passed a resolution, "The Portuguese Communist Party and the Current Political Situation."

It declares, in part, that the democratic revolution has entered what might well be a decisive stage. Disputes, differences and polemics over specific urgent problems should not prevent the formulation of a common approach to the revolutionary perspective. We should be above considerations of expediency. It is urgently necessary for all political forces to clearly state their immediate and medium-term objectives, declare their allies and announce their election platforms and post-election plans. The Portuguese Communist Party, the resolution says, considers the present moment appropriate to set forth its views on the issues involved.

Consolidation of the democratic state remains a vital necessity to guarantee democratic freedoms and assure the irreversibility of the revolutionary process. So far the state apparatus in different sectors and at various levels has not undergone changes that would alter its character, its personnel or its methods of work. The interests of democracy demand a full purge of the state apparatus, reorganization of all its services, and staffing with people dedicated to the democratic cause.

Decolonization must continue unwaveringly. Democracy in Por-

tugal is upheld also in the struggle against colonialism in Africa.

The serious economic and financial situation demands swift and effective measures. The nation is impatiently awaiting publication of the government's special program. It is legitimate to expect the government to take vigorous measures to prevent the economic sabotage by means of which big business and big landowners are trying to undermine the economy. The Communist Party declares that the working people should not be made to shoulder the burden of economic difficulties. Only state interference and worker participation in industrial management can revive economic activity in the main industries and sectors of agriculture. Portugal cannot extricate itself from its present economic plight without a consistent anti-monopoly and anti-latifundist policy, without the working people's participation in economic management.

The statement goes on to say that it is necessary to foil reactionary attempts to halt the development of the democratic revolution. The reactionaries have launched a feverish anti-communist campaign in the hope of splitting the working class and the democratic and armed forces. They are spreading rumors and lies and resorting extensively to economic subversion.

The Central Committee of the Portuguese Communist Party draws attention to the fact that the actions of reactionaries and pseudo-revolutionary groups during the recent events in connection with the Social-Democratic Center party's congress on January 25 in Oporto represent parts of a whole. The reactionaries conspire in secret, attempting to win over new elements, strengthen their positions and carry out a bloody coup to wipe out the newly-won freedoms and set up a new dictatorship. Portugal's fascist and reactionary forces are fully supported by international reaction, interfering more and more openly in the nation's internal affairs. The struggle against reaction, continued vigilance, the tracking down, exposure and punishment of conspirators are all problems of the day, the resolution stresses.

The Portuguese democratic revolution continues to be driven by two prime forces: the popular democratic movement and the Armed Forces Movement. Neither can guarantee the democratic process alone. It is essential to strengthen the alliance between the people and the Armed Forces, which the Portuguese Communist Party sees as necessary to ensure the further development of the revolution, strengthen democracy and effect profound changes in all spheres of Portuguese life. By virtue of its revolutionary character, class consciousness and high organization, the working class plays a decisive

part in the popular movement. Legislative enforcement of the united trade union principle is a great victory for the working class and all working people. The popular movement, the CC statement continues, now includes peasants, small and medium traders and businessmen, handicraftsmen and intellectuals. All of them are interested in democratic freedoms, a democratic regime and an anti-monopoly and anti-latifundist policy.

Cooperation between the democratic parties is an important prerequisite for the further advance of the popular democratic movement. The Portuguese Communist Party remains loyal to the policy of unity and alliances, it continues to support the government coalition. It is prepared to cooperate with all democratic political organizations sincerely prepared to work jointly with the Communist Party in promoting revolutionary change. The Communist Party holds that understanding between Communists and Catholics is one of the positive realities of the present moment. It also holds that relations between the Communist and Socialist parties directly affect the nation's political life and cooperation between them within the framework of democratic unity can be a most positive factor. The recent friction between the two parties has been largely due to a rightward shift of the Portuguese Socialist Party. In spite of these difficulties, the Portuguese Communist Party is prepared to meet the Socialist Party at any time to study all problems of mutual interest and discuss cooperation terms. The Communist Party declares that the elections to the Constituent Assembly are an important landmark in Portugal's revolution. The Central Committee officially rejects accusations that the Communist Party opposes the elections. Free elections to a constituent assembly has for many years been, and remains, one of the goals espoused by the Portuguese Communist Party. The PCP wants to see them held in conditions of complete freedom, but for this a complete purge of local government authorities is essential.

The Constituent Assembly will have as its sole task the drafting of the country's Constitution. The Portuguese Communist Party is against turning it into a legislative assembly on which the fate of the government would depend. The Communists hold that the role of the Armed Forces Movement should be taken into account in drawing up the new Constitution. The most dangerous thing could be for the elections to the Constituent Assembly to serve as the beginning of the end of cooperation between the democratic forces and between them and the Armed Forces Movement.

The statement concludes by stressing that the PCP will fight resolutely

utely for the recognition and respect of the broadest democratic freedoms in the future democratic Portugal.

A democratic Portugal must be an independent Portugal. All forms of pressure through refusal to grant credits, economic threats, diplomatic protests or slander must be rejected. The democratic Portugal of the future, the statement emphasizes, should be built without mechanically copying the models of other countries, with due consideration of the political situation and the characteristic features of the Portuguese revolution. The Communist Party calls for the unity of all democratic forces. Politically, the main enemy is fascism and reaction, economically and socially, it is the monopolies and latifundia. A broad coalition of public and political forces is essential to tackle pressing problems, build a new, democratic Portugal, carry out far-reaching social changes and pave the way to socialism.

STATEMENTS AND SPEECHES

TO THE PARTY AND PEOPLE OF CHILE

Below follows the statement of the Communist Party of Chile, adopted in December 1974.

Slightly over a year of the dictatorship has proved sufficient to show that Pinochet and his henchmen will not be able to keep power for a long time. The military junta's regime is obviously of a transient nature.

The vast majority of the people are opposed to fascism. The dictatorship is growing weaker each day. Its crimes and brutality are evidence of its increasing isolation, rather than strength.

Foundations are appearing for broad national, anti-fascist unity to end the usurpation of power, assure democratic renovation and carry out anew the social transformations needed for the country's progress.

1. THE FASCIST COUP AND THE WORLD CRISIS OF IMPERIALISM

The fascist coup in Chile took place in the framework of the world crisis of capitalism. It proved the growing inability of the multinational and local monopolies to impose their plans on society without violating democratic standards. It showed that the oligarchy and imperialism do not hesitate to establish tyranny for preserving their privileges. It reflected the increasing weakness and historical decline of the capitalist system.

The fascist coup is obviously out of keeping with the present course of history. The trend of development is not determined by events such as those of September 11. Though the fascists were temporarily successful in our country, humanity is inexorably moving left toward the victory of peace, democracy and socialism.

The main trend of development in our epoch is determined by such events as the overthrow of the fascist dictatorship in Portugal, the collapse of the military dictatorship in Greece and the legal proceed-

ings launched against its leaders; the defeat of the Brazilian dictatorship in the very first elections it permitted to take place; the determined defense of their natural wealth by countries that for centuries were exploited by imperialism; the active mobilization of the working class and broad popular strata in developed capitalist countries, and the leftward shift in the electorate in bourgeois-democratic countries. All these facts are convincing evidence that despite occasional setbacks the people are determined to fight and are making progress toward national and social liberation.

The world balance of forces has changed substantially in favor of progress. This is felt more and more distinctly in such international organizations as the United Nations and the Organization of American States, where the imperialists, particularly U.S. imperialism, find themselves in growing isolation.

All this is taking place in a setting of imperialism's most serious economic crisis since the war, while the socialist camp is multiplying its economic and political achievements and demonstrating before the world the advantages of the new, crisis-free and steadily advancing system.

2. THE INTERNATIONAL ISOLATION OF THE JUNTA IS GROWING

In our epoch of the transition from capitalism to socialism, when democratic and revolutionary forces are growing and the peace offensive of the socialist countries is making ever greater headway, finding increasing support among the popular masses of the entire world, the Chilean fascists have under cover of darkness hoisted the flag of anti-communism and anti-Sovietism. They make ridiculous claims to world leadership in a historically doomed cause which others abandoned after a succession of failures.

Furthermore, they have dragged out warped geopolitical concepts from fascism's ideological garbage bin, and use them as "scientific" guidelines for government decisions, the basis for a blind and arrogant nationalism filled with expansionist ambitions that are likely to spark conflicts with other countries.

