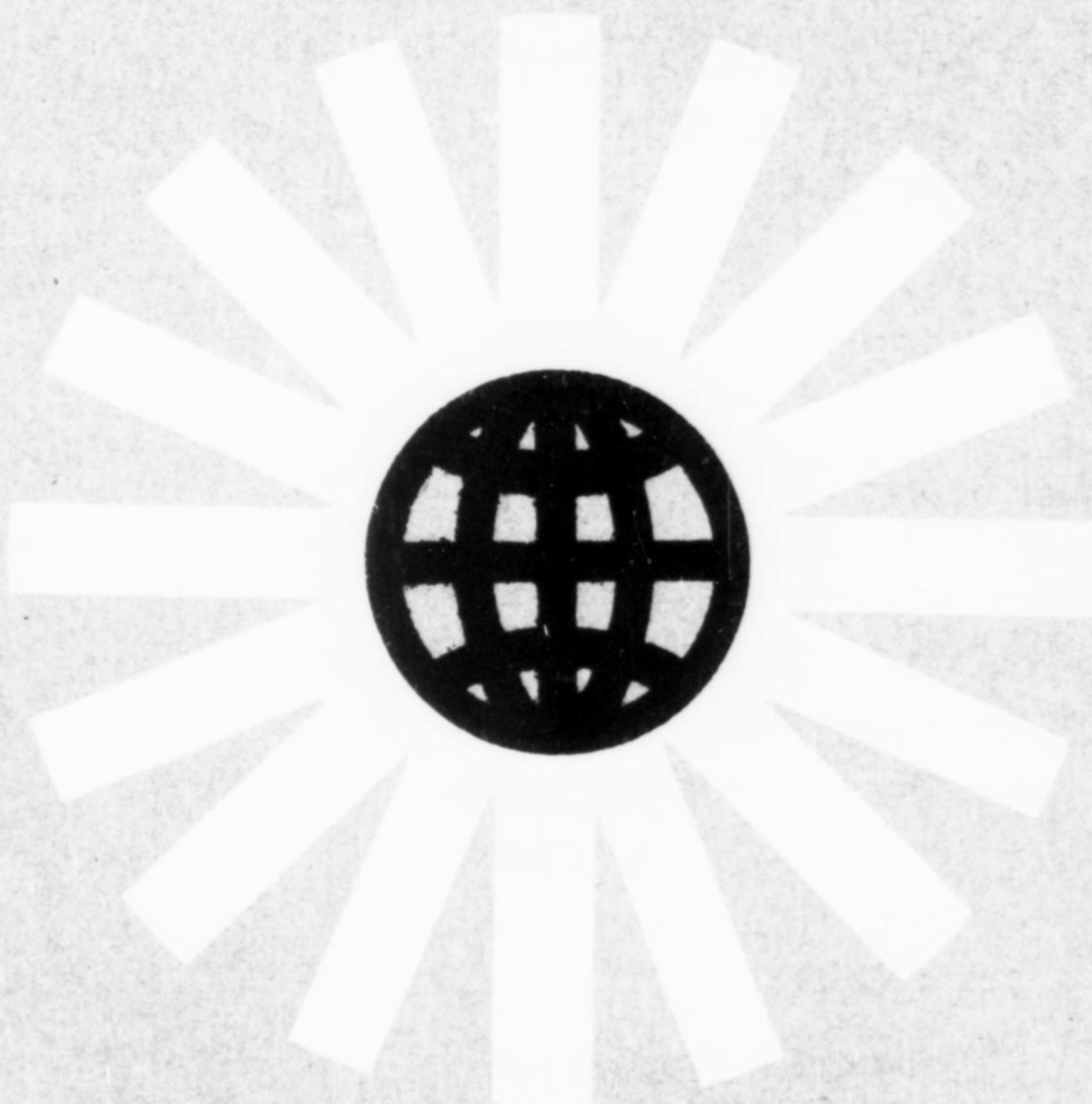


# INFORMA



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## BULLETIN

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**OCTOBER  
REVOLUTION  
58 YEARS**

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**SOVIET-FRENCH  
TALKS**

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**VIETNAMESE  
DELEGATION  
IN USSR**

## 20-21

(300-301) • 1975



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PHYSICS DEPARTMENT

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## **PROGRAM OF PEACE IN ACTION**

### **SOVIET-FRENCH TALKS IN MOSCOW**

#### **COMMUNIQUE**

The President of the French Republic Valery Giscard d'Estaing and his wife visited the Soviet Union from October 14 to 18 at the invitation of the Supreme Soviet Presidium and the Soviet government.

In Moscow the French President laid wreaths at the Lenin Mausoleum, the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier, and the memorial plaque commemorating the Normandie-Nieman air regiment, which fought together with the Soviet Army during the Second World War. Giscard d'Estaing and his party also visited Kiev, where the distinguished representatives of friendly France were given a cordial welcome expressive of the respect the USSR and France have for each other.

In the course of the visit L.I. Brezhnev, N.V. Podgorny, A.N. Kosygin and A.A. Gromyko held negotiations with Valery Giscard d'Estaing.

On October 17, CPSU General Secretary L.I. Brezhnev had a talk with the French President in which foreign ministers A.A. Gromyko and Jean Sauvagnargues participated.

Taking part in the negotiations were:

— on the Soviet side: Vice-Chairman of the Council of Ministers V.A. Kirillin; Foreign Trade Minister N.S. Patolichev; Ambassador to France S.V. Chervonenko; assistants to the General Secretary A.M. Alexandrov and A.I. Blatov; TASS director-general L.M. Zamyatin; Deputy Foreign Minister A.G. Kovalyov; and Foreign Ministry Collegium member Y.V. Dubinin;

— on the French side: Foreign Minister Jean Sauvagnargues; Minister of Economic Affairs and Finance J.-P. Fourcade; Minister of Industry and Scientific Research M. d'Ornano; secretary-general of the President's office C. Pierre-Brossolette; secretary-general of the Foreign Ministry G. de Courcel; French Ambassador to the USSR J.



Vimont; general-delegate for energy P. Mentre de Loye; advisers to the President J.P. Dutet, X. Gouyou-Beauchamps and G. Robin; director of the foreign economic relations department at the Ministry of Economic Affairs and Finance B.L. de Morel; director of the Department of Economic and Financial Affairs at the Foreign Ministry H. Froment-Meurice; and head of the European department at the Foreign Ministry J. Andreani.

A circumstantial exchange of opinions on major problems of European and world politics and on the further development of cooperation and concord between the Soviet Union and France took place in an atmosphere of broad mutual understanding.

General Secretary L.I. Brezhnev and President V. Giscard d'Estaing signed a Declaration on the Further Development of Friendship and Cooperation between the Soviet Union and France.

During the visit the following documents were signed:

agreement on cooperation in civil aviation and aircraft industry,

agreement on cooperation in the field of tourism,

agreement on cooperation in the field of power engineering.

V. Giscard d'Estaing invited General Secretary L.I. Brezhnev to pay an official visit to France. The invitation was accepted with satisfaction.

## **SPEECH BY L.I. BREZHNEV**

Given at a dinner in honor of Valery Giscard d'Estaing in the Grand Kremlin Palace on October 14.

Esteemed Mr. President,

Esteemed Mrs. Giscard d'Estaing,

Esteemed guests,

Comrades,

We are glad to greet you, the President of friendly France, as a guest of the Soviet Union.

Soviet-French summit meetings have always been invested with great political content and have every time furthered relations between our states. The present meeting with you, Mr. President, acquires special meaning in view of the fact that the success of the European conference opens up new horizons in European and world politics.

Almost 10 years ago, in our talks with General de Gaulle we singled



out the main points determining the importance of Soviet-French rapprochement on a broad international plane. It was then established that the Soviet Union and France, proceeding from their national interests and high responsibility for the destinies of peace, regard the fundamental problems of European and international security as of paramount importance in their relations. Subsequently these problems were invariably at the center of our talks with President Pompidou and with you, Mr. Giscard d'Estaing, when we met at Rambouillet in December last year.

Time is an impartial judge, and it has passed its judgment: the aims of cooperation set by the Soviet Union and France proved consonant with the dictates of the times and the aspirations of many peoples.

With every new major event in Soviet-French relations the thought involuntarily arises: what is the source of the striving of our two countries to advance along the road of rapprochement and mutual understanding. I think you will agree, Mr. President, that this source is, above all, the traditions of friendship between the Soviet and the French peoples, a friendship that has withstood hard trials at crucial moments of history.

My personal impression and that of my colleagues who have visited your country is that the French clearly see the peaceful role of the Soviet Union, of the Soviet people in international affairs. We in the Soviet Union, for our part, believe that France, the French people, are impelled by the desire for peace. Such mutual conviction is a firm foundation for the development of Soviet-French cooperation now and in the future.

The strong point of this cooperation is that apart from the friendly sentiments and sympathies our peoples have for each other, it is permeated with political realism. What I have in mind is, above all, the fact that our countries proceed from the recognition of the post-war European realities, from the need for peaceful coexistence between states with different social systems, from the impermissibility of interference in the internal affairs of other countries. It is only logical that much of what has developed in the process of Soviet-French cooperation has become accepted in wider international practice.

A decade in international affairs is both little and much. It is not much if viewed in terms of history. But it is a great deal if measured in terms of the concentration of efforts for détente and peace and in terms of all the good things that have been done during that time.



Indeed, impressive positive changes have come about in relations between states, in the general political atmosphere and in the attitudes of broad public circles.

This was particularly manifested at the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, which outlined tasks of truly historical scope. Those who would like to question the realities of present-day Europe — territorial realities, realities of postwar development, realities of détente — have had the ground cut from under their feet. An extensive program of cooperation in the name of the noble goals of peace and progress of the peoples has been worked out.

I think that you and I and all those who sat at the conference table in Helsinki and signed the Final Act of the Conference see more clearly than others the responsibility which rests on the participating states for the implementation of the accords reached. It will take, of course, much effort, mutual and sustained effort, to further reshape relations between states in accordance with the principles approved in Helsinki, to deepen economic, scientific and technical ties, step up cooperation in the fields of culture, education and information, and to widen contacts between people.

Materialization of détente is now becoming the most vital demand of international affairs. We believe that our countries, our people, can actively facilitate the attainment of this aim. Businesslike, constructive contacts between political leaders and statesmen, regular consultations, developed economic cooperation, various joint scientific and technical projects, including those in the most advanced spheres of human knowledge, and the great scope of cultural contacts — all these are tangible results of the work of recent years. At the same time, undoubtedly, there still are untapped possibilities for deepening and enriching Soviet-French relations. And we are convinced that deeper and wider Soviet-French cooperation, involving ever broader sections of the population, would meet with the favorable response of the Soviet and French peoples.

Materialization of détente is simply inconceivable without extending it to the military area, too. I think that the conditions for this have now become more favorable.

Reduction of military confrontation in Europe, limitation of armaments, and disarmament are a sphere of international affairs where the good will and initiative of states are now particularly necessary. We believe that a broad international agreement, envisaging strict commitments of states not to develop new types of weapons of mass destruction, new systems of such weapons, is now more pressing than



ever. Life itself demands that the states determine their role in the solution of these problems, which are vital for all peoples.

Mr. President,

We have always considered that the strength of French policy lies in its independence. An independent France can make a substantial contribution to the strengthening of international peace. The Soviet Union is open to friendship and cooperation with France.

It goes without saying that in cooperation between states with different social-economic systems, with different ideologies, the specific features ensuing from these class differences cannot be removed. It would probably be an illusion to hope for a change in the general approach of each of the countries to the problems which it, proceeding from its system, its international ties, understands and solves in its own way.

Relaxation of international tension by no means eliminates the struggle of ideas. This is an objective reality.

At the same time it is indisputable that the Soviet Union and France, the peoples of our two countries have quite realistic, wide common interests. Through their friendship and cooperation, the USSR and France have already greatly benefited Europe and the world and, given a mutual desire, can do still more. Essentially, the question is: what can the two countries offer that is new and attractive for themselves and others at present by developing and deepening their cooperation in the field of détente and peace? What can they offer that is new to enrich their bilateral relations?

Concrete replies to these questions can be given only by joint purposeful search. We should like to hope that consideration of mutual interests, the experience accumulated in the development of Soviet-French relations will help the search produce results.

May our talks and their results bring satisfaction to the peoples of our countries, to all who cherish the interests of peace, equitable cooperation and détente.

Permit me to propose a toast to the further development of cooperation and the strengthening of friendship between the USSR and France.

Here is to our joint creative search in this noble field in the interests of international peace and security!

To your health, Mr. President!

To the health of Mrs. Giscard d'Estaing and of all the French guests!

To the prosperity and happiness of the French people!



## IN THE NAME OF PEACE, FOR THE GOOD OF MANKIND

The Soviet-French summit talks recently held in Moscow, their results and documents have attracted the keen attention not only of the people in both countries, but of political circles, the public and press the world over. This is only natural, inasmuch as Soviet-French relations are an important and permanent factor of peace and security in Europe and the whole world, and every meeting of leaders of the USSR and France is invested with great political content.

"Time is an impartial judge," L.I. Brezhnev said at the dinner in the Kremlin in honor of the distinguished French guest, "and it has passed its judgment: the aims of cooperation set by the Soviet Union and France proved consonant with the dictates of the times and the aspirations of many peoples."

The present talks were all the more important because they were held in the context of positive changes in international relations in recent years; this was the first Soviet-French summit meeting after the successful European conference, which opened up new horizons in European and world politics.

During the talks between Soviet leaders and the French President there was a far-ranging exchange of views on important European and world problems. Questions of extending Soviet-French relations were also discussed.

The sides proceed from the fact that Soviet-French cooperation, which has successfully progressed during the last decade, meets the interests of both countries and facilitates solution of a number of vital problems of European and international security, will be carried forward in a spirit of political and state realism. There is every reason to say that this is one of the main results of the Soviet-French summit meeting.

The results of the talks between L.I. Brezhnev, N.V. Podgorny, A.N. Kosygin, A.A. Gromyko and Valery Giscard d'Estaing are reflected in the published Soviet-French documents. The agreements that have been reached are summed up and reaffirmed in the Declaration on the further development of friendship and cooperation between the Soviet Union and France, signed by General Secretary L.I. Brezhnev and President Valery Giscard d'Estaing.

A perusal of this document shows that it contains important political propositions. It clearly formulated the principal lines and areas of



Soviet-French cooperation at the present stage when détente has become the predominant tendency in international affairs.

The Soviet Union and France state in the Declaration that they "are fully resolved to follow unswervingly the course of concord and cooperation and to do everything in their power to firmly establish in international relations the policy of détente, of imparting concrete material content to détente, especially by intensifying their joint contribution to the solution of fundamental international problems and to averting critical situations." Many other sections of this document also clearly show that the main point of the Soviet-French talks was that of furthering détente.

The Moscow talks were, naturally, keynoted by the successful European security conference. We are now faced the the important task of consolidating and carrying out the Helsinki agreements, of making the use of this positive European experience possible, to one degree or another, in other regions of the world. This is a complex task, demanding continuous purposeful effort.

As is known, the decisions of the European conference, the new prospects of strengthening peace and cooperation are still encountering the opposition of sundry enemies of détente who are acting against the will of the peoples. By their arbitrary interpretations of the Final Act of the conference they would like, in particular, to fulfill only some of its provisions, violating the balance of interests fixed in it. In this context, as stressed by the Soviet Union and France, it is especially important to strictly observe and consistently implement the principles of relations between states as proclaimed in Helsinki, and to translate into life all points of the Final Act.

In their Declaration the Soviet Union and France assessed the European security conference as an event of great importance, holding that the propositions formulated in the Final Act create new opportunities for strengthening European security and for developing cooperation between the participant-states. They consider the documents, which was signed by the leaders of 35 states, as a long-range program of action.

Now, materialization of détente is becoming the most vital demand in international affairs. The significance of this task is fully noted in the Declaration on the further development of friendship and cooperation between the Soviet Union and France. Naturally, achievement of this aim presupposes the extension of détente to the military sphere. Everywhere there is growing conviction that as a result of



developments over the past years, conditions have become more favorable for this.

The Declaration stresses that both states are interested in efforts at lessening the military confrontation and facilitating disarmament, which would help to spread détente to new fields. This proposition, and the French interest in the Soviet proposal on banning the developing and production of new types of mass destruction weapons and new systems of such weapons, can help to bring closer the views of the Soviet Union and France on the question of disarmament.

An important result of the talks is that in the Declaration both states stressed the need of preventing the proliferation of nuclear weapons and their full resolve to shoulder the responsibility which falls on them as nuclear powers in this connection.

In analyzing this section of the Soviet-French Declaration, some Paris papers noted the "new moments" in it. This is undoubtedly true. The appearance of such new moments proves that in the materialization of détente there are big possibilities for political cooperation. It should be noted, however, that time imperatively demands that these possibilities be realized. It should not be forgotten that NATO continues amassing "Mont Blancs of arms," despite détente and contrary to it. Therefore one cannot help agreeing with *L'Humanité*, when, noting that France's intention to broaden consultations on the Soviet proposal for banning new kinds of mass destruction weapons, and its acknowledgement of the need to prevent nuclear weapons proliferation present some interest, it poses the question: "Why not translate it into concrete actions without any further delay?"

Very timely is the affirmation by the Soviet Union and France of the closeness of their stands on fundamental issues of Middle East settlement and their resolve to respect the will of the peoples of Indochina to free and independent development without any outside interference. Of great importance is the common stand of the USSR and France favoring the admission of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and the Republic of South Vietnam to the United Nations. The coincidence of their views was noted in relation to the need of settling the Cyprus problem on the basis of complete respect for the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of the Republic of Cyprus. Finally, the USSR and France reaffirmed their adherence to the UN Charter and came out against the attempts to revise it.

Thus, as a result of the Soviet-French talks real steps have been taken to extend political cooperation between the two countries. The



special significance of summit meetings for concerted steps by both states in the international scene, and also in the field of bilateral cooperation, was once again demonstrated. The Declaration states that such meetings will be held periodically in future, too.

An important foundation in relations between the two states is cooperation in the economic and industrial fields. At the talks much attention was given to extending this mutually advantageous joint activity. It is all the more important because, though on the whole commercial and economic ties between the Soviet Union and France are developing favorably, there are still many untapped opportunities in this sphere. The sides attach special importance to implementing long-range and large-scale projects, including on a compensatory basis.

During the French President's visit to Moscow three agreements were signed — on cooperation in the field of energy, in civil aviation and the aircraft-building industry, and in the field of tourism. These important documents extend the sphere of bilateral cooperation and open up new opportunities for deepening such ties, which constitute practical steps in the spirit of the Final Act of the European security conference. The conclusion of the agreements gave a new important impulse to the economic, scientific, technical and cultural ties between the USSR and France.

The present high level in the relations between the USSR and France, the further real prospects of extending and deepening them is a source of satisfaction for both countries, which are united by traditional ties of friendship. The Soviet people highly value the immense contribution to this cause by the progressive forces of France, and first of all the Communists, who can take justified pride in the fruits of the many years of struggle for friendship between the peoples of France and the USSR.

In line with the Peace Program of the 24th Party Congress our country is consistently implementing the policy of peaceful co-existence, good-neighborly relations and broad mutually advantageous cooperation with capitalist states, one of which is France. At the same time, the Soviet Union invariably and firmly stands on the positions of Marxism-Leninism, proletarian solidarity with the working-class and liberation movements of the peoples.

As L.I. Brezhnev stressed, in cooperation between states with different socio-economic systems, with different ideologies the features ensuing from these class differences cannot be dismissed.



International détente does not by any means exclude the struggle of ideas. The latter is an objective phenomenon.

Clearly, the enemies of Soviet-French cooperation and concord from the pro-Atlantic circles are not calming down, but are resorting to unsavory methods and anti-Soviet calumny. In France they did not stop even during the President's visit to the USSR.

Therefore, the final lines of the Declaration to the effect that both sides attach great importance to the development of feelings of friendship between the peoples of the Soviet Union and France, acquire special significance. The further consolidation of these feelings will help to create a favorable atmosphere for dealing with the major tasks which the USSR and France have jointly set themselves in the expansion of bilateral relations, the consolidation of peace and security in Europe and the whole world.

The Soviet people welcome the constructive results of the talks. They see that as a result of these talks conditions are even more favorable for the USSR and France to make a bigger contribution to international cooperation by their example in developing mutual relations and by energetic, positive efforts in the field of foreign policy. They see in the further development of relations with France and in strengthening friendship with her people a result of the consistent implementation of the Peace Program adopted by the 24th Congress of the CPSU, and assess it as an important contribution to peaceful coexistence and the strengthening of world peace.

*Pravda* editorial, October 26. In full.





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# THE 58th ANNIVERSARY OF THE GREAT OCTOBER SOCIALIST REVOLUTION

## FOLLOWING LENIN'S COURSE, UNDER THE BANNER OF THE OCTOBER REVOLUTION

Report by A.Y. Pelse at a meeting commemorating the 58th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution in the Kremlin Palace of Congresses on November 6, 1975.

Dear comrades,

Dear foreign guests,

Our country is now celebrating the anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution — its most precious holiday, a holiday dear to the hearts of all working people of the world.

Fifty-eight years separate us from this great event unrivalled in its impact on the march of world history. Today, in this solemn hour, everyone of us sees in his mind's eye the dear image of Vladimir Ilyich Lenin in all his greatness, the leader, inspirer and organizer of the revolution. The unforgettable symbols and episodes of the October Revolution: the Smolny Palace, the legendary cruiser *Aurora*, detachments of armed workers and sailors, and the assault on the Winter Palace, are all brought to life in our memory.

The working class, prepared and united by the Communist Party through years of its courageous and tireless work amid the masses, resolutely rose at the call of the Bolsheviks for the uprising and took complete hold of political power. A proletarian revolution was accomplished which had the most profound social consequences and which destroyed the very foundation of the old world. Neither domestic counter-revolution nor foreign intervention helped the exploiting system. In the grim struggle the people defended the Republic of the Soviets and upheld the gains of the October Revolution! A new page opened in world history. The great cause of the October Revolution was destined to become the cause of the revolutionary transformation



of the world. Having passed the test of history and demonstrated its indomitable strength, it inspired other peoples to build socialism, instilled greater confidence in the class struggle of the proletariat, invigorated the national-liberation movement, and gave a powerful impulse to the struggle for peace, democracy and social progress.

That is why this holiday of ours is profoundly international. Allow me, on behalf of the Party's Central Committee, the Politbureau of the Central Committee, the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet and the Soviet Government to extend to you and through you to all Soviet people, to our foreign friends, and to all who hold dear the ideals of communism, peace and happiness of mankind, heartfelt congratulations on the coming 58th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution!

The present anniversary of the October Revolution — and this is felt in everything — has a special coloring and a special significance. The Party and the people are moving toward a very important event in our public life, toward the 25th Congress of the CPSU. Following Lenin's behests, the Congress will sum up the results of the tremendous constructive work done in the country in the closing five-year plan period, generalize the experience gained, outline new prospects for Soviet society's advance toward communism, and lay down the main guidelines for the activity of the Party and the state in the field of foreign policy.

Soviet socialist society is living, developing, maturing and gaining in strength on the firm foundation laid down by the great Lenin. This foundation is the monolithic unity of the Party and the people.

As the years and decades go by, fresh generations enter life and rally under the victorious banner of this great unity, which is unshakable and indissoluble. It is the guarantee of still more victories for the ideas of the October Revolution!

