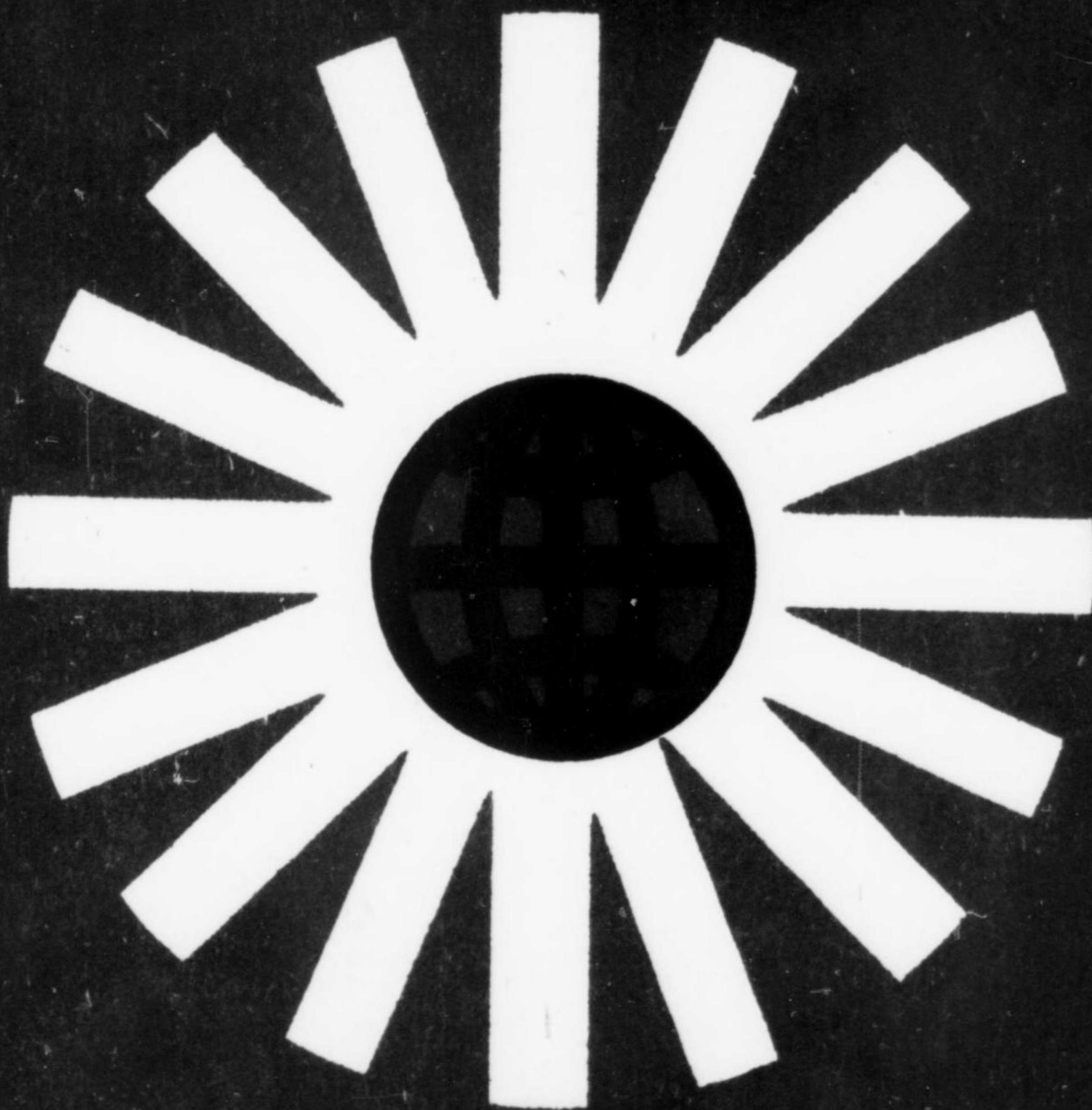


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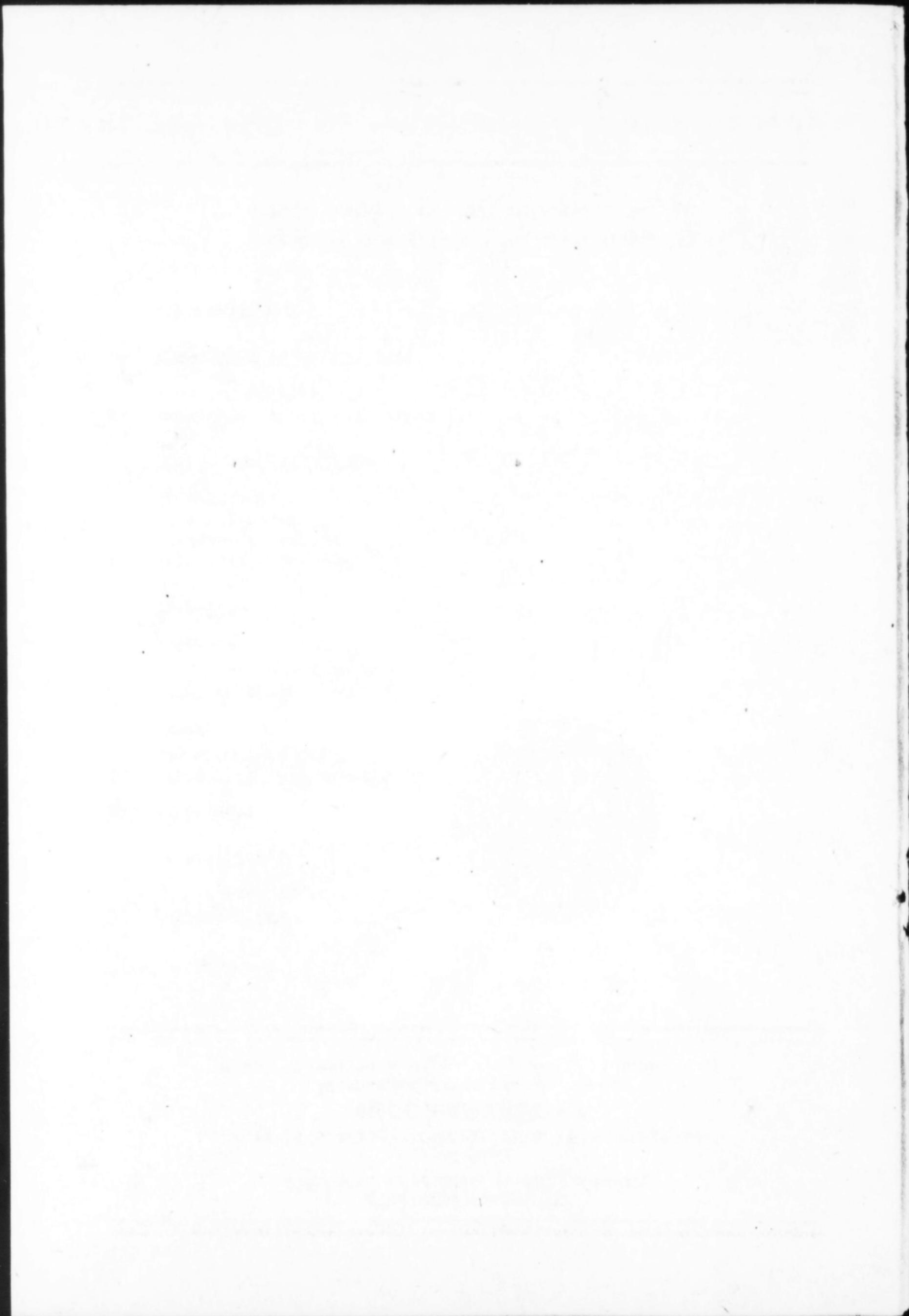
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MULTILATERAL MEETINGS

PREPARATIONS FOR A EUROPEAN COMMUNIST CONFERENCE

On October 9-10 the working group of the drafting committee of the conference of Communist and Workers' parties of Europe held its third meeting in Berlin.