By these ploys they hope to conceal and justify their cruel treatment of the people of Chile, the crimes and torture, the war of the armed forces against their people, the special military tribunals and the foul killing of many patriots, such as General Prats, Alberto Bachelet, Jose Tóha, Marcial Cortes Monroy, Benito Tapia, Eugenio Ruiz Tagle, Enrique Paris, Isidoro Carrillo, Alberto Molina, Miguel

Enriquez, priest Gerardo Poblete, Ofelia Villarroel, Lumi Videla, following the monstrous slaying of Salvador Allende.

The result is the junta's growing isolation in the world and the systematic failures of its foreign policy.

A movement of solidarity with Chile and her people is under way in all countries, and voices of protest resound against the actions of the Chilean fascists temporarily in power. All international organizations of working people are displaying their solidarity with our people, condemning the fascist crimes, and demanding the release of political prisoners.

This mighty wave of solidarity was reflected in the resolution adopted by the overwhelming majority in the UN General Assembly, demanding that the fascists respect the human rights and freedoms of the Chilean people.

The usurpers try to deceive the nation with claims that its international situation is improving. But their efforts are in vain.

The junta's obsequious behavior toward foreign capital is bringing it into collision with countries of the Andes Pact; the attitude of the junta chiefs, who favor cold war and have raised a howl against the lifting of unlawful sanctions against Cuba, puts them in the minority among the Latin American countries (even the Alessandri government voted against the sanctions). For this reason, and due to their refusal to show at least a modicum of humaneness, there is a breach in Mexico's relations with Chile. One day they announced the forthcoming visit of the President of Argentina, but learned several hours later that it had been cancelled on popular demands. On another occasion they were overjoyed by the news that Colombia had voted in their favor, but soon learned that the Colombian people and parliament compelled the Foreign Ministry to change its position.

That is the junta's situation in Latin America. It is the same, or still worse, in other parts of the world.

In the United States large sections of public opinion denounce fascism and expose the part played by the CIA in the coup. The actions taken by congressmen to block military aid to Chile are evidence of this feeling of solidarity, even guilt.

No government in Europe would agree to be considered a "friend" of the military junta. Even the Franco regime is keeping its distance from the Chilean despots and refuses to support them in the United Nations.

In sum, the fascists are committing a crime against their country by leading it to isolation and conflicts. Today, they are trying to pose as

victims of an attack they had themselves provoked. Yet, the displays of solidarity are in no way an attack on our country. They are not directed against Chile or her people, but against the junta. Mankind says: Chile — yes, the junta — no! That is the meaning of solidarity, which the usurpers are trying to distort.

They accuse those who are opposed to them of being unpatriotic. That is the peak of insolence. The fascists are trampling the name and traditions of our country in the mud; the only thing saving Chile's prestige in the eyes of the world is the knowledge that the foul and blind fascist policy is encountering resistance in the country. True patriotism consists in fighting for human rights, for Chile's freedom, for ending the country's subordination to big international and local capital.

3. THE MILITARY JUNTA AND ITS POLICY ARE DAMAGING TO THE MAJORITY OF THE COUNTRY'S POPULATION

The policy of the fascist junta is contrary to the interests and feelings of the vast majority of Chileans.

Under pressure of public opinion at home and abroad the junta announced the repeal of the state of internal war. This was nothing but a piece of wretched hypocrisy. The juridical maneuver which replaced it — the so-called state of siege at the level of internal defense — is exactly the same thing, if only because court martials are still operating.

The junta announced the release of political prisoners, but instead their number has grown.

The fascists are in favor of accepting the economic model imposed from outside, which is to turn Chile into a country with a high concentration of monopoly capital, low wages and super-exploitation of the working class, and open to foreign capital. Giving away the national wealth to foreign capital, they foster the illusion of economic development.

The fascists have harnessed Chile to multinational corporations at a time when world imperialism is in the throes of a profound economic crisis, and are making the country suffer from the consequences of this policy.

In somewhat over a year they have pushed the country into a crisis and chaos, and this not only through their inability, but mainly due to the class orientation of their actions.

The situation of the popular masses is causing alarm. The runaway

inflation, coupled with a fall in industrial production and with growing unemployment (the unemployed now number three times those before September 1973), make the situation of wage and salary earners intolerable. In 1974 their purchasing capacity dropped by 35 per cent. In view of the steep deterioration of the material situation of wage and salary earners in the first four months of the dictatorship, it can be said that in October 1974 wages and salaries were barely 40 per cent of what they had been in January 1973.

Because of this serious situation sales of goods have decreased sharply, resulting in the impoverishment of the vast majority of small and medium proprietors. The situation of the truck and taxi owners, traders and industrialists, farmers and professionals, that is, those used by the putschists as a tool of their conspiracy, is deteriorating from day to day, and some of them are facing imminent ruin.

The measures announced by the Ministry of Finance will only aggravate the existing problems, because they mean a mechanical continuation of the present bankrupt policy.

Continuation of the present economic orientation will add to the hardships of the people. Promises that the sacrifices of today (by the poor only) will lead to "better times" are nothing but a crude and cynical lie. Actually, once the monopolies are restored to power the people's condition will be still worse.

Here is one example. Such government measures as quarterly allowances in addition to wages do not improve the plight of the popular masses. And not only because these allowances are obviously insufficient, but mainly because they are used by the monopolies as a pretext for still more rapid price increases, which reduce the allowance to nil even before it is paid. Also, they serve as a pretext for rejecting the right to economic demands and negating trade union rights in general. The investigation to be made by decision of the ILO and the visit to Chile of a special commission for this purpose, are, therefore, more than justified.

Among the immediate aims of the junta's policy is to abolish the rights to health protection and education, turning these fields into an object of bargaining and a source of profit, and cutting off access to them for the people.

We declare to the country that in violation of the Constitution the present government is preparing to turn over Chilean copper and oil to foreign capital.

We declare that the tax reform now in preparation will reduce the taxes paid by foreign capitalists and the rich, and will increase the

taxes paid by the poor. Even makeshift shacks will be taxable.

We declare that the denationalization of state enterprises, services and banks in favor of the monopolies is continuing.

We declare that contrary to the Constitution large sums are being paid to U.S. copper companies.

We declare that the government that will replace the dictatorship after its collapse will not recognize these obsequious commitments, will not pay these debts and will return to the people without compensation the enterprises denationalized in the interests of the junta's favorites. Only the return of small and medium enterprises, whose expropriation had never accorded with the Popular Unity Government's program, will be legally recognized.

4. THE JUNTA'S GROWING ISOLATION DUE TO THE DISILLUSION OF STRATA THAT HAD ORIGINALLY SUPPORTED IT

The disastrous consequences of the fascist junta's economic policy and the negative reaction to the police regime and its crimes, have resulted in the isolation of the usurpers inside the country, as eloquently reflected in their own utterances.

The fascist Leigh who in the evening of September 11 crudely and arrogantly promised to root out the "malignant tumor of Marxism" for all time, has now changed his language. "We sincerely assume," he said addressing himself to industrialists, "that perhaps our country has its last chance. The present government is probably the last one capable of preventing the formation of a Marxist government. It must be said in all frankness that there is emptiness behind the armed forces. It pains me to speak about it . . . but tell me, gentlemen, am I not right? What is behind the armed forces in Chile? This ultimate means, the last reserve, was brought into play on September 11. We won, but since then assumed a tremendous responsibility."

Indeed, the junta bears a tremendous historical responsibility it will not be able to evade by any demagogic juggling.

The steep decline of the living standard in Chile caused by the junta's policy is generating resistance. True, in many cases the resistance is still muted, but it does encompass an obvious majority of the population. The nightmare of continuously rising prices is weighing heavily on millions of men and women.

In face of these facts, Pinochet declared: "I am deeply alarmed by the economic situation of the low-income brackets It pains me to see a considerable number of our compatriots suffering to a greater

extent than others from the hardships of the present period." Several weeks later Leigh, too, expressed similar "feelings": "I have the impression that some people are getting large sums of money, and with the present purchasing capacity of the bulk of the population, including ourselves (how strongly put!) this cannot go on."

These are typically demagogic statements. The junta has usurped all power. If its anxiety were sincere, it could have remedied the situation. But it is subordinate to its masters and acts in the interests of the minority, the oligarchy and imperialists who have placed it in power, in their service. Its main concern is to protect the anti-national interests of the minority.

