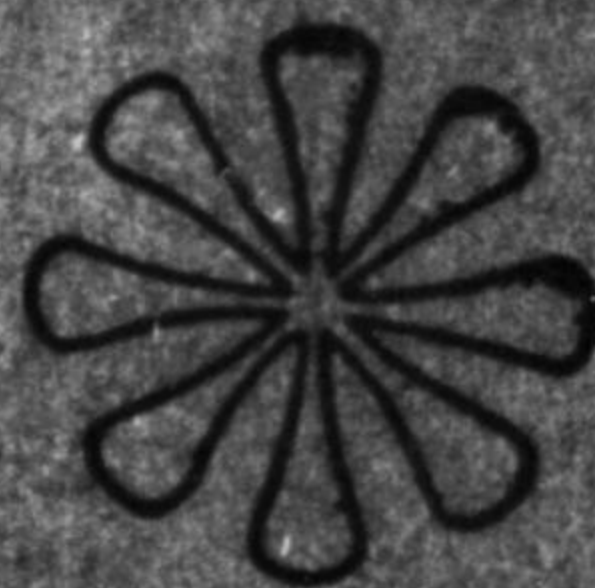
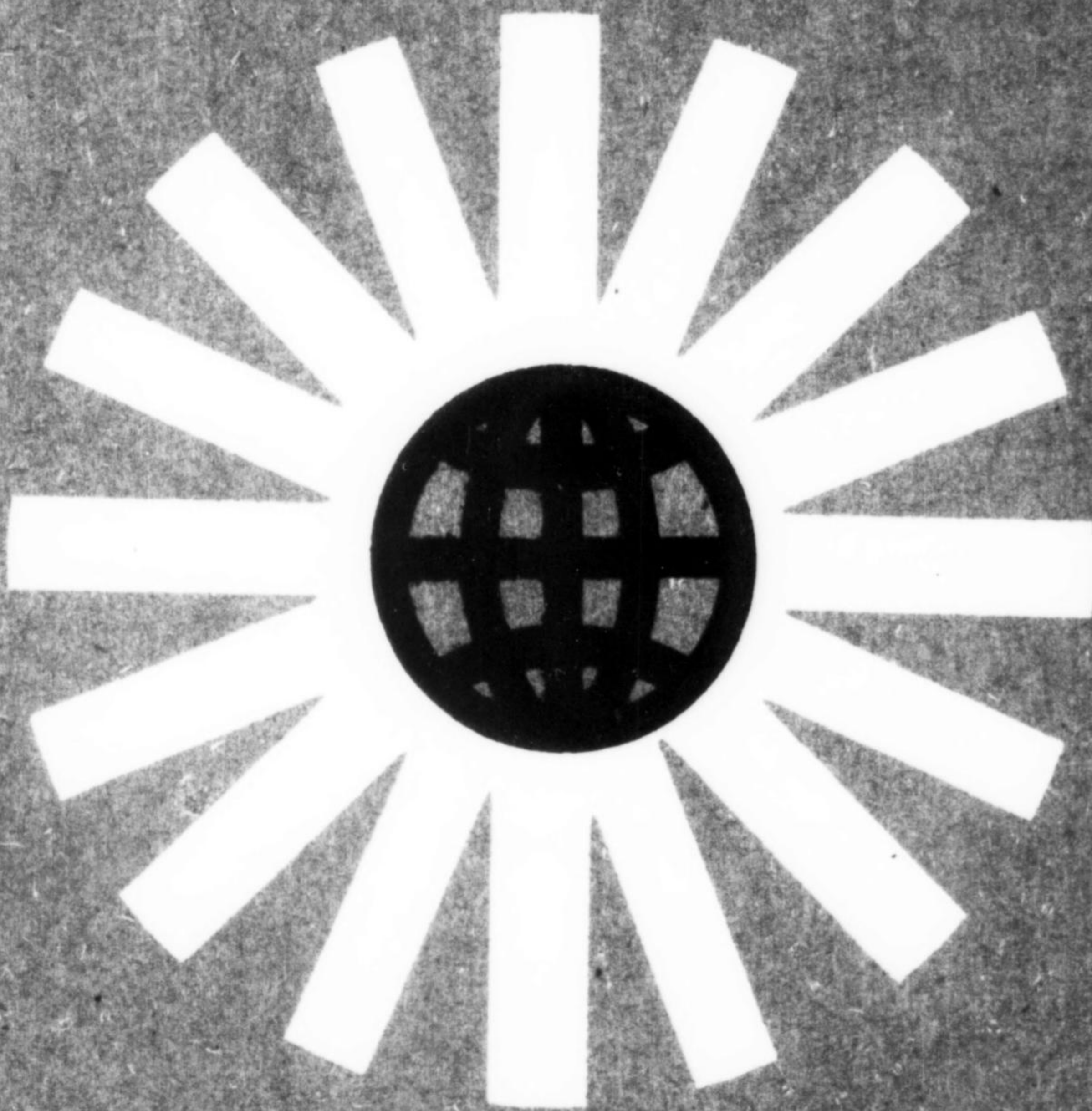


INFORMA



TION



BULLETIN

Issued by

**WORLD MARXIST
REVIEW
PUBLISHERS**

**PROBLEMS OF
AGRICULTURE**

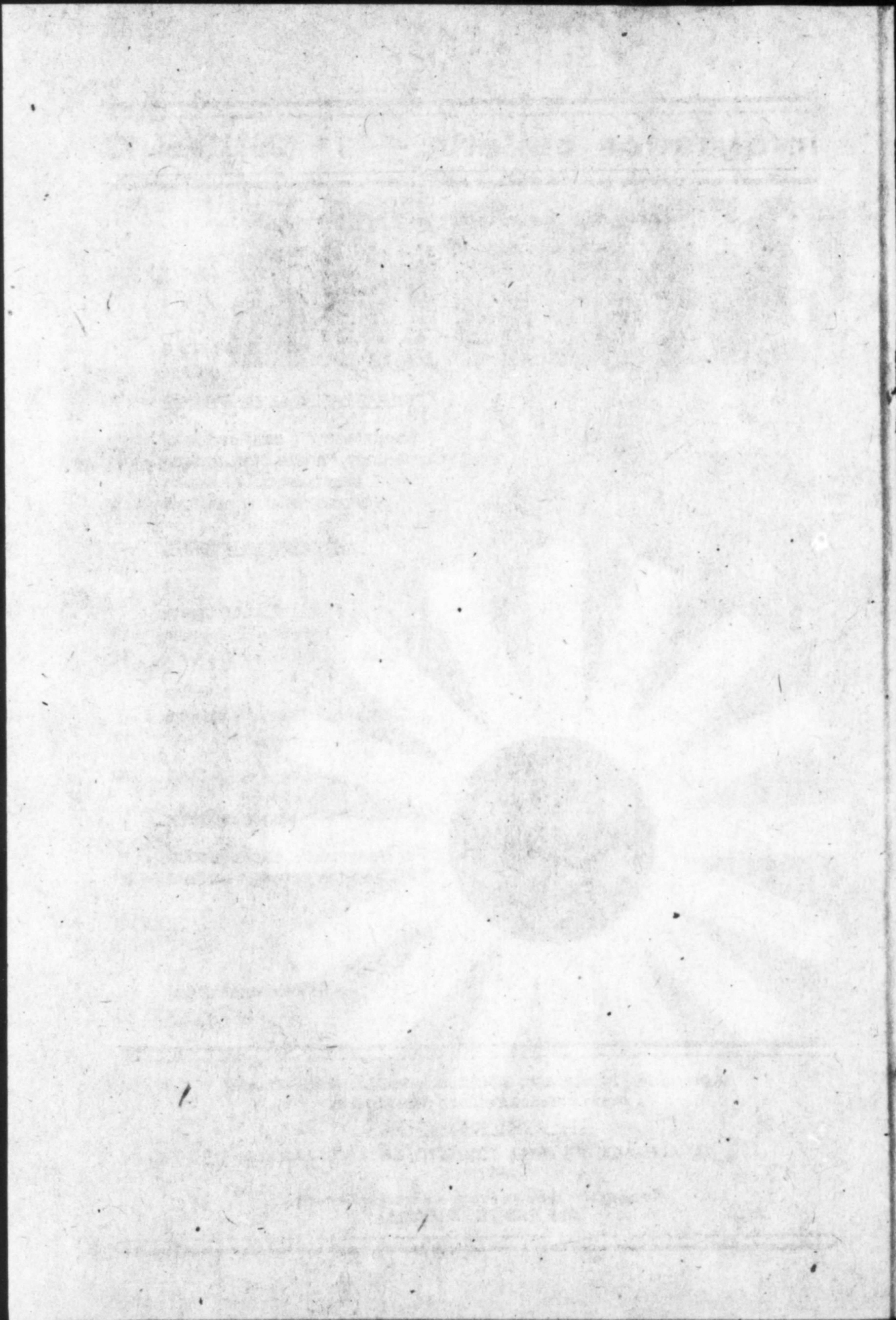
•
MEXICO

•
INDONESIA

•
LEBANON

11

(291) • 1975



information bulletin — 11 (291) Vol. 13

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

contents

MULTILATERAL MEETINGS

- Statement by conference of
Communist Parties of European
capitalist countries on
problems of agriculture 5

PLENARY MEETINGS

GDR

- Brief information on
14th SUPG plenum 13
Speech by Erich Honecker 14

Mexico

- Central Committee meeting.
Mexican Communist Party 17
In brief 19

DOCUMENTS

- For democracy, social justice
and the people's welfare 26

(cont'd next page)

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

PROGRESS BOOKS

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

Copyright © 1968 by Progress Books, Canada
ALL RIGHTS RESERVED

(cont'd)

FROM THE PARTY PRESS

France	
Angola, Guinea, Mozambique on the road of freedom	37
India	
U.S. debacle in Indochina	41
Lebanon	
The new political power and the need for a national front	44
BRIEFS	50

**PRINTED IN CANADA
JUNE 15, 1975**

PRICE: 10 CENTS



MULTILATERAL MEETINGS

STATEMENT BY CONFERENCE OF COMMUNIST PARTIES OF EUROPEAN CAPITALIST COUNTRIES ON PROBLEMS OF AGRICULTURE

The crisis bedeviling the capitalist countries is growing sharper. It encompasses all sectors of their economic and social life, demonstrating that capitalism is powerless to solve the pressing problems of society. In one way or another the governments of these countries are trying to shift the burden of the crisis on to the working people in town and country.

But as the powerful upsurge of the popular struggles shows, the working people do not want their interests to be sacrificed to those of big capital.

Experience has confirmed the analysis made by the conference of the Communist parties of the capitalist countries of Europe held in Brussels in January 1974, which called on the broad social strata, the working-class and democratic forces for struggle and alliance. To promote this extensive unity, the Communist parties in this part of the world carried out a number of measures, one of which was a conference in Paris on May 20-22 last, with the following agenda: "The crisis in the capitalist countries of Europe and the peasantry, the aims of the peasant struggle, the worker-farmer alliance in the fight for progress, democracy, peace and socialism, the role and cooperation of Communist parties."

The gravity of the crisis consequences for the working peasants, the impact of the crisis on society as a whole, and the unprecedented peasant struggle that has swept many European capitalist countries in recent years, combine to emphasize the urgency and importance of this, first conference of the Communist parties of European capitalist countries on the present situation and the future of the peasantry.

1. THE CRISIS OF AGRICULTURE: A CONSEQUENCE AND AN AGGRAVATING ELEMENT OF THE CRISIS OF SOCIETY

In capitalist Europe the crisis besetting the society, and the increased difficulties for the masses, unemployment and inflation it involves, are hitting hard at agriculture.

Of course, the development levels and economic situation of agriculture vary from country to country.

In some of them feudal land tenure is still largely preserved. In others, family-type farms predominate, even though concentration is growing. Lastly, in some countries or regions land concentration has resulted in the establishment of large capitalist-type farms employing large numbers of workers.

But despite this variety they have one feature in common: they are all ruled by capitalism characterized by the increased power of big monopolies and acquiring multinational forms to an ever greater extent.

Bent on preserving its privileges in the context of the crisis of state-monopoly capitalism, the big bourgeoisie is intensifying the exploitation of the working class and extending it to other social strata, specifically the working peasantry.

The burden of this exploitation is borne mainly by agricultural workers, small and middle farmers who do not use hired labor permanently and who, in some countries, comprise the majority of farmers.