The meeting was attended by delegations of the following 27 Communist and Workers' parties: Communist Party of Belgium, headed by J. Terfve, Deputy Chairman of the Party; Bulgarian Communist Party, headed by K. Tellalov, secretary of the Central Committee; Communist Party of Denmark, headed by I. Norlund, member of the Executive Committee; Communist Party of Ireland, headed by T. Redmond, Deputy Chairman of the Party; German Communist Party, headed by K. -H. Schröder, secretary of the Presidium; Socialist Unity Party of Germany, headed by H. Axen, Political Bureau member and secretary of the Central Committee; Communist Party of Finland, headed by O. Poikolainen, secretary of the Central Committee; French Communist Party, headed by J. Kanapa, member of the Political Bureau; Communist Party of Greece, headed by A. Ambatielos, member of the Political Bureau; Communist Party of Great Britain, headed by R. Falber, Assistant General Secretary of the Party; Italian Communist Party, headed by G. Pajetta, member of the Leadership; League of Communists of Yugoslavia, headed by A. Grlickov, secretary of the Presidium's Executive Committee; Communist Party of Luxembourg, headed by R. Urbany, Deputy Chairman of the Party; Communist Party of Norway, headed by R. Netum, Deputy Chairman of the Party; Communist Party of Austria, headed by E. Scharf, Political Bureau member and secretary of the Party; Polish United Workers' Party, headed by E. Babiuch, Political Bureau member and secretary of the Central Committee; Portuguese Communist Party, headed by S. Vilarigues, member of the Political Commission; Rumanian Communist Party, headed by S. Andrei, alternate member of the Political Executive Committee and secretary of the Central Committee; Left Party — Communists of Sweden,

headed by U. Karlsson, member of the Executive Committee and secretary of the Party; Swiss Party of Labor, headed by J. Lechleiter, Political Bureau member and Central Committee secretary; Communist Party of the Soviet Union, headed by B. Ponomaryov, alternate member of the Political Bureau and secretary of the Central Committee; Communist Party of Spain, headed by M. Azcarate, member of the Executive Committee; Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, headed by J. Fojtik, secretary of the Central Committee; Communist Party of Turkey, headed by A. Saydan, member of the Political Bureau; Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, headed by A. Gyenes, secretary of the Central Committee; Socialist Unity Party of West Berlin, headed by B. Kuster, Bureau member and secretary of the Board; Progressive Party of the Working People of Cyprus, headed by J. Christodulis, member of the Political Bureau.

The working group discussed the concluding stage in the work to prepare a conference of Communist and Workers' parties of Europe. It was agreed that the drafting committee will meet in November 1975 to complete work on the draft document for the conference proceeding from the results of the discussion and the remarks and suggestions made by the fraternal parties.

The working group unanimously adopted resolutions of internationalist solidarity with the democrats of Chile and Spain.

The resolution on Chile says: "The fascist military clique, which has murdered thousands of people, is again threatening the lives of many patriots. The trial of Luis Corvalan and a hundred other leading members of Popular Unity is being conducted in gross violation of all legal norms.

"We, representatives of 27 Communist and Workers' parties of Europe who have assembled in Berlin, condemn the mass murders, sanguinary terror, lawlessness and denial of human rights in Chile.

"Jointly with all democrats we demand the immediate release of Luis Corvalan and all patriots languishing in dungeons, the restoration of democratic freedoms in Chile!"

The meeting of the working group was held in a spirit of fraternal communist cooperation and constructive exchanges of views on a democratic footing.



BILATERAL MEETINGS

COMMUNIQUE

On the Results of an Official Visit to the Soviet Union of a Party and Government Delegation of the GDR

A Party and government delegation of the GDR headed by E. Honecker, First Secretary of the SUPG, paid an official friendly visit to the Soviet Union on October 6-13 at the invitation of the CPSU Central Committee, the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet and the Council of Ministers.

Talks were held during the visit which proceeded in an atmosphere of sincere friendship and cordiality. Taking part in them were:

on the Soviet side — L. I. Brezhnev, General Secretary of the CC CPSU; N. V. Podgorny, member of the Politbureau of the CC CPSU and President of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet; A. N. Kosygin, member of the Politbureau and Chairman of the Council of Ministers; Y. V. Andropov, member of the Politbureau and Chairman of the State Security Committee under the Council of Ministers; A. A. Gromyko, member of the Politbureau and Minister of Foreign Affairs; K. F. Katushov, secretary of the CC CPSU; N. K. Baibakov and N. A. Tikhonov, members of the CC CPSU and deputy Chairmen of the Council of Ministers; K. V. Rusakov, assistant to the General Secretary of the CC CPSU; P. A. Abrasimov, Soviet Ambassador to the GDR;

on the side of the GDR — E. Honecker, First Secretary of the CC SUPG; W. Stoph, member of the Politbureau of the CC SUPG and Chairman of the Council of State; H. Sindermann, member of the Politbureau and Chairman of the Council of Ministers; G. Grüneberg, member of the Politbureau and secretary of the Central Committee; K. Hager, member of the Politbureau and secretary of the Central Committee; G. Mittag, member of the Politbureau and First Deputy Chairman of the Council of Ministers; E. Mielke, alternate member of the Politbureau and Minister of State Security; M. Gerlach, Chairman of the Liberal-Democratic Party and deputy Chairman of the Council of Ministers; E. Goldenbaum, Chairman of the Democratic Peasant

Party and member of the Presidium of the People's Chamber; G. Götting, Chairman of the Christian Democratic Union and President of the People's Chamber; H. Homann, Chairman of the National-Democratic Party and deputy Chairman of the Council of State; O. Fischer, member of the CC SUPG and Minister of Foreign Affairs; P. Strauss, member of the CC SUPG and member of the Council of State; H. Ott, GDR Ambassador to the USSR.