In accordance with this policy the living conditions of the workers, peasants, employees and other wage earners are being brought down. Damage is being caused to the middle strata with the exception of persons favored by the regime. The present rulers are seeking to ruin the non-monopoly proprietors. All these sections are moving away from the junta, though originally many of them accepted it with satisfaction and hope.

The junta is being openly abandoned by those working people who had been fraudulently involved in the anti-democratic maneuvers that cleared the way for a coup. This refers to the copper workers who are demanding collective agreements and the wages they had in 1973 (that is, under the Popular Unity Government) till the ill-fated strike organized on CIA money. Both demands are undoubtedly just and important for the entire labor movement.

The junta's growing isolation is also clearly seen in the political sphere.

Developments in the Christian Democratic Party are not indicative of this process. During 1974 this Party went over from the open support of the armed coup to the open condemnation of the fascist government and recognition of the transient nature of its power.

The Christian Democratic Party has been systematically discriminated against by the fascist government. Totalitarian concepts do not recognize any democratic organization even if the bourgeois interests predominate in it. Outright negation of democracy in any form accords with the nature of fascism, a political expression of monopoly-capital which demands subordination of the entire society to the interests of the minority.

In the beginning, the Christian Democratic Party was subjected to verbal pressure, then some of its members were put in prison, such as deputy Huepe and dozens of leaders at district and provincial level. In

addition, steps are being taken to prohibit the most prominent leaders of that Party to stay in the country. Bernardo Leighton, for example, was refused permission to return, while Renan Fuentealba was arbitrarily expelled. At the same time attempts are made to bribe some activists, mainly from among Frei's followers, and prevail on them to cooperate with the junta. One and the same purpose is pursued on both cases, namely to liquidate the CDP, since most of its members are of a democratic frame of mind.

The same process is under way in other bourgeois political quarters. Take the Left Radical Party, one of whose most prominent leaders, Eugenio Velasco, is being prosecuted by the fascist judiciary.

Thus, despite the complete absence of press freedom and the difficult situation created by the repressions, opposition sentiments against the junta have spread to the vast majority of the Chilean people. This entire majority suffers from the policy of repressions, albeit to different degrees: they affect all democrats, but are the most cruel toward revolutionaries.

5. THE SHARPENING OF CONTRADICTIONS BETWEEN THE JUNTA AND ITS MASTERS

Due to its growing isolation, the junta, and its masters to a still greater degree, are trying to organize a so-called civilian-military movement, designed to buttress the junta's deteriorating positions and help it to survive.

For a number of months *El Mercurio* has been warning about the instability of the military regime. According to this newspaper, "the country was occupied by its own armed forces" and "all this points to the need for a clear demarcation between the roles of the armed forces and of the government created and supported by the former." The aim of the monopolies is to take a more direct share of power. "It has often been the case," *El Mercurio* wrote, "that the armed forces were the main performer in such national revolutions, but none of them was able to yield long-term results without the participation of civilians." The paper stressed insistently: "It would be a mistake not to anticipate the time when public support will prove insufficient to carry out urgent current tasks and it will not be easy to win cooperation."

These feelings are growing, because the police regime remains the same which the crisis and chaos are increasing.

6. CONDITIONS ARE AT HAND TO LAUNCH A BROAD MOVEMENT OF ANTI-FASCIST UNITY

Despite their growing isolation, the usurpers are clinging to power and rejecting all chances of change. They are trying to convince the people that there is no alternative to this odious situation.

The Communist Party declares its conviction that the present situation will change, that the country is not doomed to the disaster into which fascism is leading it, that there is an alternative which can and must be put into practice as quickly as possible. This alternative is patriotic anti-fascist unity that can bring together the quickly growing majority of the nation and put an end to the dictatorship.

As pointed out in the Appeal of the Political Committee of Popular Unity on May 1, 1974, "Chile faces a tremendous challenge to which there can only be one answer: creation of a broad anti-fascist front embracing all men, women and young people of our country, capable of overthrowing the dictatorship, renewing democracy, and re-embarking on revolutionary reconstruction with the support of the majority of the people." This front is open to all patriots. Only members of the oligarchy, fascists and collaborationists have no place in it.

Such unity is being built on the basis of what has already been created by the people. The existing situation confirms the viability of the Socialist-Communist unity, which is highly important for the unity of the working class and which has grown in the course of the long struggle on the basis of joint action. It also presupposes the strengthening of Popular Unity as an expression of the aspirations to unity displayed by the more conscious sections of the people. At the same time it obliges us to move forward to joint action and unity with those sections of the people who did not support the Popular Government but are now suffering from the abuses of the dictatorship. These people, organizations and parties should participate in the Anti-fascist Front with equal rights and equal obligations.

The Communist Party calls on the Christian Democrats to examine these propositions.

To be sure, there is much that divided and continues to divide the Marxists and the Christian Democrats, but we also have common interests, and the history of our country shows clearly that whenever we acted jointly in matters of main importance, the country and people benefited from it.

In the days when neither force had yet held power, joint action

made it possible to win the repeal of the "infernal law" and assure the democratization of the electoral law (1958).

During the period of CDP government, the Communists and other popular forces supported those measures which benefited the people, such as the agrarian reform, which had unquestionably been the major achievement of that government.

United action by Christians and Marxists had been decisive in frustrating putschist designs at the time of that government. The whole country remembers the firm and principled stand of the working class and its Party during the mutiny of the Tacna regiment, and how they rose as one to frustrate the attempt headed by the fascist Viaux to abolish the democratic system by means of a coup d'état.

In the three years of the Popular Government joint action brought about the confirmation of the people's victory in the elections at the plenary meeting of the Congress. This helped to prevent a putsch, which had begun with the kidnapping and killing of General Schneider under the direction of the same Viaux. The CDP support for copper nationalization was also an expression of united action.

That is one side of the medal. The reverse is the fact that the CDP is not homogeneous in class composition and that conflicting interests often clash in its ranks. For this reason, every time that sectarian elements linked with the monopolies and drawing on invaluable support in the form of manifestations of sectarianism among the left-wing forces gained the upper hand in the CDP leadership, there came a split or even a confrontation which the reactionaries exploited.

This was the case, above all, in the last two years of the Popular Government's existence. The consequences proved very sad. The CDP example tragically confirmed the aptness of Rodomiro Tomich's statement that "when a gain is secured with the help of the Right it is the Right that turns out to have gained." The CDP's ill-advised participation, through the fault of its leaders, in the opposition to the Popular Government organized by the oligarchy and imperialism led to the fascist coup from whose effects the people as a whole, including both Marxists and Christians, have suffered ever since.

The hostile sentiments of the oligarchy and imperialism, which were intent on retaining their privileges opposed and abolished or curtailed by the Popular Government, spread to the people and resulted in weakening and dividing them. This was what made the success of the fascist conspiracy possible. These hostile sentiments among the people must be removed.

It is the duty of every patriot to help in achieving anti-fascist unity.

To refuse to do so means making for the further deterioration of our people's living and working conditions while a handful of monopolists in whose interests the people are ruled by means of martial law, complete with curfews, concentration camps and military courts, extends its privileges.

No one may, if he is committed to the interests of Chile and its people, show sectarianism or readiness to compromise, not even with good intentions. The collaborationists are already aware of the loathing and contempt of the majority of the nation.

Unity is an imperative demand today. Its achievement will be a first victory over those who foment hostility and division now or have done so in the past.

A revealing fact was what befell a small group of ex-MPs and ex-ministers. They had made a disgraceful statement against the condemnation of fascist crimes by the UN. The junta had told them to do so and they had given in. In the end they were publicly humiliated by the usurpers themselves and justly punished by their own parties, which they had tried to discredit by their contemptible and cowardly behavior.

It is our conviction that a position in keeping with the interests of the vast majority of CDP members and sympathizers, with interests counterposing that party to fascism, is asserting itself in the CDP and is bound to prevail.

Chile's Communists have stressed that they visualize the Anti-fascist Front as a movement which can give the country a government of all the forces constituting the Front. "The ultimate goal of the Anti-fascist Front sought by the popular forces is to overthrow the dictatorship, remove the totalitarian police state established by it and set up a new legal, democratic, anti-fascist, national, popular, pluralist state capable of assuring democratic renovation and the complete elimination of fascism, effecting revolutionary changes and achieving national independence." Its definitive character will be determined according to the common opinion of all participants in the front and, naturally, to our people's finest traditions and democratic gains.