But as the crisis is being aggravated and as desperate attempts are being made to secure more profitability for big capital, ever new sections of the farmers, who were previously in an advantageous position, are beginning to suffer from the predatory policy of the monopolies.

As a result, large farmer masses have in one way or another fallen victim to the rule of big capital.

This further aggravates the problems engendered by the structures inherited from the past, as is evidenced by the existence in some countries of poorly-titled big landed estates, while most of the peasants are landless. Many peasants lose land because of shady deals by owners of speculative capital.

The monopolies impose on the peasants the prices of industrial goods needed in agriculture, which rise much faster than prices of farm products. The peasants have to accept prices imposed on them, while they are not in a position to fix their own.

The consumers have to pay much for foodstuffs because their price

includes taxes, profits of the trusts, farm-produce processing companies, and profits of the capitalist trade network.

The falling purchasing capacity of the crisis-hit workers and other people has led to a considerable shrinkage of the market of farm products and their sales below actual price.

Agricultural markets are ruled by anarchy preventing food production according to demand. There are surpluses in some branches and shortages in others.

The increasing domination of big business over agriculture has led simultaneously to social and national problems.

Social, because millions of farmers have been impoverished and have to look for work elsewhere at home or abroad in view of the growing unemployment.

National, because these mass migrations deprive the countryside of young workers, producing a kind of agricultural desert which, coupled with the excessive concentration of manpower in the cities, adds to the uneven development of regions and adversely affects both the production potential and the future of agriculture in each country.

An important aspect of the general crisis in our countries is that the farm labor force is not renewed with sufficient numbers of skilled workers required to operate agricultural technology.

This situation is all the more dangerous because today there are difficulties with the supply of food and agricultural raw materials on a world scale caused, specifically, by colonialism and neo-colonialism. These difficulties are being complicated by the continued deterioration of agriculture in the capitalist economy.

One of the conditions of national independence and higher living standards in each of our countries is the development of modern agriculture as a sector of the economy of great significance for meeting the home requirements, supplying the people with food, maintaining external equilibrium, and protecting the natural resources.

Agriculture is particularly backward in countries ruled by fascist regimes, such as in Spain, or authoritarian regimes, as in Turkey. The Communist parties of the capitalist countries reaffirm their militant solidarity with the struggle of their comrades and the peoples of these countries.

The Common Market did not give agriculture the "chance" it had promised. Contrary to assurances, the integration only helped expand capitalist exchange, and increase competition and concentration; it has intensified monopoly plunder of the riches created by the working peasantry.

The agricultural policy of the Common Market has aggravated still more the anti-farmer and anti-popular policy pursued by the governments.

It has accelerated the exodus of millions of farmers from the countryside and disorganized agricultural production by creating surpluses and shortages at one and the same time, and added to the imbalance between regions and countries.

The Common Market agricultural policy has put large-scale industry and speculative trade in a privileged position to the detriment of farmers and their cooperatives by widening the gap in the farmer-consumer price parity ratio.

The trend to abandon national prerogatives in favor of supranational organizations can only aggravate the EEC policy. For instance, large sums of money removed from government control are being squandered by the uncontrolled supranational bureaucratic apparatus.

Pernicious concessions are being made to U.S. imperialism which demands that West European agriculture be subordinated to its agricultural exports.

All this affects not only the EEC member countries, but other European countries as well.

In this connection the participants in the conference reaffirm the Brussels statement which sets out the great variety of situations existing in Western Europe and the struggle the Communist parties are carrying on today.

Despite this variety of situations the Communist parties again declare that a common answer to the policy of monopoly economic integration can and must be found, especially through joint action for solutions corresponding to the interests of all the peoples of capitalist Europe and for genuinely democratic European cooperation.

Big business and its governments have proved their inability to solve the problems of agriculture, its further advance, of improving the conditions of the men and women engaged in it.

They even question the need of continuing agricultural activity with all the consequences this may have for our peoples' living standards and for the independence of our countries. This stand is aggravating the general crisis in the capitalist world.

The successes scored by the socialist countries in agriculture accentuate still more the inability of capitalism to tackle the problems of agriculture.

2. THE NEED FOR URGENT MEASURES AND AGRARIAN REFORMS BASED ON THE STRUGGLE AGAINST MONOPOLIES, FOR DEMOCRACY AND SOCIALISM

The Communist parties support the working peasants in their struggle to prevent big business from achieving its aim, that of shifting on them the entire burden of the crisis.

This struggle, combined with workers' action, should be aimed primarily at securing the adoption of urgent measures with due regard for the variety of situations.

It is necessary to improve the lot of the worst hit sections of the population — agricultural workers, tenants, small and medium farmers.

On a more general plane, it is essential to guarantee farm prices so as to ensure just remuneration with due account of the taxes the farmers pay, and also the best possible marketing of agricultural produce.

To increase the farmers' incomes, it is necessary to lower production costs — taxes, high prices of manufactured goods needed for agriculture, debt, and grant low-interest credits.

However, isolated agrarian reforms would not be enough to overcome the crisis in agriculture. Radical anti-monopoly measures are necessary to bring about social and democratic changes within the framework of the struggle to curb big business through, specifically, democratic reforms and democratic nationalization so as to free agriculture from its clutches, as well as measures against big landowners and monopolies. The mass of farmers will then be drawn into active participation in the new policy of developing modern agriculture in the interests of men and women engaged in this sphere.

This new policy, which the Communists will start to advocate in the near future, provides, among other things, for the following:

- better conditions for the production and marketing of farm produce. This can be achieved by:

- ensuring that land should cease to be an object of speculation or domination in the hands of capitalists or owners of big landed estates, that it should become a means of production at the disposal of those who till it, that it become their property or be leased to them on the most favorable terms and at limited rent;

- assisting the modernization of farms and their provision with the

necessary hardware, and promoting all forms of mutual assistance and cooperation among farmers;

- organizing marketing to ensure the farmers prices corresponding to production costs, and a correct development of all types of agricultural production; this will also ensure the marketing of the produce primarily of small and medium farmers;

- lowering taxes by reducing the prices of manufactured goods necessary for agriculture, as well as through financial and tax privileges;

- promoting cooperative forms of processing and marketing of farm produce, and establishing with the peasants new relations free of exploitation and oppression in any form.

It is imperative to improve the living conditions of the farmers and the rural population generally by:

- setting up or improving the social maintenance system which should not be inferior to that of the workers; extending to farmers' children an opportunity to receive vocational training and general education; improving the sanitary services and expanding public utilities (roads, water supply and sewage systems in the villages, sport, cultural and other facilities, rebuilding of houses and reclamation of agricultural land to provide a better balance between agricultural production activity, food-processing enterprises and other economic branches).

Agricultural workers must be guaranteed equality with all other wage earners as regards conditions of work, remuneration and social standing, for which appropriate democratic reforms are necessary.

Having put an end to big business speculation on the export and import of agricultural produce, the new agricultural policy will favor the exchange of products in this field and make it possible to strengthen cooperation while observing the mutual interests and the national sovereignty of each country.

Growing trade in farm produce should not undermine the agriculture of individual countries because it ensures their supply with food, even if only in minimal quantities.

It is in new relations with all countries, especially with socialist and third-world countries, relations without discrimination and based on mutual advantage, that ways and means can be found for regulating the exchange of agricultural products, including the provision of reserves and stock in aid of the peoples suffering from malnutrition.

The farmers of our countries, who suffered so much from wars,

ardently desire peace, détente, security, freedom and cooperation among the peoples.

This aim deserves the greatest efforts in alliance with all political forces. It calls for a struggle against imperialism, especially its leading force — U.S. imperialism with its openly proclaimed aims of domination over capitalist Europe and the third world. The forces of the cold war and reaction have not abandoned their intention of raising new obstacles to progress in peaceful coexistence.

To fight for a Europe at peace, for the reduction of armaments which lay so heavy a burden on all of us, for an early conclusion of the European security and cooperation conference at summit level, means acting to make the incipient turn toward détente irreversible.

As the Brussels conference declared, "the results obtained in peaceful coexistence, far from weakening the struggle against big capital and imperialism, offer the workers and peoples better conditions in which to wage the class struggle more tenaciously in each country and at the international level, strengthening and broadening their united action and developing their mutual solidarity for peace, freedom, independence, progress and socialism."

Implementation of the agrarian reforms offered by us would provide conditions for the development of a modern agriculture based on growing cooperation so essential for creating a balance in each country, and would assure the working farmers the conditions of life and work, and remuneration on a par with those granted other working people.

The profundity of the current agricultural crisis is an indictment of the capitalist system that has engendered it.

This crisis demonstrates the need for new forces — the working people in town and country — to take part in the struggle for deep-going democratic changes, an integral part of the fight for socialism.

History has shown that only socialism can give an answer to the main problems of the rural toiling masses in capitalist countries.

Only socialism, with due account of the specific situation in each country, can provide the farmers with the conditions of life and work equal to those enjoyed by other members of society.

3. WORKER-FARMER ALLIANCE: MORE IMPERATIVE THAN EVER

To counter the policy of the big bourgeoisie, the working people in town and country must pool their efforts and act together.

Recently the farmers' struggle has gained momentum. In the autumn of 1974 concerted actions were carried out by several European countries. On several occasions this struggle was supported by the organized labor.

On the whole, there is growing understanding and solidarity between the wage earners and the working peasantry. Their movements are converging and steadily gaining strength.

The farmers' broader participation in the struggle against big business and its allies has a direct bearing also on agricultural organizations in many countries.

Any step toward democracy and socialism requires a close militant alliance of the workers, intellectuals, farmers and the masses in general. This is imperative for all of them.

It is in the interests of the overwhelming majority of the farmers to pool their efforts with those of the urban working people to win the vital demands and political changes aspired to by both.

There can be no way out of the agricultural crisis without radical anti-monopoly reforms affecting society as a whole.

The crisis of capitalist society cannot be overcome completely without a democratic solution of the agricultural crisis.

Such is the objective foundation of the solidarity bringing together the working people in town and country exploited by big capital.

That is why the Communist and Workers' parties are stepping up their activity to strengthen the links between wage workers and peasants in the fight for democracy and socialism.

They call on the Communists, Socialists, Social Democrats, Christians, and all democrats to forge a unity capable of defeating the big bourgeoisie.

They pledge to coordinate their efforts with a view to defending, in the face of the governments and parliaments of their countries, the above proposals in support of the farmers, and call on the people for action to carry these proposals into effect.

L'Humanité
May 25, 1975

PLENARY MEETINGS

GDR

The Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany held its 14th plenum on June 5 in Berlin. On the proposal of First Secretary Erich Honecker it unanimously resolved to convene the Ninth Party Congress on May 18-22, 1976, in Berlin.

The report of the Politbureau, presented by its member and Central Committee secretary Gerhard Grüneberg, pointed out that political developments in the German Democratic Republic since the December 1974 plenum were highlighted by the working people's immense social activity in preparations for the 30th anniversary of liberation from Hitler fascism, which the world owes to the Soviet Union and its glorious army. We, the report says, observed Liberation Day being aware that the victory over fascist barbarity enabled our people to take the road of peaceful, democratic and progressive development, that the people of the German Democratic Republic have chosen for all time the road of social progress, socialism and communism.

With the Soviet Union's victory in the Great Patriotic War, the report says, a new stage began in the world revolutionary process. One of the main results of this process is a turn from the cold war to détente brought about by the consistent policy of peace pursued by the socialist community with the Soviet Union at its head. The Central Committee of the SUPG, the People's Chamber and the government of the GDR wholly and completely support the Appeal of the Soviet Communist Party, parliament and government to peoples, parliaments and governments on the occasion of the 30th anniversary of the victory over Hitler fascism. Our Party, the entire population of the GDR have profound respect for the CPSU Central Committee and its General Secretary, Comrade Leonid Ilyich Brezhnev, for their tireless efforts in the struggle for peace.

The Politbureau report further points out that the period under review was marked by heightened activity of the GDR Party and state leadership in the field of foreign policy and international relations. Close attention was given to further strengthening and deepening of

relations with the Soviet Union and other fraternal socialist countries, which has always been pivotal to GDR foreign policy. The GDR attaches great importance to the strengthening and improvement of the Warsaw Treaty Organization as a firm foundation of the security of the socialist community and the center for coordinating their peace policies.

The Politbureau paid much attention to the forthcoming conference of European Communist and Workers' parties and positively assessed the course of its preparation.