The sides summed up the results of the comprehensive cooperation between the USSR and GDR, defined the prospects of further developing and deepening the relations between the two fraternal countries, and discussed topical international issues.

On October 7 a new Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation and Mutual Assistance between the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the German Democratic Republic was signed in the Grand Kremlin Palace.

During the talks information was exchanged on the progress in socialist and communist construction and on preparations for the 25th Congress of the CPSU and the Ninth Congress of the SUPG.

The participants in the talks were unanimous in their assessment of the indestructible alliance which has taken shape between the USSR and GDR on the principles of socialist internationalism and comradely mutual assistance. This alliance has provided conditions for the GDR's successful advance along the socialist path and is an important factor in solving the tasks of building communism in the Soviet Union. It represents a substantial contribution of the two fraternal parties and peoples to the common cause of strengthening the socialist community, the cause of strengthening the forces of progress and peace.

During the talks the basic trends of furthering cooperation were outlined and close attention given to ties in the economic, scientific and technical fields.

Attaching much importance to cooperation in the ideological sphere, the sides agreed to extend joint Marxist-Leninist research and the exchange of experience in socialist and communist construction. Stress was laid on the need for broader cultural ties between the two countries.

The sides emphasized the significance of direct contacts between worker collectives, enterprises, state and public organizations, and also between citizens of the two countries — contacts that are encouraged by both fraternal parties and public organizations.

The talks demonstrated complete unanimity of both sides in their assessment of the current international situation.

The sides reaffirmed their determination to promote in every way the establishment of a just and durable peace in the Middle East. Key conditions for this are: Israeli withdrawal from all Arab territories occupied in 1967, ensuring the legitimate rights of the Arab people of Palestine, including the right to form a sovereign Palestinian state, guaranteeing the rights of all states and peoples of that region to independent existence and development.

The USSR and GDR will continue to render support to the peoples fighting for freedom and independence. The sides warmly welcome the victory of the people of Vietnam in their 30-year struggle against foreign aggressors and domestic reactionaries, and express the readiness of both states and peoples to continue strengthening friendship and cooperation with fraternal Vietnam.

They voice their solidarity with the Communists, all patriotic anti-fascist forces of Portugal in their struggle for the country's development along the path of democracy and social progress. The USSR and GDR resolutely protest against the murder of Spanish patriots. They declare their unity with the patriots of Chile fighting courageously against the tyranny of the fascist junta.

The sides emphasized the danger for the cause of socialism and peace presented by the Peking leaders' great-power expansionist course which links up with the policy of the most aggressive representatives of imperialist reaction and anti-communism. They reaffirmed the need to rebuff this course resolutely.

The tried and tested, durable, active cooperation between the SUPG and CPSU, based on common communist ideology and identical final aims, is the core of our peoples' alliance.

The cooperation between both fraternal parties, founded on complete confidence, is characterized by unanimity on all issues of socialist and communist construction, foreign policy and the defense of the socialist and communist gains.

In this connection stress was laid at the talks on the great importance of regular meetings between CPSU General Secretary L. I. Brezhnev and SUPG First Secretary Erich Honecker and other leaders of the USSR and GDR for strengthening the fraternal alliance of the two countries and formulating a common line on all topical problems of our time.

The SUPG attaches decisive significance to the continuous deepening of its alliance with the Party of Lenin. The constant, close cooper-

ation with the CPSU, its rich experience in socialist and communist construction are an inspiring example for Communists in the GDR, helping them elaborate Marxist-Leninist policy and define the ways of building a developed socialist society in their country.