It is not the opinions and existence of political organizations alone that the Anti-fascist Front should take into account. Even now the democratic struggle to end arbitrary dictatorial rule encompasses numerous social strata and there can be no doubt that subsequently it will assume a greater scale.

The dictatorial regime's crimes met with resolute resistance on the

part of religious quarters, first of all in the Catholic Church, whose deep-rooted links with Chilean society expressed themselves in emphatic condemnation of the violations of human and social rights. This attitude evoked an appreciable response both at home and abroad. The Chilean people see that with a few contemptible exceptions, the Church refuses to identify itself with the people's oppressors.

By virtue of both its principles and its political and social composition, the Anti-fascist Front will pursue an open and benevolent policy toward the Church, for we are convinced that the Church can make an important contribution to Chile's advance along a popular and democratic path.

As regards the mass organizations of the workers, peasants, petty bourgeoisie and middle strata and the national and democratic-minded groups of the non-monopoly bourgeoisie, as well as the confederations, federations, trade unions, tenants' committees, mothers' centers, professional associations, associations of shopkeepers and manufacturers, cultural, sports and other organizations, now being tyrannized by the fascist regime, which expects them to choose between submitting to its diktat and losing their right to existence, they will all exercise their legitimate rights without let or hindrance under a renovated democratic system. The thoroughly democratic character and objectives of the Anti-fascist Front offer them the only sure opportunity to achieve their goal. On this issue as on all others, our position is the antithesis of the fascists' policy, for we champion democracy against despotism and favor participation of the masses in government against a diktat from above. Only a government protecting the interests of the majority encourages active participation by mass organizations in public life and in government decision-making. And it is only the Anti-fascist Front that will be able to give the country such a government.

As for the armed forces, carabineros and investigation service, our opinion is stated in a letter circulated among hundreds of members of all the fighting arms.

We only wish to repeat that among the men in uniform we distinguish between fascists and non-fascists, between torturers and those who refuse to stoop to criminal practices, between bona fide men and traitors, between coup leaders and those who were misled. Slightly more than a year since a group of high-ranking army officers committed betrayal, there is evidence in the army of reluctance to continue in the role of a protector of the rich and a jailer of the poor, in the role of

executioners of one's own people. It is not accidental that trials by court martial take place so often and that so many men are discharged from the army. These facts show that fascism is unable to stamp out genuinely patriotic sentiments among thousands of servicemen, especially since the junta perpetrated its atrocious crime against General Prats and his wife. It is men like Prats and Schneider, killed by fascism, who show us a different way.

We think there must be a mounting determination in the armed forces to oppose fascist leaders who want servicemen to stain their hands with the blood of men and women on their orders.

There is room in the Anti-fascist Front for every patriotic member of the armed forces. We are certain that they will take steps on their own to call a halt to crimes and tortures and then immediately to try and punish those who must be called to account for their crimes against the people.

It follows that the fascist junta can be confronted with a democratic, popular, revolutionary alternative. If the popular movement shows sufficient courage and flexibility the fascists' isolation will grow and the day of their defeat will draw near.

However, the people must realize that reaction and imperialism are working on alternative solutions that would enable them to replace the junta regime by another without giving up their privileges. The reactionaries are working on these lines with the primary aim of isolating the Communist Party and of weakening and destroying the popular movement. This is evident in MIR's exposure of the offers made by the Air Force intelligence service with a view to isolating the Communist Party in exchange for certain concessions. Maneuvers of this nature will recur.

As opposition to the junta on the part of the majority of the population grows attempts to prevent the achievement of broad unity as a force capable of leading the country forward will be stepped up. The effort to find a bourgeois alternative to the present situation will be continued.

Such an alternative would leave all the main objectives of our struggle unachieved. It would merely mean falling back on the reactionary regimes of the past, with all the consequences known to the people, at the ever-present risk of a fascist comeback.

Thus the struggle for anti-fascist unity is also a struggle against every reactionary way out of the situation, every compromise and every attempt to deny the working class and other politically conscious sections of the people the important role which they are to play

in Chile's future. It is only the broadest possible unity that can avert this alternative, whose realization depends in the final analysis on a split among the people benefiting their enemies.

Hence the only genuinely patriotic, popular alternative is to bring into being a considerably broader coalition than Popular Unity, one comprising all political, mass, religious and military organizations and leaders declaring for an end to the dictatorship. This is a key objective which every patriot should help to attain.

7. WORK AMONG THE MASSES AS DECISIVE AS EVER

Work among the masses is a vitally important, decisive condition for the success of the effort to achieve anti-fascist unity. No amount of tactical effort can replace this work, which is an earnest of victory. No way out of the present situation, whatever its form, can be put into effect without action by the masses themselves. Victory depends on their cooperation.

The Anti-fascist Front will be set up chiefly at grass roots, in popular organizations, wherever the people live, work, study or divert themselves. That is where revolutionaries must operate if they are to unite the majority and help it to satisfy its aspirations, which depends in the last resort on the nature of the government in power.

A primary duty of every anti-fascist is to belong to a mass organization. The fascist regime tries to block every manifestation of independence on the part of the people's mass organizations. It forbids all democratic activity in an effort to turn the country into a barracks. The junta has outlawed the United Trade Union Center (CUT), an organization based on democratic principles, and replaced it by a Labor Bureau under appointed "leaders." It has banned all student federations and substituted for them the so-called Youth Secretariat, likewise "led" by appointees. The junta prevents democratic election of the leadership of trade unions, tenants' committees, mothers' centers and other mass organizations. It ignores the opinion of any organization unless it is an organization of its masters speaking for the oligarchy. This is why we anti-fascists must strive, first of all, to preserve and expand the numerous organizations formed by the people in the course of long struggles for their interests. To withdraw from them because of the difficulties created by the dictatorship would mean surrendering to fascism, playing into its hands and allowing these organizations to be headed by despicable collaborationists,

the people to be robbed of their weapon, organization, and the country to be arbitrarily ruled by a minority.

It is clear that the majority of the people refuse to be reconciled to the situation created by junta policies and consider that an end must be put to it. But it is just as clear that many have only a vague notion of the way out. Only if forward-looking patriots join mass organizations will it become possible to guide, organize and unite the masses with a view to mustering sufficient strength to work for victory while avoiding reckless moves and defeat the dictatorship.

To be sure, it is now harder to work actively among the masses than in the past because there is a dictatorial regime. Terror has taken the place of democratic order. Under the Popular Government, the masses took an active part in public life. By now all activity of this nature has died down under fascist pressure. But the usurpers cannot stop legal activity of revolutionaries and democrats in popular organizations nor stop their struggle for the solution of problems agitating the people even though the methods of this struggle will have to be changed. Practice has shown that in many cases various sections of the people can be mobilized for action in support of specific demands, which is often small in scale but helps to expose the junta's demagogical maneuvers, restore the people's confidence in their strength, achieve closer unity of the people, eliminate the hostile sentiments sown by the class enemy and prepare in the end for action on a larger scale.

Conditions for reactivating the masses are daily becoming more favorable. The authorities' outrages and abuses are multiplying. The condition of the masses is steadily worsening. All this makes it our duty continuously to step up our defense of their interests, and we Communists propose to do much more in this respect, in common with our allies and all anti-fascists.

We must learn to advance from simple to complex things, from numerous isolated actions over problems of the day to the elaboration of specific programs making it possible to merge these numerous actions into one powerful stream and score more considerable gains in this way.

The working class shows how to do it. The important thing today is to re-establish trade union rights, first of all the right to put forward demands and to strike. Many unions have won pay increases beyond the limits set by the junta. National federations demand restoration of the right to collective bargaining and a return to the wage levels of January 1973. This demand was put by the Confederation of Copper

Industry Workers. Besides, several federations insist on their right to participate in the drafting of the proposed reforms of the labor code, social maintenance and the social status of factories, resisting thereby the fascist junta's attempts to deal with these matters without those whom they concern. All these demands are legitimate. If they are not met many of the misled will see for themselves what the junta stands for, whom it represents and how very false its declarations are. If, however, the workers' demands are met their organizations will become stronger and their rights will be re-established, which will help the working class to become a center of unity and a motive power of revolutionary change.