The plenum approved the agenda of the next congress. A Central Committee report to the congress will be made by Erich Honecker, a report of the Central Auditing Commission by its chairman, Kurt Seibt, a Central Committee member, and report on directives for the five-year economic development plan (1976-80) will be presented by Horst Sindermann, Politbureau member and Chairman of the Council of Ministers.

The plenum unanimously approved the report made by Gerhard Grüneberg and elected Harry Tisch a member of the Politbureau.

SPEECH BY ERICH HONECKER

The Ninth Congress of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany will be an event of great importance for the development of the GDR, said E. Honecker, addressing the plenary meeting.

It will contribute to the successful advance of our policy for the benefit of the people, for the further strengthening of the GDR in the community of fraternal socialist countries, to the GDR's share in the triumph of the ideals of socialism and peace.

Having highly assessed the advances made by the GDR since the Eighth Party Congress, Honecker said that the tasks set for each year were successfully accomplished, while the results of dedicated labor were reflected in the living standards of every member of society and in the progress of the socialist society as a whole. This strengthened the relations of confidence between the SUPG and the working people, releasing fresh creative forces.

Our Ninth Party Congress will convene only a few months after the 25th Congress of the CPSU. It is already clear that the decisions of the Party of Lenin on the further building of communism in the USSR will provide an enormous impulse to the flourishing of the socialist

community, to the advance of the forces of socialism and peace the world over. We shall also benefit by these decisions in formulating our policies for the next period, said Honecker.

The policy worked out by the Eighth Congress has promoted the basic interests of the working class and all working people. The friendship and fraternal cooperation with the Soviet Union have grown stronger. We see in them an unshakable foundation of our country's present and future, a firm basis of the socialist community, actively promoting its further consolidation.

As the First Secretary further noted, the cardinal tasks of further socialist construction and comprehensive consolidation of the republic have been successfully tackled in the GDR over the past few years. In fraternal alliance with the Soviet Union and other countries of our community, the GDR has achieved a new, qualitatively higher level of its international position. Widely recognized as a sovereign state, the GDR has become a UNO member and maintains diplomatic relations with 115 countries.

The fight for peace and security in Europe, Honecker said, has yielded cogent and truly epoch-making results. Owing to the Soviet Union's far-sighted and persistent policy of peace, thanks to the coordinated and agreed actions of the socialist community and the efforts of progressives throughout the world, détente has been made the main trend of world development.

A prominent place in this struggle, Honecker went on, belongs to the Peace Program put forward by the 24th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. By implementing this program the Soviet Union has again demonstrated that its goal is peace and happiness for mankind.

Noting that European peace has never been so stable as now, Honecker said: Our worker-farmer state, which participates in international affairs on the basis of equality, has won respect by its active efforts in promoting peace. Jointly with the fraternal countries we are working toward the earliest possible and successful conclusion of the European security and cooperation conference at summit level. We want to complement the political détente with military détente.

The all-round consolidation of our republic and the entire socialist community has always been a key condition of fresh success in the struggle for peace and détente.

Recalling that the peace in which the European nations have been living in the past three decades was won in hard-fought struggle, Honecker said: We never forget that imperialism has not changed its

nature, that shifts may occur in the international situation. Hence the need for constant vigilance. Détente is a continuous process, a stern struggle, and its aim is to consolidate the positive results achieved so far, continue to expand them and make them irreversible.

Honecker reaffirmed that the GDR, in alliance with the fraternal countries, is resolved to continue the policy of peace, which also implies promotion of relations with capitalist countries, including the FRG. Needless to say, he said, all attempts to back away from agreements that have been concluded, or to divert us from our constructive policy by slander campaigns will be vigorously rebuffed. With time it will be brought home to everybody that we are no longer living in the 1950s.

Honecker pointed out that the competent planning and management of the economy geared to meet the people's requirements has made it possible to implement a vast program of social measures in recent years. The economy, he said, will continue to play the decisive role in social programs. Intensification of social production is now the key factor in solving the tasks confronting the GDR, necessitating higher labor productivity and the fullest possible utilization of the entire scientific and technological potential. The further improvement of socialist society calls for raising the effectiveness of production.

All the aims of the GDR, Honecker went on, are reflected in the common plans of the community of socialist states rallied around the Soviet Union. Comprehensive development of their fraternal cooperation, rapid socialist economic integration and its increasingly greater influence on the GDR's progress are all features of the new stage we shall enter after the Ninth Party Congress, Honecker said.

The First Secretary stressed that the SUPG is linked by indestructible internationalist ties of friendship with all fighters for democracy and progress in capitalist countries. The significance of preparations for the Ninth SUPG Congress is determined by the fact that any advance of socialism, and our home and foreign policies, contribute to the great worldwide revolutionary movement of our time.

Honecker dwelt at length on the tasks of the Party's ideological work in preparing for the congress, on problems of the GDR economic development, and the forthcoming elections in the Party organizations. The large body of Communists in the GDR, now totalling more than 1.9 million members and candidate members, is deeply rooted in the working class and enjoys the confidence of the people. It is particularly gratifying that 169,000 workers have joined the Party since its Eighth Congress.

We are approaching an important stage intended to ensure the further prosperity of our country. In the course of preparations for the Ninth Party Congress we, drawing on the strength of the working class, cooperative peasantry and socialist intelligentsia, on the strength of the entire people and the results achieved, shall build new firm foundations for the further advance toward a developed socialist society. Filled with enthusiasm and optimism, we are tackling the tasks of the present stage of socialist construction whose accomplishment is steadily bringing us nearer to our communist future, Honecker said in conclusion.

Neues Deutschland
June 6, 1975.
(Summary)

CENTRAL COMMITTEE MEETING, MEXICAN COMMUNIST PARTY

At its meeting last April, the Central Committee adopted a resolution on convening the 17th Party Congress, printed below in abridged form.

The program, strategy and tactics of a revolutionary working-class party in our country were finalized at the 16th National Congress. Its resolutions have proved their validity and significance. There are, however, tendencies to a closer alliance of the oligarchy, government and transnational imperialist monopolies at mixed enterprises, indicating the trend toward state-monopoly capitalism. Within a year the political crisis has worsened and the deteriorating economic situation is affecting the people's living standards even more painfully. Moreover, the approaching election campaign is posing definite tasks before us.

Though the state of home affairs, influenced by international factors, has remained virtually unchanged in the last few years, we are now confronted with a different political situation. It is marked by growing mass struggles and the existence of a stronger working-class and popular movement, heightened democratic awareness by the intellectuals and middle strata, the appearance of new progressive organizations and parties, the political and organizational successes of the Communist Party, and the highly favorable conditions for united action by the democratic and revolutionary forces. But it is

also influenced by the persistent political pressure of the most reactionary bourgeois strata and the contradictions in the ruling class and state apparatus, mainly in connection with the change of the president.

In this period, the Communists strove to influence political events and achieve better conditions in the struggle for education, for organization of the working class, and for directing it toward revolutionary objectives. Communist activity in the interests of the working people is becoming more effective and flexible, the Party's ranks are growing, as is its influence on home politics.

The Party should not overrate its achievements, but must analyze more deeply the new developments and nuances of the present situation and outline the immediate prospects of struggle with the aim of advancement toward more important tasks. It is especially important to define ways of overcoming the political crisis, which is quite possible and in the interests of the the country's progressive forces.

The situation in the months ahead will be marked by political struggles over the 1976 general election. In this campaign, we Communists must adhere to a clear-cut tactical line, the result of collective discussion, which should be initiated immediately to enhance the role of the Left and bring about success in the struggle for political freedoms.

Inside the Party, the process of rehabilitation and organizational growth begun at the 16th Congress, is continuing; a contributing factor was the national conference on organizational questions. In order to consolidate these successes and quickly use all opportunities for growth, we must correctly solve the pressing problems with the aim of improving Party leadership at all levels.

The popular struggle the world over is leading to new victories over imperialism in the name of democracy and socialism. In addition to the gains of the progressive forces in Portugal and Spain, there is the victory of the Cambodian revolutionaries over the puppet regime and the successes of the South Vietnamese patriots in freeing their territory of the invaders and their hirelings. These victories are an important stimulus for the Mexican people's struggle. They reflect the changed relation of world forces. The policy of international détente pursued by the socialist countries is gaining ground against the efforts of the forces of war to undermine it. On the other hand, the sharpening of the general crisis of capitalism and the defeats that drive the imperialists into despair warn us of the danger of local wars and of even bigger acts of vandalism on the international scene.

This complex of problems calls for the Party's attention and must be discussed at the new National Congress. We urge the Party organizations and members to ensure the successful work of the congress. Let us all take part in the debate, hold an energetic discussion and apply the best democratic traditions that will become rooted in our Party.

Oposicion, April 30.

IN BRIEF

CANADA

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of Canada, which met in Toronto, heard a report by General Secretary William Kashtan. The speaker pointed to the changed alignment of international forces in favor of peace and socialism due to the historic victories of the peoples of Indochina, the overthrow of the fascist regime in Portugal and the crisis of neo-colonialism around the world. The policy of détente is becoming the basis for international relations in Europe and the rest of the world.

The capitalist world, William Kashtan noted, is going through a deep crisis. The monopolies are trying to solve economic problems at the working people's expense by putting on them the main burden of the struggle against the economic crisis. But the working class emphatically rejects the policy of belt-tightening and sacrifice.

The speaker said that the working class must go over from purely economic to political struggles and strive for the formation of a broad anti-monopoly alliance to carry out radical democratic changes.

The key task of the Communist Party at this stage, he stressed, is to help the working class in its fight against the effects of the economic crisis. Achievement of this task will help strengthen the Party and enhance its vanguard role in the struggle of the working class.

After discussing the report, the meeting unanimously approved it as an action program for the period ahead.

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

Meeting in Prague on May 27, the Central Committee of the Com-

munist Party discussed the proposal of its Presidium concerning election of the President of the Republic. Reporting on the subject, Presidium member Lubomir Strougal said that the Central Committee had to decide on the question in connection with the long and grave illness of President Ludvik Svoboda. In spite of the tremendous efforts of the best doctors, the health of Ludvik Svoboda had not, unfortunately, improved sufficiently to give hope of his resuming the duties of President.

Strougal spoke highly of the merits of Svoboda, stressing his outstanding role in the struggle of the Communist Party and the people for a free, independent, socialist republic. As President of the Republic, Svoboda enjoyed the deep respect and confidence of its people.

Strougal then announced the Presidium's proposal for the election of a new President in conditions where the health of L. Svoboda makes it impossible for him to resume his duties.

The Presidium recommended that a representative of the Communist Party who enjoys the greatest prestige and full confidence of the working people be elected President. These requirements are fully met in the person of the Party's General Secretary Gustav Husak. Therefore, Strougal continued, the Presidium proposed Gustav Husak as a candidate for this post.

Husak is a prominent leading worker of the Party who led the national-liberation struggle during the war and headed the popular-democratic revolution and the restoration of the republic on new, genuinely democratic foundations. By his whole life Husak has proved his loyalty to the Communist Party, Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, his loyalty to friendship and alliance with the USSR and the other fraternal socialist countries.

The name of Husak is associated with the struggle of the Communist Party against fascism and nazi occupation, with the leadership of the Slovak national uprising, implementation of the idea of the Czechs and Slovaks living in a single state, the development of socialist construction. Comrade Husak played an outstanding part in the successful efforts of the Central Committee which after 1969 led the Party and the society out of the profound crisis that had affected all aspects of public life.

The Central Committee meeting welcomed with applause the Presidium's proposal to nominate G. Husak for the post of President. A corresponding decision was unanimously adopted after a debate.

In conclusion, the meeting was addressed by Gustav Husak.

At a joint session of the People's Chamber and Chamber of Nationalities of the Federal Assembly of the CSSR held on May 29, Gustav Husak was unanimously elected President of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic.

DENMARK

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of Denmark met in Copenhagen late in May, with Party Chairman Knud Jespersen as the main speaker.

A resolution passed by the meeting stresses that Denmark is going through economic straits accompanied by mass unemployment, rising prices and cuts in appropriations for social maintenance and public education. The Central Committee put forward proposals which, carried into practice, would increase employment and house-building and improve the people's purchasing capacity.

Speaking in the debate, Executive Committee member and secretary Ib Nørland expressed the solidarity of Danish Communists with the Portuguese Communist Party in its struggle for a new, democratic society in a country that for almost half a century had been ruled by a fascist regime.

The meeting noted the success of the campaign initiated by the Party to collect signatures to a protest against the planned purchase of new military aircraft by Denmark. Some 70,000 Danes have signed the protest to date.