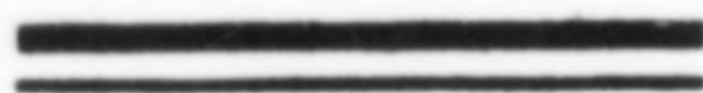
The SUPG and the CPSU stress the vast significance of strengthening the cohesion of Communists the world over on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism for ensuring peace and the social progress of mankind. Proceeding from this, they reaffirmed their desire to do their utmost to help complete the preparation and successful holding of a European conference of Communist and Workers' parties.

The sides stated with satisfaction that the talks on all questions under discussion were characterized by complete unanimity.

The participants in the talks expressed the readiness of the two parties and peoples linked by fraternal bonds to safeguard as the apple of the eye and invariably strengthen their friendship in the name of common communist goals, in the interest of the great cause of socialism and peace.

The Party and government delegation of the GDR had meetings with working people in Moscow, Ulyanovsk, Sverdlovsk, Kazan, Naberezhniye Chelny and Volgograd, acquainted itself with the work of industrial and agricultural enterprises, research institutes and educational establishments, with the activities of Party and local government bodies. Everywhere the German comrades were accorded a warm fraternal welcome.

The delegation expressed its satisfaction in connection with the cordial meetings it had with Soviet people — genuine demonstrations of a profound unity between the GDR and the USSR. It expressed deep gratitude to the Soviet Party and government leaders for the fraternal hospitality and invited a Party and government delegation of the USSR to visit the GDR. The invitation was accepted with gratitude.



IN AN ATMOSPHERE OF SOLIDARITY

Reception in the Kremlin

On October 6, in the Grand Kremlin Palace, the Central Committee of the CPSU, the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet, and the Soviet Government gave a reception in honor of the Party and government delegation of the German Democratic Republic led by Erich Honecker, first secretary of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany.

Present at the reception were E. Honecker, W. Stoph, H. Sindermann and other members of the delegation.

On the Soviet side, the reception was attended by L.I. Brezhnev, Y.V. Andropov, V.V. Grishin, A.A. Gromyko, A.N. Kosygin, F.D. Kulakov, A.J. Pelse, N.V. Podgorny, D.S. Polyansky, M.A. Suslov, P.N. Demichev, B.N. Ponomaryov, V.I. Dolgikh, I.V. Kapitonov, K.F. Katushev, vice-presidents of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet, deputy chairmen of the Council of Ministers, chairmen of the chambers of the Supreme Soviet, ministers, top officials of the Central Committee, the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet and the Council of Ministers, high military commanders, and other officials.

Also present were heads of diplomatic missions accredited in the Soviet Union.

A speech at the reception was made by L.I. Brezhnev.

SPEECH BY LEONID BREZHNEV

Dear Comrade Honecker,

Dear Comrades,

It gives me great pleasure to greet in the Soviet capital, on behalf of the leadership of our Party and the state, our good friends and associates — you, Comrade Honecker, Comrades Stoph, Sindermann, Hager, Mittag, Grüneberg, Mielke, Fischer, and the leaders of the democratic parties Comrades Götting, Gerlach, Homann and Goldenbaum.

The Soviet people heartily welcome the Party and government delegation of the German Democratic Republic.

Your visit takes place in remarkable days. Tomorrow marks the 25th anniversary of the formation of the first worker-and-peasant state on the German soil. It is pleasant for us to have an opportunity to personally congratulate you, dear comrades, on this glorious jubilee.

The Soviet people send their warm greetings to all citizens of the German Democratic Republic.

The Central Committee of the CPSU and the Soviet Government attach great importance to the new meeting with our German friends. It will make it possible to discuss specific questions connected with the further deepening of all-round ties between our countries and to exchange opinions on international problems. This work has already started, and today's talks have again confirmed the full identity of our views and aims.

There is one thing that imparts special significance to the present visit of the Party and government delegation of the GDR to the Soviet Union. The development of our countries over recent years, the immeasurably increased level of their cooperation and considerable changes in the international situation — all this prompts us to update our treaty relations and to conclude a new treaty of friendship, cooperation and mutual assistance. Such a treaty has been prepared jointly and we are to sign it now. By this, the unbreakable alliance of our peoples will be developed further and the main trends of cooperation between the two fraternal socialist states will be set out for many years ahead. This is, undoubtedly, an important event in the relations between our countries as well as in the international political life in general.

The strength and fruitfulness of our alliance has been proved by the experience of history, not by mere words. In close cooperation with our country and other fraternal countries the working people of the GDR have created a socialist state with a developed economy, advanced science and culture, a state that ensures living conditions worthy of its citizens. New features of people's consciousness have been shaped and generations of people with the communist, internationalist world outlook have grown in the society of triumphant socialism.