### **1. THE REVOLUTIONARY SCOPE OF CREATIVE ACCOMPLISHMENTS**

On each anniversary of the October Revolution, as we scale one more step, we look back at the path traversed, assessing by its merits everything that the great revolution has given to the working people. Soviet men and women are marking the 58th year since the birth of their socialist state in a good mood, in an atmosphere of tremendous political and labor enthusiasm. This year has brought fresh evidence of the correctness and effectiveness of the CPSU's policy, confirming



once again that it fully conforms to the basic interests and aspirations of the people. It is natural that the course of the 24th Congress and the many-sided activities of the CPSU Central Committee are meeting with the unanimous support and approval of all Soviet people. Our people are ever more closely rallying behind the Party of Lenin, its Central Committee, and the Politbureau of the CPSU Central Committee, headed by the General Secretary of the Central Committee, Comrade Leonid Ilyich Brezhnev.

By his untiring energy, devoting all his efforts to solving domestic problems and successfully pursuing a foreign policy of peace, Comrade Brezhnev sets for all of us a most brilliant example of selfless service to the cause of the Party, to the cause of the October Revolution.

Comrades,

As V.I. Lenin foresaw, the proletarian revolution has roused the broadest masses of the working people to constructive labor. The life-giving spring of the people's talents has begun to play powerfully and freely, and, thanks to this, social development has forged ahead at a rapid pace. In a historically short period of time the Soviet people did away with capitalism and built a developed socialist society. Now our country has reached the advanced frontiers of economic, cultural, scientific and technical progress. It is confidently following the road of communism!

Our workers and peasants have long shown in practice their cohesion and an ability to organize themselves and run their affairs without exploiters. Under the leadership of the Communist Party they have erected the magnificent edifice of socialism whose strength has been proved by time and tested in the fiercest battles. The Soviet socialist state can, in the future too, stand up to any tests!

The 30th anniversary of victory over German fascism and Japanese imperialism, which was marked this year, demonstrated with fresh force the historic significance of that victory, the vast advantages of socialism, and the great role played in it by the homeland of the October Revolution. In the mortal clash with the most aggressive forces of imperialism our people not only upheld the honor and freedom of their Motherland, but defended world civilization. The Communist Party — the ruling party of our country — proved equal to its national and international tasks, to tasks common to all mankind, it proved equal to genuine humanism. Whole peoples and states were rid of the threat of death and destruction.

The class of creators — the proletariat — has not taken power into



its hands for the purpose of destruction, but for free constructive labor, for multiplying and fairly distributing material and spiritual wealth. "Following its seizure of political power, the principal and fundamental interest of the proletariat," Lenin pointed out, "lies in securing an increase in output, an enormous increase in the productive forces of society."

The all-round boosting of the national economy since that time has been and remains the pivot of all our policy. Its real fruits are well in evidence. The country's productive forces have grown immeasurably. The main part of the national wealth — basic production assets — has in the years of Soviet power increased 32 times over and is now estimated at almost 800,000 million roubles.

We are accustomed to large figures showing the rapid growth of our national economy. But pause a little and give some thought to them and they will stagger your imagination. Indeed, in the 58 years since the October Revolution industrial output has increased 203 times over. At present the Soviet Union produces more oil, pig iron, steel, cement, mineral fertilizers, tractors, cotton and woollen fabrics, leather footwear, sugar, milk and butter than any other country in the world.

Industrial output targets which seemed fantastic are now well behind us. Three times more steel and seven times more oil are now produced in a day than in the same period in 1955.

Soviet people have brought to fruition V.I. Lenin's dream of the electrification of Russia. Over one million million kilowatt-hours of electricity is generated annually. We now produce in a day as much electricity as would have taken a whole year to produce before the Revolution.

These striking figures show not only the gigantic scale of socialist production, but first of all the deep qualitative changes brought about in our economy by the truly revolutionary transformation of its foundations and structure.

In implementing Lenin's cooperative plan, the Party put the backward individual peasant farms on a footing of large-scale socialist production. A new class has taken shape — the Soviet collective farm peasantry. The appearance of the Soviet countryside has changed radically. During the years of Soviet power agricultural output has increased by 240 per cent.

The vast and once backward regions of the country have changed beyond recognition. The economic life of all the Soviet republics has



become up-to-date, based on the latest achievements of science and technology.

By the time the 25th CPSU Congress gets under way the results of the Ninth Five-Year Plan will be available in their entirety. But it is already clear that it has been a period of major social shifts, of the intensive build-up of the economic, scientific and technical potential, and of the further strengthening of the defense capability of the Soviet Union. It has been an important stage on the road of building the material and technical basis of communism.

The results of the outgoing year are gratifying. In the past 10 months industrial output has gone up 7.7 per cent as compared with the same period of last year, with four-fifths of the entire increase obtained through higher labor productivity.

On the whole, over the years of the five-year period the volume of industrial production is expected to rise by approximately 43 per cent. This means that the Directives of the 24th Party Congress for this major indicator will be fulfilled.

Our plans are known to be distinguished by the vast scale of capital construction. This is also characteristic of the five-year plan now nearing completion. The world's largest Krasnoyarsk hydroelectric power station is working at full capacity. The Tashkent thermal power station — one of the largest in Central Asia — has been brought into operation. A major stage has been completed in the construction of the Sayano-Shushenskaya hydroelectric station with the damming of the mighty Yenisei. The Volzhsky car factory has attained its planned level of production. New giants are going into operation in the iron and steel, chemical and light industries. Thousands of kilometers of new trunk oil and gas pipelines have been laid. The Bratsk-Ust Ilim, Kursk, Chimkent-Dzhambul, West Siberian and other industrial complexes are developing successfully. Construction continues on the Kama truck plant, the Toktogul hydroelectric power station, and the Baikal-Amur railway line.

Almost 2,000 large industrial enterprises have been put into operation in just under five years. Let us, comrades, pause and ponder over this figure — two thousand new factories and mills! What tremendous industrial might we have here — the economic potential of a whole state! This figure is especially impressive because the generation is still alive who knew the melancholy Dubinushka work song, the pickaxe and the wheel barrow.

But the Dubinushka has long ceased to be anything more than a song. From one end of our vast country to the other we see the strides



made by our powerful industry. Over vast expanses we witness brightly lit towns springing up, power stations being erected, oil derricks rising, and bridges and railways being laid.

Quite often one can hear our foreign guests, friends or just unbiased people say, not concealing their admiration for what they see: "Grand! Fantastic!" Indeed the Soviet people, having merged their life and their aspirations with the Communist Party and its ideals, are capable of working wonders!

Early this year when the Central Committee addressed the Party and the Soviet people with a call to fulfill the year's plan ahead of schedule and to successfully complete the Ninth Five-Year Plan, more than 80 million people joined in a socialist emulation drive under the slogan "More goods, of better quality and with less outlay!" The nationwide patriotic movement has already borne tangible fruits, accelerating the growth of the socialist economy. Great victories have been won by the working people of Moscow, the capital of our Motherland, and of Moscow Region, by the working people of Leningrad, the cradle of the October Revolution, and of Leningrad Region, and by the working people of the Ukraine, Byelorussia, Azerbaijan, Kirghizia, Uzbekistan, Estonia, Lithuania, and a number of regions and autonomous republics. They were the first to report the fulfillment ahead of schedule of the five-year plan for the growth of the total volume of industrial output.

This year the country will produce about 6,000 million roubles worth of industrial output over and above the plan. Such is the life-giving power of socialist emulation. Honor and glory to the advanced production workers demonstrating examples of a communist attitude to labor!

The 40th anniversary of the Stakhanovite movement was recently marked on a wide scale, and there was a warm and cordial meeting between Leonid Ilyich Brezhnev and the movement's pioneers. The honoring of the veteran Stakhanovites was an expression of the Party's solicitous and considerate attitude to the working people. Many years have passed since the days of their feats of labor, but, as people rightly say, good deeds are never forgotten. Starting with the Lenin communist *Subbotniks*, the torch of labor enthusiasm of millions has been passed from hand to hand. The forms of emulation are changing, and it is qualitatively improving, but one thing remains unchanged — the full dedication of one's energies and intellect to the common cause, and inspired and selfless work bringing joy and satis-



faction. Foremost workers and innovators in socialist production are the real heroes of our time!

During the Ninth Five-Year Plan period, unflagging attention has been paid to the development of agriculture. Basing itself on the decisions of the 24th CPSU Congress and the March 1965 Plenary Meeting of the CPSU Central Committee, our Party is carrying out a long-term program of putting agricultural production onto a modern industrial basis, a program of further strengthening the collective and state farms economically. Average gross annual grain production in this five-year period has exceeded the indices of the Eighth Five-Year Plan. The livestock breeders have done a good job. The five-year plan for purchases of livestock and poultry, eggs and wool has been carried out ahead of schedule. The cotton growers are a source of joy to the country as they confidently increase the cotton harvest from year to year.

It should be pointed out, comrades, that the growth of agricultural production in recent years has been achieved in difficult conditions, despite the fact that the elements more than once staged a serious and tough test for the Soviet farmers who nevertheless came through it with credit.

The tireless concern of the Party and the state for the strengthening of the material and technical base of agriculture, the collective support and mutual assistance, the flexibility in the use of machinery, and the selfless work of millions have become a mighty counter to the elements, largely lessening the latter's adverse efforts. Unfortunately, in a number of areas some difficulties have arisen and efforts will be required to overcome them. There will be even greater persistency in carrying out the measures mapped out by the Party and the government to further raise farm production. Machinery, equipment and fertilizers will be supplied to agriculture in increasing quantities. Land reclamation work is being expanded. By the will and efforts of the Party and the people the non-chernozem region of Russia will be given a new life and have its riches more generously opened up.

Our scientists, engineers and technicians are contributing enormously to the further economic advancement and the acceleration of progress in science and technology. In the current five-year plan period, as many as 20,000 new types of machinery, equipment, apparatus, devices and means of automation have been designed and produced. About 3,500 new industrial items will have gone into mass production this year. The celebrations of the 250th anniversary of the USSR Academy of Sciences convincingly demonstrated the world-



historic achievements of Soviet science, which is today on advanced frontiers, step by step penetrating the secrets of the universe and giving the people the fruits of the daring discoveries of human reason.

Only recently we all saw with excitement in the newspapers the unique pictures of the surface of distant Venus and learned that it had acquired its first two artificial satellites. Those are our Soviet envoys — heralds of the creative power of the Land of the October Revolution, of the genuine flowering of its advanced science!

Comrades, in our socialist state all the wealth created by the people is at their full and sovereign disposal and serves their well-being. It is safe to say that never before has the task of raising the people's standard of living been tackled with such depth and scope as in the current five-year plan period.

Thanks to the increases in wages and salaries for workers and employees and the implementation of other measures to raise wages and abolish or reduce the taxes on pay for certain categories the real incomes of more than 175 million Soviet people have risen.

Over 40 million people now receive increased pensions, scholarships, allowances and other benefits out of the social consumption funds. This means, comrades, that the possibility of improving one's living conditions has opened up literally before the broadest masses. Our population is now better fed and clothed and lives in greater comfort. Each Soviet citizen can tangibly appreciate today the ever-increasing production of good-quality clothes, refrigerators, TV sets, furniture and many other goods, and the services sector is expanding and improving.

A notable feature of our contemporary life is the rapid pace and the tremendous scale of housing construction. This year also is no exception: close to 11 million citizens have already received new flats or have had their housing conditions otherwise improved. By the way, in the USSR there is more housing construction work going on than in Britain, France, the FRG, Italy and the other Common Market countries taken together.

The significant social and economic achievements of our country present a particularly great contrast to the profound crisis that is today shaking the capitalist world and exacerbating all of its contradictions. The army of unemployed in the advanced capitalist countries numbers 15 million. Many millions of people have been forced to go on to part-time work. Inflation and soaring prices weigh heavily upon the working people.

The Soviet Union and the fraternal socialist countries, where



economic and social development steadily follows an ascending line, do not know such phenomena as the curtailment of production, bankruptcies of enterprises, unemployment or inflation. This is yet another manifestation of the advantages and the attractive force of the socialist social system.

From the very first days of the October Revolution our Party launched a determined struggle against ignorance and illiteracy, and carried out a genuine cultural revolution. A thirst for knowledge is intrinsic to the great mass of the Soviet people. They have for a long time already been rightly called the most avid nation of readers in the world.

Today over one-third of our country's population is studying in general education schools, technicums and institutions of higher learning. The transition to universal secondary education is being completed. The system of vocational training of young people has risen to a higher stage, and there has been a great increase in the annual graduation of specialists with a higher or specialized secondary education. This has now almost reached the two million figure.

Whatever work is undertaken in our country — a new factory being built or a new railway laid — the concern for man, for improving his living and working conditions, for his health and feelings, and for the preservation of nature, always comes first. A great deal has been done over recent years in this respect. But we should continue and not relax our efforts in the future as well to expand the network of cultural and everyday-service facilities, workers' canteens, nurseries and kindergartens, hospitals, part-time treatment centers and holiday homes. Consideration, good will and a readiness to do everything possible to leave a man satisfied is the duty of all who are engaged in providing services for their fellow-citizens.

Comrades,

Along with economic growth, important successes have been attained in the field of social relations. The process of the continued convergence of classes and social groups, nations and nationalities, the process of obliterating the essential distinctions between town and country, between mental and physical work stands out by its favorable development.

In their vital interests, aims and convictions, the classes and social groups making up Soviet society have practically no distinctions, and in this sense Soviet society is already homogeneous. A new historical community of people — the Soviet people — has taken shape. Its vanguard, its best organized force, is the heroic working class. The



collective farm peasantry is an invariable and loyal ally of the working class. The people's intelligentsia works shoulder to shoulder with the workers and peasants.

The Komsomols and all the Soviet young men and women are selflessly devoted to the cause of the Party, to the cause of the October Revolution. Continuing the revolutionary, military and labor traditions, they learned to live and work in the communist way and take an active part in building a new society. In the unity of the aims and thoughts of all generations lies the great strength of the Soviet people engaged in constructive and creative work.

The current year is being marked as International Women's Year. In the homeland of the October Revolution, for the first time in history, women became full-fledged citizens holding a worthy place in society. Soviet women are making an invaluable contribution of their own to the building of communism. Let us, comrades, wholeheartedly wish our glorious women workers, mothers, those bringing up our children and our children's children, labor veterans, and the working women of all the world happiness, joy and every success in their public and private affairs.

On the eve of the October Revolution anniversary the Soviet people express their deep respect for the glorious Armed Forces of the Soviet Union, the reliable defenders of their peaceful life. The Armed Forces carry aloft their colors and are always ready to perform any mission set by their homeland!

Comrades,

We take legitimate pride in the important successes in the field of creating material and cultural values. Yet self-delusion is alien to our Party. It is not in its nature to shut its eyes to difficulties and shortcomings. We shall always be faithful to Lenin's behest: Focus attention on unresolved tasks.

The problem of further raising the efficiency of social production and of improving the methods of economic management calls for great efforts. It would be incorrect to say that there are no weak points here. Enormous reserves lie in speeding up the putting into operation of production capacities, in improving planning and economic incentives, in promptly introducing scientific and technological achievements in production and in raising the quality of the entire economic activity. To tap these reserves in real earnest is the direct duty of Party organizations, managers at all levels, and of all workers in production. Self-evident is the need for the stricter observance of the regime of economy in the use of funds, of raw and



other materials and fuel, in eradicating mismanagement and waste and a parochial, narrow-departmental, and at times bureaucratic, approach to the solution of important economic questions.

The creative thought of scientists and designers should reach boldly into the future, not lag behind the demands of this age. It would be incorrect to judge the activities of sectoral research institutes only by increases in their staff and printed publications. The main criterion of appraisal is how successfully they solve key problems and how they supply production with badly needed research projects.

The Party appeals for vigorously eradicating from our life the elements of lack of organization and of an irresponsible attitude to the fulfillment of labor and social obligations, various abuses, drunkenness and other phenomena alien to socialism. What is needed for this is the effective utilization of all the forms of social and state influence and that unreserved exactingness toward oneself and others which has its source in the October Revolution!

As our socialist society advances toward communism, the highest stage of its development, the public activity of its citizens grows and they are drawn deeper and on a larger scale into the running of the affairs of the state. The Soviets of Working People's Deputies, in the activities of which the state and social principles are organically blended, are an embodiment of genuine democracy in the USSR. This year's elections to the Supreme Soviets of the Union and Autonomous Republics and also to the local Soviets were an important event in the country's political life. The participation of the masses in running state and social affairs has become more effective.

There are still those in the West who like to speculate on the question of human rights and in this connection shoot arrows of criticism at this country. But they will not succeed in finding any vulnerable target here. Human rights in this country are quite real and effective. They are guaranteed and ensured by the socialist system, by genuine people's power, more fully and effectively than in any capitalist country. It is precisely where capital is actually omnipotent that proclaimed democratic rights are illusory.

The rights and freedoms of the Soviet citizens form an organic unity with their obligations and public duties. Each of us finds deep satisfaction in taking a personal part in the common cause, the essence of which is the struggle for communism. The responsibility Soviet people voluntarily assume for the state of affairs in society — at the factory, on the collective farm, in the design workshop,



laboratory or institution — fills their life with a lofty meaning, making it richer, more interesting and dynamic.

Socialist democracy means both genuine humanism and the irreconcilability to any breaches of the law and infringements upon the rights and interests of citizens and society. A deep awareness of one's public duty, a noble feeling of collectivism, self-education and a desire to occupy a worthy place in the ranks of the builders of communism — these are precisely the makings of Soviet man, the characteristics of the atmosphere in which our people live, work and study. This is an atmosphere of confidence and social optimism. This is an atmosphere of the steadily growing moral and political unity of society. This is the atmosphere of the building of communism.

## **2. THE INSPIRING PROGRAM OF STRUGGLE FOR PEACE AND SOCIAL PROGRESS**

Comrades,

Lenin's immortal ideas under whose banner the October Revolution triumphed, are being consistently applied in practice by our Party and the Soviet state through their untiring efforts for peace, the security of peoples, and social problems.

Thanks to the implementation of the Peace Program proclaimed by the 24th CPSU Congress the past few years have witnessed substantial positive changes in world politics, the further advance of the cause of détente and the consolidation of universal peace.

It is with satisfaction and gratitude that the Soviet people regard the successes of our foreign policy as being due to the constant creative work of the entire Party, the CPSU Central Committee and its Politbureau headed by Comrade Leonid Ilyich Brezhnev.

The untiring activities of the General Secretary of our Party's Central Committee in the interest of promoting international security and asserting the principles of peaceful coexistence have won general recognition among the broadest sections of world public opinion.

It is becoming increasingly difficult to find a spot in the world which has not been reached by the truth about the Land of Soviets embodying man's dream of a peaceful life, happiness and social progress!

Soviet people are proud of the growing international prestige of their state and express unanimous support of the foreign policy of their Party and government. One and the same thought runs through the speeches and comments of millions of working people, through tens of thousands of letters arriving at the CPSU Central Committee:



the 30 years of peaceful labor, 30 years without war, have been the greatest achievement of this policy!

This year has seen an event of historic significance — the conclusion at the highest level of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe which was convened on the initiative of the Soviet Union and the other Warsaw Treaty countries. The Conference summed up the necessary political results of the Second World War and confirmed the futility and harmfulness of the positions-of-strength policy. Along with this it defined the fundamentals of, and laid down the guidelines for, the activity of states in the interests of turning Europe, which has been the scene of two world wars, into a continent of lasting peace and fruitful cooperation among nations.

The main thing now is to have the agreements reached at the All-European Conference put into practice, into practical deeds. This is precisely what the efforts of the Soviet Union and the other countries of the socialist community are aimed at. A cardinal problem now is to reinforce the progressing process of political détente with a military détente, to secure an end to the arms race, and to achieve tangible results in disarmament.

The achievements of the socialist countries in developing their economies and culture and in strengthening their defenses, and their coordinated peace-loving foreign policies have played a decisive role in ensuring the preponderance of the forces of peace, democracy and progress over the forces of war and reaction. World socialism has become firmly established as a major factor for favorable changes in international relations. The community of socialist states is confidently carrying forward the torch of the October Revolution despite the intrigues of reactionary circles who are clinging to the outdated policy of "rolling back socialism." Socialism cannot be rolled back now, nothing can check its triumphant march!

For a long time the aggressors tried to strangle the freedom and independence of the Vietnamese people. Everybody knows how this ended. The heroic struggle of the patriots of Vietnam was crowned with complete victory! Only a few days ago our Party and the Soviet people warmly and cordially welcomed dear guests — representatives of heroic Vietnam led by Comrade Le Duan, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Working People's Party of Vietnam. The heartiest enthusiasm of those friendly meetings once again speaks of the unbreakable unity and growing friendship of our parties and peoples, of the readiness to continue to fight shoulder to shoulder for our common aims and ideals.



This year the many-year-long liberation struggle of the peoples of Laos and Cambodia has also ended victoriously. The dangerous hotbed of war in Indochina that for a long time complicated international relations has been eliminated. The peoples of that region can now embark on the construction of a new life in conditions of peace. The triumph of the liberation movement in Indochina clearly shows that, relying on the assistance and support from the socialist countries and all progressive and peace-loving forces, nations can successfully defend their freedom and their right to a peaceful life and social progress against imperialist encroachments.

An event of major international importance is the emergence of the fraternal German Democratic Republic on the broad world scene. The prestige of the Republic of Cuba is steadily growing, and the failure of imperialism's policy of isolating it is becoming ever more evident.

The socialist world system is more fully and widely unfolding its enormous potentialities. The peoples who have taken the road of socialist construction are confidently looking to the future: their economies are developing at a stable and rapid pace, the moral and political unity of their societies is growing stronger, and the living standards of the working people are steadily rising. We ardently wish all the working people of the fraternal countries, their parties and their leaders new great successes!

The unity of the states of the socialist community is gaining in strength with each passing year, and their political, economic and cultural ties are expanding. Their multilateral cooperation within the framework of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance is being enlarged and perfected, there is increased coordination in the fields of planning, supplies and scientific and technological progress, and the volume of trade shows a marked growth. The Soviet people are deeply convinced that by combined efforts we shall attain new heights and make world socialism still mightier.

In their struggle for peace and peaceful coexistence the socialist countries receive powerful support from the broad popular masses on all continents. The voices of young national states sound authoritatively as never before. They are actively working for the firm establishment of standards of peaceful relations, equality and mutually beneficial cooperation between countries. The strengthening of peace and international security is promoted by the consolidation of the Soviet Union's friendly relations with such a big state as India and other developing countries.



The struggle for peace is ever more tangibly becoming a practical matter for millions of people. Now the prestige of any government largely depends on how consistent it is in implementing international agreements designed to ensure peace. Peoples are distinguishing ever more clearly between sincerity and hypocrisy in tackling the most burning issue of our time. Beyond doubt, the process of détente is also related to the affirmation of realistic trends among the ruling quarters of leading capitalist countries. We attach high importance to this, consistently following the course of the peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems.

The world public notes with satisfaction the positive change in the relations between the USA and the USSR, which meets not only the aspirations of our countries, but also the interests of universal peace. Recently the first Soviet-U.S. space expedition — the joint flight and docking of the Soyuz and Apollo spacecrafts — was carried out. The concerted efforts in space provide a good example of achieving agreement on earth for the benefit of mankind, for the benefit of a stronger peace.

The great importance we attach to Soviet-French cooperation is well known. In this respect we positively appraise the results of President Giscard d'Estaing's recent visit to this country. On the whole relations between our country and the Federal Republic of Germany, Great Britain, Italy, Japan and many other capitalist countries are developing positively.

Ours is a realistic policy. We soberly appraise what has been achieved and what is yet to be done. There is no doubt that détente has taken firm root. What is also obvious is that its opponents have not yet laid down arms.

It is primarily those political circles in capitalist countries which express the selfish interests of the military-industrial complex making fabulous profits who oppose improvement in the international political climate. They go to the lengths of interfering in the internal affairs of peoples and delaying the solution of outstanding international problems.

There is no letup in the attempts to undermine faith in the policy of peaceful coexistence and use is being made of long discredited cold war techniques, anti-Sovietism and slanderous concoctions. But no one will succeed in casting aspersion on the honest foreign policy of the homeland of the October Revolution, a policy meeting the interests of all peoples!