The foreign-policy resolution of the meeting stresses that the Soviet Union, in common with the other countries of the anti-Hitler coalition and all anti-fascist forces, contributed to the defeat of nazi Germany.

The past 30 years, the resolution says, have changed the balance of world forces, led to the formation of the socialist community and shown that imperialism can no longer arbitrarily decide the course of events. The consistent peace policy actively pursued by the socialist community is gaining in influence and making a substantial contribution to détente.

The meeting hailed the Vietnamese people's victory over imperialist and militarist forces.

The campaign for the successful completion of the Conference on European Security and Cooperation should be stepped up to make détente irreversible.

In conclusion, the resolution points out the Party's active participation in preparations for the coming conference of European Com-

munist and Workers' parties, to be held under the slogan "The struggle for peace, security, cooperation and social progress in Europe."

The meeting set the next Party congress, which is to adopt the new program, for 1976.

By another decision of the meeting, the next Party conference is to be convened in Aarhus, on October 4-5, 1975.

FRANCE

On May 23-25 last, the Communist Party held in Nanterre a conference on the crisis of French society and the general crisis of the capitalist system. Speaking at the conference, J. Fabre, a Central Committee member, said that the main cause of the crisis is the bourgeoisie's effort to increase profits at all costs. He pointed out that the working people's condition in capitalist countries has greatly deteriorated.

The balance of world forces, Fabre noted, has changed in the recent period, with imperialism retreating everywhere. This is seen, in particular, in the victory of the patriots of South Vietnam and Cambodia and in the fall of the Portuguese and Greek dictatorships. Only by building a socialist society can all serious problems be solved.

Summing up the discussion, General Secretary Georges Marchais noted that the conference had made possible a broad and useful exchange of views on a highly topical issue of the day.

The present crisis of the capitalist world is deeper than in the 1930s. It has assumed global dimensions and shows that capitalism is unable to solve the serious problems posed by the present epoch. The capitalist crisis objectively raises the question of going over to a more perfect production stage, to an entirely new social organization, namely, socialism.

Georges Marchais said that in France the crisis expresses itself in a sharp decline in the living standards of millions of families. Pointing out that the authorities are seeking a way out of the grave economic situation at the working people's expense, he recalled the steps proposed by the Communists to ease the condition of the masses. He also stressed the need to end the dominance of multinational monopolies in the French economy.

Capitalist society is going through a crisis against the background of

a retreat of imperialism and a change in the alignment of world forces in favor of democracy and socialism. This trend is gaining ground.

Pointing out that the Party stands for a broad popular alliance, Marchais reaffirmed its resolve to do everything necessary to step up the mass struggle for democracy and socialism.

The Central Committee of the Party met in Paris May 27-28 to discuss the Communist efforts to strengthen the left alliance and draw young people into the democratic and revolutionary struggle.

It discussed, endorsed and passed resolutions on two reports: "Continuation of Our Efforts to Strengthen the Alliance" (delivered by Georges Marchais) and "Drawing Young People into the Democratic and Revolutionary Struggle" (delivered by alternate Political Bureau member Guy Hermier). Jean Kanapa was elected a full member of the Politbureau.

In his report Georges Marchais pointed out that lately the big bourgeoisie had launched an extensive campaign against the Communist Party in an effort to weaken it and split the left alliance. This, he stressed, made it incumbent on the left parties to strengthen their unity and continually show the relevance of the solutions proposed in the Common Government Program of the left forces.

Noting that the Communist Party stands for a broad alliance of all who favor socialist transformations in society, Marchais said that now there were real conditions for a closer unity of the left forces.

What is needed to open the road to democracy and socialism in France, he noted, is an alliance of all democratic and working-class forces, an alliance of their organizations and parties, the Communist and Socialist parties in the first place.

The Political Bureau, Marchais said, proposes that the Central Committee declare for a summit meeting between the Communist and Socialist parties. We would like it to give prime attention to the expansion of joint action as required by the present situation.

The General Secretary noted that the earlier decisions on joint action had been successfully put into effect. New initiatives were outlined at a meeting of the standing liaison committee of the Communist, Socialist and Left Radical parties. As before, the Communists will spare no effort for their successful implementation.

Georges Marchais proposed launching a nationwide debate on the main issues of the democratic and socialist future of France.

Below follows the text of a resolution adopted by the Central Committee meeting and published by *L'Humanité* on May 29.

THE COMMUNIST STRUGGLE FOR CLOSER UNITY

The Central Committee approves the report by Georges Marchais on "The Communist Struggle for Closer Unity" and his proposal for holding a discussion with the Socialist Party.

Members of the Central Committee will soon help launch "report and debate" meetings in the Party federations to inform all Party members of the Central Committee meeting and its decisions.

The leaders of the federations will help Party organizations and activists to participate extensively in these actions to the degree possible and required.

This will stimulate the spirit of initiative, helping the Communist Party increasingly to assert itself as the decisive force in stepping up the struggle for the working people's interests, for strengthening the alliance to bring about a change in policy, and for the victory of the Common Program.

The Central Committee approves Guy Hermier's report "On Drawing Young People Into the Democratic and Revolutionary Struggle" and the proposed decisions.

Discussion of the report and decisions by the leaders of the Party federations and all Party organizations will contribute to the needed expansion of the Party's work among the youth and students, especially through greater assistance to the organized forces of the Communist Youth Movement, the principal base of Communist activity among the youth.

They will promote the unity of young people in the struggle for their demands, for the victory of the Common Government Program, and for socialism.

ISRAEL

A resolution passed by the Central Committee of the Communist Part denounces the Israeli government's expansionist policies which hamper resumption of the Geneva peace conference and create a threat of a new war. The main conditions for a peaceful settlement of the Middle East conflict are withdrawal of Israel's troops from all the Arab areas occupied in 1967 and recognition of the legitimate rights of the Arab people of Palestine, including the right to establish an independent state.

The failure of a stage-by-stage settlement shows that the only way to peace is a comprehensive solution of key problems, the Palestinian

problem as well. The road to peace runs through the Geneva conference.

Instead of helping to avert a new war, the Rabin-Peres government is aggravating the situation by trying to dig in on the occupied territories and by continuing its aggression against Lebanon. At home, the government pursues a policy of oppression and discrimination against the Arabs. Its annexationism encourages the militarist aspirations of the Israeli reactionaries.

PERU

The working class and other working people of Peru support the revolutionary process in the country because it is aimed at solving the most important problems of national liberation, said Mario Ugarte, member of the Political Commission, who presented a report of the Central Committee at its meeting held in Lima. The anti-imperialist and anti-oligarchic reforms under way were entirely in keeping with the interests of the working people, who declared therefore in favor of maintaining and furthering this process in breadth and depth.

The report assesses the social and economic changes being affected by the government of President Velasco Alvarado. Whereas at the early stage of this process emphasis was made on anti-imperialist measures, now priority is given to the economic and political provisions of the government's Inca plan. To press forward the process of change, it is particularly important to enlist the people's active participation.

The speaker warned against the danger posed by the reactionaries, who are still trying to undermine the revolutionary process. These forces, which had even wormed their way into leading bodies, are doing their utmost to provoke a conflict between the people and the government. They are trying to start an anti-communist campaign under the pretext of a "communist threat." Therefore, the Communist Party called on all progressive forces to resist reactionary plots and prevent a situation in which fascism would be rampant as in Chile.

The Central Committee described the struggle for the working people's effective participation in the political, economic and social affairs of the country as a basic task of the Party and other progressive forces at this stage. The meeting also examined the progress in implementing the Party's political program, as well as the work of the Central Committee and other leading bodies.

FOR DEMOCRACY, SOCIAL JUSTICE AND THE PEOPLE'S WELFARE

The reactionary military regime has been in power in Indonesia for nine years already. During that time many events have taken place in our country. Recently, forces opposing the regime have become increasingly active. They demand improved living conditions, condemn corruption, come out against the domination of foreign monopoly capital, the tyranny of the rulers and demand the restoration of democracy. These opposition forces consist of various groups and sections of society, Communist and non-Communist: workers, peasants, the youth, pupils and students, the intelligentsia, religious people, and even part of the military.

Although each of the opposition forces pursues its own interests, they all suffer from the oppression of the anti-popular military regime, and can take action against the common enemy — the regime in power.

Such a situation did not exist in the initial period of the military regime, because its anti-popular and anti-democratic essence was still concealed behind the mask of anti-communism. History, however, has shown that anti-communism is everywhere directed against freedom, democracy, progress and the majority of the people. The Indonesian people have witnessed and are witnessing this historical truth — the regime in power oppresses every patriotic, progressive idea and individual.

Among the factors contributing to the growing activity of the opposition the most important was the regime's anti-democratic policy during and after the 1971 "election," when it suppressed and dissolved all political parties and mass organizations except Golkar (Functional Groups). It became clear already then that the democracy we had shed our blood for in the fight against colonialism had been turned into a mockery, a hypocritical imposture of the regime. The pawning of our country's riches to foreign monopoly capitalists, American and Japanese in the first place, that has made Indonesia's

economy completely dependent on imperialism, has caused the indignation of every patriot and all sections of the population. Countless Indonesian patriots have sacrificed their lives at all stages of the anti-colonialist liberation struggle for the cause of political and economic freedom, for the establishment of a popular rule independent of imperialism.

In actual fact the regime depends entirely on the support of bayonets and foreign imperialism. However, it cannot be overthrown if combated by divided rather than united patriotic forces. Individual groups have never succeeded in defeating a well armed enemy. Only unity, and once again unity of all patriotic forces, cemented in a monolith, can break the stranglehold of the people's enemy.

The military regime led by General Suharto is continuing its policy of repression, contrary to allegations that democratic life is allegedly guaranteed in Indonesia. After nine years, hundreds of thousands of Communists and democrats are still in jails and concentration camps on all islands of our country. All patriotic and progressive people and movements opposing the regime are suppressed, their leaders and activists arrested and tortured in detention chambers. This has been experienced by various workers' movements which undertake strike actions; by peasants' movements protesting against the arbitrary actions of the local military rulers; by the movements of the youth and students demonstrating against corruption, high tuition, rising prices, and foreign capital; by the intelligentsia who demand work in their own field, public figures who do not agree with the anti-national policy of the regime; by a part of the military who take a patriotic stand.

Since assuming power, the military regime has turned the independent and active anti-imperialist foreign policy into a pro-imperialist one. It has taken a hostile, or, at the least, a cool stand against the socialist countries, revolutionary movements and the world anti-imperialist forces. There are now close ties with the imperialist bloc in all fields — political, economic, and military. For this reason, Indonesia, known before 1965 as a country pursuing a consistent anti-imperialist policy and enjoying high prestige in the international arena, now is better known as a country associated with the Western bloc and its international prestige has declined. Despite the attempts of the regime to disguise the rottenness of its foreign policy behind such words as "neutrality" and "non-alignment," the facts speak against them.

As regards the regime's economic policy, it is oriented, as men-

tioned above, on "aid" or credits from the imperialist bloc. The public knows well what this imperialist aid actually means: credits with high rates of interest, freedom for foreign monopolies to invest their capital in order to reap the biggest possible profit. Credits and "aid" amounting to over 4 billion U.S. dollars have put the whole of Indonesia's economy in their bondage. Consequently, the country's economic life is completely at the mercy of and dependent on imperialism, which is in the grip of incessant crises.

We can see for ourselves how greedily the imperialists are plundering our country's wealth.

The imperialists together with the ruling generals are not in the least interested in an Indonesia which is self-reliant in rice, not to speak of an Indonesia with her own heavy industry. The rulers' boasted "development" plan is demagoguery pure and simple. The reactionary generals prefer to use the money allocated for development for their own enrichment and for corruption rather than in the interest of the popular masses.

This kind of economic policy has proven its bankruptcy and harmfulness to the people.

The anti-popular essence of the military regime directly affects all groups and sections of society:

The workers' conditions of life are deteriorating. Since the 1971 "election," legal trade unions are forced to join the so-called "all-Indonesia Workers' Federation," controlled by the military. The chief task of this "federation" is to support and carry out the regime's plans. It does nothing whatsoever to alleviate the workers' lot. That is why the workers do not back this "federation" created by the generals. Furthermore, despite the "federation" leadership's ruling prohibiting strikes, in many towns workers of various enterprises have struck, demanding higher living standards.

The declining economy hits the workers the hardest, increasing the number of unemployed. At this moment there are 6 million fully unemployed and 15 million partly employed. These numbers will grow, as the economy keeps on deteriorating. The continuing rise in prices on prime necessities, coupled with the already low wages makes the life of the Indonesian worker extremely difficult. Workers employed in foreign companies are discriminated against both in treatment and in wages.