The regime's brutal repressive measures anger millions of Chileans. Solidarity with the persecuted, with those who are killed, tortured or jailed, as well as with their kin, is increasingly becoming a cause of the masses. Everywhere our people's lofty, humane sentiments prompt them to take action in new forms. This is creating a very broad basis for united action by the masses. We must strive to extend the scope of this effort, for it helps to establish close bonds between the various sections of the people and to do away with the hatred fomented by fascism.

Many more examples of this nature could be cited.

Another essential aspect of work among the masses is the underground activity of anti-fascist organizations and the people themselves. Legal and illegal working methods make up a single whole and must complement each other. At present it is only in illegal conditions that the people can preserve the structure of their political organizations, which the junta would like to destroy so as to perpetuate the domination of monopoly capital. Only an underground organization can lay bare the nature of the junta, the regime's crimes and anti-national activities, combat its obscurantist ideology and retain in the most difficult conditions the ability to guide, organize and unite numerous actions by the masses. The more closely underground work is linked with the struggle of the masses, the greater its effect will be, especially if it is carried on with the participation of the masses and becomes their cause.

Here is an example. In an attempt to end all democratic activity, the fascist regime encourages denunciation on all levels. The underground organization must see to the exposure of informers in factories, residential neighborhoods and educational institutions, make their names known and bring the masses into this campaign to pillory

these people, expel them from public life and make them feel the people's contempt.

All this means that the popular movement must reject the methods of terror, action by small groups, adventurist practices, for to use these methods would mean playing into the hands of fascism. More than a year's rule by the oppressors has shown that the dictators would like nothing better than to prompt the popular movement to use these methods, for this would provide them with an excuse for their crimes. Indeed, when the democratic movement showed maturity and offered them no pretext they organized provocations like the raid on the Chilean Bank, which was used for killing Miguel Henriquez and for diverting attention from the treacherous assassination of General Prats and his wife.

We must prevent the rise and spread of a mood of passive expectation of a nonexistent solution which will allegedly come from somewhere outside the mass movement. The junta spreads rumors about the formation of a "government in exile," claiming that armed groups are training abroad with the aim of overthrowing its rule. The main purpose of this falsehood is to discredit the powerful international solidarity movement by representing it as "interference" and, above all, to induce the masses to remain inactive and passively submit to exploitation and abuses as they await the "great day" or "big action" that will allegedly change the situation.

There is no doubt that the great day of the people's triumph will come, but it will come only if a mass struggle by millions of Chileans develops inside the country, if protest actions everywhere become organized and if all patriots unite in the Anti-fascist Front.

8. A STRONG MASS COMMUNIST PARTY

To fulfil the tasks arising from the situation, we need a strong and militant mass Communist Party.

The first Communist organizations sprang up in the pampa at a time when the working people were pariahs lacking rights and were unorganized. It was a very hard time and there was an enormous amount of work to be done. Nevertheless, the Party forged by Recabarren struck deep roots among the working class and the people and became a key factor in the country's social development.

The Party's patriotic, deeply national character has been confirmed by its entire history, as well as by the fact that all attempts to eliminate the Party have failed and their initiators have broken their teeth and died politically in a short time. The fascists have forgotten

the lesson which Gonzalez Videla, a traitor, learned well, for they have been talking of removing the "cancer" of Marxism.

However, the Communist Party and its youth organization cannot be destroyed, for they meet the innermost, vital interests of the working class and the people.

Evidence of this is what the gorillas now temporarily in power come up against. They have killed, tortured, imprisoned or committed outrages against thousands of members of our Party. They have succeeded in putting a number of regional and local leading committees out of action for a time. But theirs are short-lived victories. The committees are being reconstituted and the struggle is continuing in spite of difficulties. Specifically, this indomitable spirit manifested itself in a province where seven women restored the regional committee after all the men on it had been arrested or killed.

Though forced underground, we have not renounced the mass character of our Party and never will. Our underground work does not rest on its strictly clandestine nature, nor do we command vast funds. It is and will be carried on with the help of thousands upon thousands of families who threw the doors of their homes open to the persecuted as soon as mass repression began and who help our underground organization. We owe illegal work on this mass scale to the fact that the people's love for the working-class Party is stronger than the hatred of our enemies. Our activity neither depends nor can depend on the existence of one or two key leading centers. It fuses with the effort of the people themselves, and fascist repression proves powerless against it.

Underground work on a mass scale is made possible also by the Communists' firmness of conviction. Since the dictatorship was imposed, we have been struck very strong blows, thousands of members of the Party and its youth organization and prominent leaders, including Comrade Luis Corvalan, our General Secretary, have been arrested. Many of them were shot or tortured to death but not one of them could be made to supply any evidence endangering any organization or leader operating underground. This exemplary conduct of every Communist is our Party's pride and an earnest of victory.

It is for this reason that the dictatorship cannot destroy our Party. The regime will yet be able to strike us telling blows but the Party will be joined by more and more leaders coming from an inexhaustible source, the working class and the people.

We Communists are full of optimism, which we derive from our confidence in victory. Together with our allies we will be a depen-

dable vanguard in the struggle against the dictatorship, in the search and preparations for a solution meeting the interests of the people and the revolution. We are certain that the Chilean people will form the broadest coalition in their history to end the dark night of fascist rule.

Leadership of the Communist Party of Chile
Santiago

STATEMENT BY COMMUNIST PARTIES OF GREAT BRITAIN AND SOUTH AFRICA

COMMUNIST CALL TO CUT LINKS WITH APARTHEID

A delegation of the Executive Committee of the Communist Party of Great Britain, consisting of John Gollan, General Secretary, and Jack Woddis, head of the international department, met representatives of the Central Committee of the South African Communist Party at the end of 1974. Their statement says:

The defeat of Portuguese fascism by the combined efforts of the national liberation movements in Angola, Mozambique and Guinea-Bissau and the actions of the democratic movement in Portugal has opened the way to the full liberation of the former Portuguese colonies from imperialist exploitation and thereby created a new situation in southern Africa.

New possibilities for advance now present themselves for the national liberation movements of Namibia, Zimbabwe (Rhodesia) and South Africa which have been greatly inspired by the successes won by their African brothers in Angola, Mozambique and Guinea-Bissau.

The white minority rulers of Southern Africa, faced with new pressures from the African people in their territories and from the independent African states supported by world progressive opinion, are being compelled to maneuver in an endeavor to find a new basis for the continuation of white control and imperialist exploitation.

The imperialist powers, and especially the U.S., France and Britain, are making new and strenuous efforts to protect their monopoly super-profits in South Africa and maintain their strategic bases.

The fact that Vorster and Smith are finding it necessary to modify

their previous position in some respects is a sign of weakness, not of strength.

Yet eternal vigilance is essential. What Vorster and his backers hope to achieve in South Africa are some marginal changes in minor matters while retaining the substance of apartheid and discrimination, continuing the system of cheap African labor, and denying democratic rights to the majority.

It is intended to combine minor concessions on fringe aspects of apartheid with increased emphasis on the system of Bantustans, with the fraudulent purpose of presenting these administrative dependencies as the fulfilment of independence for the African people.

Apart from the intention of utilizing this whole operation to buy time and safeguard the domination of the white minority in South Africa, it is hoped that the barrage of propaganda that will accompany these changes will lull public opinion outside South Africa and so damp down the worldwide anti-apartheid movement.

This, as recent voting at the United Nations shows, has now reached a new peak at governmental levels.

It is important for all supporters of the African people's struggle in Southern Africa to understand that the struggle is not one for civil rights, but for national liberation and political power, for the ending of a system based on minority rule, repression and discrimination, and for the introduction of a genuinely democratic power based on majority rule, one man, one vote.

In this regard, we reaffirm our support for the African National Congress which is heading the South African liberation alliance.

We call on the British labor movement and all anti-racist forces in Britain to step up their material and moral support to the ANC and to help popularize its program throughout the solidarity movement.

We declare our solidarity with the Zimbabwe liberation movement in its efforts to liberate their country from white minority rule.

We express our full support to SWAPO and its struggle to end the illegal South African "mandate," to defeat Vorster's plot to create Bantustans in Namibia, and to win complete, unfettered independence and democracy and the cessation of white minority domination.

The working people of Britain and of South Africa have a common enemy and a common cause.

The powerful monopolies and international firms which exploit the people of Britain exploit also the riches of South Africa where they help to uphold the system of apartheid and cheap labor.