The Maoist leadership of China is setting up serious obstacles to



peace, détente and social progress. This is being done under the slogan of anti-Sovietism which has become the basis of Peking's policy. It will never, of course, succeed in reversing international development. One cannot help noting, however, the enormous damage of the Maoists' great-power and hegemonistic policy to the cause of socialism and to the Chinese people themselves, or seeing the danger of that policy for the peoples' liberation movement. Our readiness to normalize Soviet-Chinese relations remains unchanged. But we shall vigorously rebuff any encroachment on the interests of our homeland and its friends.

Comrades,

The Soviet Union consistently advocates the accomplishment of a truly historic task to make the process of détente irreversible, to give it concrete material content. This purpose is served by the new and important initiatives aimed at an early end to the arms race, proposed by us at the last UN General Assembly. The peace-loving public has actively supported the Soviet proposal addressed to all states on banning the development and production of new types and new systems of mass-destruction weapons. Of fundamental importance for universal peace is our proposal to conclude a treaty on the total and universal banning of nuclear weapons tests.

The Soviet state will continue to work for further progress at the talks on the reduction of forces and arms in Central Europe and at the Soviet-U.S. talks on a new long-term agreement on the limitation of strategic offensive arms.

A vitally important problem of our time is to eliminate seats of military and political tension. The Soviet Union is determined to do everything to help establish a just and lasting peace in the Middle East. The key conditions for this are the withdrawal of Israeli troops from all territories occupied in 1967 and ensurance of the legitimate rights of the Arab people of Palestine. Only in this way, and not through partial or half-measures, will a genuine settlement to the Middle East problem be found.

The experience of the years since the 24th CPSU Congress has clearly shown that every step along the road of détente, along the road of peaceful coexistence facilitates the peoples' movement for economic, political, and national emancipation and social progress. The bourgeoisie's attempt to extricate itself from the deep economic and political crisis at the expense of the working people by lowering their living standards, reducing allocations for social needs and limiting trade union rights and freedoms is being vigorously rebuffed by



the masses. In these circumstances, the Communists and all progressives are waging an increasingly persistent and active struggle for profound democratic and anti-monopoly changes.

The people of Portugal have won a remarkable victory over fascism. The Portuguese revolution is confronted with the attempts of internal reactionaries, instigated from outside, to revenge themselves and reverse the country's progressive development. The Soviet people are unanimous in their support for the revolutionary efforts of the Portuguese people and emphatically denounce outside interference in their internal affairs.

The aggravation of class contradictions in the capitalist world is accompanied by a mounting danger from the right. The tragic events in Chile have once again exposed the bloody image of fascism. The wave of solidarity with the people of Chile has revived the anti-fascist movement in many countries. Protest against the bloody crimes of the anti-people junta is becoming increasingly volatile. Today we once again vigorously demand freedom for the prisoners of fascist reactionaries and freedom for Luis Corvalan, an outstanding fighter for peace and democracy!

The national liberation struggle of the peoples, who are ever more forcefully and concertedly countering neo-colonialist oppression, is attaining a new level. The day is near when all vestiges of colonialism will be finally eradicated. The homeland of the October Revolution vigorously supports the freedom fighters. We are on the side of the patriots of Angola, Zimbabwe and Namibia, on the side of all peoples fighting for their bright future!

The basic processes determining the political panorama of the contemporary world are inseparably connected with the international communist movement, and the 1969 International Meeting played an important role in developing them further. The meeting of the Communist Parties of Latin America and the Caribbean with observers from the Communist Parties of the USA and Canada, held in Havana last June, was a major event. It has demonstrated the close unity of the Communists in the Western hemisphere on the basis of Marxism-Leninism.

Preparations for a conference of the Communist and Workers' Parties of Europe are in train. Elaboration of their joint positions in the new situation on the European continent is facilitated by multilateral and bilateral meetings and consultations in which our Party takes an active part. The coordinated actions of the fraternal Parties in the struggle for the common objectives enhance the role of the com-



unist movement in the world revolutionary process, in defending the interests of the working class and all working people, and in upholding the cause of peace and social progress.

All the activities of our Party are imbued with invariable fidelity to the Leninist principle of proletarian internationalism. We discharge our internationalist duty to the international working-class movement and to all mankind, first of all, by working without letup to build communism in this country. We discharge our internationalist duty by consistently and perseveringly strengthening and developing unity, all-round cooperation and collaboration with the peoples of socialist countries and their ruling Parties. We discharge our internationalist duty by firmly and undeviatingly adhering to the positions of militant solidarity with the international communist movement, with all fighters for the social and national liberation of the peoples. We discharge our internationalist duty by vigorously championing the cause of world peace beginning with the early days of the October Revolution.

While advocating peaceful coexistence between states, our Party does not recognize ideological conciliation. It proceeds from the premise that class features and distinctions presuppose the confrontation of world outlooks. The objective process of social development and the great justice of our revolutionary cause predetermine our ideological activity and irreconcilability with bourgeois theories and concepts.

Dear Comrades,

At a turning point in our history, when tsarism and the bourgeois Provisional Government which succeeded it had brought the country to virtual catastrophe, in the confusion of voices raised by different parties there was no answer to the question of whether there existed in Russia a political force capable of assuming power and leading the country out of the deadlock of war, economic dislocation, capitalist plunder and anarchy.

And then, as we all know, the clear and confident voice of Lenin rang out:

"I reply: there is!"

That force was the Bolshevik Party, founded and fostered by Lenin. And it is precisely this Party that assumed the responsibility for the country's destiny, for the people's destiny, and proved to be equal to its historic mission.

Since that time and to this day millions of people cherish in their hearts and minds the memorable words of Lenin: "Yes, there is such



a party!'' . This Party victoriously led the country through the years of grim trials, and with enormous energy and unbending will inspired and continues to inspire the masses in implementing the noble ideals of the October Revolution. The role of our Leninist Party as the leading and guiding force of Soviet society is growing from year to year, from congress to congress.

The inexhaustible source of the political and moral prestige of the CPSU and of its growing influence on the course of the building of communism lies in the fact that the Party is invariably guided by Marxist-Leninist theory, develops and enriches it, and creatively applies it in practice, with due account for specific historical conditions.

All the activities of our Party and its Central Committee have for the last five years been focused on the fulfillment of the decisions of the 24th CPSU Congress. Today, while noting the country's great achievements, the Soviet people with deep gratitude and pride associate them with the many-sided political and organizational work of the entire Party, its local bodies and Leninist Central Committee.

In generalizing past experience, the Party constantly improves its organizing and ideological activity, expands and strengthens its ties with the masses, and invariably seeks to inculcate the Leninist style of work in Party, state and economic bodies.

The inalienable features of this truly scientific, Party-style work, as Comrade L.I. Brezhnev emphasized, are "businesslike manner, constructive criticism and adherence to principles, combined with a conscious and, therefore, firm discipline." Precisely these features must permeate all aspects of Party building and, primarily, the matter of selecting, placing and educating personnel, organizing control over and checking fulfillment of Party and government directives, and also decisions adopted at all levels of administration.

Examination by the CPSU Central Committee of questions connected with criticism and self-criticism, in selecting and educating workers in the ideological sphere and other important questions of inner-Party life has favorably influenced the further improvement of ideological and organizing activity at local level.

Enhancing the Party's role in the life of Soviet society presupposes raising the efficiency of every primary Party organization — the political core of a worker collective, and increasing the vanguard role and responsibility of every Communist. In this respect, the exchange of membership cards has played an important role. The current Party election meetings, where reports are heard and new officials elected,



an important stage in preparing for the 25th CPSU Congress, are well organized and efficiently conducted.

Party spirit in our day is an alloy of high ideological principles and practical actions, statesman-like thinking and behavior, unshakable loyalty to the interests of the Party, people and a readiness to courageously and steadfastly defend them to the end.

Dear comrades,

Communists were the first to storm the old world. They are the first to blaze the trail to the future. To be in the forefront and to set an example in everything — such is the difficult, yet happy lot of the Communists, people with high principles, high moral qualities and noble aspirations. And the members of the great Leninist Party have been, are, and will be such people.

The course chosen by us has been verified and illumined by Lenin's genius. And our Communist Party — the intellect, honor and conscience of our epoch, tried and tested in revolutionary battles and labor exploits is, under the banner of Marxism-Leninism, confidently leading our people along this course.

Glory to the heroic Soviet people, the builders of communism!

May our great Motherland, homeland of the October Revolution, grow and prosper!

Glory to the great Leninist Party, the inspirer and organizer of all our victories!

## SPEECH BY LEONID BREZHNEV

At the Anniversary Reception in the Kremlin Palace of Congresses on November 7.

Dear comrades,

Esteemed foreign guests,

May I heartily greet the participants in today's parade and holiday demonstration, all who have gathered in this hall to celebrate the 58th anniversary of the Soviet socialist state. My congratulations to you and through you to all Soviet people, and to the friends of our Motherland abroad, on the great holiday of the Soviet people!

Our holiday has been marked by great deeds performed by the Soviet people, its sons and daughters in the factories and mines, on the building sites, in the fields and on the farms, in the laboratories and artistic studios, where millions of people are now prompted by



one wish: successfully to complete the five-year plan and to meet the 25th Congress of our Communist Party in a worthy manner.

Our holiday is passing in an atmosphere of impressive successes scored by the peace policy of the Soviet state, of greater consolidation of the socialist community, and in the struggle against the threat of a new world war, for the creation of foundations for lasting peace and cooperation in Europe and the whole world.

Our holiday is now illuminated by the new splendid accomplishments of the Soviet scientists and cosmonauts in the exploration of so-called near space and of distant planets.

Today, the Red Square of Moscow again witnessed the convincing display of the indestructible combat might of the Soviet Armed Forces, which reliably safeguard the peaceful work of our people. And again on this joyous gala day the country's main square — as squares in its other cities, towns and villages — was filled with the mighty flow of many thousands of working people. They demonstrated the cohesion of the people round their Leninist Party, round the Soviet Government, their pride over what has been achieved, and their readiness for further labor exploits.

On behalf of the Central Committee of the Communist Party, the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet and the Council of Ministers I address words of appreciation to all working people of our great Motherland, to all those who by their labor are making it still more beautiful, still wealthier and more powerful, who stand on guard of its security and defend its interests.

Much has been done, comrades, but there is still more to be done. However great and complicated our tasks may be, we all know firmly: the purity and loftiness of our goals, the unity of the Party and the people, the might of our socialist power, its inviolable alliance with the fraternal socialist countries, with all peace-loving and progressive forces — all this taken together constitutes a reliable guarantee of fresh successes in the building of communism, and in the struggle for social progress, for freedom and independence of peoples, for a lasting peace in the world.

Holiday greetings, dear friends!

I propose a toast:

To the great Soviet people!

To our glorious Party — the Party of Lenin!

To fresh victories of the peoples in the building of socialism and communism!

To lasting peace all over the world! *Pravda*, November 8, 1975.



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## **BILATERAL MEETINGS**

# **OFFICIAL FRIENDLY VISIT OF A PARTY AND GOVERNMENT DELEGATION OF THE DRV TO THE SOVIET UNION**

## **JOINT COMMUNIQUÉ**

At the invitation of the CPSU Central Committee and the Soviet Government, a delegation of the Working People's Party of Vietnam (WPPV) and of the DRV Government headed by Le Duan, First Secretary of the WPPV Central Committee, stayed in the Soviet Union from October 27 to 31 on an officially friendly visit.

The delegation laid a wreath at the Lenin Mausoleum and at the tomb of the Unknown Soldier in Moscow.

During their visit the Vietnamese guests saw a Moscow vocational school, make a tour of Moscow, and attended a rally of Soviet-Vietnamese friendship held at the Moscow Automatic-Line Factory. The representatives of heroic Vietnam were everywhere accorded a cordial fraternal reception which was a manifestation of the invariable feelings of indestructible friendship and solidarity of the Soviet people with the courageous Vietnamese people.

Le Duan had a meeting and a talk with L.I. Brezhnev. During the visit talks were also held between Soviet leaders and the members of the Vietnamese delegation.

Taking part in the talks were:

on the Soviet side: L.I. Brezhnev, General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee; N.V. Podgorny, member of the Politbureau of the CPSU Central Committee, President of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium; A.N. Kosygin, member of the Politbureau, Chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers; A.A. Gromyko, member of the Politbureau, Minister of Foreign Affairs; A.A. Grechko, member of the Politbureau, Minister of Defense; K.F. Katushev, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee;



on the vietnamese side: Le Duan, First Secretary of the WPPV Central Committee; Le Thanh Nghi, member of the Politbureau of the WPPV Central Committee, Deputy Prime Minister of the DRV Government and Chairman of the DRV State Planning Committee; Nguyen Huu Khieu, alternate member of the WPPV Central Committee and DRV Ambassador to the USSR; Nguyen Ko Thach, Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs of the DRV; Nguyen Van Kha, Deputy Head of the Planning and Economic Department of the WPPV Central Committee; Le Khac, Deputy Chairman of the DRV State Planning Committee; Nguyen Van Dao, Deputy Minister of Foreign Trade of the DRV.

During the talks, which took place in a comradely atmosphere and in a spirit of complete mutual understanding, the sides exchanged information and discussed fundamental questions of cooperation in various fields between the USSR and Vietnam during the next five years, as well as current international problems of mutual interest.

L.I. Brezhnev and Le Duan signed a Soviet-Vietnamese Declaration which determines the basic trends of strengthening all-round relations between the two fraternal Parties and peoples, and of their close cooperation in the building of socialism and communism, and in the common struggle for peace, national independence, democracy and socialism.

Apart from the Declaration, the following documents were signed during the visit: an agreement on economic assistance to the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and the Protocol on the results of the coordination of economic plans of the USSR and the DRV for 1976-1980.

During the talks the sides confirmed the understanding, reached earlier, on an official visit of a Party and Government delegation of the Soviet Union to the Democratic Republic of Vietnam. The time of the visit will be agreed through diplomatic channels.

On the invitation of the CPSU Central Committee, Le Duan is remaining in the Soviet Union on a brief holiday.

*Pravda*, October 31, 1975.

## SOVIET-VIETNAMESE DECLARATION

A delegation of the Working People's Party of Vietnam and the Government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, led by First Secretary of the Working People's Party of Vietnam Le Duan paid an

*number 20-21, 1975 37*



official friendly visit to the Soviet Union from October 27 to 31, 1975, at the invitation of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Government of the USSR.

The visit of representatives of heroic Vietnam to the Soviet Union, made after the historic victory of the Vietnamese people over the foreign aggressors and their accomplices and the restoration of peace in the country, has developed into a striking new demonstration of the indestructible friendship and solidarity between the Soviet and Vietnamese peoples, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Working People's Party of Vietnam. It has marked an important stage on the road of the further strengthening and all-round development of fraternal Soviet-Vietnamese relations.

The negotiations and talks between Soviet and Vietnamese leaders, General Secretary of the CPSU L.I. Brezhnev and Le Duan passed in an atmosphere of cordiality, fraternal solidarity, understanding and mutual respect. Both sides noted the full identity of views on all the questions discussed.

The delegation of the Working People's Party of Vietnam and the Government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam again expressed the warmest feelings of the Communists and the entire people of Vietnam for the fraternal Soviet people, who victoriously accomplished the Great October Revolution, which ushered in an era of the triumph of socialism on a world scale, and made a decisive contribution to the defeat of fascism, thereby creating favorable conditions for the victory of revolutions in many European and Asian states, the emergence of a world socialist system, a growing struggle of the colonial countries against colonialism, for their national rights, and a powerful upsurge in the revolutionary movement of the peoples. Having blazed the path to socialism, the Soviet Union is now paving the way to communism — the finest dream of mankind. The Land of Soviets has started the era of space exploration by man; the latest achievements — the soft landing of the interplanetary stations Venus 9 and Venus 10 — are yet another outstanding accomplishment in this field.

The Party and Government delegation of the DRV expressed the deep admiration of the Vietnamese people for the brilliant successes achieved by the Soviet people in all spheres over the past 58 years, and regards them as an enormous contribution to world progress.

The Working People's Party of Vietnam and the entire Vietnamese people enthusiastically hail the tremendous progress made by the Soviet people in carrying out the Ninth Five-Year Plan, mapped out



by the 24th Congress of the CPSU. The achievements of the Soviet Union in economic development, strengthening of the material and technical base of communism, enhancement of its defensive capacity and raising of the people's living standards contribute to the steady growth of the might of the Land of Soviets, the world's first proletarian state.

Thanks to its continuously growing potential and tireless efforts in the name of universal peace, the Soviet Union actively helped in defeating the imperialist policy of "cold war" and is now playing an especially important role in the common struggle of the peoples for peace, national independence, democracy and socialism.

On behalf of the Vietnamese people, the delegation of the Party and Government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam sincerely wish the Soviet people, led by the glorious Communist Party and its Central Committee headed by L.I. Brezhnev, fresh, even greater successes in building communism and in the efforts to preserve world peace.

The Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Soviet people wholeheartedly hail the historic victory won by the people of Vietnam — the complete liberation of the south of the country from the dominance of the imperialists and their henchmen. This victory has opened up a new era — the era of building a peaceful, independent and united socialist Vietnam. The victory of the Vietnamese people was the result of their heroism, selflessness and unbending determination, the result of the able leadership of the struggle of the popular masses provided by their militant vanguard — the glorious Working People's Party.

The outstanding victory of Vietnam is at the same time a common victory of the socialist countries and all anti-imperialist and progressive forces, which stood firmly behind the Vietnamese people and gave them moral and material support.

The tremendous successes achieved by the heroic Vietnamese people in defending the freedom and independence of their country from the encroachments of the imperialists and against internal reaction, in raising the national economy and is gradually building up the material and technical base of socialism in North Vietnam, have once again demonstrated to the entire world the invincibility of a people advancing under the leadership of a Marxist-Leninist Party, together with the peoples of fraternal socialist countries. Strengthened and steeled in severe trials, the Democratic Republic of Vietnam provides a firm basis for the revolutionary struggle of the whole



Vietnamese people; it is an outpost of socialism in Indochina and Southeast Asia. The prestige of the Working People's Party of Vietnam, the organizer and inspirer of all the victories of the Vietnamese people, has grown immeasurably.

Today the heroic 45 million people of Vietnam, led by the Working People's Party, are restoring the economy, liquidating the consequences of the aggressive war and neo-colonialist rule in the South, and paving the way for rapid and comprehensive development of the economy, implementation of socialist reforms and improvement of their living standards.

The Working People's Party of Vietnam is conducting tremendous organizational and educational work in mobilizing the creative forces of the people for the fulfillment of the plans of peaceful construction in the North and the South of the country. The policy of the Party aimed at expanding socialist construction and the development of modern industry and farming, advanced science and culture meets with the fervent approval and support of the entire Vietnamese people. The splendid labor successes of the people of North and South Vietnam at the new stage are a reliable guarantee that the Vietnamese people, under the leadership of the Working People's Party, will in a historically short period carry out the behest of Ho Chi Minh, first President of the DRV, will build a peaceful, independent, unified, democratic and prosperous Vietnam.

## II

The Soviet and Vietnamese leaders noted with great satisfaction the continuous deepening of fraternal friendship and fruitful cooperation between the USSR and Vietnam in all areas.

The Soviet Union and the Democratic Republic of Vietnam are convinced that the indestructible friendship of the Soviet and Vietnamese peoples meets the fundamental interests of both countries and of the entire socialist community, the interests of peace and international solidarity. Guided by the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Working People's Party of Vietnam are determined to go on strengthening in every way the unbreakable friendship and militant solidarity between the USSR and Vietnam — the greatest treasure of the peoples of both countries, who are united by identical aims in the peaceful building of socialism and communism.

Faithful to Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Working People's Party



of Vietnam are working tirelessly to further strengthen all-round fraternal cooperation. This cooperation is the foundation of the unbreakable Soviet-Vietnamese friendship. They will continue to deepen fraternal ties and expand in every way the exchange of experiences in socialist and communist construction by holding high-level meetings, reciprocal visits by delegations of Party functionaries and strengthening contacts between the Party press.

The two sides will encourage visits by official delegations and statesmen, and the sending of special representatives for the maintenance of regular contacts and exchanges of opinions on bilateral relations and on international problems of mutual interest.

The Soviet Union and the Democratic Republic of Vietnam will facilitate the further development and improvement of economic, scientific and technical cooperation both on a bilateral basis and through multilateral cooperation of the socialist countries, including the coordination of economic plans, the sending of highly qualified specialists, and the training of skilled manpower for various sectors of the economy, science, technology and culture of Vietnam.

Utmost encouragement will be given to the expansion of Soviet-Vietnamese ties in science, the arts, culture, education, public health, the press, radio, television, cinematography, tourism and sports, and to contacts between public and artistic organizations of both countries.

In line with agreements between the two governments, the Soviet Union will render assistance to Vietnam in the development of industry and agriculture, including the implementation of Vietnam's economic plans for 1976-1980.

With this purpose in mind, the Soviet Union will lend assistance in the study of the technical and economic aspects of construction in Vietnam of a number of large-scale economic projects. Proceeding from its invariable policy of strengthening friendship with the Vietnamese people and taking into account Vietnam's immediate needs for full restoration of the war-devastated economy and its further development, the CPSU Central Committee and the Soviet Government adopted a decision to grant Vietnam credits on easy terms for effecting socialist industrialization, raising agricultural production, and improving the welfare of the population during the 1976-1980 five-year plan period. Under this credit, the Soviet Union will lend Vietnam technical assistance in the development of power-engineering, mining, metallurgical, chemical, engineering and other industries, and in the boosting of agriculture and forestry, and will



supply in 1976 and the coming five-year period various kinds of industrial, building, and agricultural equipment, machinery, means of transportation, metal, oil products, cotton, food and other commodities.

On behalf of the Working People's Party, the Government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and the entire Vietnamese people, the Party and Government delegation conveyed their sincere and deep gratitude to the Communist Party, the Government of the USSR and the fraternal people for their strong support, for the tremendous, valuable and effective aid which they gave to the people of Vietnam in their war of resistance against the imperialist aggressors and for the salvation of their country, and in building socialism.

The DRV delegation expressed warm gratitude to the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the Government of the USSR and the Soviet people for the new support and unselfish aid to the Vietnamese people for restoring and developing their economy and building socialism in the whole of their country.

### III

The world situation is characterized by a steady growth of the might of the world socialist system and of its impact on international developments; by the steady upsurge of the struggle of the working people in the capitalist countries; and by the increasing scope of the national-liberation struggle of the peoples. These three powerful revolutionary currents further aggravate the general crisis of the capitalist system.

The positions of the forces of war and imperialist aggression have been considerably undermined due to the change in the world alignment of forces in favor of socialism, to the persistent efforts of the socialist countries, and to the energetic actions of all progressive and peace forces. This provides more favorable conditions for strengthening peace and security.

The victory of the Vietnamese people and the success of the patriots of Laos and Cambodia, which have radically changed the situation on the Indochinese Peninsula and undermined the foundations of the policy of imperialism and neo-colonialism in that area, have made an important contribution to laying the basis for a stable peace on the Asian continent. The victories of the peoples of Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia have facilitated the further strengthening of the positions of anti-imperialist and progressive forces and are an outstanding contribution to the struggle for the right of peoples to free



and independent development and peace. These victories have forcefully demonstrated the invincible might of the effective union between the forces of the national-liberation movement and the forces of socialism.

The Soviet Union and Vietnam resolutely condemn any act of imperialist aggression, wherever it might be perpetrated, and any attempt of the aggressive imperialist quarter to again push mankind toward brinkmanship and the aggravation of international tension. The two countries stand for strengthening peace and promoting international relations on the basis of the renunciation of diktat and the use of force in settling disputes and differences, on the basis of absolute respect for the territorial integrity and sovereignty of all countries, non-interference in their internal affairs, and genuine equality and fruitful cooperation between nations.