I want to emphasize, comrades, that for us, Soviet people, the alliance and cooperation with the GDR are no less important than for the working people of your Republic. The point is that developed economic, scientific, technical and cultural ties between our countries help us, as well as you, solve many important economic tasks and enrich us with mutually valuable experience of social development. Above all, the point is that we regard the Socialist Unity Party of Germany, the people of the German Democratic Republic, as our loyal allies in the struggle for the cause of Marx, Engels and Lenin, for the great cause of communism!

Mutual trust, ideological unity and political cohesion of our parties, intensive economic cooperation, broad cultural ties, and direct contacts between millions upon millions of the working people — all this now constitutes a solid foundation of the fraternal relations between the Soviet Union and the German Democratic Republic. We are fully resolved to treasure and steadily develop our friendship!

The new treaty serves precisely this lofty goal. I should say that its pivot is the course toward the further rapprochement of our countries and peoples.

As far as its international importance goes, our alliance is aimed at the strengthening of the socialist community, the consolidation of peace and security in Europe, and the development of fruitful cooperation between states with differing social systems. Such favorable conditions have been created for this now, after the conference that ended recently in Helsinki, as Europe has never had in its centuries-old history.

We see the task of the utmost importance now in taking practical steps for putting an end to the arms race, and reducing armaments and armed forces. This is, above all, what peoples expect from state leaders proclaiming their adherence to the cause of peaceful coexistence and relaxation of tensions. The broad masses, the public forces of European countries must have their firm say on this highly important matter.

We live at a time when the influence of the Communist parties of the socialist countries has increased immeasurably, as has their responsibility to their peoples and the working people of the world for the successful construction of socialism and communism in their countries, for the preservation and consolidation of world peace. The German Democratic Republic, its tested leadership headed by a prominent leader of the international communist movement, Comrade Erich Honecker, make a worthy contribution to the attainment of these historic goals.

Comrades, the Soviet Union and the German Democratic Republic, and a number of other fraternal countries now stand on the threshold of another five-year period in their development. The forthcoming congresses of our parties will review the road traversed and outline what we must do in the years to come. The fact that now the socialist countries tackle similar tasks greatly facilitates their solution and enables us to pool our knowledge, experience and material and spiritual resources for the good of each people and the common interests of the socialist community.

The day after tomorrow our German friends will set out on a tour of our country to visit a number of industrial enterprises, research institutions and educational establishments. Although all of you have been in the Soviet Union on many occasions, this will be, I do not doubt, an exciting trip because everywhere the Soviet people will accord you the most cordial, truly fraternal reception.

Greeting the Party and state Delegation of the German Democratic Republic once again, I propose a toast to

— the people of the German Democratic Republic and their revolutionary vanguard, the Socialist Unity Party of Germany;

— the health of Comrades Erich Honecker, Willi Stoph, Horst Sindermann and all members of the Party and government delegation;

— the eternal and inviolable friendship between our Parties and peoples.

SPEECH BY ERICH HONECKER

Dear Comrade Brezhnev,

Dear Comrade Podgorny,

Dear Comrade Kosygin,

Dear Soviet comrades and friends,

Allow me on behalf of the Party and government delegation of the German Democratic Republic to thank you most cordially for the invitation to visit the Soviet Union and for the hospitality shown us. I would like to express special gratitude for the fraternal words addressed by you, dear Comrade Leonid Ilyich, to the Socialist Unity Party of Germany and the people of the German Democratic Republic.

Whenever we come to Moscow we feel more strongly our community in the great cause of building socialism and communism, in the struggle for a peaceful and happy life of the people. This is also how we feel now. Indeed, we arrived in your country at a time when the Soviet people, following the path charted by the 24th Party Congress, are approaching a new important stage of building a communist society. The 25th Congress of the CPSU will set the new objectives of this historic cause. That will make it an event of great moment to the Soviet Union, the socialist community as a whole, and the world forces of peace, democracy and progress.

We derive great satisfaction from witnessing the Soviet people's enthusiastic effort and remarkable achievements in this period of preparations for the 25th Party Congress. We are sure that we shall draw from this visit much that will be of value in our own activity.

We wish to cordially congratulate you and the entire Soviet people

on the tremendous progress made in implementing the policy approved by the 24th Congress of the CPSU.