British imperialism, through NATO and directly on its own, actively supports the oppressors of the South African people with military alliances and cooperation, with political backing, and by investment and trade.

The joint actions of the people of Britain and the oppressed people of South Africa to end repression and apartheid in South Africa is of direct benefit to the British people themselves who, to solve their present crisis, need to challenge the same big monopolies which exploit South Africa, and which invest their capital there to the detriment of Britain's own economy.

The role of the British Labour government in relation to South Africa has been rightly condemned by its own supporters, especially in connection with the joint naval exercises and other forms of military cooperation.

Such collaboration with the hated practitioners of apartheid must be ended, and so should all other forms of military, economic and political cooperation between Britain and South Africa.

We appeal to all labor and progressive organizations and people in Britain to press the Labour government to carry out the following measures:

- end all forms of military cooperation with the South African government;
- ban all exports of capital to South Africa;
- cease all trade with South Africa;
- support all United Nations' decisions to introduce sanctions against South Africa, and to expel South Africa from UN membership;
- call for the release of Nelson Mandela, Ahmed Kathrada, Walter Sisulu, Bram Fischer, John Hosey and all other political prisoners.

Morning Star, January 10, 1975.

JOINT COMMUNIQUE OF THE FRENCH COMMUNIST PARTY AND THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE USA

A CP USA delegation, headed by National Chairman Henry Winston and consisting of National Council members Fern Winston and

Joseph Brandt, and also Sylvia Brandt, visited France from January 13 to 17 at the invitation of the French Communist Party.

During its stay the delegation met with the heads of a number of Central Committee departments, visited the Party federation of Yvelines Department, and was informed of Party activities in factories and residential areas. The delegation was received at the offices of *l'Humanité*, the FCP daily newspaper.

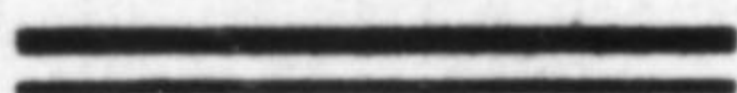
The CP USA delegation had fraternal meetings with a FCP delegation consisting of Etienne Fajon, Political Bureau member and Central Committee secretary, Central Committee members Jean Kanapa, Jacques Denis and Marie-Claude Vaillant-Couturier, and Max Longuenesse, an official of the Central Committee international department.

During the talks, which were held in a warm, fraternal atmosphere, there was a broad exchange of views on the situation and struggle in their respective countries, as well as on the international situation.

Faced with the crisis of the capitalist system, the reactionary governments are trying to impose an austerity policy on the working masses in order to secure maximum profits for big business, the multinational companies.

Both delegations also noted that while in our time it is possible to achieve progress in détente with the aim of ending the arms drive and maintaining peace, U.S. imperialism, with the connivance — based on class considerations — of the governments of European capitalist countries, is striving to intensify the aggressive policy of the Atlantic pact, which is directed against socialism and the liberation of the peoples. They condemn the inadmissible declarations of President Ford, claiming for U.S. imperialism guidance of the world, threatening the peoples, in particular those of Indochina and the Arab countries, who want to decide their own destinies, and also nations who want to be masters of their own riches.

The two delegations expressed satisfaction that the visit helped strengthen the relations of friendship and solidarity between their parties. They decided to develop cooperation between the two parties in the interests of the working class and peoples of their countries and the unity of the international communist movement.



RALLY TOGETHER AGAINST REPRESSION

Following is the abridged text of a statement released by the Executive Commission, CC Mexican Communist Party, January 11, 1975.

The death of Comrade Hilario Moreno in a Federal District police prison shocked public opinion. At the same time it laid bare a permanent evil of the Mexican political system, namely, the impunity with which its repressive agencies operate ignoring all laws.

Hilario Moreno grew in stature in the ranks of the political and trade union movement of the working class and became a tested Party member. Whatever the circumstances in which he was killed, it is clear that Hilario died as a man loyal to a principle which Communists regard as their duty, the principle of solidarity with people persecuted by reaction and imperialism. When the need arose he did not show the slightest hesitation in holding out a brotherly hand to a Guatemalan patriot being hounded by tyrants who have been devastating a neighboring country for 20 years now. He did as millions of upright people all over the world do today by helping Chileans persecuted by the military fascist junta. His death was in itself an indictment of all who have been conspiring against the Communist Party and the democratic, anti-imperialist and socialist forces of our country.

It is not a question of an isolated fact nor of an ordinary anti-Communist action but of systematic suppression of the Mexican people's freedoms.

It is a question of attempts to split the forces that can completely deliver Mexico from imperialism, renovate political life in the country on democratic lines and put an end to the omnipotence of an ambitious oligarchy. There is a need for united action, mutual solidarity and cooperation on the part of all the forces striving to pave the way for political freedoms.

Provocations arise the moment democratic forces begin to draw closer together, the moment the government shows signs of a certain resistance to imperialism. They are staged to maintain the worst features of despotic rule, those expressing themselves in violence, repression, the crushing of popular movements and the denial of political rights to revolutionaries and democrats. They are staged

exactly at the threshold of change of president to create a situation favorable to extreme reaction.

Despotism and its typical forms, methods and practices, which pervade the country's politics, will not disappear easily. Its supporters hold high positions in the state and use them to block every democratic advance of Mexican society, regarding it as something of a conspiracy, subversive act or foreign-inspired intrigue.

The democratic and left-wing forces reacted to provocations and threats firmly and promptly. The protests against the crime, which were voiced even in government quarters, and the demand for stopping the persecution of Guatemalan exiles, carefully investigating the crime and punishing the culprits are very important right now.

Numerous organizations and currents demand the dismissal of the police officials whose duty is to prevent police excesses. This is not enough, however. A standing task must be to fight for the abolition of the antiquated forms of the existing system and the omnipotence of repressive agencies, which enables them to flout any law and to commit outrages, tortures and murder without having to answer for them. The government must meet the principal demands of the public and conduct a most careful investigation, proceeding from the obvious fact that Comrade Hilario Moreno was killed and not from the supposition that he "took his life." As well as investigating the crime and punishing the culprits it must promise the people to take steps safeguarding democratic rights and repeal laws and provisions assigning the police repressive functions or allowing men in police uniform or bearing a police badge to abuse their power by engaging in arbitrary practices. Public opinion will see to it that this promise is kept. Those responsible for the crime must be removed and punished according to the penal code. Guatemala's patriots, who have always scrupulously respected Mexican laws, must be guaranteed political asylum. We must secure Hilario Moreno's public rehabilitation.

The Executive Commission of the Mexican Communist Party regards it as its duty to express its sincere gratitude to all organizations, parties and individuals for protesting against the arbitrary methods, outrages and threats which dozens of people have been subjected to over the past two weeks.

We are grateful to all who have shown awareness of the gravity of the circumstances surrounding the death of Hilario Moreno, all who have shown vigilance and readiness to act in order that this provocation against the democratic forces may fall through. We sincerely urge them to join in united action for political freedoms. They may rest

assured that the Mexican Communist Party will always cooperate with them in carrying out the tasks involved in the fight for democracy, freedom and national independence.

STATEMENT OF THE CC OF COMMUNIST PARTY OF PHILIPPINES

PHILIPPINES: NEW POLICY ORIENTATION OF THE MARTIAL-LAW GOVERNMENT AND THE ATTITUDE OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY

The PKP (Partido Komunista ng Pilipinas) views the institution of the parliamentary form of government as a forward step toward broader mass participation in the political processes of the country. It is hoped that this new political form will do away with the two-party system and encourage open access on the part of the citizens to organized development in their political affairs through their own political parties.

It is the position of the PKP, however, that this broadened political framework cannot be realistic and cannot constitute a genuine departure from the old system of government unless it recognizes the right of the PKP to function openly and legally as a political party among the Filipino working masses.

The principled position of the PKP is clear: it seeks to submit to the people in an open free election its own program of government. It does not aim to overthrow by force of arms the present government but it aims to make that government truly serve the interests of the broadest ranks of the Filipino working people, through mass struggles, electoral means and the exercise of democratic rights.

The logical result of this new system of government should be the recognition of the PKP as a legal political party, entitled to the exercise of all democratic rights and to protection as are accorded to political parties of other classes.