The Working People's Party of Vietnam and the Government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam express their support for the foreign-policy actions of the CPSU Central Committee and the Soviet Government which aim at implementing the Leninist principles of peaceful coexistence, at supporting the struggle of peoples for national liberation and social progress, at the comprehensive strengthening of universal peace and international security, and at making détente irreversible.

The two sides hail the great achievements of the European socialist countries in their struggle to strengthen peace and security on the European continent and note that the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, which was held last summer on the initiative of the Warsaw Treaty countries and yielded positive results, is of great importance for the situation in Europe. Both sides believe that the continuous strengthening of the defense capability of the socialist countries plays an important role in ensuring peace and security in Europe.

The Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Soviet Government note with gratification that the Democratic Republic of Vietnam enjoys high and well-deserved prestige among all those who fight against imperialism. The two sides fully support the striving of the peoples of Southeast Asia to live in conditions of peace, independence and cooperation between states in that area; they come out against foreign interference in the affairs of that area, and advocate the withdrawal of U.S. troops and the dismantling of their bases there.

The Soviet Union and the Democratic Republic of Vietnam confirm



their invariable desire to strengthen friendship with the developing countries. They stress their readiness to continue to support Asian, African and Latin American countries and the movement of the non-aligned states in their struggle against all forms of oppression and subjugation, against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism, and for political and economic independence, peace, democracy and social progress.

The two sides wholeheartedly hail the historic victory of the people of Laos and express satisfaction with the successful development of progressive processes in that country. They are in solidarity with the struggle of the Laotian people, waged under the leadership of the People's Revolutionary Party and Neo Lao Hak Sat for turning the country into a truly independent, peaceful, unified, democratic and prosperous state. The Soviet Union and the Democratic Republic of Vietnam will continue to give the necessary aid and support to the people of Laos in their efforts to realize their vital national aspirations.

The Soviet and Vietnamese sides declare their solidarity with the Cambodian people who have won a remarkable victory in the struggle against imperialism and the forces of domestic reaction, and who have embarked upon the building of a new life in their country — the establishment of an independent, peaceful, democratic and prosperous Cambodia. The USSR and the DRV are fully resolved to continue strengthening and developing friendship and all-round co-operation with Cambodia.

The USSR and the DRV consider that in the light of a new situation taking shape in Asia and elsewhere active efforts are necessary for the maintenance of a lasting peace in the Korean Peninsula, for the peaceful unification of Korea. These aims would be met by the ending of interference in the domestic affairs of the Korean people, the withdrawal of all foreign troops from South Korea and the conclusion of a peace treaty.

Both sides note that the dangerous situation still remains in the Middle East. It is their deep conviction that a just and lasting peace in the Middle East in the interests of all states of this area can be established only if Israel withdraws its troops from the Arab territories it occupied in 1967, if the legitimate rights of the Palestinian Arabs, including their right to national statehood, are ensured, and if the right of all Middle East countries to existence and independent development is guaranteed.

The USSR and the DRV decisively support the struggle of the



progressive forces of Portugal for the democratic development of their country and the solution of its political, economic and social problems. Both sides emphatically condemn the attempts of external forces and domestic reaction to pressure the government and genuine patriots of Portugal, to compel the Portuguese people to give up the road of free development chosen by them.

Expressing the feelings of the Soviet and Vietnamese peoples, the delegations of the USSR and the DRV angrily condemn the executions, terror and repression perpetrated by the Franco authorities against the patriotic and democratic forces of Spain.

The Soviet Union and the democratic Republic of Vietnam declare their full solidarity with the patriots of Chile conducting, under difficult conditions, a courageous struggle against the fascist regime, for the restoration of democracy in the country. Both sides demand the immediate release of Luis Corvalan, General Secretary of the Communist Party of Chile, and other Chilean political prisoners. It is beyond doubt that neither repression, terror, nor external support and aid will save the fascist regime in Chile from popular anger and eventual collapse.

The USSR and the DRV are convinced that in the present conditions special importance must be given to closer unity and cooperation between the socialist countries, firmer cohesion of the fraternal Communist and Workers' Parties, and stronger alliance between the socialist system and the forces of national liberation. Proceeding from their fidelity to the unshakable principles of Marxism-Leninism, proletarian internationalism and support for the national-liberation struggle of the peoples, the Soviet Union and the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Working People's Party of Vietnam will increase their contribution to the cause of the greatest possible cohesion of all the progressive, peace-loving and anti-imperialist forces of the world.

Militant solidarity and fraternal friendship between the Soviet Union and Vietnam, united by common aims in the struggle for peace, independence, democracy and socialism, are eternal and inviolable. Faithful to the immortal teaching of Marxism-Leninism and the principles of proletarian internationalism, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Working People's Party of Vietnam will continue to do everything necessary for developing and deepening all-round Soviet-Vietnamese cooperation in the interests of the peoples of both countries, in the interests of consolidating the unity of the



socialist states, in the interests of peace and social progress the world over.

Both sides note with satisfaction that the friendly visit of the delegation of the Working People's Party of Vietnam and the Government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam is a fresh contribution to the strengthening of the great friendship and fraternal cooperation between the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Working People's Party of Vietnam, between the Soviet Union and Vietnam.

The Party and Government delegation of the DRV expresses sincere gratitude for the warm and grand welcome accorded it by the Party, Government and people of the Soviet Union during its visit to the USSR.

Moscow, October 30, 1975.

L. BREZHNEV,  
General Secretary,  
Central Committee,  
Communist Party  
of the Soviet Union

LE DUAN,  
First Secretary,  
Central Committee,  
Working People's Party  
of Vietnam

*Pravda*, October 31, 1975.

## **SPEECHES BY LEONID BREZHNEV AND LE DUAN**

Given at a luncheon in the Kremlin on October 28 in honor of the Party and government delegation of the DRV.

Dear Comrade Le Duan,  
Esteemed members of the delegation,  
Comrades,

It is with great joy that we are receiving today here, in the Kremlin, a delegation of the Working People's Party and the government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam led by First Secretary Le Duan, a prominent leader of the world communist movement.

For the first time our meeting takes place in conditions when the long-awaited peace has been established throughout the land of Vietnam. In a hard struggle over many years against the foreign invaders and their accomplices the Vietnamese people won a historic victory in the full sense of the word. Vietnam's heroic exploit is a big



contribution to the common cause of the anti-imperialist liberation struggle of the peoples.

On behalf of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet, and the Soviet government, on behalf of the entire Soviet people, I congratulate our Vietnamese brothers once again on this great victory.

In your person, dear friends, we are happy to greet the Working People's Party reared in the spirit of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism by President Ho Chi Minh, a great revolutionary and a friend of this country. We greet the working people of the North and South of your splendid homeland, who are boldly and confidently realizing their national aspirations. We greet a country the very name of which has become a symbol of courage and selfless heroism in the struggle for the ideals of freedom and socialism.

Years will go by, yet the history of the heroic Vietnamese people's struggle will remain forever in the memory of mankind. The legitimate pride the Vietnamese patriots take in this victory is particularly close and particularly understandable to us Soviet people, who went through the crucible of World War II. The lesson of the Vietnamese people's struggle are revealing. They attest to the all-conquering force of the Marxist-Leninist ideas, the tremendous significance of the consistent internationalist policy of the ruling Communist Party, the invincibility of a people fighting for a just cause.

At the same time this struggle forcefully demonstrated the effectiveness of the solidarity of fraternal socialist states. In this sense, it provides important and impressive proof that in the present-day world an end can be put to the imperialist policy of aggression and arbitrary rule.

The workers, peasants and intellectuals, all patriotically-minded sections of the population in North and South Vietnam are now tackling great and complex tasks. The Soviet people and Soviet Communists are well aware of this. The Working People's Party has set the people a noble aim — to build a united, democratic and flourishing Vietnam, a country with developed socialist industry and agriculture. There is not the slightest doubt that the Vietnamese people, under the leadership of the Communists, will accomplish everything that is planned. We wish you, dear comrades, fresh successes in strengthening your homeland, a firm outpost of socialism in Southeast Asia.

I want to stress most emphatically: in your peaceful socialist work you can in future, too, firmly rely on the support of the Party of



Lenin, of the Land of Soviets. For the Soviet Communists, for all Soviet men and women, solidarity with Vietnam has been and remains a dictate of the heart and the mind, an expression of the invariable allegiance of our Party and the people to the principles of internationalism.

We understand the concern shown by the Democratic Republic of Vietnam for making Southeast Asia, for decades the scene of a raging war, for all time a zone of lasting peace and constructive cooperation of all states in that region. We believe that an end to foreign interference in the affairs of the peoples of Indochina, the victory of Vietnam and also the victories of the patriots of Laos and Cambodia, which we enthusiastically welcome, will help to improve the political climate and create foundations for a lasting peace throughout the Asian continent, to which the Soviet Union attaches great importance. We do not doubt that the Working People's Party, the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, which enjoy high and deserved prestige among all fighters against imperialism, will in future, too, have a prominent role to play in asserting the rights of peoples to free, independent development.

Dear friends,

We have begun our talks today. The atmosphere of mutual understanding, cordiality and comradely solidarity prevailing at these talks permits me to say definitely that our new meeting will serve well the interests of Soviet-Vietnamese cooperation, of deepening friendship between our Parties, countries and peoples, and, in more general terms, of strengthening the fraternal ties uniting the socialist countries in a large and well-knit family.

We believe that in our days, when there is a mighty socialist community, the vital force of solidarity of the socialist states will greatly help the Vietnamese people in their efforts to speedily rehabilitate the national economy and further advance along the road of socialism.

May I propose a toast:

To the heroic Vietnamese people!

To the glorious Working People's Party and its Central Committee!

To the unbreakable Soviet-Vietnamese friendship!

To the health of our dear guests — Comrade Le Duan, members of the Party and government delegation, to the health of all of your, dear comrades!



A speech was then made by Le Duan.

Dear Comrade Brezhnev,

Dear Comrades Podgorny, Kosygin and other leaders of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and Soviet government,

Dear comrades,

Every visit to the Soviet Union, the birthland of the great Lenin and the October Revolution, generates immense enthusiasm and pride in all of us. The visit of our delegation takes place at a time when the Vietnamese people have won a glorious victory in the war of resistance against the U.S. aggression, for national salvation, upheld the independence and complete and everlasting unity of their motherland. Rejoicing in the great victory, we have come here to share our happiness with you and all Soviet people, our brothers and comrades, who made an enormous contribution to this historic victory.

May I express the sincerest feelings and profound heartfelt gratitude of the Vietnamese Communists and all our people to the glorious Communist Party of the Soviet Union and its Central Committee, the great friend of the Vietnamese people, Comrade L.I. Brezhnev.

The source of this victory, like of all other victories of the Vietnamese revolution during the past decades, was the great ideas of Lenin and the October Revolution, which are all closely linked with the sincere support and aid on the part of the Communist Party, government and people of the fraternal Soviet Union.

The victory of the August 1945 revolution in Vietnam was the first victory of the Marxist-Leninist teaching in a colonial country, a victory inseparably linked with the outstanding exploit of the Red Army of the Soviet Union during the Second World War.

Both during the wars of resistance against foreign interventionists and during socialist construction in the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, the Soviet people have invariably stood at the side of the Vietnamese people as an immeasurably close friend, shouldering with them all hardships, sharing all their sorrows and joys. Especially during the war of resistance against the U.S. aggression you, comrades, impelled by a feeling of proletarian internationalism, regarded support and aid to our country as a dictate of your heart and conscience. This was clearly manifested in the decisions adopted by the 23rd and 24th CPSU congresses on the Vietnam question, which took the form of noble actions of millions upon millions of Soviet people, prompted by feelings of proletarian internationalism, friendship and



love for their class brothers. The enormous, far-ranging and effective aid of the Soviet Union was the source of immense enthusiasm for the Vietnamese people, facilitated the mobilization of the international campaign for greater aid to Vietnam.

Victory in the war against the U.S. aggression and for national salvation was the result of the staunch, boundlessly courageous struggle of the Vietnamese people, imbued with the great truth expressed by President Ho Chi Minh: "Nothing is more precious than independence and freedom," and who were fully resolved to fight and win in the name of defending independence, profoundly aware that the source of this victory was the more than half-century of friendship linking our Parties and peoples, that it is the splendid result of the enormous aid on the part of the Soviet Union and other fraternal socialist countries, of the inviolable militant unity of the peoples of Indochina, the deep sympathy and powerful support of all progressive mankind.

The October Revolution has gone down in history as the greatest revolution of all times, a revolution that shook the world and opened up the era of the victory of socialism on a world scale.

During the past 58 years, by their persistent struggle and labor effort the Soviet people have inscribed splendid pages in the annals of building and defending the socialist motherland.

The outstanding feat of the Soviet people in the victory over fascism created favorable conditions for a victorious revolution in a number of countries of Europe and Asia, for the emergence of the socialist world system, and gave a mighty impetus to the revolutionary cause of the peoples. The trail-blazer of socialism, the Soviet Union is now paving the way to the most splendid dream of mankind — communism. The Soviet Union launched the exploration of space by man, and its latest achievement — the soft landing of Venus-9 and Venus-10 — is another brilliant success in this field. During fulfillment of the ninth five-year plan, charted by the 24th Congress of the CPSU, the Soviet people achieved important successes in the all-round strengthening of the country.

The Soviet Union is now a mighty socialist power. Thanks to its growing potential and tireless efforts for world peace, the Soviet Union facilitated the defeat of the imperialist cold-war policy and is playing an especially important role in the common struggle of the peoples for peace, national independence, democracy and socialism.

As a close friend and brother of the Soviet people, the Vietnamese people see the successes of the Soviet people as their own successes



and sincerely wish them still greater, more remarkable victories in building communism and defending world peace, in the country's achieving new heights and making a worthy contribution to the revolutionary cause of the peoples of the world.

Dear Comrade Brezhnev,

Dear comrades,

As a result of the complete victory in the struggle against the U.S. aggression, for national salvation, the 45 million people of Vietnam have entered a new epoch — an epoch when the country, having achieved full independence and unity, is advancing toward socialism. Our country still faces many difficulties connected with eliminating the grim consequences of the colonial regime and the 30-year war. However, the Vietnamese people are resolved to imbue their work in production with militant heroism and fully use their natural wealth in order to turn their homeland into a flourishing socialist country and contribute to the revolutionary cause of the peoples of Southeast Asia and the entire world, thereby realizing the aspirations of President Ho Chi Minh and all our people. The Vietnamese people are convinced that at the present stage, too, they will meet with the sympathy, support and fraternal cooperation of the Soviet Union, as time and again stressed by Comrade L.I. Brezhnev and other leaders of the Communist Party and Soviet government.

It is noteworthy that we Vietnamese and Soviet Communists are meeting here today, on the eve of the anniversary of the October Revolution, to mark the great victories of the peoples of our countries over a period of more than half a century, to express the heartfelt friendship of our Parties and our peoples, which is steadily strengthening and developing, bearing splendid fruit. Our entire Party, all our people are resolved to steadfastly follow, together with the Soviet people, the road charted by Lenin and the October Revolution; they are resolved to fulfill in their entirety the behests of President Ho Chi Minh to develop the socialist revolution and do everything to make the great Vietnamese-Soviet friendship eternal and unbreakable.

In the atmosphere of fraternal friendship prevailing here, I propose a toast:

— To the brilliant victories of the Soviet people in communist construction!

— To the brilliant victories of the Vietnamese people in the struggle against the U.S. aggression, for national salvation and in building socialism!



— To the great friendship and unbreakable militant unity between our Parties and our peoples!

— To the cohesion of the socialist countries and the international communist and working-class movement on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism!

To the final victory of the all-conquering teaching of Marxism-Leninism and the great ideas of the October Revolution!

— To the health of General Secretary L.I. Brezhnev!

To the health of Comrades N.V. Podgorny, A.N. Kosygin and other leaders of the Communist Party and Soviet government!

— To the health of all those present!

*Pravda*, October 29, 1975.

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## **Latin America in the Struggle against Imperialism, for National Independence, Democracy, People's Welfare, Peace and Socialism**

Declaration of the Conference of Communist Parties of Latin America and the Caribbean, Havana, June, 1975. Foreward by **Henry Winston**. Assessment of conditions in Latin American countries, perspectives for revolutionary struggles, significance of the development of socialism in Cuba, relation to world revolutionary forces, positive role of the Soviet Union, importance of international Communist unity, condemnation of betrayal by the Chinese leadership.

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## **THE GOAL UNCHANGED: LIBERATION AND SOCIALISM**

### **PCP CENTRAL COMMITTEE PLENUM**

The Central Committee of the Peruvian Communist Party met in plenary session in Lima on September 27-28, at which General Secretary Jorge del Prado presented the report of the Political Commission. The speech of Political Commission member Jose Martinez was heard with special interest. He also reported on economic questions at the request of the Presidium of the meeting.

Below is the report of the Political Commission in abridged form.

We are at present examining the content of the changes that have occurred since August 29,<sup>1</sup> and the measures connected with them. We have already commented on them but owing to their importance they deserve a more exhaustive analysis on the part of the Central Committee in order to readjust our line to the new situation.

The fact that the changes began with General Velasco, the President of the Republic, leader and inspirer of the revolution and most prestigious figure, is in itself exceptionally important.

A deeper and clearer ideological and political substantiation of the changes was given by President Morales Bermudez in his address to the nation on September 5. Emphasizing that the institutional character of the government guarantees the continuation of the process under the new cabinet, he noted that the changes were necessitated by the urgency of overcoming the shortcomings and errors of the leaderships obstructing the revolutionary process in the changed conditions both at home and abroad. He noted the results that had been achieved in the "first phase" of the process, during which the most important structural changes were implemented, revolutionary foreign policy was defined and the ideological basis for the Peruvian revolution laid. But, he said, both the dynamics of the forward movement and the present international situation "have given rise to new problems, the solution of which demands other methods and



actions" designed to deepen and consolidate this process and to carry out important political transformations, conforming to the second phase and the beginning of a new stage of the revolution, and which also call for a new revolutionary leadership, free of self-regard and deviations endangering it.

As can be seen, this dialectical appraisal coincides essentially with our characterization of the present situation when, in the light of the February 5 events,<sup>2</sup> we noted that the Peruvian revolution had reached a crucial stage.

During the past seven years the Peruvian revolution has made substantial advances in the sphere of anti-imperialist and anti-oligarchic transformation and in introducing non-capitalist forms of development. The task now is to complete all this and begin building a new society. Both these historic objectives are complicated by the need simultaneously to begin solving major socio-economic problems resulting from the effects of the present capitalist world crisis on our national economy.

What is to be done to ensure that the leadership of this process will correctly solve these complex tasks? The success of a revolution depends not only on the capability and dynamism of its leaders, but also and necessarily on mass involvement. For this reason the crises that arose in the course of other revolutions were nearly always due to a discrepancy between the new social objectives determined by the development of the revolution and the faulty methods of government that hampered support on the part of the masses. And if this occurred with revolutionary processes which from the outset had the militant and conscious support of the working people, this is doubly true of the Peruvian revolution, whose characteristic weakness is that it is developing without the necessary full support of the people. This big deficiency of the first stage of the revolution is due to the fact that the former government, far from promoting mass participation in the consistent deepening of the process, greatly hindered it, resorting to increasingly anti-popular — arbitrary, discriminatory and repressive — methods in domestic policy.

Mass involvement is essentially a political question, one that has a bearing on the government's policy. Therefore, in our opinion, President Morales Bermudez is right in stressing that both the new approach and the "political changes planned by the government at the new stage are designed to increase the participation of the population in government and in the revolutionary process."

The most important result of the changes we are examining consists



in the profound aim of the government to create real possibilities for the revolutionary participation of the masses in this second phase of the process. And if it was necessary to repudiate those who carried the greatest political responsibility in the previous stage, it was not because General Velasco and his colleagues did not understand it was time to promote active mass involvement and for intensive political work toward this end on the part of the government, but because they understood this incorrectly, and because of the gross distortion of the principle of mass participation and the concept of "social democracy based on full participation," advocated by the ideologues and leaders of this revolution themselves.

But all this work was marked by all kinds of manipulations of the administration, using ill-starred "ideological" advisers, pseudo-leaders and pseudo-activists, as well as leaders of yellow trade unions, and political hirelings from APRA<sup>3</sup> and the Trotskyites. And the result could hardly have been more negative. The point is not only that the OPRP<sup>4</sup> is not being consolidated, but the majority of the organizations created through SINAMOS<sup>5</sup> did not acquire the strength its leaders had hoped. In the trade union movement the CTRP<sup>6</sup> and CERP<sup>7</sup> abandoned the principles of ideological pluralism, and admitted discredited people to their leadership (former APROists, Trotskyites and yellows of all hues). Thus, far from helping consolidate the trade union movement and securing the support and participation of the working people in strengthening the process, they hampered the unification of the trade unions, and in some cases, as for instance in Marcona, the Cerveceria Cristal Brewery, etc., even aroused the workers' discontent with government policy.

We do not say that insufficient mass involvement was due exclusively to the unsavory methods of the former government. We cannot gainsay our own responsibility in this fundamental aspect of revolutionary action. Therefore we should not forget our own lack of audacity and persistency in working for trade union unity, and this applies even more to our work in the peasant movement, the youth movement and among teachers, students, intellectuals and members of the free professions. Undoubtedly, however, the difficulties in overcoming these shortcomings were aggravated by the manipulations of the government, and that hampered the mobilization of the masses for each new initiative in the framework of the revolutionary process and their response to each counter-revolutionary sorties; this also made it more difficult to rouse the interest of the working class in production and in raising labor productivity. As a result of this, and



also of the provocations of the capitalists and the servile attitude to the entrepreneurs of some employees of the Ministry of Labor, the police and political authorities, it was impossible either to solve in time many labor conflicts, or to avoid some of the big strikes. Finally, for this same reason the counter-revolutionary conspirators disposed of dangerous reserves among the people over these seven years, and the ultra-leftists were also able to play a counter-revolutionary role in the student movement and even among a significant part of the peasants and the working class. Infiltration of the government apparatus by APROism, Trotskyism and ultra-reactionary influences became widespread, and in the trade unions there emerged the pernicious influence of Carlos Delgado and Ismael Frias and the fascist-like MLR<sup>8</sup> movement.

The anti-imperialist and anti-oligarchic transformations, making possible the development of our productive forces, strengthen the working class both numerically and politically. It is acquiring increasing weight also through the labor associations and the public sector. However, despite the latter circumstance, the capitalists too benefit from the expansion of the internal market and the increasing purchasing power that are the result of the agrarian reform and the working people's gains, as well as the use of production incentives and support for the main state-owned branches of industry. They have gained in strength, as evidenced by the appreciable increase of investment and re-investment of private enterprises, which in the recent period has objectively nourished currents both in and outside the government, advocating the capitalist road of development. They are out to hamper not only the humanistic socialist course, but also such non-capitalist development as the creation of a Labor Alliance, a public sector and rural associations. While the bulk of the working people are vitally interested in setting up and strengthening such enterprises, the capitalists, on the contrary, are doing all they can to sabotage these measures.

Small wonder, therefore, that in view of the crucial moment in the revolutionary movement, rearrangements have been made, and it has once again acquired the essential dimension.

In addition to the positive internal factors, the international situation increasingly favors the deepening, consolidation and advance of our revolutionary process. Its main features are: a) deepening of the economic crisis as part of the general crisis of capitalism (slump, inflation, energy crisis, ecological problems); b) substantial successes that speed up the disintegration of imperialism's colonial system (the



resounding victories of the peoples of Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia, the irrepressible drive of other national-liberation processes are seen, for instance, in the changed relations of forces achieved with the help of the socialist countries at the present UN General Assembly); c) disintegration and isolation of the hated fascist regimes imposed and supported by imperialism; d) disappearance of the main seats of war, fanned by imperialism with the aim of justifying its policy of world domination and building up its military potential.