The working peasants share the lot of the urban workers. They are exploited not only by landlords and other village exploiters, but also

by the *kapbir* (bureaucratic capitalists), those in green shirts in the first place, and foreign capitalists, in the second.

The military rulers have taken the land away from many poor peasants and rented it to foreign capitalists for plantations or other undertakings. Deprived of their land, the poor peasants have been turned into farm laborers. During *paceklik* (the period between sowing and harvesting), they are forced to go to town in search of work; most of them, however, become tramps.

The rulers' policy, allegedly aimed at increasing agricultural production, in reality has not brought about any increase, it has only helped to enrich the village rulers and big landowners. It is just these groups that get credits, select seeds, fertilizers and tools from the government.

The village officials have become instrumental in driving the peasants from their land in the interests of foreign monopolies and big state enterprises.

Along with the peasants the fishermen are also hard hit, cruelly exploited by the usurers, swindlers and speculators of both Indonesian and Chinese origin. This is obvious from the bursts of spontaneous discontent, as was the case recently in Banyuwangi.

The authorities have banned political activities in the villages, with the exception of that directly conducted by the regime or through Golkar. Peasant organizations have been dissolved and the rulers have set up a travesty of a peasant organization under their own leadership making it a tool of peasant oppression. In defiance of this organization, the peasants in different villages often launch spontaneous protest actions against the arbitrary actions, against surrendering their land without compensation, and for a fair crop division.

The *national entrepreneurs* are more and more threatened by bankruptcy because of foreign competition, soaring raw material prices and various adverse regulations. With huge funds at their disposal, modern machinery and technology and large-scale operations, the foreign capitalists are squeezing out national capital; the regulations on "restricting" foreign capital investment do not in the least alleviate the difficult situation of the national entrepreneurs.

Civic-minded businessmen often voice their anxiety and dissatisfaction, but the regime pays no heed whatsoever.

The *civil servants and intelligentsia* are also among those whose conditions are growing worse and worse. The wages of civil servants suffice for seven days at the most. To make ends meet they are forced to take whatever jobs they can find, or to resort to various practices,

often of a shady nature. And the threat of dismissal is always there. Those who fall under the reorganization regulation are not provided work elsewhere and become jobless.

They have no right to carry on any political activity, except in the framework of Golkar. This situation has already resulted in protests and strikes by the civil servants.

The intelligentsia's lot is no better. With no opportunity to find work in their own field, most of them have to take on manual jobs. This is especially true of the teachers: low wages, no possibility to improve their skill, and no right to assembly. Any criticism or protest by the teachers results in expulsion or arrest.

The *youth* is an active and energetic section of society. In the first years of the military regime, they had been deceived and used as a striking force against the government of President Sukarno, against the Communist Party and other democratic forces. They are easily swayed by fine-sounding slogans and in their striving for radical changes are likely to act without sufficient forethought.

High-sounding promises about "democracy," "a stable economy," and "development" remain only promises. What the youth see is just the opposite: democracy is trampled upon, the economy is declining, development is not in the interests of the people. Disappointment and the feeling of having been deceived have pushed the youth to the foreground in opposing the existing regime. Moreover, many school-age children do not go to school because of high tuition fees or lack of school buildings.

They frequently take to the street, demonstrating against corruption, the rising prices of prime necessities, for a reduction of tuition fees. They condemn the arbitrary actions of the military rulers, oppose the dominance of foreign capital, and so forth. The regime retaliates with armed force.

The Indonesian youth movement has a revolutionary tradition and this tradition will certainly inspire the present young generation.

The *new big-compradore bourgeoisie, the speculators, the village exploiters* are thriving under the anti-popular regime. It is common knowledge that the generals in power make up part of it.

As is known, the regime has reinstated the system of feudal and semi-feudal exploitation in the villages by giving back to the landlords all the lands taken from them on the basis of the land reform before 1965; the military rulers protect the landlords and other exploiters in the villages; they are returning to foreign owners all nationalized enterprises and estates. The regime pursues an open-door policy for

foreign monopoly investors and guarantees them freedom of operation in Indonesia; many bureaucratic capitalists and primarily the powerful high-ranking officers have amassed wealth by big-scale corruption, premiums and bribes from foreign monopoly industrialists and local Chinese capitalists.

This group of exploiters is the most malicious and cruel. Though it represents only a very small section of society, it holds the reins of power and is the arch-enemy of the people.

CONCLUSIONS

It can be concluded from the above that the principles of the CPI document "Urgent Tasks of the Communist Movement in Indonesia" are, in the main, still valid. Moreover, this is confirmed by current developments, i.e., certain changes in the situation favoring the development of unity and democracy. Gradually but surely, a polarization of classes is taking place in society; it is being deepened and becoming crystallized. The proponents and opponents of the regime can be distinguished more easily. Facts show that the latter are increasing in number, while the former are decreasing. The prediction of the document "Urgent Tasks ..." that "the military fascist dictatorship is itself multiplying the ranks of the forces which will oppose and ultimately bury it" is being proved true.

The events of recent years have once again proved the bankruptcy of Maoism as a theory, as did the practice of the revolutionary struggle in Indonesia. Contrary to the Maoists' prediction, real mass movements are appearing now in towns; here and there they already comprise groups of workers and the town poor.

Whereas during the first years of the regime there was hardly any action by the workers and peasants, now the situation has changed. The workers undertake strike actions, and the peasants protest actions, despite the repressions. Where formerly the youth, industrialists and intelligentsia could be deceived by slogans and high-sounding promises, they now oppose the regime and the youth even organize demonstrations.

Recall the mass action of the youth in August 1973, reaching its culmination in January 1974, when half a million young people and workers of Jakarta went out in the streets in protest against the tyranny of Japanese monopoly capital. This action of half a million people was suppressed by force of arms. Later, however, similar actions took place in other towns. Though the military regime succeeded in suppressing them temporarily, these mass actions have;

nevertheless, influenced the situation in the country, all groups and sections, including the ruling military. "Shifts" (read: dismissals) have taken place in the upper military and government echelons.

Most of them have been dismissed because the regime regarded them incompetent, suspected them of trying to seize power, etc. One thing however, is clear — even the main prop of the regime, the military, is no longer monolithic. There are two reasons for this: the existence of covert democratic opposition among the upper echelons of the military and the government, and also the fact that there is fighting among the generals and the top bureaucrats.

It would be wrong to think that all of them have been dismissed because of their progressive views.

Current development shows that the regime no longer has wide support in the society. This has been caused especially by the corruption in the state administration from the highest to the lowest level that has brought the development efforts to a dead end, and by the existence in the administration of careerists whose only thought is for high posts and wealth. They do not represent the people, but the exploiting class, the anti-nationals and pro-imperialists. That is why the present regime is not able to carry out development in the interests of the people, but, on the contrary, serves imperialist interests. The regime, which had so cleverly batted about such words as "democracy" and "development" is now putrefying, decaying and exposing itself before the people.

But it should be noted there is no force as yet capable of overthrowing the military regime. This force, i.e., patriots of all political shadings, religious beliefs and sections of society, is only beginning to emerge. The democratic forces are still divided, there still exist feelings of distrust, or even enmity. This is the result of the terror and slander campaign waged by the regime against the patriots after the failure of the "September 30 Movement."

These slanderers assert, among other things, that the support extended by the Communist Party of Indonesia to the "September 30 Movement" was an attempt by the CPI to overthrow the government of President Sukarno and unilaterally to seize power behind the back of other political parties united in the National Front. The experience of the last nine years, however, has proved to everyone that a "Council of Generals" did exist and that it did plan the reactionary coup carried out by the rightist generals after October 1, 1965.

Is it not clear that the regime in power has for its own ends slandered the CPI, accusing it of being involved in and having led the

"September 30 Movement," and has also accused all supporters of the late President Sukarno of being involved in that event? And there is much more of this scurrilous slander of the patriots and anti-imperialist fighters. That is why it is the task of the Communists and all genuine patriots to cope with the situation and overcome these negative feelings.

The time has come to realize that the main enemies of the Indonesian people are the regime in power and imperialism, that the regime uses slander in an effort to divide the patriotic forces, that these forces must approach each other in order to unite in a single force to fight the common enemy. An end must be put to mutual distrust and enmity among the Indonesian patriots. It is high time for us to unite again and face the decaying, but still strong and well-armed enemy.

The Communist Party of Indonesia declares resolutely and in all honesty that its aim is not, either now or in the time to come, to revenge itself on the victims of the deception by the reactionary forces, who believed their slanderous assertions that the Communists are enemies of the Indonesian people. The CPI is determined to fight, in alliance with all patriotic forces, for the interests of the Indonesian people, the nation, and not for just narrow Party interests. Its enemies are those who use the bogey of anti-communism in order to suppress democratic freedoms, plunder the people with impunity, amass profits at the expense of the working people; those who pay no heed to the cries and tears of women and children, and, who, unmoved by indignant protests, imprison tens of thousands of honest people on the islands of Buru and Nusakambangan, in Cimahi, Bukitduri and Tangerang.

Unity of all patriotic forces is an imperative necessity, for there is no force that can win this battle singlehanded.

The historical experience of the revolutionary struggle over the decades shows that only the unity of all anti-imperialist patriotic forces can bring success to their struggle. Was not the independence of our Motherland won thanks to the anti-imperialist national unity? And the liberation of West Irian? If we are not united, the enemy can easily crush the patriotic movements which are growing but still acting separately.

We Indonesians of all political leanings, religious and social groups, have been suffering for nine years under the tyranny of the corrupt, anti-national and pro-imperialist military regime. Among us are pioneers of independence, true builders and defenders of the August 1945 Revolution, a new generation of loyal followers of the ideas of

the August Revolution. And we see with our own eyes that the gains and ideas of this revolution are being trampled upon and betrayed by the regime and its accomplices. Of course, we can not sit idle, not to speak of being indifferent. We must act in defense of the August Revolution, to rescue our beloved Motherland from foreign imperialist plunder and our people from the prolonged oppression of the tyrannical regime. There is no other alternative for us than to unite in the name of our common national interests.

That is why the CPI, as one of Indonesia's patriotic forces, stresses the importance of creating a National United Front uniting all patriotic forces on the basis of the struggle against the anti-national pro-imperialist regime. The aim of the NUF is the formation of a democratic, anti-imperialist, neutral and progressive national government.

Ideological and organizational independence of every member of the NUF should be guaranteed.

The question of the Front's leadership cannot be made a condition for becoming a member.

The basis of the NUF is a program of general democratic demands.

Its members comprise wide sections of society which support the basic principles of the NUF — workers, peasants, the youth, civil servants, the intelligentsia, national entrepreneurs, religious people, patriotic soldiers and officers, etc.

The CPI, as the Party of the Indonesian working class, should become an active member of the NUF.

PROGRAM OF STRUGGLE ADVANCED BY THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF INDONESIA

— formation of a democratic national government representing the interests of workers, peasants, artisans, civil servants, national entrepreneurs, the youth and other democratic sections;

— abolition of the dictatorship and arbitrary actions of the Armed Forces, the democratization of the state apparatus, the court, the judiciary, and the police;

— an end to the shameful trials of progressives and the release of all political prisoners, the abolition of concentration camps;

— revocation of the special rights of the executive power and the liquidation of KOPKAMTIB (security forces) and other unconstitutional bodies;

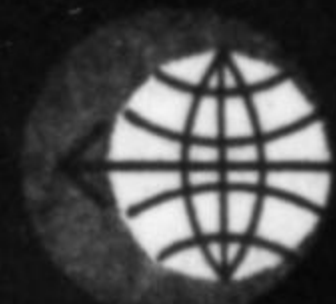
— restoration of the freedom of political activity, including freedom of speech, party activity, assembly, demonstration and strikes;

- elaboration and implementation of a progressive law on election to all administrative bodies;
- freedom for workers to join trade unions, and for the peasants to form alliances;
- improvement of the life of the poor and middle peasants by granting them low-interest credits, tools, seed, etc.;
- abolition of the shameful laws and regulations banning scientific socialism and Sukarnoism, because those laws and regulations contradict democracy and the interests of the Indonesian people;
- accelerated development of the state sector in the most important branches of the economy as the basis of the country's economic independence; adoption of regulations protecting national entrepreneurs against the onslaught of foreign capital;
- effective state control over the activities of foreign capital, so that foreign investments are used for building Indonesia's industrial potential and not for plundering its natural riches or strengthening neo-colonialist rule;
- adoption of a progressive labor code which would guarantee the fundamental rights of the workers and civil servants, minimum real wages in towns and villages, and employment for the youth;
- consistent implementation of the Basic Agrarian Law and the Law on Crop Sharing, democratization of all regional and village self-government bodies;
- guaranteeing of academic freedom for universities and other institutes of higher learning, the reduction of tuition fees;
- implementation of the right of all children to a primary education by building more schools and guaranteeing of the rights and interests of the teachers;
- effective protection of the national culture against the negative influence of the Western pseudo-art, which clashes with Indonesian customs and traditions;
- implementation of an independent and active anti-colonialist, anti-imperialist foreign policy, cooperation with other countries on the basis of equality and mutual benefit, renunciation of the present one-sided foreign policy course, development of relations with the socialist and Afro-Asian countries.