We proceed from the universal validity of the vast experience of the CPSU and the Soviet state in building socialist and communist society. Recognition of this reality is viewed by us as an element of proletarian internationalism. Our Party and the working class and other working people of the German Democratic Republic steadfastly fulfill the behests of outstanding revolutionary fighters, the behests of Ernst Thälmann, who regarded the attitude to the Lenin Party and to the world's first worker-peasant state as the touchstone of every Communist's internationalist position.

Dear comrades, tomorrow, that is, on the national holiday of the socialist German Democratic Republic, the 26th anniversary of our republic, we shall sign a new Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation and Mutual Assistance with the Soviet Union. There is deep meaning in the fact that this historic act coincides with the anniversary of the founding of our worker-peasant state.

By their victory over Hitler fascism three decades ago, the Soviet Union and its glorious armed forces paved the way to a new future for our people as well. Ever since then, all progress in our country, the founding, consolidation and prosperity of the German Democratic Republic have been fostered by friendship with the Lenin Party. We say again that socialism in our republic is strong and irreversible, and so is for all time our fraternal alliance with the Soviet Union.

Friendship, cooperation and mutual assistance, which determine the name of our treaty, are always present in our everyday relations. And now we have entered a qualitatively higher stage of our alliance. It can be said that our fraternal community, in all its variety, will take on new dimensions. The peoples of our states are drawing closer and closer together.

We shall sign the friendship treaty firmly believing that fraternal alliance with the Soviet Union and firm commitment to the socialist community are of vital importance to the German Democratic Republic. This is the main earnest of its socialist present and its communist future.

The active and close cooperation of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union is the cornerstone of the alliance between the German Democratic Republic and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. This cooperation is characterized by complete unanimity of views and constant coordina-

tion of activity in every sphere of socialist and communist construction, foreign policy and defense of our revolutionary gains.

Dear comrades and friends, life in the German Democratic Republic today is increasingly determined by preparations for the Ninth Congress of the SUPG. We are in a position to register gratifying results. Our people have been working hard. In our country, the years following the Eighth Party Congress have been a particularly dynamic period in perfecting the socialist system. Our working people show much initiative in striving to fulfill and exceed the assignments of the 1971-1975 plan so as to provide the conditions for continuing along the same clearcut line. The Ninth Party Congress will decide on the next stretch of the road to be travelled in building a developed socialist society.

Our country has been making good progress precisely because considerable headway has been made at the same time in scientific, technological and economic cooperation with the fraternal Soviet Union and in socialist economic integration as a whole. We note with deep satisfaction that new prospects are opening today for this cooperation. Having coordinated our five-year plans for the 1976-1980 period, we are beginning to carry them out. Moreover, our cooperation covers a widening range of tasks in promoting the rapid development of the socialist community of nations and each country in particular. We coordinate joint projects involving whole economic branches or fields of science and technology. It is our firm belief that joint use of our spiritual and material potential will contribute more than in the past to the realization of the historic advantages of the new, socialist system.

We wish to give our most sincere thanks to you, dear Soviet comrades, to the Central Committee of the CPSU and its General Secretary, Comrade Leonid Ilyich Brezhnev, to the Soviet government and all Soviet people, for the immense and disinterested aid they have always extended to our republic.

Dear comrades and friends, in common with the Soviet Union and other fraternal countries, we work to strengthen the unity and cohesion of the socialist community and increase its dynamic strength and international influence in every respect. This enables us to create favorable external conditions in which to build socialism and communism.

We may now say that what the 24th Congress of the CPSU laid down in its Peace Program has thoroughly transformed the world political situation. Socialism shows itself to be a pioneering force

capable of achieving that noble ideal of mankind — lasting peace. We note with satisfaction that détente has become the decisive trend in Europe. The Leninist principles of peaceful coexistence increasingly determine relations between countries with different social systems.

The successful outcome of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe provided new opportunities of continuing the struggle for the peaceful life of the nations. Firm agreement was reached on such important security principles as the inviolability of frontiers, respect for the sovereignty of states and non-interference in their internal affairs. This was achieved thanks primarily to the consistent peace policy of the CPSU and the Soviet government and to the coordinated action of the socialist community. In Helsinki reason and political realism tipped the scales and this benefits all nations.

We share the opinion that it is now necessary to make détente irreversible, impart a growing material content to it and carry it forward. It is imperative to supplement political with military détente. We welcome and support the recent peace initiative of the Soviet Union aimed at concluding a treaty on the complete and universal prohibition of nuclear weapons tests, as well as an agreement banning the designing and manufacture of new arms of mass destruction and new systems of such arms.