In contrast, the socialist system is gaining in strength, as can be seen from the following: a) continuous and crisis-free development along the charted road in all aspects; b) successful implementation of the Peace Program formulated by the 24th Congress of the CPSU; c) growing unity and all-round cooperation of the socialist countries; d) all-round development of ties of the socialist camp with countries fighting for national liberation and social progress; e) spread of the socialist ideas and the growing prestige of existing socialism among the working people, intellectuals and scientists the world over.

The prospects opening up before the Peruvian process are indicative of the growing opportunities of socialist cooperation in all fields (solution of major economic tasks, implementation of development projects, the requirements of national defense).

In our opinion, the revolutionary government should tackle three basic problems: a) the economic and financial situation; b) ideological and organizational restructuring of the state apparatus in a revolutionary spirit, and c) effective participation of the masses in the consolidation, deepening and developing of the process.

The most difficult and urgent of these is to solve the complex economic and financial problems. The report of Dr. Barua Castaneda, Minister of Economics, shows that our country, while still a part of the capitalist world system, is affected by the disastrous results of the continuing international inflation, which is aggravating the situation in the country as reflected by: a) the insufficient dynamism of economic activity, as a result of the dropping level of output in agriculture and mining and a slower growth rate in other fields; b) the increasing volume and cost of imports and lower prices on exports; c) the relative decrease of our currency reserves; d) the increased foreign debt; e) a considerable budget deficit.

It is therefore necessary urgently to find a way out of this grave situation through the joint effort of the government and people, i.e., the two main revolutionary elements vitally interested in defending the present and future revolutionary gains.



Moreover, if we consider that the lower output in the mining industry is basically the result of labor conflicts, it becomes clear that it is imperative not only to cut short the sabotage of the entrepreneurs, imperialists and officials who provoke these conflicts, but also to urge the workers to increase output and raise productivity. This presupposes respect for the workers' gains and redoubled effort in solving conflicts without recourse to extreme measures like strikes.

As to building the new society, one of the main objectives at this stage, it demands the immediate solution of two tasks, for which both the revolutionary government and the people carry responsibility.

The first type of task includes measures aimed at eliminating defects and distortions of the principle of popular involvement in conditions of real social democracy, which formerly seriously undermined guidance of the process. The point is, in particular, to adequately and resolutely purge the administration and to carry on ideological work in the state apparatus in order to replace all officials (especially in the Ministry of Labor and Industry and repressive agencies) with a reactionary mentality, those who have been detected in corruption, incorrigible saboteurs of the process, advocates of the former administration, as well as APROists and Trotskyists who have infiltrated in and acquired many new posts at various levels. There is need to energetically demolish their subversive and clandestine base and to impart a realistic character to broad mass participation.

And, bearing in mind that in this struggle we will inevitably encounter growing resistance on the part of the counter-revolutionaries who will try to impede the realization of this new stage, both the government and the people's revolutionary organizations must maintain constant vigilance in relation to the intrigues of the ultra-right counter-revolutionaries, conservatives, the APROists, CIA agents, entrepreneurs (industrialists, bankers, etc.), the Belaundists and the more zealous ultra-leftists who play into their hands. The invigoration of the counter-revolution is a result of the deepening of the process in conditions of democratic freedoms, therefore the revolutionary forces, both military and civilian, should act vigorously and concerted in order to cut short its sorties.

1. On August 29 the country's leadership was changed: the former President Juan Velasco Alvarado retired and the former Prime Minister General Morales Bermudez became President. — *Ed.*

2. On February 5 counter-revolutionary forces precipitated clashes with the police and government troops. — *Ed.*



3. Popular Revolutionary Alliance of America, a bourgeois political party. — *Ed.*
4. Political Organization of the Peruvian Revolution, actually a political party set up by the government. — *Ed.*
5. National System of Social Mobilization, created by the government in 1971. — *Ed.*
6. Workers' Trade Union Center of the Peruvian Revolution. — *Ed.*
7. Teachers' Trade Union, Affiliated to the CTRP. — *Ed.*
8. Revolutionary Labor Movement, a semi-terrorist organization. — *Ed.*

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## SUMMARIES

### IRELAND

The congress of the northern organization of the Communist Party of Ireland was held in Belfast from October 18 to 20. The delegates discussed topical problems facing the Communists in a situation of the worsening political crisis in Northern Ireland.

There was a discussion of the political report, presented by Assistant General Secretary James Stewart. The delegates were greeted by Michael O'Riordan, general secretary of the Party.

Congress approved a number of documents, including the political resolution, resolutions on the situation in industry and on social problems. The resolutions show that the Ulster Communists, guided by Marxist-Leninist theory, are fully resolved in future, too, to work for a political solution of the crisis in Northern Ireland.

They emphasize the need for unity of the Ulster working class, of rallying all progressive forces in the struggle for a just solution of the problems of this province, against monopoly oppression, for equal rights for the entire population of Northern Ireland.

The forum of the Communists of Northern Ireland confirmed that their main objective is to implement the 16th Party Congress decisions in the context of Ulster.

Though the congress was held at a time of continued repressions by the British troops and Protestant extremists against progressive organizations, it attested to the growing activity of the Communists of Northern Ireland in building a united democratic front.

### CZECHOSLOVAKIA

A meeting of the Central Committee of the Communist Party was held in Prague on October 6-7. It thoroughly discussed the key prob-



lems of the development of society, which the Central Committee has systematically dealt with over the past years. General Secretary Gustav Husak said in his concluding speech that the work of the plenum and the decisions adopted reaffirmed the unity of the Central Committee in its approach to the most important questions of the country's development. Unity in the Central Committee reflects unity in the ranks of the Party, Husak stressed.

The general secretary noted the important successes of socialist agriculture in the republic. Development of agriculture is the concern not only of the cooperative farmers and workers of the countryside. It is the concern of the entire society. In the sixth five-year plan we will pay even more attention to this branch of the economy, he said.

The Central Committee letter on preparations for the 15th Party Congress, Husak further noted, proceeds from the indisputable fact that in socialist society the Marxist-Leninist Party is always the guiding force. The letter, addressed to the Party bodies, organizations and members, determined the ideological and political direction of the pre-congress campaign, preparation of Party meetings and conferences and the congress.

We are entering a new period of our development with optimism, Husak said. For successful advance we need a strong, united and disciplined Party capable of overcoming obstacles and ensuring reliable prospects for our people and state. Therefore we will direct our forces, both now and in future, at strengthening Party ranks still more, at preparations for the 15th Party Congress in the spirit of the Central Committee letter, approved at the meeting.

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of Slovakia held a plenum in Bratislava. It adopted a resolution on holding the Party congress on March 25, 1976. The congress will discuss the Central Committee report on fulfillment of the decisions of the 14th Congress of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia and the previous congress of the Communist Party of Slovakia, and further tasks of Party activity.

The plenum approved the main targets of Slovakia's economic plan for 1976-80 and the report of the Central Committee's Presidium on the further development of agriculture and the food industry of the republic.

Jozef Lenart, member of the Presidium, Communist Party of Czechoslovakia and First Secretary of the Slovak Communist Party, made a concluding speech.



## FRG

The Board of the German Communist Party met in plenary session in Düsseldorf to discuss questions of the further struggle for democratic rights and freedoms in the FRG, for stronger and broader Party ties with the working people and youth, against the domination of big capital and the monopolies.

The meeting adopted a resolution on the Party's participation in the 1976 Bundestag elections. The Communist Party is nominating candidates in all electoral districts. It will carry on an active and militant election campaign to extend its influence, primarily among the workers and working youth.

The participants demanded the immediate release of Communist Party General Secretary Luis Corvalan and other Chilean political prisoners. The meeting urged the FRG government to deny any political or economic support to the fascist junta in Chile and the dictatorial regime in Spain.

The meeting hailed the forthcoming conference of European Communist and Workers' parties. It stressed the significance of the conference in extending the struggle for peace, security, cooperation and social progress.

Chairman Herbert Mies emphasized that present world development is characterized by the heightened activity of the forces of peace and progress, the progress of international détente and the practical implementation of the principles of peaceful coexistence. The Communist Party wants the FRG to make a positive contribution to détente and peaceful coexistence, he said.

Herbert Mies then noted the activity of the reactionary forces, in evidence also in the FRG. These forces are acting in concert with the Peking leaders. In this context, he noted that the policy of the Maoists and the intrigues of their accomplices in the FRG run counter to the interests of peace, the interests of the West German working people.

Successful defense of the social gains of the working people is inseparably linked with defense of democratic rights and freedoms, Mies continued. And after the Bundestag adopts the reactionary "radical elements" law, the Party will continue to fight against the persecution of dissidents. The "restrictions on professions" infringe not only the interests of the Communists but also of progressive Social Democrats, Christians and liberals.

In conclusion, Mies expressed confidence that the forthcoming Party congress will be of immense importance in mobilizing the Party



and all progressives for struggle in defense of the working people's interests.

## HUNGARY

Détente continues to gain momentum thanks, mainly, to the consistent and concerted policies of the Soviet Union and other countries of the socialist community. Broader détente and stronger security and peace are in the interest of mankind, providing a more favorable climate for the struggle for social progress and national independence. This was stated in the communiqué on an enlarged Central Committee meeting of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party held in Budapest under the chairmanship of First Secretary Janos Kadar.

However, the struggle between the advocates and opponents of détente goes on. The actions of reactionary imperialist circles are objectively aided by the present policy of the Chinese leadership.

The Central Committee noted that in the matter of strengthening peace and security and of deepening the process of détente, the development of the political situation in Europe remains important. Therefore, the successful conclusion of the Helsinki Conference on security and cooperation, which opened a new page in consolidating the process of détente, is of genuinely historic significance.

In this connection the plenum noted with satisfaction that the Budapest appeal of the Warsaw Treaty states to hold a conference on security and cooperation in Europe was brought to fruition.

An indispensable condition for strengthening international peace and security, the communiqué says, is to extend political détente to the military sphere. The Central Committee fully supports the new Soviet proposals on complete and universal prohibition of nuclear weapons tests, and on banning the development and production of new types of mass destruction weapons. The Party highly assesses the Soviet-American agreements on limiting strategic armaments, and the negotiations on new agreements.

The communiqué notes that the successes of the socialist countries and the latest events in the class struggle on the international scene show that the most influential political force of our time — the international communist and working-class movement — is steadily gaining in strength. The striving for cooperation, coordination of the anti-imperialist struggle is growing in the ranks of the Communist and Workers' parties. Preparations are going on for a European communist conference, and the HSWP is taking an active part in them.

On the basis of the resolution adopted at the 11th Party Congress,



the Central Committee also discussed political and organizational preparations for a Party card exchange next year. It was noted that the ideological, political and organizational unity of the Party is firm, its ties with the masses strong, and that the Party plays a leading role in Hungarian society.

## IRAN

The People's Party of Iran (Tudeh) held its 15th plenary meeting, which adopted the new Party Program and Rules, the drafts of which had been discussed at length both in the Party and among sympathizers. The new Program and Rules, which take account of the transformations and changes in Iranian society, correspond to the vital political and organizational needs of the Party.

The agenda consisted of the following items:

1. Analysis of the economic, social and political development in Iran between the 14th and 15th plenary meetings; 2. Appraisal of the Executive Committee's work and approval of the directions of carrying out the prime political objectives; 3. Implementation of various measures designed to strengthen the Central Committee.

The political report reflected the important developments in the world and in Iran after the 14th plenary meeting. It notes, in particular, that the significant successes of world socialism, the international working-class and national-liberation movement, on the one hand, and the continuing setbacks of imperialism, on the other, steadily weakened imperialism and curtailed its opportunities of organizing interventions and using methods of suppression. Imperialism can no longer unleash interventionist wars at will.

The second part of the report, dealing with the domestic situation, states that the regime's policy of economic integration with imperialist monopoly capital has attained a new scope. Oil profits are being used mainly to facilitate the access of imperialist monopoly capital into the country.

The report also notes the sharp rise of popular discontent, the growing contradiction between the opportunities for development and the wretched life of the great majority. Among the discontented are also a part of the ruling class. The struggle of the working people and progressive sections of society is increasing. Popular resistance is manifested in different ways. This shows that the stage of decline in the national and democratic movement is coming to an end. When the popular discontent finds the corresponding organizational expression and the forces of resistance combine their efforts, real opportunities



will appear for an upward trend in the revolutionary movement in Iran.

The resolution notes the great importance the Party attaches to extending relations with other Communist and Workers' parties, the CPSU in the first place. In this context, stronger fraternal ties with the Communist and progressive parties of the Arab and other neighboring countries are of special significance. The People's Party considers that the convocation of a conference of Communist parties of the Middle East and the Indian Ocean will be of great help in defining the objectives and tasks of the common struggle.

The meeting also adopted the following appeals and resolutions: appeal to political prisoners in Iran; appeal to all democratic parties and organizations of the world regarding the regime in Iran; resolution on the situation of women in connection with International Women's Year; resolutions in support of the democratic forces in Chile and Portugal; on the events in the Middle East and in support of the just struggle of the Arab countries against Zionism and imperialism.

## ITALY

The Central Committee of the Communist Party met in plenary session in Rome from October 27 to 30. The agenda included the report of Leadership member Gerardo Chiaromonte, "Initiative and struggle of the Communists for cooperation between all democratic and popular forces, for overcoming the crisis in the country," and the speech of Leadership member Gian Carlo Pajetta on preparations for the conference of European Communist and Workers' parties.

The capitalist world is going through a very severe economic and social crisis, whose consequences are even worse than the most pessimistic forecasts, Chiaromonte said in his report. In Italy the economic crisis is especially severe, he continued.

Speaking of the domestic political situation, Chiaromonte noted that the general swing to the left, as expressed by the big success of left forces in the municipal elections last June, is continuing. In Italy left local government bodies have now been set up in 41 out of the 92 provinces and in six out of the eight biggest cities. All this, he stressed, has opened up before the Italian working class, and the Communist Party, in particular, broad prospects for elaborating new ways of developing Italian society.

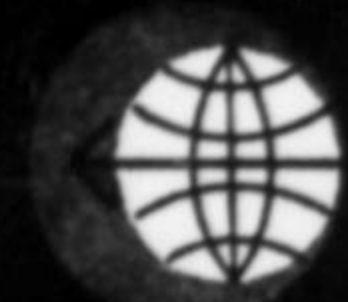
The immediate task of the Communists, Chiaromonte said in conclusion, is to see that the government and all political forces of the



country adopt a program of concrete measures to lead Italy out of the economic crisis.

The meeting unanimously adopted the propositions of the report, stressing in its resolution that Italy's economic and social crisis is sharpening in the context of the general crisis of the capitalist world. In view of the shut-down of enterprises, growth of unemployment, especially among the youth, and absence of real prospects of activating the economy, the resolution says, broad and united actions in defense of the working people's interests are needed.

The resolution notes that the government must adopt a concrete program for overcoming the economic crisis and continuing the process of democratic transformations. The Central Committee called on all Party organizations to work to carry out this task.



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## **STATEMENTS AND SPEECHES**

### **COMMUNIST PARTY OF CHILE ON THE POSITION OF THE CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATIC PARTY**

"Senor Aylwin's Letter" is the title of an editorial in the October 1975 issue of *Unidad Antifascista*, a clandestine periodical of the Communist Party of Chile. This article is a reply to a letter from the Chairman of the Christian Democratic Party, Particio Aylwin, to former Party Chairman, Senator Renan Fuentealba. Printed in *Mercurio*, it mentions the decisions adopted at a recent meeting of some Popular Unity and Christian Democratic political leaders, held in Venezuela.

"Senor Aylwin," *Unidad Antifascista* writes, "uses the letter to reject any possible agreement with the Popular Unity parties, primarily the Marxist-Leninist parties. He suggests his own policy and strategy of restoring democracy behind the backs of the people. With the characteristic short-sightedness of some bourgeois politicians, Senor Aylwin proceeds from the same reactionary positions as before, when Christian Democracy rejected the policy of dialogue proposed by Popular Unity, and thereby not only facilitated the fascist coup but accelerated it."

The periodical then adds, "Aylwin contrives not to see that our motherland has now been converted into an enormous prison with thousands of political prisoners, and where thousands of citizens are persecuted and hundreds are considered missing. Such repressive bodies as DINA arrest and brutally torture men and women and many have been murdered. The tyranny has forced thousands of patriots to leave their country." And it continues, "Pinochet and his clique have plunged the country into a severe crisis. In the capital alone there are more than half a million unemployed, a great number of factories, mills, building projects and services are paralyzed, and trade is in a state of ruin because of the people's low purchasing power. Returning empty-handed from the USA, Minister Cauas admitted that the dictatorship is incapable of 'handling' the economic situation. Senor



Aylwin, is seeing daydreams if he believes that with the support of Yankee imperialism, acting behind the backs of the people, the workers, he will be able to turn his Christian Democratic Party into a future alternative to the fascist military junta."

"Senor Aylwin," *Unidad Antifascista* continues, "is trying to ignore the fact that the CDP trade union leaders and rank and file have been arrested, tortured, and thrown out of work alongside trade union leaders and members of the Popular Unity parties because they defended the rights of the working people, which today have been fully abolished by the dictatorship. This is what happened at the El Salvador mine, the Paipote metallurgical works, Antofagasta and elsewhere. We Communists say that the working people are fighting shoulder to shoulder for their rights and defending their gains irrespective of whether they belong to the CDP, the Popular Unity, or are unaffiliated to any party. It is precisely on this basis that the anti-fascist patriotic front has been forged, whether or not this is to the liking of Senor Aylwin and other leaders of his party."

"Senor Aylwin is trying in vain to ignore this reality and to find a middle-of-the-road solution," the article notes. "The opportunistic positions adopted by bourgeois politicians have always spelled political suicide for both them and their parties. In the end, their rank and file and sympathizers have abandoned them. This will also be the result of trying to follow an intermediate road between the two streams in order to find a way out of the dead end in which the traitor-generals have found themselves."

The editorial further notes that denunciation of the dictatorship is universal and there is growing solidarity among the peoples of both capitalist and socialist countries, demanding freedom for the political prisoners, an end to the emergency situation, return of the exiles, disbandment of DINA and punishment of the murderers and torturers of the people. "Pinochet and his gang have already responded to the political position of your party, Senor Aylwin," the article notes. "The fascists make exceptions for no one. They hold in total contempt all political figures — not only those whom they and you call Marxist-Leninists, but everyone. As to *your* plans for reaching an understanding with the armed forces, they have replied that 'no understanding will be reached, either now or in future.' So you can draw your own conclusions, Senor Aylwin."

"The Communist Party, for its part, maintains that he who looks for a way out of the present situation from reactionary positions, who looks for alliances and agreements behind the backs of the people,



their political parties and public organizations, will always be doomed to failure."

The *Unidad Antifascista* editorial concludes with the following: "Under the force of facts, such Demochristian leaders as Tomic, Leighton (who together with his wife was the victim of a criminal attempt on his life by agents of the fascist junta in Rome), Fuentealba, Huepe and many others are aware that the correct way to defeat the fascist tyranny is, while renouncing any narrow sectarian approach, to unite all democratic political forces and sections of our people into a mighty anti-fascist patriotic front, in which the patriots in the armed forces and carabineros will also find their place. That is the correct way, and we Communists, together with the other Popular Unity parties, are working in this direction."

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## STATEMENT OF THE CENTRAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE, COMMUNIST PARTY OF COLOMBIA

On Sunday, October 19, the soldiers of a military patrol murdered comrades Javier Baquero and Nicolas Mahecha. This happened after the armed assault on a meeting of the municipal council of Llano Mateo region, Yacopi municipality, on October 17, during which the soldiers killed comrade Diomedes Rayo.

These crimes of the authorities are premeditated acts of the military command, whose aim in murdering the leaders of Yacopi is to create an atmosphere of violence and terror against the working people of this region.

These crimes, together with the officially sanctioned killing of Antonio Jimenez, a Communist and member of the municipal council of Apartado, Uraba region, the stepped-up repressions in Cimitarra region, followed by the arrests in Magdalena Medio region, are the result of the military sorties undertaken on the orders of the High Command in development of the "plan of pacification," elaborated by the Lopez Michelsen government under the supervision of the U.S. military mission.



The government of Lopez Michelsen is increasingly exposing itself as a spokesman for the landowners and oligarchy, servilely carrying out U.S. orders against the revolutionary movement in the countryside.

The Communist Party pays homage to the victims of violence — the comrades from Yacopi, led by Javier Baquero, a veteran of the peasant movement, a Communist leader and vice-president of the Yacopi municipal council, a consistent fighter for the interests of the Colombian revolution. The peasants in this region of Cundinamarca have suffered a heavy loss, to which they must react by intensifying the struggle for land, freedom and revolutionary change.

We call on the revolutionary forces, agrarian trade unions, democratic circles, patriotic-minded officers and men who do not agree with the armed forces being used to kill working people and defend the privileges of the oligarchy, to act jointly in the struggle to counter the violence and repressions, for lifting the emergency situation, and for the freedom and rights of the working people and their organizations. We demand an investigation of these crimes and punishment of the guilty, and appeal to all popular forces to organize a nationwide campaign against the escalation of reactionary violence.

Central Executive Committee,  
Communist Party of Colombia  
Bogota, October 23-29, 1975.

*Voz Proletaria*, October 23-29, 1975.

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**SPEECH OF HARILAOS FLORAKIS  
FIRST SECRETARY,  
CC CP OF GREECE  
AT RALLY OF THE COMMUNIST  
YOUTH OF GREECE (KNE)**

Seven years have passed since the Communist Youth of Greece was founded by decision of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Greece. Its founding met the need to re-establish the organized communist movement of youth.

Ever since it was set up, the Communist Youth of Greece (KNE) has been the militant vanguard of the youth against the dictatorship of the junta.



Today, with its activity in the front lines of the people's struggle, the Communist Youth of Greece decisively helps ever broader sections of youth to become conscious of the fact that the problems of the youth can be solved only within the framework of the struggle of the whole people on the important national, democratic, economic and cultural problems of our country.

No problem faced by the youth can be solved radically under the regime of U.S. domination and the denial of popular sovereignty, with domestic and foreign monopolies enjoying immunity.

More than a year has passed since the collapse of the fascist junta. It is a year since the party of New Democracy took office and pledged to defend national independence and democracy. It is true that as a result of so many struggles against tyranny and U.S. domination, the people won certain freedoms. Nevertheless, the key problems plaguing the Greek people remain unsolved. There is the problem of how Greece is to become free of U.S. tutelage, how popular sovereignty is to be guaranteed and how to develop the economy in the interests of the working people. In addition to this, every so often, the freedoms which the people have won come under attack.

As long as all these problems remain, the advance of our society will be hindered.

Instead of democratization, we have the institutions and apparatus of fascism and the parastate basically intact. Some of them are active while others are held in reserve.

Instead of withdrawal from NATO and being rid of the bases of death, the shackling U.S.-Greek agreements and U.S. tutelage, negotiations are continuing under new, unknown conditions.

We have the recent maneuvers of the U.S. army on Greek soil. These exercises and the participation of U.S. observers in the Greek "Ptolemaios" exercises, as well as other facts, underline the kind of relations we have with the military structures of imperialism.

An eventual withdrawal from the military arm of NATO is not enough. The U.S. imperialists will be able to maintain their military bases, their apparatus and their fettering tutelage.

The cases are not few where those responsible for the seven years' tyranny from which the Greek people suffered remain in key positions in the state apparatus and the economy instead of being punished.

Despite categorical statements by the government that it would not accept *faits accomplis* in martyred Cyprus, statements which the Greek people as a whole applauded, there are well-founded reasons to believe that Cyprus is being led to a solution on the basis of the



U.S.-NATO plan. This is shown by the Greek government's insistence on this problem being examined under U.S. and EEC protection so as not to make it an international problem which would have made it possible to use the support of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries.