The Communist Party of Indonesia holds that implementation of the above demands is the only way out of the country's current crisis. The regime is constantly losing ground. However, we must continue to be vigilant, so as not to allow the extreme rightist and openly pro-imperialist groups to use the present crisis for their own ends.

That is why we must urgently unite in a democratic National United Front to defend our Motherland and to build an Indonesian society on the principles of freedom, territorial integrity, peace, democracy and social progress.

Communist Party of Indonesia
Jakarta



**communist
viewpoint**

**Subscribe
now . . .**

6 issues a year \$4.
(NEWSSTAND VALUE: \$4.50)

COMMUNIST VIEWPOINT is a Marxist theoretical-political journal dealing with Canadian and world affairs from the standpoint of scientific socialism.

In Canada: Single Copy 75c; One Year \$4.00; 2 Years \$7.00 (Save \$1.00). U.S. and Foreign: \$5.00 1 Year; \$8.50 2 Years. Half-price for students and unemployed. Enclose 15c with U.S. cheques.

Send to:

NAME

ADDRESS

CITYZONEPROV. or STATE

Enc. \$ Bill me

**Progress Subscription Service, 487 Adelaide St. W., Toronto M5V 1T4
Canada**

FROM THE PARTY PRESS

ANGOLA, GUINEA, MOZAMBIQUE: ON THE ROAD OF FREEDOM

Within a few months the world's oldest colonial empire, built up by Portugal over a period of five centuries, was wiped off the map of the earth. Fifteen million men and women are acquiring independence. The scale of this sudden change is staggering indeed.

On September 10, 1974, Guinea-Bissau became independent; June 25, 1975, will be Mozambique's turn, and July 5 — that of the Cape Verde Islands. On July 12, Sao Tome and Principe will become politically sovereign, and on November 11, the huge territory of Angola. Transitional governments have already been set up, and in Guinea the African Party for the Independence of Guinea and the Cape Verde Islands (PAIGC) has laid the foundation of a new state.

The increased tempo of the political liberation process is due to the big military and political victories won by the Guinean, Mozambique and Angolan patriots. But it is also evidence of the political will of democratic Portugal. Characteristically, this independence has been achieved after April 25 as a result of the alliance between the African national-liberation movement and the Portuguese democratic forces, in which the working class and Communist Party play the main role.

Decolonization and democratization are closely interconnected. It is not fortuitous, therefore, that one of the basic aims of General Spínola's reactionary plan was to install a neo-colonialist order in the former Portuguese colonies. The March 11 conspiracy could have spelled serious consequences for these colonies. And it is absolutely clear that the efforts of the reactionary forces in Angola, striving to obstruct real independence, were aimed against both the Angolan national movement and the progress of democracy in Portugal itself.

The Armed Forces Movement and the democratic government in Portugal are determined to wipe out the old empire. They are not aiming at consolidating in any special positions. They are organizing a referendum on Timor. A new status is envisaged for Macau. The Atlantic islands (Cape Verde and Sao Tome) are not being turned into strategic strongholds. And even a meeting of the UN Committee on

Decolonization may be held in Lisbon in the very near future. The conditions for obtaining independence also reflect the Portuguese democratic movement's desire to bar the way to any form of neo-colonial rule. For instance, the agreement on economic and technological cooperation concluded by Lisbon with Mozambique and Guinea-Bissau is based on the sovereignty of each of these countries and mutual benefit. Despite Portugal's limited resources and economic difficulties, 10 per cent of its budget is allocated for cooperation. However, the democratic public of Portugal fully supports the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA), the only genuine national organization in the territory.

Politically sovereign countries or those on the way to sovereignty, which were formerly Portuguese colonies, are now involved in new battles — for the building up of a state apparatus, for economic and social emancipation.

The experience gained in developing the zones freed in the course of the liberation war is truly valuable, while the existence of a big political organization like the PAIGC is, indoubtedly, a great asset. But new problems have arisen: training of administrative and technical personnel, whom the country needs badly, the gradual elimination of the differences in the mentality and life styles of the village and town population, and the creation of state structures.

Another concern is unification with the Cape Verde Islands: there, like on the continent, the PAIGC represents a big political power. The population of this archipelago, mainly farmers and fishermen, lives in the ghastly conditions of fierce drought and hunger. And where the population of the Cape Verde Islands is now nearing 260,000, the same number have been forced to emigrate to the African continent, Europe or America during the last few years. At this stage of its political development Guinea-Bissau can rely on the support of the Portuguese democrats, and also the active cooperation of many socialist countries.

The transitional government and the Mozambique Liberation Front (FRELIMO) are confronted with similar problems, to which should be added the country's geographic location, bordering on the racist South African Republic and Rhodesia. Mozambique's independence will drive a decisive wedge in the regional system of apartheid.

The dam on the Cunene River, already in operation, was built mainly with South African capital and with the object of providing energy for Pretoria. The port of Beira is the nearest sea outlet for Salisbury. Lourenço Marques is only several hundred kilometres

from Transvaal. Hundreds of thousands of Mozambicans work in South African gold mines. Most of the freight turnover of the Mozambique ports consists of transit freight for South Africa or Rhodesia, or coming from these countries.

Unable to prevent FRELIMO victory, Vorster and the Pretorian racists financed extremist groups of European extraction. But the attempt of those who wanted a colonialist comeback to seize Lourenço-Marques last September was only a momentary flare-up and was quickly overcome.

This does not imply, however, that armed intervention is completely ruled out. In Johannesburg an army is being secretly formed of one thousand European mercenaries and four thousand Africans; it is being financed by the big Portuguese landowners and capitalists with interests in Mozambique, and also by the ultra-right nationalist circles of South Africa. Also, Pretoria has increased its military budget by 36 per cent.

Vorster, having had to reckon with Mozambique's independence, is speaking nevertheless of his determination to impose, by force if necessary, a new pattern of political and economic relations on the new state. He is determined to prevent the latter extending any help to the embattled patriots of Zimbabwe and South Africa. The grim shadow of Pretoria is threatening Mozambique's road to social progress and sovereignty.

At the conference of foreign ministers of the Organization of African Unity in Dar-es-Salaam. FRELIMO clearly stated that there can be no question of yielding to Vorster's blackmail. And the country is already building the administrative and economic foundation of its independence.

The situation in Angola is apparently the most complex and explosive. Imperialism's pressure is especially felt here, and for understandable reasons too: the country has uranium, oil and diamonds. The United States counts on Mobutu's ambitious regional plans of a strong Zaire in the hope of retaining control over Angola's immense mineral riches for the multinational companies. As early as the 60s the USA contributed to the establishment there of a reactionary, neo-colonialist movement — the National Front for the Liberation of Angola (FNLA) of Roberto Holden — with the specific aim of counter-ing the national aspirations embodied by MPLA. For their part, the Portuguese colonialists helped set up, in the rear of the MPLA guerrilla units, a regional organization — the UNITA of Jonas Savimbi.

The triumphal return to Luanda — the Angolan capital — of MPLA

Chairman Agostinho Neto was clear proof of the overwhelming political influence of this movement. Some 400,000 people (out of a population of seven million) came to the airport that day. MPLA alone is implementing a genuine national policy. This movement is making an immense effort on a nationwide scale to boost mass political activity. United around Agostinho Neto and the leading bodies of the movement, it is working for genuine democratic aims. Meanwhile, the FNLA of Roberto Holden is bent on destroying the national movement by using armed force, conducting search-and-kill operations throughout the country against MPLA activists, and soliciting the support of the 60,000-strong Zaire army. The UNITA is trying to strengthen its influence, leaning on the tribalism of the south.

The Alvor agreements between the Portuguese government and the three Angolan organizations is a significant step forward on the way to the country's real independence. The territorial integrity of Angola has been recognized, but the Gulf Oil and Elf companies have gone out of their way to provoke the secession of the Cabinda enclave. The date for its independence has been set. The creation of forces for maintaining general order has the aim of limiting the possibility of an armed conflict. A transitional (quadripartite) government has been set up. But the situation remains explosive. The political influence and organizational strength of MPLA is growing.

The FNLA, however, is trying to strengthen its military potential, and is continually disrupting the Alvor agreements.

The road to freedom is not easy. But what a distance has been traversed within only 12 months! What new prospects open up for the future and for the struggle of the peoples of Angola, Guinea and Mozambique! What hopes have appeared for all those who are continuing the struggle in South Africa for their freedom! For all the obstacles and difficulties, this is the main thing.

Martin Verlet

(Abridged from *France Nouvelle*, May 5-12 1975)



U.S. DEBACLE IN INDOCHINA: REJOICE OVER VICTORY, BUT BE ON GUARD AGAINST CONTINUED THREAT TO INDIA

Rajeswara Rao General Secretary, Communist Party of India

The debacle of the U.S. imperialists in Vietnam should not lull us into complacency. As a matter of fact, reaction in our country is spreading this atmosphere assiduously. Jana Sangh leaders, in particular, are shouting hoarse that Prime Minister Indira Gandhi is putting forward the scare of U.S. danger only to bolster up her rule. This campaign suits reaction well, helping it to carry on its counter-revolutionary conspiracies for subversion of our democratic set-up and progressive national policies. Reaction can use this campaign as a cover for its anti-national activities in collusion with U.S. imperialists and their agents.

The piratical action of the U.S. imperialists against liberated Cambodia which seized the U.S. spy-ship "Mayaguez" and the U.S. insolent reply to the protest of the Thai government against the use of Thailand as a base for this aggressive action should wake up all patriotic and democratic forces in our country. The recent haughty statements of U.S. Secretary of State and Defense Secretary should act as a warning to all.

Buoyed over his success in recapturing the spy-ship "Mayaguez," U.S. Defense Secretary James Schlesinger held out an arrogant threat to the countries resisting U.S. domination. He said: "One of the lessons of the Vietnamese conflict is that rather than simply counter your opponent's thrusts, it is necessary to go for the heart of the opponent power: destroy his military forces rather than simply being involved endlessly in ancillary military operations."

Referring to the possibility of another oil embargo, he said: "I think we are less likely to be tolerant of renewed embargo than we were of the initial one in 1973. I am not going to indicate any prospective reaction other than to point out there are economic, political or military measures in response."

As a matter of fact, it is well known that the U.S. imperialists have been training troops in desert conditions to capture oil wells in the Arab countries.

The Secretary of State's threat to the countries fighting U.S. aggressive activities is a bit milder. But the lesson conveyed is the same. Moreover, Kissinger castigated the proposal, adopted at the recent Commonwealth prime ministers' conference in Kingston, for a new world economic setup not weighted against the backward countries as the present one. He threatened that the imperialist countries were not going to tolerate the attempts of the backward countries to unite to get fairer prices for their raw materials, which he calls "massive redistribution of world wealth." Kissinger went on to say that he would use the World Bank credits to make the backward countries surrender on the question of prices.

It is true that if the U.S. imperialists indulge in any more adventures, they are going to be forced to pay more heavily. But it has to be remembered that they are today in a state of desperation born out of their ignominious defeat suffered in Vietnam and Cambodia and the political and economic bog in which they are at present. After the U.S. imperialists have been kicked out of the Indochinese Peninsula, they are concentrating their forces in the Indian Ocean and the littoral countries of the region.

President Ford has declared that Diego Garcia occupies a much more important place in the U.S. military setup today after the U.S. debacle in Southeast Asia. The U.S. government is actively engaged in preventing normalization of relations in our subcontinent using Bhutto's regime in Pakistan and that of the Shah of Iran. The CIA agents are working overtime to strengthen disruptive forces in our country.