This necessarily implies that PKP cadres shall be free to conduct the party's political activities. There cannot therefore be any basis for the continued incarceration of PKP cadres on the basis merely of their

membership of the PKP. Hence recognition of the PKP as a legal political party means the release of its cadres who are being held as political prisoners. It also means a declaration of unconditional amnesty for PKP members.

The central point in the struggle of the PKP and that of the working-class movement in the Philippines is the establishment of a truly democratic political, economic and social order in the country. Thus the PKP vehemently objects to the proclamation of martial law throughout the country and to its continuance. The PKP calls for the immediate termination of the martial-law "emergency" situation; the restoration of the liberties of the people suspended or abolished by the imposition of martial law, particularly freedom of speech, assembly and the press, the right to strike; and the release of all political prisoners.

In relation to the position of the PKP on Samahang Nasyon and Barangay as the rightful organization for the exercise of political power of the people and to the PKP's struggle for legalization and for the right to participate in elections, the PKP calls for immediate elections at all levels. The PKP maintains that the right of the people to elect their leaders is a basic democratic right, the denial of which is despotism.

The PKP welcomes industrialization as the only course in national development. However the PKP strongly opposes and will actively struggle through parliamentary and extra-parliamentary means against imperialist-controlled industrialization of the country. The PKP views the heavy inflow of multinational and monopoly capital as detrimental to the Philippines. Thus the PKP as ever advocates the intermediate stages of nationalist industrialization and a non-capitalist development as discussed in detail in its program.

The PKP supports the employment program insofar as it affords many of the country's work force gainful employment. It views the increase of the country's proletariat as providing the necessary objective conditions for sharper class struggles.

However the PKP advocates for higher wages for both industrial and agricultural workers. The minimum wages for the workers of both sectors should be adjusted upwards periodically on the basis of cost of living of consumer price index. The fixing of minimum wage, as well as wage increases gained by trade-union struggle, is rendered illusory by the sad experience of the working people that price increase is twice more than the increase in their money income. Adjustment of minimum wage upwards in accordance with the

movement of prices will protect them from price manipulation by big capital.

The PKP supports the restructuring of the trade unions, based on the one-federation-one-industry principle and on the setting up of a labor-unity center, as a step toward the forging of class unity.

But the PKP vehemently objects to the abolition or suspension of the workers' right to strike. It will pursue a militant struggle for the restoration of this right, which is a basic class weapon of the Filipino working class. It will continue to fight for the broadest democratic rights of the workers.

The PKP accepts the basic principle of the present land reform program of giving land to the tillers and of liquidating the historic evil of landlordism. But the PKP will continue to fight for the interests of the peasants in cutting down the price at which the family-sized farms are being sold to them.

The PKP supports the formation of Samahang Nayon and will campaign for wider membership of the Samahang Nayon among the peasantry. It will, however, struggle to remove the onerous conditions for such membership and will wage a vigorous fight to make the Samahang Nayon a class organization rather than a collection agency for the amortization price of landholdings and a means of enrichment for the insurance magnates. The PKP advocates for more substantial political power for these organizations, rather than as a mere rubber stamp of the central government.

The PKP wholeheartedly supports the increase of workmen's compensation from 6,000 to 12,000 pesos, the grant of increased retirement benefits to retired government employees, and the pressure of the government on the private companies to give living allowances to workers and employees. The grant of more benefits to social-security members is welcomed by the PKP.

The PKP will continue to agitate the working masses and prod them to greater organizational effort to advance further their interests and for the government to sponsor measures for working-class benefits, particularly the progressive increase of wages and salaries in the face of inflation caused by unmitigated profiteering on the part of monopoly business groups.

The initiative of the martial-law government in pursuing a realistic policy toward the socialist countries has the full support of the PKP. The establishment of diplomatic ties with Czechoslovakia, the German Democratic Republic, Hungary, Poland, Bulgaria, Rumania and Mongolia is definitely along a progressive course of foreign policy.

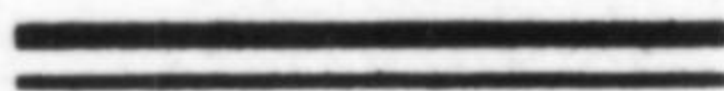
But the PKP thinks that there is no reason at all for holding in abeyance or long delay in establishing the country's diplomatic relations with the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries. The broadening of trade relations with these countries without discrimination will bring benefits for the people, more than what the country could obtain from trade with developed capitalist countries.

Recent events connected with the oil crisis have proved to the martial-law government that it does not pay to align its foreign policies within the framework of imperialist dictates. The official pronouncement of the present government characterizing the Israeli seizure of Arab lands in the 1967 war as an act of aggression, even coming as it did in the wake of Arab assertion of unity and anti-imperialist position in respect to their natural resources, has the support of the PKP.

The PKP also supports the emerging policy of closer relations with Arab countries.

The PKP supports the policy of direct participation of government in the oil industry as a step forward to nationalization of the oil industry. The PKP will pursue further its fight for such nationalization as the only measure, at this stage, that can ensure the Filipino people against price and supply manipulation by giant foreign monopolies.

Party Life, November 22, 1974.



FORTY-FIFTH ANNIVERSARY OF THE WORKING PEOPLE'S PARTY OF VIETNAM

**To the Central Committee of the Working People's Party of
Vietnam:**

Dear comrades,

On behalf of the Soviet Communists and the entire Soviet people the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union sends you and all Vietnamese Communists, the fraternal Vietnamese people heartfelt congratulations on the 45th anniversary of the founding of the Communist Party of Indochina, now the Working People's Party of Vietnam.

The formation of a Marxist-Leninist party in Vietnam marked the beginning of a qualitatively new stage in the liberation struggle of the peoples of the Indochina peninsula, when the working class and its militant vanguard, the Communists, headed all the patriotic and progressive forces of Indochina.

The Working People's Party has traversed a long and glorious path, becoming the acknowledged leader of the Vietnamese people, the organizer of all its victories. Under its leadership the people of Vietnam carried out the victorious August revolution, formed the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, the first people's democratic government in Southeast Asia, and defended it in struggle against colonialists and their stooges. The Vietnamese people defended the freedom and independence of their homeland in struggle against U.S. imperialist aggression, secured the signing of the historic agreement on ending the war and restoring peace in Vietnam. They are now building socialism in the North, battling for genuine independence, peace and democracy in the South and for the strict implementation of the Paris agreement on Vietnam. The victories won by the Vietnamese people under the leadership of the Working People's Party have become a cardinal factor in the struggle waged by the peoples of Indochina against their common enemy – imperialism and its henchmen.

The example of Vietnam once more convincingly demonstrates to the peoples the unprecedented scope and militant organization attained by the movement of the masses and the lofty feats they are inspired to when led by the Marxist-Leninist party, which arms them

with a clear understanding of their just aims and a clearly-defined program of action.

The Soviet Communists, all Soviet people harbor feelings of fraternal friendship and profound respect for the heroic Working People's Party of Vietnam. The militant solidarity of the Soviet and Vietnamese Communists in the struggle for the common ideals of socialism and communism has deep historical roots and glorious traditions. Our people will always remember that the Working People's Party was founded and fostered by Comrade Ho Chi Minh, a great friend of the Soviet Union and outstanding leader of the international communist and working-class movement. The banner of Ho Chi Minh, under which the Vietnamese Communists and people are winning victories on the path to a lasting peace and a bright future on Vietnam soil, is a banner of lofty patriotism and proletarian internationalism, a banner of the inviolable Soviet-Vietnamese friendship.

True to their internationalist duty, the Soviet Communists, the entire Soviet people have invariably given and will continue to give all the necessary aid and support to their Vietnamese brothers in the struggle for their just aims, untiringly strengthen and promote the friendship and cooperation between the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Working People's Party of Vietnam, between the Soviet and Vietnamese peoples.

We wish the glorious Working People's Party of Vietnam, all the heroic Vietnamese people new splendid victories in the fight for the triumph of the revolutionary cause of the working class, for peace, national independence, democracy and socialism. We wish you further success in developing socialist construction in North Vietnam, in fulfilling the decisions of the 22nd plenum of the WPP Central Committee, and in the struggle for the strict implementation of the Paris agreement on Vietnam.

*Central Committee, Communist Party
of the Soviet Union*

VANGUARD OF THE PEOPLE

February 3, 1930, was the birthday of the Party of the Vietnamese Communists. On that day a conference of Communist organizations of Vietnam was held under the leadership of Ho Chi Minh, outstanding revolutionary and internationalist, representative of the

Comintern, at which it was decided to unite the Communist organizations in a single party.