Instead of the immunity and profits of the monopolies being curbed, Greece has granted new guarantees and more privileges to domestic and foreign monopoly capitalism and surrendered its riches to the international monopolies of the Common Market, frozen the workers' wages and increased prices. The cost of living remains intolerably high.

The struggles of the working people and their strikes for bread and jobs are described as a "social evil" and condemned.

To the Communist Party of Greece, it was clear from the very beginning what the basic policy lines of the New Democracy government were. They were an expression of compromise, an expression of conservative parliamentary democracy.

Only certain people who put themselves forward as "renovators" of the Communist movement did not want to understand this. They now trail behind this policy. They propose that "the Government and the Opposition find a basis for collaboration." And they participate in the creation of government trade unionism. But those who followed them are beginning to understand.

Harsh reality shows that in an atmosphere of contradictions and of compromises with junta forces, which the Karamanlis government is trying to "remould" and use, the authoritarian democracy of the domestic and foreign monopolies is being consolidated.

Side by side with the U.S., which maintains its tutelage, its West European partners are now coming forward. A democracy is being built up in which respect for the people's will is to be subject to conditions. This democracy respects the people's will only to the extent that they do not question the uncontrolled privileges of the predatory home economic oligarchy and foreign monopolies.

This emerges unquestionably from the proceedings of the trial of those junta men who bear the main responsibility. During the trial it was declared, in effect, that they had committed no crime by destroying the democratic and individual liberties of the Greek people but that their action had come when the progressive forces, the Left, were not in position to lay claim to power, and consequently, no danger existed and so there was no justification for the coup.

In other words, if the strength of the Left had been great and if the



possibility had existed of the people's will giving a majority to the Left, then the coup would have been completely justified. Others condemned the coup solely because it did not take place under the leadership of the King. This is why the makers of the coup were described as "power-mad."

With such logic, the ruling class can use the armed forces and the state apparatus to destroy popular sovereignty when the majority of the people demand changes.

This is the democracy being built up today. This is the much-publicized "Greek miracle." This is the kind of democratic process which those who rule are planning and trying to impose.

Such a democracy and such a policy do not correspond to the interests and aspirations of the Greek people, nor do they satisfy their desire to see their country free from foreign tutelage, fully to exercise their democratic rights and ensure that their will is respected and their toil rewarded. They do not meet the demand of the whole people that all the political refugees be free to return and the National Resistance be granted proper recognition.

In an effort to intimidate the Greek people, the authorities pose the "dilemma": "either this democracy, or tanks."

We do not ignore the dangers presented by fascism, which has not been abolished. Also, they are shown by the behavior of all the home and foreign reactionary circles and by the activity of the counter-revolutionary forces in Portugal and elsewhere.

This is why we put forward as a basic demand that the country be cleansed of the junta and that heavy blows be struck at the neo-fascist organizations. This is why we do not hesitate to recognize and support every positive measure toward freeing our country from U.S. domination and ridding it of the junta.

But we refuse to bow before the democracy of the monopolies, which want us to choose between their democracy and tanks. We demand democratization of the armed forces. As a Party, we want the armed forces to defend national independence and support the people and not to serve as a tool for destroying popular sovereignty.

What interests the Greek people is not mainly and before everything else under whose tutelage they will be or how it will be exercised. What they want is to have no foreign "guardians" at all. What interests the people mainly and above all is whether there are to be individual and democratic freedoms and whether they will really be able to exercise them, not the form in which they are deprived of them or prevented from exercising them.



We will never strike bargains with anyone over our national independence, the uprooting of the junta and the fascist apparatus, the establishment of democratic freedoms and rights, and respect for popular sovereignty. We claim them in their totality as an inalienable right.

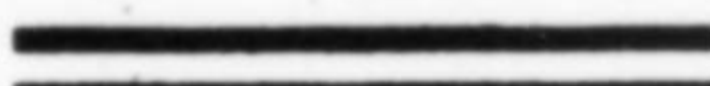
With their keen political sense and vast experience, the Greek people see more and more clearly that the way out of the present situation and the dangers threatening them is not to be found with the conservative forces clinging to imperialism but in the people's anti-imperialist unity and the great line-up of the progressive Left, whose most consistent force is the Communist Party of Greece. These forces still lack unity. However, everyone realizes that growing and maturing among the people and embracing ever broader sections is an anti-imperialist and democratic trend.

The CPG calls for the rallying together and cooperation of all democratic and anti-imperialist forces. Their cooperation and activity must guarantee the deliverance of Greece from American domination, a thorough purge of fascist structures and a fundamental democratization of national life.

This is the desire of the great mass of the Greek people, who do not accept fascist coups, imperialist dictation, nor authoritarian rule. The people are struggling to consolidate their freedoms, extend democracy, bring about an unaligned foreign policy and relief from the burden of the crisis, and assure economic development for the benefit of the people and of Greece.

Greek youth must step up their participation in this noble if not easy struggle.

September 21, 1975.  
(Abridged from document)





## TEN YEARS OF REPRESSION IN INDONESIA

For 10 years now the reactionary military regime in Indonesia has been conducting a policy of repression against the Communists, democratic parties and anti-imperialist fighters.

These have been hard years, full of danger for the Communists and all other patriots. However, the Communists have never stopped fighting against reaction and imperialism. They are struggling in various ways and forms against the repressions, to restore democracy in their country.

In January of this year the Communist Party of Indonesia published a new document entitled "For Democracy, Social Justice and Welfare for the People." After analyzing the political situation in the country over the past few years this document states that the time has come for the various patriotic forces to unite with the aim of overthrowing the repressive regime and setting up a democratic and anti-imperialist national government.

From the moment it came to power the military regime has pursued a policy oriented toward the West, toward the capitalist states. In order to get Western "aid" and credits the regime returned nationalized enterprises and plantations to their former foreign owners, and provided ample opportunities, on most favorable terms, for foreign capital to enter and dominate Indonesia.

A major part of the billions of U.S. dollar "aid" received by the regime from capitalist states in order to finance "the development of the country" is being misappropriated by the ruling generals. On top of that, the ruling generals get commissions from the foreign monopolists. This has led to the rise of a handful of Croesuses — generals who are also bureaucratic capitalists.

The monopoly capital of the United States, Japan, West Germany, Holland and other capitalist countries is operating in mining, forestry, plantations, fisheries, big and medium enterprises, plants producing chemicals and farm machines, in trade, transport, tourism, and other fields. The imperialist wolves are greedily sucking out the nation's wealth and transferring big profits abroad.

Thus, the reactionary military regime has given the country in pawn to foreign imperialists. At the same time, it allows them to use the Indonesian people as a source of very cheap labor.

Its policy of dependence on "aid" from capitalist states, which



experience recurrent crises, has led to a further deterioration of the economy, with the result that the people drag out a miserable existence and Indonesia increasingly becomes a neo-colonial country.

For the Indonesian people no other way is possible but to fight against the pro-imperialist policy, imperialism and its domestic accomplice, the reactionary regime.

To protect the imperialist interests in Indonesia the regime uses armed force and other terrorist methods, suppressing every patriotic idea and movement. Many workers, peasants, young people, intellectuals and other democratic elements are arrested only because they demand a better life, justice and democracy, and oppose foreign-monopoly domination in their country.

All forces opposed to the regime and to imperialism have no option but to form a national united front based on a general democratic program of the struggle to restore independence and democracy in Indonesia.

After the brilliant victory of the Vietnamese, Cambodian and Lao-tian peoples, the situation in Southeast Asia has radically changed. The victory was won by the heroism of these peoples and thanks to the solidarity and support given by the socialist countries, above all by the Soviet Union, the world communist and working-class movement, the national liberation movement and other anti-imperialist forces.

At present the peoples of Indochina are setting up their national governments and are embarking on the road to socialism. Their victory is in essence the victory of the socialist over the imperialist forces. The aggressive policy of U.S. imperialism, which for many years imposed its dirty war on the peoples of Vietnam, Cambodia and Laos, is meeting with defeat in all fields in this region.

The changes in the situation are favorable to the national liberation and other anti-imperialist movements in Southeast Asia and other parts of the world. They constitute a blow to reaction and imperialism.

In various Southeast Asian countries the success of the anti-imperialist struggle in Indochina has stimulated stronger demands for the dismantling of foreign military bases and the expulsion of U.S. troops from certain Asian countries. In Indonesia the wind is blowing from the other side. The reactionary regime "warns" its neighbors against "hasty demands of dismantling U.S. bases and the expulsion of U.S. troops" from their respective countries. It asks for U.S. support to "strengthen the national defense against foreign subver-



sion." At the same time, it is again fanning anti-communist hysteria in the country. Its sweet statements about a foreign policy based on "non-alignment," "the desire to set up a free zone," etc., are merely a trick in an effort to prevent isolation from the neighboring countries and the public at home.

Contrary to the attitude of the regime, the Indonesian people wholeheartedly welcome the heroic victory of their friendly northern neighbors. They are convinced that this victory will redound to the successful completion of the just struggle now taking place in their country.

The change in the political situation in Southeast Asia greatly helps the peoples of this area in their efforts to achieve peace, security and friendly cooperation on the continent.

The 10 years of repression have witnessed the detention of tens of thousands of political prisoners in Indonesia. More than one hundred thousand patriots, anti-imperialist fighters — Communists as well as democrats — still languish in jails and concentration camps. As arrests continue, their number grows. Indonesia today is a prison state with the greatest number of political prisoners in the world.

The fate of the political prisoners is appalling. They have been living for 10 years behind prison walls and the barbed-wire fences of concentration camps. They are subjected to cruel physical and mental torture. Their families are not allowed to visit them and are often not informed about their whereabouts. The political prisoners are forced to work with primitive tools on difficult and dangerous development projects. The jails and concentration camps are packed to capacity. Sometimes political prisoners are put in the same cells as criminals. There is no proper medical care; sick prisoners get no medicine. The number of those dying from torture, forced labor, hunger and diseases is growing. The prisoners are denied writing-paper and pens. Listening to the radio and reading newspapers are not allowed. In other words, they are held in *ex communicado*. They live under strict and brutal supervision. The slightest violation of jail regulations is severely punished. The political prisoners comprise various social groups: workers, peasants, the youth, students, intellectuals, etc.

Regardless of the laments of the children and wives of the political prisoners, and regardless of world public opinion, the regime continues to detain patriots and anti-imperialist fighters; it intends to hold them as long as they live. This is a flagrant violation of the Human Rights Declaration of the United Nations of which Indonesia is a



member. It also is a violation of the principle of humaneness, one of the five principles of Indonesia's state philosophy, *pancha shila*.

From the outset, the Indonesian Communists and other democrats have not been looking on passively at these anti-democratic actions. They have resolutely come forward with demands for the release of all political prisoners and an end to repression. They are also struggling for the restoration of democracy in the country.

In this 10th year of repression, the Indonesian Communists appeal to all democratic forces at home and abroad, to all honest people who value freedom, democracy, justice and humaneness, to raise their voices insistently for the release of the political prisoners, for an end to repression, and for the restoration of democracy in Indonesia.

The just struggle of the Indonesian people to dispel the dark clouds of anti-democracy over their country needs the wide support and solidarity of Communists, democrats and other anti-imperialist forces the world over.

Committee Abroad  
Communist Party of Indonesia  
October, 1975.

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## THE REVOLUTIONARY FORCES COUNTERATTACK

*Statement of the Political Commission,  
Portuguese Communist Party*

1. Events daily bear out the analysis and warnings of the Portuguese Communist Party: The crisis cannot be resolved by shifts in the top echelons of political power (AFM and government), by strengthening the rightist forces inside them, or by a turn to the right in policy.

They have fully proved that the Popular Democratic Party (PDP), the Socialist Party and some sections of the military were wrong in asserting that as a result of the sharply weakened positions of the left revolutionary forces a speedy stabilization of the political, military, economic and social situation would be achieved.

Quite the opposite is true. The attempts of the Socialist Party and the PDP to bring about a 180 degree turn to the right in government



policy is aggravating all the conflicts and is sharpening the crisis they had hoped to overcome.

2. Participation in the sixth Provisional Government of the PDP, which represents the interests of reaction, and of the Socialist Party, whose leadership wants to impose a right policy, poses a threat to the government itself despite the prestige of the Prime Minister and the existence of a program reaffirming the basic direction of the revolutionary process.

With the aim of worsening the situation, contrary to the agreement reached during negotiations on forming a government, they are attempting to restrict still more the Communist Party's possibilities to influence government policy, liquidating the government posts it was entitled to, and are trying to limit the sphere of activity of others.

Instead of taking firm measures against reaction, they continue purging the left forces inside the armed forces, the various ministries and the state apparatus in general. Instead of consolidating revolutionary gains, they refuse to promulgate the decrees of the fifth government which meet the interests of the working people. At the same time, the day-to-day minor decisions of the government are threatening the implementation of economic and social reforms.

The course that the Socialist Party and the PDP want to impose on government policy is aimed precisely at hindering the solution of the present problems of the country.

3. What is needed for resolving the crisis is energetic and immediate struggle against the counter-revolutionaries, and not against the progressive forces. The crisis cannot be solved by purging the left civilian and military forces, as is the case now.

The counter-revolution is continuing its activities. Clandestine terroristic groups are expanding their organizations. In some regions the reactionary forces are strengthening their positions. In Funchal, there was an attempt to establish fascist power. International reaction is actively helping the reactionary and conservative forces.

Struggle against reaction is a necessary condition for overcoming the crisis, preserving freedoms and other gains of the revolution, and setting up a democratic regime in a situation of peace.

4. The PCP resolutely comes out against chaos and anarchy and in support of democratic order, for the strengthening of revolutionary power, and observance of civic, military and public discipline. It emphasizes that democratic order can be ensured only by eliminating counter-revolutionary activity, that civic and public discipline can be achieved by conducting a revolutionary policy corresponding to the



interests and aspirations of the masses, that order, authority and discipline in the armed forces can be attained not by repressive methods, but as a result of a common, agreed line of the command, and the confidence of officers in the revolutionary-minded soldiers.

The creation of repressive forces from among the reactionary elements, primarily from the Civilian Defense of Angolan Territory, will not solve but, on the contrary, will quickly worsen the situation and endanger democratic freedoms and the revolutionary process.

The forces defending democratic order can fulfill their mission only if they are created in a spirit corresponding to the interests and objectives of the Portuguese revolution.

5. A characteristic feature of the present situation is the fact that the revolutionary forces, the working class and popular masses have regained the initiative and are counter-attacking.

The struggle of the working class for its rights has reached a high level. By the decision of trade unions, general strikes, mass demonstrations of agricultural workers in the south, strikes and large-scale demonstrations of metalworkers, the working people in general, and soldiers are being held.

It would be wrong to see the mass movement of soldiers as an expression of chaos and anarchy. The broad and powerful movement of soldiers is a vivid manifestation of the struggle of the working people and proof that, as in the state apparatus, authority, discipline and order can be ensured only by removing the reactionaries from commanding posts, by supporting and strengthening the revolutionary spirit.

The new revolutionary upsurge which we are witnessing is a counterattack of the Portuguese people against the maneuvers of the reactionary and conservative forces, the attempts to turn the country to the right.

6. The Communist Party comes out against civil war, for a political solution of the crisis. It says a firm "no" to civil war.

The alarmist appeals of the Socialist Party to seditious acts against a coup allegedly being prepared by the left is clearly aimed at preparing the ground for repressions against progressive officers, sergeants and soldiers, against the troops who firmly support the revolution.

The PCP warns of the real danger of such a repressive policy which, as evidenced by the example of the CICAP\* and others, is aggravating the situation still more and can lead to violent confrontations.

The crisis in the armed forces can be resolved by the revolutionary



forces, and not by those who oppose them. It will be resolved by the revolutionary officers, sergeants and soldiers, and not as a result of purging them. It will be resolved together with the AFM — the revolutionary vanguard of the armed forces — and not through its dissolution or shifts favoring the right.

7. The gravity of the situation demands that all forces who oppose the return of Portugal to fascism and who are interested in defending democratic freedoms and other gains of the revolution, should exert every effort to find a way out of the continually worsening crisis.

The PCP insists on its proposal to organize a meeting of representatives of all trends in the armed forces, the Communist Party, other left revolutionary parties, and the Socialist Party to jointly examine the situation and to search for ways of resolving the present grave problems.

In the opinion of the Communist Party, solution of the crisis in the bodies of power calls for strengthening the positions of the revolutionary forces in the supreme bodies of political power, primarily in the Revolutionary Council and the Provisional Government.

8. The present moment calls for close cooperation and cohesion of all revolutionary, popular and military forces.

The present large-scale mass actions reaffirm with every passing day the invincible strength of the struggle of the working class and working people in general.

If the revolutionary forces succeed in strengthening their organization, overcoming the split, uniting in the struggle for freedom and in defense of the great gains already won, the Portuguese revolution will be invincible.

The people, in alliance with the armed forces, will build a new Portugal, a democratic Portugal moving towards socialism.

*Avante!*, October 7, 1975.

\*A military automobile school in Porto, the soldiers and officers of which are known for their revolutionary spirit. An attempt was made by the reactionaries to disband the school. — *Ed.*

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## SPEECH BY L.I. BREZHNEV

Given at a meeting commemorating the 250th Anniversary of the USSR Academy of Sciences.

Dear comrades,

Dear foreign guests,

Our Academy of Sciences is 250 years old, and all Soviet people are observing the anniversary as an important cultural occasion, a nationwide review of Soviet scientific achievements.

We see the anniversary of the Academy of Sciences as an event of nationwide importance, firstly, because in our country enlightenment and science are traditionally highly esteemed. Secondly, because never before under any social system has science enjoyed such a decisive status in economic and social development as it does under socialism — and especially now that communism is being built. To us science today is the well-spring of technical, economic and social progress, of the culture and well-being of the people.

Therefore, it is with great satisfaction that I am carrying out the instructions of the Central Committee of our Party, the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR and the Soviet Government to congratulate, heartily and sincerely, the hero of the day — the Academy of Sciences, its members, and all Soviet scientists.

The Academy of Sciences can look back at the two and a half centuries of its activity with pride. It has travelled a far from easy, but glorious road. The Russian Academy of Sciences was born and worked in the difficult conditions of the despotic tsarist regime, in a country that remained backward for centuries, coupled with the indifference to science and culture on the part of the majority of the ruling classes. The Academy, however, rallied all that was best in the scientific and cultural life of the country at the time, and learned from the experience of progressive Western scientists. Back in the 18th century its work was elevated to a new level by the titanic effort of Mikhail Vasilyevich Lomonosov, the brilliant universal scientist who came from the midst of the people.

The great scientists N.I. Lobachevsky and D.I. Mendeleyev, A.S. Popov and I.I. Mechnikov, N.I. Pirogov and I.M. Sechenov, N.Ye. Zhukovsky and K.E. Tsiolkovsky, I.P. Pavlov and K.A. Timiryazev, V.I. Vernadsky and A.A. Bogomolets, I.V. Kurchatov and S.P. Korolyov have brought undying fame to the science of their country



and that of the whole world. The list of esteemed men whose immortal deeds have enriched civilization, could be continued. By its work, the Academy of Sciences has made an invaluable contribution to science, culture and the enlightenment of all the peoples in our great country.

The powerful upsurge of the humanities, of progressive social thought in Russia, though closely intertwined with the general development of science and culture, took place mainly outside the official framework of the pre-revolutionary Academy. A.N. Radishchev and N.I. Novikov, V.G. Belinsky and A.I. Herzen, N.G. Chernyshevsky and N.A. Dobrolyubov, and G.V. Plekhanov, the pioneer of Marxian thought in Russia — all of them helped in the intellectual awakening of Russia, in moulding the revolutionary conscience of our people. It was their work that helped to prepare the ground for the great feat achieved by Lenin's genius, for the creation of a revolutionary workers' and peasants' Party, for the victory of the Great October Revolution.

Karl Marx, Friedrich Engels and Vladimir Ilyich Lenin, the greatest revolutionaries and the greatest of scholars, having effected a revolution in social science, made science serve the revolution. As they had foreseen, the victory of the socialist revolution radically changed the position and role of science in society. Freed from tsarist oppression and capitalist enslavement, science became what its finest, most talented representatives had for centuries dreamed it might one day be — a powerful force for improving people's lives, for increasing their material and intellectual wealth. That is why many of the leading scientists in our country, intrinsically far removed from Marxian ideology, welcomed the victory of the October Revolution and supported the Soviet Government headed by Lenin. Under the guidance of the Communist Party, workers and scientists set out together on the unexplored road of building socialism.

Socialism and science are indivisible. This is one reason why socialism was victorious. For it was socialism alone that made it possible to use the gains of science for the benefit of the people, that opened up the creative potential and talents so abundant in every nation. And only by drawing on all the latest developments in the sciences that deal with nature and society is it possible to build socialism and communism.

So it was natural that the young Soviet state and Lenin, its founder, showed special concern for the scientists, for the conditions under which they lived and worked. Lenin took a personal interest in



defining the main trends of work of the Academy of Sciences and the forms of its participation in the fulfillment of the Party's plans of developing the country. Gradually, the Revolution changed the social aspect, the class composition of the Academy. Talented young workers and peasants, people of many nationalities, came to the research institutes and laboratories. They were a valuable addition to the Academy of Sciences.

Looking back over past decades, we have good reason to say that Soviet scientists have justified the confidence and hopes of the Communist Party, the Soviet state, the Soviet people. They took a very active part in drawing up the GOELRO plan — the first truly scientific long-range plan of national economic development. They took an active part in working out and implementing the first five-year plans of our socialist construction. Scientific advice was particularly valuable then, when the young Soviet state was setting out on untrodden paths, with no experience to draw on, or even a chance of learning from the mistakes of others.

Soviet scientists helped to set up the basic branches of modern industry in the country. They performed a tremendous amount of work in carrying out the Leninist cultural revolution, in building up a new educational system — general schools, schools for workers, secondary specialized and higher schools, in creating written languages for a number of the formerly backward peoples.

All these are components of the remarkable contribution made by our scientists, above all the Academy of Sciences, to building socialist society which neither the Party nor our people will ever forget.

Both the tasks and opportunities of our science have expanded — and the whole organization of scientific work in the country has improved. The Academy of Sciences helped a great deal in founding and developing the leading specialized centers, which were set up in our country on the decision of the Party — the Academy of Medical Sciences, the Academy of Pedagogical Sciences, the Academy of Agricultural Sciences and the Academy of Arts of the USSR.

The active work under the leadership of the Academy of Sciences to develop science in the Union Republics was a concrete expression of our Party's Leninist nationalities policy. Branches of the Academy grew into Republican Academies of Sciences. Today one cannot speak of the achievements of Soviet scientists without mentioning the outstanding discoveries made by these fine national detachments of our Soviet science.

The postwar years have seen a further development of this process:



the Siberian department of the Academy of Sciences was set up and is now firmly established in world science. The Academy's scientific centers in the Urals and the Far East were formed and are doing good work.

There is one matter on which I wish to dwell specially — the Party spirit of our science. Whatever the field in which Soviet scientists are working, they are always distinguished by one characteristic — a high standard of communist consciousness and Soviet patriotism.

A Soviet scientist — if he is truly a Soviet scientist — proceeds in his entire research work from the scientific ideology of Marxism-Leninism, is an active fighter for the cause of communism, against all forces of reaction and obscurantism. Our scientists subordinate all their practical work to the task of implementing the noble ideals of communism.

A Soviet scientist is always confident that his discoveries will serve great humanistic objectives. Our scientists made a tremendous contribution to the Soviet people's victory over nazi Germany, to the victory of wisdom, justice and peace over the forces of barbarity and aggression.

The development by Soviet scientists of a powerful modern weapon in answer to the warmonger's designs ended the imperialists' nuclear monopoly, and rendered our country's defenses impregnable. This also helped strengthen the positions of peace forces all over the world and greatly multiplied the opportunities for our peaceful construction.