The Maoist leaders of China are not lagging behind in this game. They are working hand-in-glove with U.S. imperialists for "destabilization," making our country the main target. They accuse our country of expansionism for having implemented the unanimous verdict of the people of Sikkim in deposing the notorious Chogyal and for having accorded that country the status of a full-fledged state of our republic. The Chinese leaders encourage separatist troubles in the sensitive northeastern border region of our country. Now news has come that the Chinese government is helping defense operations in Pakistani-occupied Kashmir and is building more roads leading to our country's frontiers.

It should be noted in this connection that the Maoist leaders are not happy at the debacle suffered by the U.S. imperialists in Southeast Asia. The Chinese Vice-Premier Teng Hsiao-ping shamelessly declared in Paris, at a time when the U.S. imperialists were preparing

for a military action against Cambodia to recover their spy-ship "Mayaguez," that if the United States intervened militarily in Cambodia "China could do nothing." Teng Hsiao-ping also urged the Western imperialist powers to strengthen their NATO military alliance in order to face the "threat" of the Soviet Union and other East-European socialist countries.

It is clear from this that the Chinese leadership is openly working against European détente in collusion with the extreme reactionary and war-mongering sections among the imperialists. In Asia, the Maoists are working hand-in-glove with the U.S. imperialists, mouthing at the same time phrases about the danger of two "superpowers."

The U.S. imperialists, therefore, do not put the responsibility for their debacle in Vietnam on the Chinese leadership. They know very well that it is the Soviet arms that enabled the Vietnamese to inflict a defeat on them. Hence Kissinger does not speak a word against the Chinese leadership on this score. On the contrary, he accuses the Soviet Union that it is helping the national-liberation movements to weaken the U.S. positions.

In his May 13 statement Kissinger said: "In Portugal, the Middle East, even in Indochina, difficulties have resulted in as much from local conditions or inadequate U.S. response as from Soviet intervention." (*International Herald Tribune*, May 14, 1975). He also tried to blackmail the Soviet Union by saying that if it does not desist from these activities, détente will be jeopardized.

All this conclusively proves that increased aggressive activities of the U.S. imperialists in this region and ganging up of the Chinese leadership with them pose a grave threat to the independence of our country, as well as other countries in this subcontinent and the Arab countries. We can underestimate this danger only at our own peril. Our country, which is the main target of such activities, should actively work to rally other countries in our region to face the danger from the U.S. imperialists squarely. The government of India should leave no stone unturned to normalize our relations with Pakistan. All patriotic and democratic forces in our country should unite and rouse the people against this danger.

Central News Service agency, May 22



THE NEW POLITICAL POWER AND THE NEED FOR A NATIONAL FRONT

Georges Haoui

Political Bureau member and Central Committee secretary,
Lebanese Communist Party

With the exception of Sheikh Bayar Al Jamil, his phalangists, some top officials in the state apparatus, hardened conservatives or those who are known to be connected with imperialist interests, with the exception of this bloc, which can be described by the expression "foolish right," the broad sections of Lebanese society, people of all social strata and all religious communities now agree on several basic factors:

(1) Lebanon is today experiencing a deep, all-embracing crisis, which necessitates consideration of all previous and current principles and criteria of economic, social and political relations in the country. The situation is fraught with serious events, which can be prevented neither by soothing statements, nor meetings of leaders of religious communities, nor their political representatives.

(2) Administration of the country on the principles, logic and methods used up till now is futile.

(3) Changes are seen as not only possible and necessary, but compulsory and inevitable. Though it may seem that a ray of hope has appeared through the threatening clouds of the crisis, and no matter how the explosion was put off at times and the crisis pressures weakened, any postponement merely deepens the crisis, demonstrating the regime's impotence, the inability of the dominant class institutions and alliances to overcome the crisis. This compels ever broader social sections and political forces to join in the struggle against such a situation, making the latter adapt increasingly radical and serious attitudes.

In a word, the country is today on the verge of admitting that the present administration in every sphere — economic, social and political — can no longer be maintained.

This is an undeniable fact, but a nationwide concord on the above aspects is lacking, as there is no unanimous, or at least near-unanimous view concerning the character and principles of necessary

and possible changes. **This is understandable:** had concord existed, all the necessary changes would have no doubt been implemented long ago. However, nationwide concord, or that of a part of the nation, is not needed to carry out changes: it is sufficient that the political forces expressing the interests of the majority of the people uphold them.

The danger of the crisis is increased by the fact that objective conditions and subjective factors do not ripen simultaneously. Such a situation creates various dangers: fascist, military or military-fascist adventures or the sharpening of relations between religious communities under the influence of extremists who play on religious differences, and to a certain extent even broader plans concerning national independence and territorial integrity.

Undoubtedly, talk about these dangers is a double-edged weapon. Some would like such talk to become a bogey, a tool of blackmail to frighten the forces advocating changes. Others dream precisely of such adventuristic ways of solving the crisis, hoping to continue the present class and sectarian administration, and to avert implementation of changes or, at least, postpone them.

On the other hand, some, and we are among them, point to these dangers to warn against them, to show the possibility of overcoming them, and that adventuristic "solutions" are doomed to failure. We see the real extent of these dangers, neither belittling nor exaggerating them. We proceed from the conviction that it is quite possible to frustrate attempts to solve the crisis through adventuristic plans. This, in our opinion, depends on whether a mechanism to direct events along a correct course can be created. And we are convinced that such possibilities exist.

What changes should be carried out? What is the correct way out of the crisis? What kind of relations should be established between these forces to ensure success?

As the first and direct answer to these questions I should like to emphasize the following:

(1) By its nature and depth this crisis reflects the following contradiction. Lebanon is a country developing along the capitalist path under the leadership of a semi-feudal political power. The conflict is aggravated by the fact that capitalist development is taking place in conditions of world capitalist crisis with its disastrous effect on all sections of this world system. The crisis, particularly sharp in Lebanon as one of the weakest links of the world capitalist system, is generating sharp and serious social problems in our country. The situation is complicated by the effect of the decisive stage of the

Arab-Israeli conflict and Lebanon's responsibilities in this respect, Lebanon is thus trying to solve complex problems of economic development and the social problems arising therefrom, and those connected with the national struggle under the leadership of a semi-feudal power, relying on the same laws, statutes, obsolete legislation, representative political and executive institutions, and the same tribal outlook—all that serves as the basis of the present Constitution and National Charter.

(2) The solution cannot be limited to a change in government, resignation of a certain leader or renunciation of an alliance. The essence of the problem is not "strong" or "weak" personalities, representing one or another religious community.

(3) The only possible and necessary solution is to carry out fundamental changes in the nature of political government, so that it would represent a new socio-class alliance and, acting on the basis of a new constitution, new national charter and new legislation, solve in practice the tasks of developing the national economy, resolve the existing conflicts in society on the basis of social justice, ensure that Lebanon plays a positive concrete role in the common Arab struggle against Israel and zionism, in which the destiny of the Arab nation is being decided.

Any genuine change must be based on thorough-going political and constitutional reform in order to adopt a modern, secular and democratic constitution that would clearly determine the principles of a healthy democratic administration, a democratic electoral law, so that elections would reflect the actual relation of forces in the country, parliament could play its role as the highest legislative body and the government would be accountable to it, and not like the present administration, which is accountable but does not govern, while the country is ruled by forces outside the government. Moreover, the government will be a real political force, to which the state, administration, military and civil apparatus are fully subordinated.

By including in the agenda of the day the question of amending the Constitution, of fundamental political reforms, we Communists are considering it without touching on the sensitive aspects aroused by a "sectarian attachment" to the Constitution "as it is," or a "sectarian attitude" to constitutional amendments. Moreover, we do not want to exaggerate the strength of those who profit by the differences between religious communities.

This problem can be posed frankly and seriously, which is more effective than the attitude of those who take advantage of religious

differences. We proceed from democratic, secular and modern conceptions, which see the Lebanese as citizens of one and the same country, with equal rights and duties, and not as people of various sects coexisting within the framework of one country and "sharing" in its administration.

The overwhelming majority of the people, irrespective of their affiliation, today understand very well that they are counterposed by a united clique of monopolists of different communities, who are trying to fan a crisis and turn it into inter-communal strife in order to find a way out on the platform of confessionalism (i.e., division of the Lebanese according to religious communities — *Ed.*), which could be a step back in comparison with the present situation.

(4) Our assertion that a new political power must represent a new class alliance proceeds from our conviction that implementation of the proposed necessary and possible changes presupposes involvement of the widest possible social forces. True, the working class, peasantry, revolutionary intellectuals and, primarily, the working people as a whole, are interested in changes — and it is they who should play the main role in this process. However, today changes are in the interests of all the social sections that are convinced of the hopelessness of preserving the obsolete semi-feudal political power and are undertaking the leadership and solution of the most complex questions of independent economic development and the growing social problems, while adhering to positions conforming more and more to the interests of the nation.

To put it more clearly, the logic of the situation compels part of the Lebanese bourgeoisie to play a definite part in the changes, parallel with the urban and rural middle strata, of course. This part of the bourgeoisie has realized that tribalistic administration and tribalistic outlook are contrary to its interests, or, at best, they do not guarantee its interests, which are seriously threatened in the present state of anarchy. Moreover, account should be taken of the serious conflicts, and the influence of the national factor on the stand of some bourgeois sections. It should also be borne in mind that the bourgeoisie cannot ignore popular mass pressure, that it is split by affiliation to different communities, and is not homogeneous in social origin. This part of the bourgeoisie is now faced with the alternative: to stick to the old principles, conflicts and outlook or to advance the idea of creating a "modern state," which could be its last attempt of this kind.

Such an attempt would confront this part of the bourgeoisie with a serious struggle. We hold that in our time and in the specific condi-

tions of the country the Lebanese bourgeoisie proved incapable of implementing bourgeois-democratic reforms. All its efforts in the economic, social and political spheres, whether superficial or relatively serious, will be futile.

The success of any new reform depends on how well the popular masses — workers, peasants, clerical workers, the youth, students, the revolutionary intellectuals, urban and rural middle strata — understand the proposed program for solving the economic and social problems. In other words, its success depends on how fully it meets the demands and interests of these sections. This brings us to the conclusion that the success of any serious change depends on the role these sections of the people and their political representatives play in this process. And it is not accidental, we think, that the role of “traditional politicians” is dwindling while that of progressive patriotic forces is growing. Nor is it accidental that the mass actions in Saide* — unprecedented in breadth and depth in the Lebanese national movement — took place precisely under the leadership of the progressive and patriotic forces and organizations.

At the same time, among the bourgeoisie there are some who attempt to play an active role in the process of change. Clearly, this role is determined by the degree of their understanding of the significance of the forces genuinely interested in the process of change and playing a decisive part in it.

The nature of the present tasks and the present relation of forces make it possible to obstruct those whose positions are inimical to the popular masses and progressive forces, to secure for the popular movement the role of “assistant” in implementing reforms, and to entrust it and its most progressive representatives with the leading role, or, at least, the role of a *participant* in the process of change, a participant in the full sense of the word.

(5) A broad alliance or broad national front — that is the basic condition for solving all the sensitive and dangerous questions posed by the present crisis. The basis of such an alliance must be a progressive program, and relations within it should be built on the recognition that the main role is played by the popular movement and its most progressive representatives, who by their activities are forging the way for a democratic and patriotic administration. This broad alliance must be powerful enough to deter resistance thanks to the favorable

*The working people's mass actions in Saide last April, accompanied by clashes with troops.

relation of forces in the country and the support of progressive forces in the Arab world. The favorable relation of forces will make it possible to rebuff attempts to solve the crisis by imposing any kind of a dictatorship.

Never before have the progressive and patriotic forces had such opportunities for unity as today. Never before have the followers of the bourgeoisie been so isolated and in such a quagmire. Never before have the objective conditions for carrying out changes reached such a degree of maturity. And, undoubtedly, the creation of such a broad alliance is a necessary step to ensure the maturing of the subjective conditions.

It must be stressed that, in our opinion, there is no need to form an alliance based on a clear-cut "organized front." What is important is that the progressive forces should see the real conditions for carrying out the changes. They define their course as "directed toward changes." In line with this definition, the progressive forces are developing the popular movement, invigorating the role of the masses. The progressive forces are well aware of their ability to determine the course of the struggle, its slogans and means. They must at the same time take into account the positions of the other sides, what is acceptable to them, and what can be accepted only on certain conditions. The coordinated action of all forces interested in changes and the level of this coordination depend on the development of the struggle itself.