The formation of the Communist Party of Indochina (CPI) was the result of the growing revolutionary struggle and, in its turn, became a decisive turning-point in its development. From the very first days the Young Communist Party assumed leadership of the mass actions of Vietnam's workers and peasants.

In 1931 the CPI was admitted to the Comintern and became a detachment of the worldwide army of Communists.

The colonialists unleashed a campaign of terror against the Vietnamese Communists. Tran Phu, the Party's General Secretary, and other comrades were done to death in the dungeons. But relying on the revolutionary enthusiasm of the people, on the support of the world communist movement, including the CPSU, the CPI was able to withstand this ordeal.

The first CPI congress was held in 1935. It proved the correctness of the Party's political line. In the years preceding the Second World War the CPI was active in building up a democratic front of Indochina. Unfolding in 1936-39, this movement became a second dress rehearsal for the August revolution.

The CPI continued revolutionary work during the Second World War despite persecution by the French colonialists and Japanese occupation forces. The Eighth Central Committee plenum, held near the village of Pacbo in North Vietnam in February 1941, defined the character of the impending revolution in Vietnam as a national-liberation revolution. The plenum resolved to begin organizing revolutionary bases, build up the armed forces and step up preparations for an armed uprising.

Enriched by 15 years' experience of struggle, the Party was fully prepared for the decisive battle for people's power in August 1945. In the August revolution the people, led by the Communists, emerged victorious. Their victory gave birth to the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, the first worker-peasant state in Southeast Asia.

But to consolidate this victory, years of hard struggles were needed, first against the French colonialists, then against the aggression of U.S. imperialism.

The Party became the organizer and leader of the nationwide resistance movement. It directed the people's struggle toward the achievement of independence and the transformation of society. At the Second Congress in February 1951 the Communist Party of Indochina was renamed the Working People's Party of Vietnam. Having

defined the current tasks, the congress pointed out the prospect of passing over to socialist revolution.

1954 saw victory in the war of resistance. The Geneva agreements recognized Vietnam's basic rights: independence, sovereignty, unity and territorial integrity. But the implementation of the Geneva agreements was frustrated by U.S. imperialism. As a result, Vietnam was divided into two parts.

The Democratic Republic of Vietnam, drawing on the aid and support of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, concentrated its efforts on transforming the social structure and carrying out the economic tasks. At the opening session of the Third Congress of the Working People's Party in September 1960, President Ho Chi Minh called it a "congress of socialist construction in North Vietnam and struggle for the peaceful unification of the motherland."

But the peaceful development of the DRV was once more interrupted by the imperialist circles. The DRV fell victim to the aggression unleashed by the U.S. air force. The Party called on the people to defend their socialist gains and the freedom and independence of their country. In these battles the Communists were always in the forefront.

As a result of their heroic struggle the Vietnamese people won a historic victory and in January 1973 the Paris agreement on ending the war and restoring peace in Vietnam was signed. This was a victory for the socialist system in the DRV, an outpost of socialism in Southeast Asia. This victory was won in close fighting cooperation with the other embattled peoples of Indochina. In assessing the significance of the Paris agreement, Comrade Le Duan, First Secretary of the WPPV Central Committee, noted that it was also a victory for the fraternal solidarity of the socialist countries, the international communist and working-class movement, the victory of Marxist-Leninist ideas.

On the very first day of peace the Party Central Committee appealed to the people of the republic to show resolution in overcoming all difficulties on the way to the rehabilitation of the homeland and in building a new life to match the revolutionary heroism shown in battle. In inner Party work the WPPV lays the stress on strengthening its ranks, on the ideological tempering of its membership.

The Party focuses its attention on the consolidation of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam as a socialist state, as a basis of the Vietnamese people's revolutionary struggle.

Between the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Working People's Party of Vietnam there exist fraternal relations whose

history can be counted in decades. Our Party has helped the Vietnamese Communists at all stages of their struggle. Friendship with the first land of socialism is highly appraised in the DRV. The fraternal relations between our parties rest on the solid foundation of the Marxist-Leninist teaching and proletarian internationalism.

During the past 45 years the WPPV has traversed a long and glorious path, has matured and gained strength. It has become the acknowledged leader of the Vietnamese people. It is working for the strict observance of the Paris agreement on Vietnam, and confidently leading the working people along the road of building socialism.

A. Serbin

Pravda, February 3, 1975.

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Gus Hall

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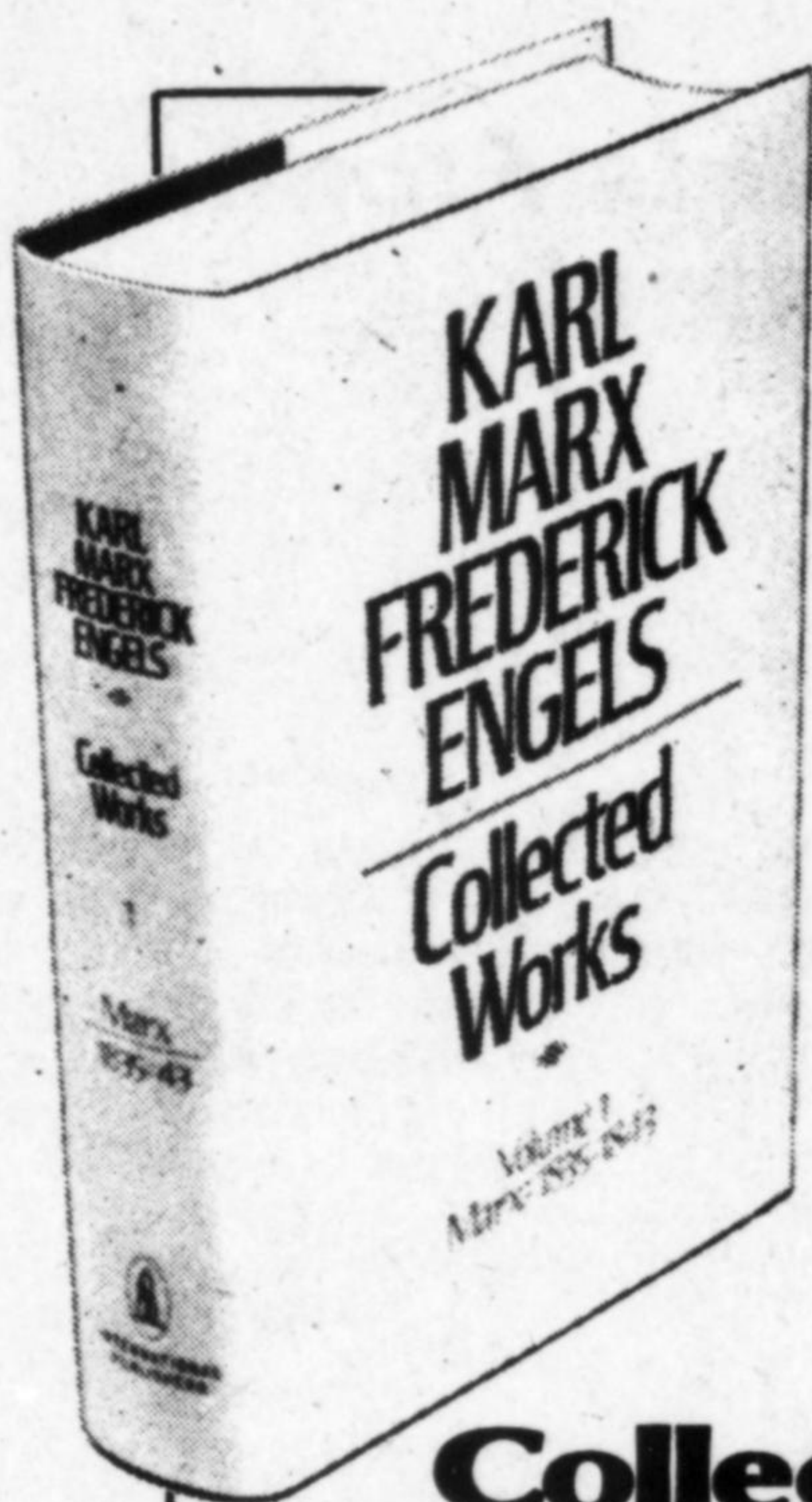
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