The great feat of Soviet science in developing space rocketry and in space exploration will live on for centuries. The strengthening of its economic and defense potential has enabled the Soviet Union to launch an active and successful peace "offensive" in the international arena.

Today, Soviet scientists are working hard on the historic task of building a communist society in the Soviet Union, and helping in our common struggle to consolidate world peace.

The Communist Party, the Soviet state, all our people highly appreciate and, as you know, honor the work of the outstanding scientists who are now working under the aegis of the Academy of Sciences and who have brought fame to modern Soviet science.

We face gigantic tasks: to further develop every aspect of life of Soviet society — the economy, social relations and the people's consciousness—in the direction called for by our communist ideals, and on the basis of the latest achievements in science and technology. The



Party has posed the tremendously important task of blending the achievements of the scientific and technological revolution with the advantages of socialism.

The 24th Congress of the CPSU and the subsequent Central Committee plenary meetings defined the main aspects of economic policy at the present stage and formulated new approaches to management and planning dictated by life. Modern trends in the Party's agrarian policy have been studied carefully on a scientific basis and are being consistently put into practice.

A study of the present alignment of forces in the world arena has made it possible to formulate and successfully implement a broad foreign-policy program, a program of peace.

Scientists, specialists in different branches of natural sciences, technology and in the social sciences have helped and are helping the Party tremendously in coping with all these tasks, in drawing up and carrying out our plans, for which the Party warmly thanks all of them.

However, still more persistent and effective work is needed. We have no intention of dictating to you the details of your research subjects, or how to go about it — that is a matter for the scientists themselves. But the main directions in science, the main tasks that are set by life itself, these we must define together.

Looking forward to its 25th Congress, the Party expects of scientists an increasingly deep and daring research into new processes and phenomena, an active contribution to scientific and technological progress, a penetrating analysis of the problems that arise and well thought-out recommendations on the best ways of solving them in the interests of building up our country's strength, of improving the lives of the people and in the interests of building communism.

We have reached a landmark when we must decide the question of the general trends of further technical and economic advancement, must formulate a long-term strategy for scientific and technical progress. In building communism, we need to have as clear an idea as possible of the production machinery of future society.

Understandably, it is difficult to do anything in this field without fundamental research. Scientists must visualize the machines of the future, and work to produce them.

At the same time, I would like to mention, as a highly gratifying fact, the growing direct contact between science and practical life, the daily contacts between research institutions and industry. Often research institutions now work on major technical problems directly to order from factories and construction sites and, drawing on their



know-how, help them to raise the technical level of their work and to step up productivity of labor.

Scientists also help to raise the level of qualification of engineers, technicians and bench workers, and encourage them to help in solving scientific problems.

Comrades, all these are fundamentally important new developments that are of tremendous significance both in speeding up our technical progress and in solving the social tasks of building communism.

Science should also serve more actively the development of the main productive force of society — the development of man, his capabilities and aptitudes, increasing man's usefulness to society. It is important that scientists should give active help in spreading a scientific philosophy among the broadest sections of the working people, in achieving the further progress of public education, of the physical, moral and aesthetic development of the population, in line with the fine and noble communist norms.

They must help the Party to find the best possible ways of achieving such historical objectives as progressively eliminating class distinctions and affirming complete uniformity in our society, further developing the Party's Leninist nationalities policy, and consolidating the unity of the Soviet people.

In a word, as you see, the Soviet scientist's responsibility to society has grown immeasurably in our time. As the development tasks we set ourselves grow in size and complexity, the role of the more conscious element in society, the role of the Party as the guiding force in communist construction grows as well, and so does the role of science which must creatively elaborate the problems that occupy the Party, the state and the people.

Today Soviet science enjoys great international prestige. The development of international scientific and technical relations is an inseparable part of the fight our Party and state are waging for lasting peace, for freedom and progress in the world. Here cooperation with scientific organizations of the socialist community to implement long-term programs on important issues in the theory and practice of building developed socialism and communism deserves special mention.

Mutually advantageous scientific and technical relations with many countries that have a different social system are also developing well in the climate of international détente. This cooperation covers many



fields: agriculture, transport, medicine, environmental protection, atomic energy, space research and many other fields.

From the bottom of my heart I wish our scientists and their foreign colleagues fresh success in all these fields that are of such importance to the peoples.

Our country has now a powerful scientific potential. More than a million people work in various fields of science. This is a great force, and it is very important to use it well.

With the sharply increased role of science and the immense funds allocated to it, it is more important than ever to increase the effectiveness of scientific establishments and to eliminate shortcomings.

There is no need to hide the fact that our scientists have not as yet attained the most advanced positions in every main area of research. Perhaps it is difficult to be first in everything at once. Yet this only increases the importance of a really well elaborated research strategy, of concentrating our strength and resources in the decisive directions of research.

The number of research institutes and other scientific establishments keeps growing. This, in principle is probably natural, though it is no secret that their social effect is far from equal in all fields. Alongside excellent research teams that are the pride of our country, there are others that are simply marking time, devoting their attention to secondary matters, whose staffs are pretty weak.

Only the scientists themselves, and above all the Academy, with its tremendous experience, can decide on the best and quickest ways of dealing with these shortcomings. The party calls on you to do this, the Party expects this of you.

There is no doubt that scientists and scientific organizations can and should, together with other links in our social organism, play a very big part in dealing with such an important task as speeding up the application of scientific achievements in production.

I would put it like this: the more the Party values the work of our scientists and the part they play in building communism, the more it expects of them, the greater its demands on them. I am sure you will not take offence at this. Because it only means that scientific knowledge, the intellectual potential of society is becoming an increasingly valuable social asset in our country.

Half a century ago, during the Civil War, in the hardest time of general chaos and famine, Lenin said with firm conviction: "No forces of darkness can withstand an alliance of the scientists, the



proletariat and the technologists." Today we can see how this great prophecy is coming true.

All the forces of darkness of our century are retreating in the face of the alliance of science and production, the unbreakable alliance of the working class, the collective-farm peasants and the working intelligentsia. This leads to the real triumph of human reason and the ideals of humanism.

May I express the conviction that the Academy of Sciences, the collectives of our research institutions and all Soviet scientists will go on devoting all their strength to the fight for the victory of the great cause of communism.

And now I have a pleasant mission: to present a well-deserved award, the Order of Lenin, to the Academy of Sciences.

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## UNITY, NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC ACTION AGAINST FASCIST PROVOCATION

*Statement of the Executive Committee,  
Communist Party of Spain*

Our country is living through a tense, dramatic moment. Execution of the five anti-Francoist fighters, condemned to death under the "anti-terror law," in violation of the most elementary juridical norms recognized by all civilized society, once again showed the criminal nature of the regime that was born in bloodshed and is preparing to die in bloodshed. The persistence of the Franco fascist dictatorship is a menace to Spanish society, an anachronism in the modern world that must be eliminated immediately in order to secure the future of Spain.

The elimination of the last stronghold of fascism in Europe, re-establishment of democratic freedoms in Spain has become the central question of the moment. The gun salvoes of the unit that carried out the sentence became the detonator immediately bringing to light all the contradictions around this problem, and the urgent need for a prompt solution.



## THE BIG PROVOCATION OF FRANCOISM

The accelerated decay of the regime began in 1973. Together with the big strikes of workers, students and mass actions of diverse sections, the appearance of a Democratic Junta of Spain and elaboration of a democratic alternative that has got off to a start, the success of workers' commissions in trade union elections and the incipient discontent in the army to which the regime responds by arrests and prosecution, have created the conditions for political revolution, for changes. An important element of this process was the position adopted by the majority of the press, reflecting the fervent striving of most of the population for freedom and revealing the widening abyss between the real situation in the country and the policy of Francoism in its death throes.

However, the attempts during this period of creating political associations failed, as did those of the "centrists" and evolutionaries who pretended to effect changes but whose real aim was to gain time and provoke a head-on clash between the die-hard ultras and the advocates of a democratic alternative.

In these conditions of political decline, the dictatorship organized a big provocation, which is a clear expression of its weakness. This provocation is manifested primarily in the state of emergency in the Basque Land, the adoption of the August 26 law, which was actually extended to the entire country, and the consequent tragic series of judicial reprisals, death sentences and executions.

This monstrous provocation is aimed at substituting the genuine dilemma: either Francoism or a democratic alternative, by another: Francoist terrorism or anarchistic violence.

By resorting to terror the dictatorship is trying to postpone its inevitable downfall. Franco is unhesitatingly resorting to the most brutal repressions in order to prolong his tyranny. The senile obsession of the dictator, who is doggedly hanging on to power, results in ignoring the most elementary interests of Spain.

The Communist Party declares its resolve to oppose the false dilemma of Francoism or terrorism which the regime is trying to impose. In order to put an end to the dictatorship, avoid the escalation of violence and bring about changes ensuring a genuine democratic order based on the coexistence of all Spaniards, it is imperative to translate into life the democratic alternative by uniting at long last all who want Spain to avoid the consequences of the insane policy of the ultras.



Either responsible political forces will propose an alternative and help to mobilize the broad masses for struggle against the dictatorship, or the trap of individual terror set by the regime will bring the country to catastrophe.

In order to frustrate this provocation, the democratic forces, all who show concern for the future of our country must resolutely and without delay prove their readiness to achieve the above alternative and join in political struggle, which accords with the interests and mood of the great majority of the people.

In a word, the peoples of Spain now await and demand a democratic alternative and speedy preparations for national democratic action. This can be the sole answer to the provocation of Franco and the ultras.

### **FOR NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC ACTION**

Broad sections of Spanish society are aware of the danger inherent in the present situation. Significant progress has been made in achieving an agreement between all the opposition forces. It is this sense that we interpret the statement of the Democratic Junta and the "Platform of Convergence," which shows a readiness to speed up the negotiations that will form a coalition of all democratic forces.

This coalition would carry enormous weight, would become the center of attraction for personalities and political groups who earlier were close to the regime but in the present situation, after the failure of attempts to change the regime through evolution, are taking steps toward concord with all opposition forces. This will have a powerful influence on the state apparatus itself, the church and the armed forces. This can ensure a correlation of forces indispensable for the success of National Democratic Action in Spanish society as a whole and the establishment of a democratic regime.

The brutality of the regime and the Francoist provocation will finally disperse any illusions of liberalizing it, of a centrist or reformist road. By his complicity Juan Carlos has also got blood on his hands. And Spanish and European opinion will see him as just another element of the Francoist system.

To eliminate the regime and establish freedom and democracy, it is essential today to make concrete preparations together with the political alternative, National Democratic Action. That will mean, as the Democratic Junta has indicated, "the discontinuation of all activity both in the state and private sector under the watchword of national reconciliation." This has already begun, as evidenced by the Madrid



Action Days, the large-scale actions in the Basque Land and the actions in Catalonia, Galicia, Andalusia, Asturias, Valladolid, etc.

Concrete preparations for National Democratic Action do not imply passive waiting for the "H" hour. They mean activization of the entire struggle of the working class and other sections for satisfaction of their specific demands, against the rising living costs, unemployment, for their economic and democratic demands.

In addition to the political crisis there exist all the elements of an economic crisis, which are fraught with a grave danger. There is an overall slump in industrial production; capital investment is stagnant, the stock exchange is in panic, there is a growing trade deficit and a persistent balance of payments deficit. And all this against the background of unsuccessful attempts to reduce inflation, and the alarming growth of unemployment. An indication of the decay of the regime is the complete absence of economic leadership and the inability of the government even to chart measures for the solution of the numerous grave problems bedevilling the country's economy.

This situation harms not only the working class, farmers and low-income sections but also the capitalists themselves, both in terms of the internal market and the economic consequences of the international isolation of Francoism. Thus, the prerequisites for attaining concord and agreement between forces that are socially antagonistic but are interested in speedily ending the dangerous situation, are expanding. Therefore, preparation of National Democratic Action is more than ever the patriotic task of all classes and political forces of the country.

A Spain, rallied in face of the doomed Francoism — this will constitute a real National Democratic Action.

The wide-ranging action, in which the Basque people who have challenged the Francoist terror are playing the main role, are a fine example of militant spirit and unity. The most varied social sections — trades people, industrialists, fishermen, teachers and clergymen, headed by the working class, have time and again not only stopped work but have gone out in the street in extremely dangerous conditions, displaying heroism that arouses the enthusiasm and admiration of all the peoples of Spain. In the Basque Land, important moves toward what is to become National Democratic Action are in evidence.

The Communist Party reiterates its complete solidarity with the Basque people in their struggle against repressions, for freedom and national rights.



## SPANISH AND ANTI-SPANISH

Europe and the world have not for a long time witnessed such an impressive rallying of forces against the Francoist regime as in the past weeks. Millions of people, displaying a far-ranging unity, went out in the streets of European cities shouting: "Spain yes, Franco no." On October 2, for the first time in history, the working people of Europe held joint actions on a continental scale to express their solidarity with the struggle of the Spanish peoples, branding the Francoist crimes with shame.

On the question of Spain and the cause of Spanish democracy there is a qualitative step forward in the European working-class movement, a drawing together of various forces — Communists, Socialists, Social Democrats and Christians. This broad campaign has been joined by governments, various organizations, mass information media, political personalities and well-known representatives of various cultural trends.

Many governments have recalled their ambassadors from Madrid. Members of the Dutch government led a large-scale demonstration protesting the executions in Spain. The German Democratic Republic severed diplomatic relations with the Franco government. The European parliament and the Brussels-based EEC Commission recommended "suspending" or "freezing" the present negotiations with Spain. Pope Paul VI has spoken three times, asking Franco to rescind the death sentences. The President of Mexico Luis Echeverria demanded the expulsion of Francoist Spain from the United Nations.

The Washington government alone, which is interested in preserving its military bases in Spain at the lowest possible cost, kept silence.

Revulsion with Francoism in Europe and the whole world is caused by political, emotional, humanitarian motives and is connected with the growing democratic and left tendencies. But it is due mainly to the conviction that the "Francoist regime is at the end of its tether," and the fact that European governments and political forces are aware of the necessity to define their position in face of the approaching establishment of a democratic regime.

The chauvinist campaign unleashed by Franco and Arias Navarro, as expressed in Franco's tragicomic mumbling speech at the Plaza de Oriente, has impressed no one. With the help of this campaign they are trying to resurrect in 1975 the situation that existed in 1946, thus revealing once again the dreadful anachronism of the regime which ignores the changes that have occurred in the past 25 years in rela-



tions between Spain and the world and European economy, and the absurdity and unreality of reverting to autarchic conceptions.

In face of the crude government campaign, accompanied by manipulation of the news media in order to present as anti-Spanish the striving of the people for freedom and the solidarity which this striving aroused in the world, the truth is that only Francoism, the die-hard ultras and their corruption are anti-Spanish. What is anti-Spanish is the occupation of the Basque Land, the muzzling of intellectuals and the press, the tortures, repressions and death sentences, the flouting of elementary human rights, the persecution of the clergy who speak out in defense of human dignity.

The government is brandishing the bogey of separatism. However, by its provocations and brutal repression of the Basque people it is abetting separatism. The government kindles hostility between the peoples of Spain, creating a tense situation that is fraught with serious consequences for the country's future. Today no one in Spain, let alone in the army, can help seeing the immense responsibility that the regime is taking upon itself by carrying on such a policy. To overcome this danger, Francoism must be urgently eliminated by democratic means.

Nothing is more anti-Spanish than the Francoist tyranny, the extreme barbarity of the policy of the die-hard ultras, and nothing is more Spanish than the struggle for freedom and democracy.

### **THE STATE OF EMERGENCY**

At present we are passing through not only an abnormal and grave political situation, but a real state of emergency. All public institutions, political groups and personalities are faced with the imperative option of a political decision.

The broad sections of the population who accuse the regime are faced with the alarming questions: where are we going? where are they trying to lead us?

They are trying to lead us to a dead end; they have already led us to international isolation and will not stop at plunging the country into another bloody massacre, at unleashing another civil war. This must be prevented by all means. No one can remain indifferent. It is a problem for the entire nation. All forces in the country — the Church, which has already taken some positive though insufficient steps, associations of the free professions, all legal associations and public personalities must act to frustrate the provocation of the regime, they must take part in a real alternative, in a democratic solution.



We must be on the alert in face of the danger of new death sentences. The regime is set on continuing executions and on organizing monstrous provocations. We must be prepared to mobilize all forces for struggle against the new crimes that are being hatched.

Recent events clearly show the extent to which individual terror runs counter to the interests of the struggle for democracy.

The Communist Party once again forcefully denounces this terror. The ambiguous element of provocation in each instance of the continuing escalation of terrorism is alarming because its aim is to jack up a climate of irrational violence, which we are constantly denouncing. Behind many of these acts is the hand of the Brigade of Public and Political Affairs,\* the "guerrillas of Jesus Christ," the para-police bands (bands organized by the police) — in a word, the hand of Francoism.

This is because they were able to make use of people who are not aware of the role they are forced to play. To the organizations which take this road from left positions, believing that the use of terroristic methods means being a revolutionary, we say that this is not the correct way, that in order to move forward on the way to eliminating the dictatorship they must renounce such tactics, that they should reflect on the negative consequences of their tragic experience which results in useless violence and is a feeding ground for provocations. It is the duty of genuine revolutionaries to unite their efforts with the actions of the masses that will lead to the downfall of Francoism.

### **THE ARMED FORCES AND PUBLIC ORDER FORCES**

By the decree of August 26 the regime took a new and dangerous step toward compromising the army by its terroristic policy. Francoism is trying to use the army and public forces against the interests of the entire country.

In a politically developed society like that of present-day Spain, where there is a natural ideological pluralism, in a society that is energetically searching for a democratic solution to its problems, it would be wishful thinking to suppose that the army will remain uninvolved. In the army, like in all Spanish institutions, there is growing political consciousness, a fact that should surprise no one.

In these conditions the policy of Francoism, its provocations, its striving to precipitate a situation of violence in the country, is fraught with the danger of a split in the army, which could lead to a new civil

\*Part of the police force. — Ed.



war. In order to prevent this it is necessary that the military leaders and officers should become convinced of the necessity to reach agreement with the political forces with regard to eliminating Francoism by democratic means. In carrying out national democratic action the army, siding with the people, must play a positive role. The youth who are in military service cannot help feeling the exceptional tensivity of the situation. They, sons of the people, should create an atmosphere of collectivity that will not permit the ultras to use the army for suppressing popular actions. The role that the army will play at the turn toward democracy depends largely on the young soldiers and democratically-minded officers. On them also depends the transition to democracy with the least possible sacrifice.

The Communist Party also addresses the public order forces, explaining that the ultras are trying to use them in a frontal attack against the people. They must not agree to this. The people distinguish between special repressive units like the Brigades of Public and Political Affairs, the special Civil Guards units, other organs of persecution and torture, and the public order forces as a whole. The Spanish people are well aware that the latter, in the framework of democratic and constitutional order, defend this order from crime and corruption, as is the case in all states.

Those who belong to the public order forces should be among the first to realize the banefulness of the situation resulting from the dilemma "Francoism — anarchist violence."

Spaniards!

The gravity of the provocative challenge of the Francoists to Spanish society, the dangers that this insane policy is fraught with, will of necessity speed up implementation of a democratic alternative and the launching of all forms of mass struggle against the fascist dictatorship.

We are witnessing the death throes of the Franco regime! Its only weapon is repression and terror. Its final convulsions can still demand new victims. So that Spain can live, Francoism must die.

We are convinced that the initiative of the Communists, together with their revolutionary vigilance, the united efforts of all opponents of Francoism and the political maturity of our people will bar the way to the onslaught of the ultras.

In this grave hour the Communist Party reaffirms its confidence in the capability and militant spirit of our working class, in the political consciousness of the progressive sections of the population and the broad masses, in the wisdom and sense of responsibility of well-



known personalities representing the various opposition parties and groups, in all those who understand the vital interests of Spain. The Communist Party is convinced that the contradictions between Spanish society as a whole and the Franco regime can be resolved immediately in favor of the people. Forward to the unity of all anti-Francoist forces, to National Democratic Action, to a democratic alternative! Forward to freedom and democracy!

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## FREEDOM FOR JAIME PEREZ

*Statement of the Central Committee,  
Communist Party of Uruguay*

A year ago, on October 24, Jaime Perez, secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party was imprisoned. He was a member of parliament from the Broad Front up to the June 27, 1973 coup that installed the fascist dictatorship of Bordaberry. On August 21 of this year the appeal of his lawyers to release him was rejected without an explanation. Jaime Perez, who was brutally tortured during the first days, faced an unlimited period of imprisonment. His life is in danger.

At present a new anti-communist campaign has been launched against all democratic and patriotic forces, and the country is becoming a seat of provocations against détente.

The fascist dictatorship is trying to perpetuate its power and to turn the country into a realm of fascism. While increasingly submitting to imperialist diktat, it is carrying on a policy of alliance with fascist and reactionary dictatorships in South America and with the racist regime of South Africa. The dictatorship has brought the country to economic ruin and social catastrophe. Tens of thousands of people have served prison terms for resisting it. Thousands are being held in prisons and barracks. The tortures to which most of the imprisoned are subjected have become the usual practice of the regime. Many have died as a result of these tortures. The most recent instance is a 31-year-old Communist, Alvaro Balbi, the father of four children. Hundreds of thousands of Uruguayans, including well-known intellectuals, skilled workers and technicians, have had to leave the country. Behind the dictatorship, manipulating it, stand the imperialist



monopolies and, in particular, their tool, Ambassador E. Siracusa, an acknowledged CIA agent and senior State Department official in charge of the southern part of Latin America.

Jaime Perez, 47, of working-class parentage, joined the trade union movement in his youth and was soon elected leader of the furriers' union. He was an activist and leader of the former trade union center, the National Labor Confederation and, since 1954, a member of the Central Committee of the Party. An ardent speaker, closely linked with the masses, he is well-grounded in Marxism-Leninism and an author of numerous articles and studies.

His activity during many years as a Montevideo municipal councillor, and as a member of parliament since 1972, shows that he is a fervent and resolute champion of the interests of the working class, people and country. In recent years he became known for posing the question of the present role of the military in Uruguay and in Latin America, pointing to the progressive role they play in some countries, and putting the alternative before them: either join the people in the struggle for sovereignty, national independence and progress, or become a weapon of imperialism, reaction and fascism, in betrayal of the country's interests.

Those who denounce him and hold him in prison, defile the best traditions of the Uruguayan people and the armed forces themselves, who have vowed to remain faithful to the behests of the national hero Jose Artigas; they are trying to impose on Uruguay the dismal fate of fascism that was condemned by history and humanity, and routed more than 30 years ago in Europe.

Freedom for Jaime Perez and all Uruguayan patriots!

Freedom for the prisoners of imperialism, reaction and fascism in Latin America!

Thanks to international solidarity it is possible and necessary to free from the dungeons the fighters for the progress of humanity and for peace the world over!





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## **FROM THE PARTY PRESS**

### **IN THE INTERESTS OF PEACE AND PROGRESS IN THE MIDDLE EAST**

Articles have recently appeared in the Egyptian press designed to cast aspersions on the Soviet Union and its Middle East policy, particularly vis-à-vis Egypt. Some even suggest that the Soviet Union is responsible for the Egyptian leadership being criticized by other Arab countries in connection with the recent separate Egyptian-Israeli agreement.

Unfortunately, these absolutely unsubstantiated statements are not rebuffed by Egypt's policy-makers who, knowing the real state of affairs, should have done so.

One is therefore obliged to recall some of the basic facts of Soviet-Egyptian relations and of Soviet Middle East policy generally.

The Soviet Union has always based its relations with Egypt on the fundamental principles of its foreign policy. An irreconcilable attitude toward imperialism and colonialism and consistent support of the national-liberation movement are components of that policy. That has been made abundantly clear in official documents and in pronouncements by Soviet leaders. In presenting the Central Committee report to the 24th Congress of the CPSU, L.I. Brezhnev emphasized that one of the aims of Soviet foreign policy is "support of the national-liberation movement and all-round cooperation with the young developing states."