The ideas expressed here are still to be specified and crystallized. We think they should be brought up for discussion because we are convinced, after the Saide clashes, of the need for a high degree of vigilance and mobilization of the popular movement, the movement of the progressive patriotic forces. A fuller and broader view of the prospects and demands of the struggle are required. It is the duty of every progressive in the crisis situation, and particularly with the broad upsurge of the popular movement, to safeguard and strengthen the people's gains and continually search for ways of furthering them.

There is no doubt as to the depth of the crisis that has enveloped the country. Any attempts to save the power resting on the present relation of forces are futile. Changes are inevitable and unavoidable. Relying on the broad popular movement, the progressive forces and all forces advocating changes are capable of averting the country's slipping backwards and ensuring its advancement to progressive transformations.

Beirut. *Al Akhbar*, 1975.

number 11, 1975 49

BULGARIA

The People's Republic of Bulgaria and the Democratic People's Republic of Korea are determined to exert every effort to strengthen the unity of the socialist countries — the main revolutionary force of our time — and the international communist and working-class movement on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. That is emphasized in the communique issued in Sofia early in June at the close of an official friendship visit by a Korean delegation led by Kim Il Sung, General Secretary of the Korean Party of Labor and President of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea.

The two parties agreed that the world situation was developing in favor of the forces of socialism and democracy and the world revolutionary process. They stressed the need for still closer unity of all the anti-imperialist forces in defense of peace and progress. The PRB and DPRK noted the positive results of the campaign for European peace and security achieved, primarily, thanks to the indefatigable efforts of the socialist states.

CUBA

A public rally to promote the socialist emulation drive in honor of the First Congress of Cuba's Communist Party in December, was recently held at the Havana Palace of the Revolution. Present at the rally was Fidel Castro, First Central Committee Secretary of the Communist Party and Prime Minister of the Revolutionary Government, and members of the Communist Party Political Bureau and Secretariat.

Speaking for all political, trade union and other mass organizations, Roberto Veiga, General Secretary of the Cuban Trade Union Center, gave the leaders of the Party the socialist obligations assumed by the working people in honor of the Congress.

In receiving the document, Fidel Castro said these socialist obligations were vivid evidence of the enthusiasm with which the Cuban people were preparing for the Communist Party Congress.

Fidel Castro told the rally that preparations for the Congress were

proceeding successfully, with several commissions drawing up the documents it will discuss. Drafts have already been examined for an economic management system, administrative divisions, education, the upbringing of children and teenagers, and on the position of women. Examination of other drafts will be completed in the near future.

There can be no doubt whatever, Fidel Castro said in conclusion, that the Congress will help us accomplish more in the economic, social and political fields and in laying the foundations of the new society.

GDR

A meeting between Erich Honecker, First CC Secretary of the SUPG, Willi Stoph, Chairman of the State Council, and Horst Sindermann, Prime Minister of the GDR, and Edward Gierek, First CC Secretary, Polish United Workers' Party, and Piotr Jarošzewicz, Prime Minister of Poland, was held in Berlin on May 21-22.

The discussion centered on closer cooperation between the two countries and parties. Both delegations emphasized the historic role of the USSR in the defeat of Hitler fascism which fundamentally changed the world balance of forces in favor of peace and socialism. The communique also reaffirmed the resolve of both parties to work for closer fraternal ties with the CPSU, the USSR and other fraternal parties and countries and still closer unity of the socialist community.

Both delegations expressed complete support of the CPSU Central Committee, USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium and Soviet Government Appeal to the Peoples, Parliaments and Governments of the World.

The communique points to the vast importance of the constructive activity of the Warsaw Treaty Organization, which in the 20 years since its inception, has played a key role in strengthening the security of the socialist community, furthering and extending international détente and European and world peace and security.

The communique reaffirms the resolve of both parties to help implement the 24th CPSU Congress Peace Program and the united peace policy of the socialist community. The two parties expressed their appreciation of the personal contribution made by L.I. Brezhnev, General Secretary of the CC CPSU, in carrying out the Soviet policy of détente and peace. An early summit conclusion of the Conference on European Security and Cooperation is of exceptional importance for making détente irreversible.

Implementation of the treaties the USSR, Poland, the GDR and Czechoslovakia concluded with the FRG and scrupulous fulfillment of the Four-Power Agreement on West Berlin, the communique says, is an essential element of détente and European security.

The two parties condemned the policy of Peking leaders which is directed against the peoples' fight for détente and peace, and the Peking leaders' moves toward alliance with the world's most reactionary forces.

Both delegations welcomed the victory of the popular forces culminating in the re-establishment of peace in South Vietnam, and the victory of the Cambodian people.

The PUWP and SUPG will continue to facilitate preparation for and successful conduct of the European conference of Communist and Workers' parties to be held in Berlin.

JAPAN

The Communist Party of Japan opposes the inclusion of the hegemony clause in the Japano-Chinese treaty of peace and friendship, Chairman of the CPJ Central Committee Secretariat T. Fuwa said at a press conference in Parliament, since this presupposes agreement with China's special foreign-policy line which regards the USSR as the main enemy, and this is at variance with Japan's foreign policy.

Speaking of the joint statement by the Japanese Socialist Party and the Sino-Japanese Friendship Society, signed in Peking, where, as is known, this clause was included on the insistence of the Chinese side, T. Fuwa stressed: the CPJ cannot agree with an assessment of the international situation where the USSR is equated with the USA.

NETHERLANDS

V.V. Zagladin, member of the CPSU Central Auditing Commission and deputy head of the CC CPSU international department, and D.N. Mochalin, senior official of the department, visited Amsterdam at the invitation of the CC Executive Committee of the Communist Party of the Netherlands. They met with P. De Groot, honorary member of the Party's Central Committee; H. Hukstra, chairman of the Central Committee; R. Haks and J. Aisberg, members of the Executive; and V. Hartog, member of the Central Committee.

There was an exchange of views on questions relating to forms and

content of past and present relations between the CPSU and CPN and on possibilities for developing their relations in a positive spirit. The two delegations agreed to submit to their Central Committees a report on the discussions and proposals made in the course of the discussion.

POLAND

A delegation of the Left Party — Communists of Sweden led by its Chairman, Lars Werner, visited Poland on May 23-25.

They met with the First Secretary of the Polish United Workers' Party, Edward Gierek, and had talks in the Central Committee with a delegation which included Political Bureau member and Central Committee secretary Edward Babiuch.

There was an exchange of information on major problems and tasks of Party work, also on pressing international issues and the central problems of the European and world communist and working-class movement.

Both parties stated their satisfaction with the progress of international détente as a factor determining the situation in Europe and the world over.

Both sides welcomed the victory of the Vietnamese people. They emphasized that a just and durable peace in the Middle East could be achieved only on the basis of the Security Council resolutions and respect of all the just rights of the Arab people of Palestine.

Both sides stressed the importance of an early and successful conclusion at summit level of the Conference on European Security and Cooperation.

They expressed their desire to facilitate inter-Party contacts, exchange of experience, cooperation and joint activity on the basis of equality of all the parties and on the principles of Marxism-Leninism.

They would share in the preparation and conduct of the European conference of Communist and Workers' parties and would work for closer relations and cooperation between parties.

They recorded their satisfaction with the all-round development of Polish-Swedish relations, which have proved to the advantage of both countries and peaceful cooperation in the Baltic area and throughout Europe. They were deeply convinced that the forthcoming visit to Sweden of First Secretary Edward Gierek would contribute to closer good-neighbor cooperation between the two countries.

PORTUGAL

A statement issued by the Political Commission of the Portuguese Communist Party Central Committee toward the end of May sets out the Party's assessment of the political situation.

The Socialist Party's refusal to attend cabinet meetings until its demands were met, the statement says, is part of a wider Socialist Party action against the policy and progressive measures of the Revolutionary Council and the Provisional Government, against the democratization process, the revolutionary forces and the Armed Forces Movement.

The Socialist Party is using as a pretext the conflict between the workers and editor of the *Republica* newspaper.

The Socialist Party is acting as an opposition rather than a government party, marshalling all the reactionary and conservative forces and the pseudo-revolutionary leftist groups.

The statement says that, by acting in this manner, the Socialist Party is going back on the commitments given prior to the elections and is jeopardizing the existing system of power and the coalition government. The Socialist Party leadership will have to bear responsibility for the consequences of its policy.

The Communist Party draws the attention of the Portuguese people to the fact that the Socialist Party's actions coincide with counter-revolutionary provocations, attempts to worsen the social and economic position and calls for strike action. This is not helping the working people nor the democratic process. But it is helping the slanderous campaign abroad against the young Portuguese democracy and is supplying international reaction and the most aggressive imperialist circles spurious arguments.

The Portuguese Communist Party has consistently worked for unity and cooperation of the democratic forces, for a coalition government, and fraternal alliance with the Armed Forces Movement, the statement says. Notwithstanding the Socialist Party's avowed anti-communism, the Communist Party has always urged a joint analysis of relations between the two parties and their cooperation.

The present policies and actions of the Socialist Party can lead to a situation in which it will be impossible to maintain a coalition government and the existing system of power, the Communist statement warns. And if the Socialist Party destroys the government coalition, there will be no reason for the continuation of the Constituent Assembly, elected on the basis of an agreement between the political parties and the Armed Forces Movement.

The Communist Party calls for vigilance, unity of the working class, the masses, all democratic and progressive forces. It calls for closer alliance of the people and the Armed Forces Movement to safeguard freedom and the Portuguese revolution.

RUMANIA

A Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation was concluded between Rumania and the Democratic People's Republic of Korea during an official visit to the SRR, from May 22 to 26, of the Korean Party and government delegation headed by Kim Il Sung, General Secretary of the Korean Party of Labor and President of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea. Its text and also the joint communique on the visit were published in Bucharest.

The treaty, signed by President Nicolae Ceaucescu and Kim Il Sung, expressed the determination of both sides to develop friendship, solidarity and cooperation between the parties, governments and peoples of the SRR and the DPRK, and to broaden the exchange of experience in socialist construction.

The sides agreed on the need to create nuclear-free zones, achieve general disarmament and, in the first place, the complete prohibition and final destruction of nuclear weapons, and the disbandment of military blocs.

Rumania and the DPRK, the treaty states, will strengthen unity and solidarity with all socialist countries, with the Communist and Workers' parties, the international working-class and national-liberation movements, with all progressive, democratic and anti-fascist forces.

Both sides undertake to work for the withdrawal of aggressive foreign troops from South Korea, and for the solution of the question of Korea's unification by the Koreans themselves, by peaceful means and on a democratic basis.

SOVIET UNION

Fuad Nassar, First Secretary of the Jordanian Communist Party, has been awarded the Order of Friendship of the Peoples for his services to the national-liberation movement, active participation in the anti-imperialist struggle, big contribution to Soviet-Arab friendship, and in connection with his 60th birthday.

Presenting the high award to Comrade Fuad Nassar in the Kremlin

on May 19, N.V. Podgorny, President of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, said:

"This high distinction is an acknowledgment of your great services as First Secretary of the Jordanian Communist Party and your personal contribution to strengthening the friendship between the peoples of Jordan and the USSR.

"In the Soviet Union, you are well known as a staunch fighter against imperialism and reaction, for strengthening the unity of the international communist movement on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. Your whole life and activity are an example of devoted service to your people, the interests of the toiling masses, of loyalty to the ideals of freedom, peace and progress.

"This award," N.V. Podgorny noted, "is also an expression of the deep sympathy of the Soviet Communists and all Soviet people with the fraternal Jordanian Communist Party. In the ranks of the democratic forces your Party is carrying on a difficult but glorious struggle for strengthening the country's national independence and its prosperity, and persistently campaigning for working people's social and political rights. It is actively defending the just cause of the Arab people of Palestine. We appreciate the efforts of the Jordanian Communists to unite the anti-imperialist and democratic forces of your country in the struggle to settle the Middle East conflict on the basis of complete Israeli withdrawal from the Arab territories occupied in 1967, for the legitimate rights of the Arab people of Palestine, including their right to an independent national state. Such a settlement, as we see it, would ensure the right of all states in this region to a safe existence and development.

"Allow me, dear Comrade Nassar," President Podgorny said in conclusion, "to congratulate you on your jubilee and the high award, to wish you good health, happiness and new successes in the struggle for the working people's cause."

Speaking in reply, Fuad Nassar, on behalf of the Central Committee of the Jordanian Communist Party and personally, expressed to N.V. Podgorny his deep and sincere gratitude on being awarded the Order of Friendship of the Peoples.