Beginning with the July 1952 revolution in Egypt, the Soviet Union has done everything it could to promote friendly relations and multi-form cooperation with that country.

Political cooperation after 1952 developed successfully, becoming more multi-faceted in content and form. There were regular summit meetings, extensive contacts on many aspects of bilateral relations, close friendly ties between leading government and public organizations, and growing friendship between the peoples of the two countries.



The leaders of the new Egypt repeatedly indicated that cooperation with the USSR was one of the main and essential factors in assuring the country's independent development and in creating optimal conditions for consolidating its independence and accelerating social progress. President Nasser stated: "We understand full well that without Soviet support Egypt could not solve any of its complex economic or political problems."

Soviet-Egyptian cooperation in world affairs became an important and weighty factor in international relations in the Middle East. The Soviet Union supported the Egyptian people at every stage of their just struggle for freedom and independence. That was so in 1956, during the tripartite aggression against Egypt; it was so in 1967, when Israel launched its aggression against Egypt, Syria and Jordan; it was so in October 1973, when, due to Israel's aggressive policy, there was a serious flare-up of hostilities between Israel and its Arab neighbors. How can one deny these irrefutable facts without trampling on the notions of conscience and honor?

The USSR and Egypt laid a durable foundation for their political cooperation. A treaty of friendship and cooperation was signed in Cairo on May 27, 1971. It defined the main directions of their cooperation and gave it a new impulse. L.I. Brezhnev said: "In the content of this treaty we have a vivid expression of the close friendship, mutual support and mutual understanding that characterize relations between the Soviet Union and the progressive Arab states."

Some in Egypt intimate that the 1971 treaty was all but imposed by the Soviet Union. But everyone, save those who suffer from the inexplicable malady of forgetfulness, remember only too well who, the Soviet Union or Egypt, was the first to propose such a treaty. Also remembered is what President Sadat said on the subject: "We wanted this treaty," he told the Egyptian People's Assembly, "and we signed it, thereby adding new guarantees for the successful conclusion of our struggle. I wanted this treaty with the Soviet Union for the future of this and succeeding generations."

Such are the facts; such is the truth about the 1971 treaty, the main political document determining the character of Soviet-Egyptian relations.

No less indicative is the record of Soviet-Egyptian cooperation in another important field, the economy. The young Egyptian state was from the very outset faced with the vital and formidable task of building a modern economic foundation for its social and political



reforms and of establishing much-needed mutually advantageous economic ties with the outside world.

Could the Egyptian revolution count on the sympathy of those against whom it was directed? Experience has shown that Egypt could rely only on countries that sincerely support national-liberation movements and help the young developing nations consolidate their political and economic independence. Hence, Egypt's policy of promoting economic relations with the Soviet Union and other members of the socialist community was both logical and historically substantiated.

Economic cooperation assumed many different forms and was conducted on a large scale. Its special importance lies in the fact that it contributes to the qualitative restructuring of the Egyptian economy, eliminating its one-sided character, the legacy of long years of colonial dependence. Priority was given to the expansion of the production forces in such key branches as energy, engineering, chemicals, ferrous and non-ferrous metals.

The Soviet Union has been assisting Egypt in the construction of 148 industrial enterprises. Of these about 100 have been completed, are successfully operating and yielding Egypt a substantial income. All industrial enterprises built with Soviet aid are highly effective economic units.

And can one erase from the memory of the Egyptian people such vivid pages, indeed whole chapters, of Soviet-Egyptian economic cooperation as the construction of the Aswan hydropower complex and the Helwan iron and steel combine? On many occasions Egyptian leaders admitted that the construction of these projects was of historic importance for Egypt and the prosperity of its people.

It will be recalled that, one after another, the former colonial powers refused any part in the Aswan project and expansion of the Helwan combine. The Soviet Union took a fundamentally different attitude in relation to these projects, so vital for the Egyptian people. The Soviet-Egyptian declaration signed at the opening of the Aswan power complex on January 15, 1971, contains this passage: "Aswan has become a model of sound and equal relations between states, it is striking proof that cooperation with the forces of socialism helps the young developing countries make significant progress in strengthening their political and economic independence."

What will those say who, on the pages of certain Egyptian newspapers, are now trying to vilify the great projects carried out by the Soviet people for Egypt and its people? For the authors of these



lie-larded articles use electric light generated at Aswan and eat bread grown by the fellahin on fields irrigated by the waters of the Aswan reservoir.

Cooperation in agriculture was on a large scale too. Soviet organizations are participating in irrigation projects covering 126,000 hectares of desert, an impressive figure, considering Egypt's land shortage; 5,000 villages are getting electric power.

The Soviet Union showed a profound understanding of the economic problems the Egyptian people had to tackle following the 1952 revolution, and true to the principles of socialist internationalism it has sought to give Egypt every assistance in wiping out age-old backwardness and building an independent national economy. And the Soviet Union has confirmed this by word and deed.

Special mention should be made of the military aid extended to Egypt by the Soviet Union, all the more because the situation in this respect is being distorted with particular impudence.

The revolution must safeguard its gains. To Egypt's leaders, this became a matter of extraordinary urgency from the outset, for the fight against the imperialist intrigues of one-time colonial powers closely interlocked with exceedingly complicated relations between Middle East countries. Arab countries came up against the expansionist, anti-Arab ambitions of Israel backed by international imperialist and Zionist forces.

Could Egypt count on military support from the forces from which it had just freed itself? It would have been strange to expect imperialist countries to concern themselves with building up Egypt's military power, nor did they do so.

Hence it was logical that in 1955 President Nasser showed statesmanship by taking the historic decision to ask the Soviet Union for assistance in strengthening the defenses of the newly-established republic. And it was only natural that the Soviet Union fully appreciated Nasser's request. Soviet specialists sent to Egypt at the request of its leadership helped to form efficient armed forces equipped with up-to-date weapons. Great assistance was also rendered in training the personnel of Egypt's armed forces.

After the 1967 aggression of Israel, Egypt's military potential was fully restored with Soviet help. The excellent quality of Soviet arms was demonstrated above all in October 1973. The Egyptian army using them effectively beat off the aggressor and, moreover, struck the Israeli invaders telling blows. The whole world saw how steadily Soviet arms and ammunition flowed into Egypt and Syria in those



days, both by sea and by air. One must lose all shame to allege, as some are doing now, that Egypt received then only "several bagfuls of spares" from the Soviet Union. These words, which have nothing in common with reality, do not sound more convincing just because they are so biting.

After the October 1973 war, too, the Soviet Union persevered in promoting friendly cooperation with Egypt in the military sphere under existing agreements. But this is admittedly a two-way traffic. Cooperation cannot progress if one of the sides is out to undermine it.

Now for ways and means of settling the Middle East question. The Soviet Union and other socialist countries have invariably maintained that aggression must be resolutely curbed and the lands legitimately owned by the victims of aggression restored to them, and that every state is entitled to free and independent development. Strictly speaking, this does not concern the Middle East alone but is a fundamental international issue.

The Soviet Union therefore considers, now as in the past, that a just and lasting peace in the Middle East can and should be achieved, first, through the complete withdrawal of Israel's troops from all the Arab territories occupied by it in 1967, second, by restoring the legitimate national rights of the Arab people of Palestine, including their right to establish a state of their own, and third, by guaranteeing the independent and sovereign existence and development of all Middle East states and peoples.

There is an appropriate international mechanism — the Geneva Peace Conference on the Middle East — to bring about a settlement on this fair basis. That forum can examine and decide on every aspect of the settlement, and all the parties directly involved in the conflict, including the Palestine Liberation Organization, as well as the Soviet Union and the United States, co-chairmen of the Conference, should take part in its work.

The Soviet Union does not deny the possibility of carrying out this or that partial, intermediate measure. However, these partial measures should be inseparable components of a comprehensive settlement worked out and adopted within the framework of the Geneva Conference in Plenary session. The Soviet Union is opposed to this international machinery being used as a mere cover for steps taken in circumvention of the Conference. This is the fundamental difference between the positions of the Soviet Union and those who are virtually working — behind the smokescreen of a "step by step" policy — to



freeze the situation in the Middle East and perpetuate the Israeli occupation of Arab lands.

The fact that the Soviet position fully meets the Arab peoples' fundamental interests was also strongly confirmed by the critical stand of the other Arab countries on the recent Egyptian-Israeli agreement providing for a partial Israeli withdrawal from Sinai. The agreement is being criticized precisely because by its terms Egypt, while taking a negligible portion of its territory back from the aggressor, has reduced the urgency of the problem of freeing the rest of its own territory, or almost 90 per cent of Sinai, and the territories of other Arab countries seized by Israel. A blow has also been dealt to the effort to assure the legitimate and inalienable rights of the Arab people of Palestine.

Furthermore, the agreement, which provides for the arrival of U.S. personnel in the disengagement zone of Egyptian and Israeli troops in Sinai, is adding to the Middle East situation a new element fraught with far-reaching and dangerous consequences. It is not accidental that in the United States itself, including Congress, that step caused serious concern. It was not without reason that many people recalled in this connection the fact that the arrival of a relatively small body of U.S. personnel also marked the beginning of American involvement in the internal affairs of Vietnam, an involvement which subsequently grew into a years-long brutal war resulting in the death of so many Vietnamese, who fought heroically for their freedom and independence, and, indeed, in the death of Americans who became victims of aggression against Vietnam.

The signing of an agreement of this nature was bound to injure the unity of Arab peoples. And it is not with a clear conscience that some are now laying their own fault at someone else's door by accusing the Soviet Union of "undermining" Arab unity.

This accusation is plainly misdirected. There has never been a meeting between Soviet and Arab leaders or a Soviet-Arab document without the Soviet side stressing the importance of the Arab countries' cohesion and closer unity of action in the struggle against the continuing aggression of Israel. In its everyday activity as well, the Soviet Union does its best to contribute to the cohesion of Arab countries and peoples on an anti-imperialist basis. As for the attempts to cast aspersions on Soviet policy in this respect, they merely reveal a lack of good faith on the part of those who make them.

At a time when the opponents of friendly relations between Egypt and the Soviet Union are trying hard to loosen and undermine



Soviet-Egyptian cooperation, our country remains loyal to its fundamental foreign-policy line. Soviet policy is aimed at both preserving all the best that was achieved in relations between our two countries to date and extending these relations in breadth and depth.

The message of greetings which L.I. Brezhnev, N.V. Podgorny and A.N. Kosygin sent to President Anwar Sadat on the 23rd anniversary of the Egyptian revolution expressed the Soviet Union's readiness to continue promoting "relations of close friendship and all-round, fruitful cooperation between the Soviet Union and the Arab Republic of Egypt on the basis of common interests in the struggle against intrigues of the forces of imperialism and aggression, for peace and the independence and social progress of peoples."

*Observer*

Pravda, October 25. In full.

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## ARMED INTERVENTION IN ANGOLA

*Observer*

The situation in Angola and around it is growing more complicated as a result of machinations by internal and external reaction. This causes serious concern and alarm in independent African countries and elsewhere.

The flames of war are raging on Angolan soil. An alliance of internal and external reaction is trying to eliminate the achievements of the national-liberation struggle of the patriotic forces. Reaction is assisted by the splitter movements — the National Front for the Liberation of Angola (FNLA) and the National Union for the Complete Independence of Angola (UNITA), which are seeking by joint armed effort to strangle the progressive and leading force of the national-liberation movement — the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA) — and install an anti-democratic, pro-imperialist regime.

There is a logic in the actions of reactionaries. They are coming out against the MPLA — that militant and progressive movement of Angolan patriots. Workers and peasants, Angolans of all races and tribes fought in the MPLA ranks, and have now set to building the



foundations of a new society. This movement has a clearly defined program — to liberate the Angolan people from the yoke of foreign capital, establish a democracy of the people and for the people, and secure social progress.

The proclamation of Angola's independence inspires and gives added impetus to the national-liberation struggle of the peoples in the south of Africa. This situation militates against the racist regimes in the Republic of South Africa and Rhodesia and their patrons. It is no longer any secret that under the cover of "civil war" imperialist and neo-colonialist forces have launched an intervention in Angola. Angola is also faced with armed intervention by the Republic of South Africa. Large armed detachments consisting of South African and Rhodesian mercenaries and headed by South African army officers have intruded into Angolan territory under all kinds of disguise. They are supported by helicopters and tanks. The reactionary forces are trying to halt the irreversible process of Angola's decolonization and turn the march of events back into channels that would be to their advantage.

The events in Angola fully confirm how justified were the repeated warnings by the Organization of African Unity that the racist regimes in the south of Africa constitute a direct threat to peace and security on the continent, to the independent development of African states. Acting in alliance with these forces are the Maoists, who have for a long time been training, arming and financing the splitter groups.

Under pressure from outside forces some African countries too are attempting to prevent the normal process of decolonization in Angola and even openly to interfere in its internal affairs. They support the tribalist liberation movements, FNLA and UNITA, subsidizing them with money, and encourage separatist tendencies inside the country.

The actions by neo-colonialists, closely linked with internal reaction, are creating an explosive situation on the African continent, striking a blow at all-African unity, and preventing the implementation of the resolution on the liberation of the peoples of Zimbabwe and Namibia. The victory of reactionary forces in Angola would, doubtless, greatly complicate the further struggle of the African peoples against imperialism, racist regimes, and the vestiges of colonialism.

The armed intervention in Angola is a gross violation of international law, of the UN Declaration on Granting Independence to the Colonial Countries and Peoples, of the UN resolutions and the UN Charter. The enemies of decolonization hope, by carving up Angola's



territory, to turn it into a "sanitary cordon" between free Africa and South African racism, and use it as a base for subversive actions against progressive African countries.

Together with all peace-loving and progressive forces of the world, and resolutely condemning the armed aggression against the nascent African state, Soviet public opinion demands the immediate withdrawal of armed interventionists from Angolan territory.

The threat to peace and security in Africa must be eliminated. The people of Angola must have all the conditions for the successful liberation of their motherland, for peaceful and independent development along the road of progress.

*Pravda*, November 8, 1975.

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## PINOCHET'S GESTAPO

The attempt on the life of Bernardo Leighton and his wife is not an isolated case. We have learned from well-informed sources which we cannot disclose as yet that through DINA (the Gestapo of Chile) the fascist junta is in close contact with fascist organizations in Italy, Spain, France, Brazil, the FRG and Argentina.

At a press conference in the Cuban capital sponsored by the Chilean committee of solidarity with the anti-fascist resistance, a spokesman of the left Christians answered the question of the *Humanité* correspondent as follows. The committee, consisting of all the left parties of Chile, published a statement stressing that the attempt on the life of former chairman of the Christian Democratic Party and Vice-President of Chile Bernardo Leighton is directed against "the most progressive figure among the Christian Democrats." He is a man who from the beginning of the fascist coup worked tirelessly to set up a united front of the Chilean democrats fighting against the dictatorship. This assassination attempt, the statement notes further, bears the stamp: "fascist junta." The attack on Leighton in Rome is not, of course, an accident. The Santiago junta set up DINA for the persecution of patriots both in Chile and abroad. Directly subordinated to Pinochet, DINA has its own finances. It uses men experienced in torture from the "special brigades" in Brazil and Paraguay. It gets help from the CIA in equipment and specialists. While acting openly in Chile, abroad DINA agents use various forms



of cover. In countries where many Chilean democrats have found refuge (France, Italy, Argentina), the staffs of the junta's embassies have been sharply increased. For instance, before the coup the Chilean Embassy in Argentina had a staff of several dozen employees. Today there are several hundred. In Paris and Rome there was also an increase, though more modest in proportion. DINA established contacts with fascist organizations. There is proof that representatives of the Chilean junta took part in the fascist gathering organized a few months ago in Lyons. And this is logical. The Santiago junta sends its cutthroats to Europe without any hesitation. It runs a network of clandestine organizations, which the countries in question can hardly be unaware of. The attempt on the life of Bernardo Leighton is a danger signal.

Jose Fort

*L'Humanité*, October 11, 1975.

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## IN BRIEF

### CYPRUS

The Progressive Party of the Working People of Cyprus (AKEL) has re-emphasized the relevance of the Soviet proposal for a representative international conference within the framework of the UN on the Cyprus problem. The convocation of such a conference with the participation of all sides concerned, the UN Security Council permanent members and some non-aligned countries, says a statement of the AKEL CC Politbureau, would be consonant with the vital national interests of the Republic of Cyprus. We have every reason to insist on this conference being called.

### ECUADOR

The Communist paper *Pueblo* has called on the people to be vigilant in the face of the conspiracy being hatched by domestic reactionaries and foreign oil monopolies against the government of President Guillermo Rodriguez Lara, who enjoys the support of Ecuador's progressive forces.

Fearing the growing political awareness of the masses campaigning for democracy, progress and the welfare of the country, the plotters are bent on toppling the present government. By launching a slander campaign against the Communists and trying to generate tension in the country, the reactionary elements are nurturing plans of a fascist coup patterned after the putsch in Chile, the paper says.

Pointing out the danger of reactionary intrigues, the paper stresses that one of the key tasks today is to unite all patriotic and democratic forces of Ecuador so as to bar the way to fascism.

### FINLAND

At a meeting held in Helsinki to make the 70th anniversary of the October 1905 general political strike in Russia, Ville Pessi, Honorary Chairman of the Communist Party, said that the strike was of tremendous importance for the upswing of the revolutionary movement in Russia. The strike was joined by the workers of Finland who, on October 30, declared a general strike in solidarity with the Russian proletariat and demanded not only freedom of speech, assembly and



organization, but also the dissolution of parliament, the convocation of a National Assembly and formulation of constitutional principles for the election of a single-chamber parliament. For this reason, Pessi stressed, the important democratic changes in our country bear the imprint of 1905. These changes had been made possible by the struggles of Russia's proletariat.

The year 1905 taught the working-class movement in Finland a lesson of international solidarity. It was then that the *Communist Manifesto* first appeared in the Finnish language and the Internationale was translated into Finnish.

The Finnish labor movement rendered active support to the Russian revolutionaries, Pessi went on. In December 1905 the First Conference of the Russian Social Democratic Labor Party was held under the guidance of Lenin at the Workers' House in Temmerfors (Tampere). Later the Finnish workers helped Lenin on more than one occasion when he had to take refuge in Finland to avoid persecution by tsarist gendarmes and the Provisional Government.

## GDR

The Secretariat of the CC SUPG held a meeting with first secretaries of district Party committees to discuss the preparations for the forthcoming Ninth Party Congress. The meeting was also attended by the first secretaries of regional Party committees.

Addressing the meeting, First Secretary Erich Honecker dwelt in detail on the tasks of Party organizations in the pre-Congress period. He emphasized the role of Communists as the advanced contingent of the working class in implementing Party decisions and launching a socialist emulation drive for the successful conclusion of the five-year plan.

Calling the friendship and cooperation with the USSR an earnest of all the successes of the GDR, Honecker pointed to the significance of the recent visit of the GDR Party and government delegation to the Soviet Union. The results of this visit, he said, have truly historic implications. It ushered in a new stage in the relations between the GDR and the Soviet Union, and charted basic long-term guidelines for all-round cooperation.

## JAPAN

Speaking at a news conference on October 17, Tetsuzo Fuwa, Chairman of the Communist Party Secretariat, explained the CPJ



attitude on the issue of restoring the right to strike for civil servants and municipal employees. In his statements Fuwa said that the denial of the right to strike to these categories of workers was in direct violation of the existing Constitution. "During the first postwar years," Fuwa said, "civil servants and municipal employees enjoyed the right to strike on a par with workers of private enterprises in accordance with Article 28 of the Constitution. But in July 1948, at the bidding of U.S. occupation authorities, the government adopted a decision, without preliminary discussion in parliament, to deprive civil servants and municipal employees of their basic right, the right to strike."

T. Fuwa stressed that the Communist Party has always strongly campaigned for the restoration of the civil servants' and municipal employees' right to strike. And it is not fortuitous that the Party raises this question once again. Under the pressure of public opinion and vigorous working-class action the Liberal Democratic government was forced to promise to resolve this question by the autumn of 1975. But with the approach of the deadline, the ruling quarters are increasingly reluctant to carry out their promise.

T. Fuwa said that civil servants and municipal employees are engaged in industries directly affecting the condition of the people and, as such, they are fully entitled to the right to strike, all the more so since this right has long become a universally accepted standard in contemporary society. At present, he stressed, the demand to restore the right to strike encounters fierce resistance from the Liberal Democratic government. To clear the way to restoring this right in these conditions, Japan's working class and trade unions must draw correct conclusions from the experiences of many years of struggle. In this sense one of the key tasks of the trade union movement in present-day Japan is to organize joint action by all democratic forces and build a united front to secure victory in the struggle for restoring the civil servants' and municipal employees' right to strike.

## **NEW ZEALAND**

An acute political struggle is unfolding in New Zealand in connection with the parliamentary elections at the end of November. Alongside traditional political parties — the Labour and the National — the election campaign has been actively joined by the Socialist Unity Party of New Zealand, which adheres to Marxist-Leninist positions in championing the people's vital interests. The Party put forward its candidates in 15 constituencies and called on the electorate in other



constituences to vote for the candidates of the ruling Labour Party.

The Socialist Unity Party, as set forth in the recently published election program, sees its main task in preventing the rise to power of the National Party representing the interests of the monopoly bourgeoisie and openly campaigning against the interests of the workers and their unions. The program calls for nationalization of the big monopolies and transport, effective measures to combat inflation and unemployment, more budgetary allocations for social maintenance and pensions, public health and education.

In foreign policy the SUP takes a resolute stand in support of détente and mutually beneficial cooperation of states with different social systems. The New Zealand Communists support the struggle of the Chilean patriots against the fascist junta and declare their solidarity with all fighters for peace, democracy and socialism.

## POLAND

Speaking at the provincial Party conference in Katowice, First Secretary Edward Gierek noted that the pre-Congress campaign now under way in the country is indicative of the desire of the entire Party to carry on the strategy of the country's socio-economic development which became the basis of the Polish people's major achievements under the current five-year plan. He stressed that the theses of the CC PUWP for the forthcoming Seventh Party congress have been universally approved and supported by the working people.

Touching on international issues, the First Secretary declared that Poland has pursued and will continue to pursue a foreign policy based on the inviolable principles of proletarian internationalism.

Friendship and alliance with the great Land of Soviets, Gierek stressed, is the pillar of our foreign-policy orientation.

## SPAIN

In an interview with *L'Humanité-Dimanche* Dolores Ibarruri, Chairman of the Communist Party, expressed profound gratitude to world public opinion for the broad movement of solidarity with the Spanish patriots. This solidarity was clearly demonstrated at protest meetings and demonstrations held all over the world to demand an end to the Franco regime, Ibarruri stressed.

Dolores Ibarruri noted the growing influence of the Communist Party in Spain, including its religious community. This, she said, is very important for our country in which religious traditions are



strong. Many clergymen have fallen victim to repressions, have been jailed and tortured.

We harbor a feeling of sincere love for the Soviet Union, Ibarri went on, and are deeply grateful to it for all it did for us during the civil war in Spain, for all it did for our children. During the Second World War young Spaniards fought in the ranks of the Soviet Army.

## **WEST BERLIN**

At a recent meeting of the Board, Socialist Unity Party, a report on "The Growing Struggle for Social and Democratic Rights" was made by H. Schmitt, member of the Board's Bureau and Secretariat. It is only through vigorous joint action, he stressed, that wage and salary earners can repulse the monopoly onslaught on their living standards. Increasing significance attaches to united action based on the co-operation of Communists and Social Democrats, Schmitt said.

The Board called on factory and office workers, members of production councils and trade unions, and also students, to resist infringement of fundamental democratic rights and freedoms by the authorities.

The concluding remarks were made by Chairman Gerhard Danelius.

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