Dear comrades and friends, the active cooperation of the CPSU and the SUPG and the fraternal alliance between the Soviet Union and the GDR have convincingly stood the test of history and are treasured by our peoples. Leaning on this indestructible community, we are ready, in accordance with the exigencies of the times, to carry out creative tasks in building communism, a developed socialist society in our country. Guided by the ideas of Marx, Engels and Lenin, which are transforming the world, we are advancing with confidence in new gains for the good of the peoples.

I propose this toast to

— the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, its Central Committee and its General Secretary, our dear friend and comrade, Leonid Ilyich Brezhnev; to the President of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, Comrade Nikolai Viktorovich Podgorny; to the Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR, Comrade Alexei Nikolayevich Kosygin; to all members of the Political Bureau of the CPSU;

— the unity of the fraternal socialist countries closely united around the Soviet Union;

— indestructible friendship and fraternal cooperation between our parties, states and peoples;

— new victories for socialism and communism;

— the health of all the Soviet friends and comrades present here.

The reception proceeded in a fraternal, cordial atmosphere.

Pravda, October 7.

TREATY OF FRIENDSHIP, COOPERATION AND MUTUAL ASSISTANCE BETWEEN THE UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS AND THE GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

The union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the German Democratic Republic,

Basing themselves on the fact that between the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the German Democratic Republic a close fraternal alliance has taken shape, which rests on the foundation of Marxism-Leninism and socialist internationalism;

Firmly convinced that the utmost strengthening of unity and friendship between the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the German Democratic Republic is in the fundamental interests of the peoples of both countries and of the entire community of socialist states, and serves the cause of the further drawing together of the socialist nations;

Guided by the desire, in conformity with the principles and purposes of socialist policy, to ensure the most favorable international conditions for the building of socialism and communism;

Attaching paramount significance to the cause of guarding the territorial integrity and sovereignty of both states against any encroachments;

Resolved to strictly abide by commitments stemming from the Warsaw Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation and Mutual Assistance of May 14, 1955;

Declaring themselves consistently and unswervingly for the consolidation of unity of all the countries of the socialist community, based on the identity of their social system and ultimate goals;

Reaffirming the fact that the support, strengthening and safeguarding of the socialist gains, achieved at the cost of heroic efforts and selfless labor of the peoples, is the common international duty of the socialist countries;

Attaching great importance to the further improvement of political and ideological cooperation, and to the development and deepening of socialist economic integration;

Expressing the firm determination to contribute to the further strengthening of peace and security in Europe and throughout the world, and to make their contribution to the implementation of collectively-elaborated principles of relations among states with different social systems, and to the development, on this basis, of fruitful and mutually beneficial cooperation on the European continent;

Mindful that the German Democratic Republic, which has carried out the principles of the Potsdam agreement, and, as a sovereign independent socialist state, has become a full-fledged member of the United Nations Organization;

Attaching great importance to the further development and improvement of the juridical basis of their relations, and taking into account the changes which have taken place in Europe and throughout the world;

Guided by the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations Organization,

Have adopted the following:

ARTICLE 1

The High Contracting Parties will, in accordance with the principles of socialist internationalism, continue to strengthen their relations of eternal and indestructible friendship and brotherly mutual assistance in all spheres. They will systematically and consistently develop and deepen comprehensive cooperation and render each other every assistance and support, based on mutual respect for national sovereignty and independence, equality and non-interference in each other's internal affairs.

ARTICLE 2

The High Contracting Parties will combine their efforts for the effective use of the material and spiritual potentials of their peoples

and states in building socialist and communist society and consolidating the socialist community. In conformity with the principles and aims of socialist economic integration and in the interests of a better satisfaction of the material and cultural requirements of their people, they will strengthen and expand mutually beneficial bilateral and multilateral economic, scientific and technical cooperation, including within the framework of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance.

The Parties will continue to coordinate their national long-term economic plans, expand specialization and cooperation in the fields of production and research, coordinate long-term measures to develop major branches of the economy, science and technology, exchange the knowledge and experience amassed in the course of building socialism and communism and ensure ever closer cooperation of the national economies of the two states in the interests of raising the efficiency of social production.

ARTICLE 3

The High Contracting Parties will facilitate cooperation between the organs of state power and public organizations and promote broad contacts in the fields of science, culture, education, art, literature, the press, radio, cinema, television, public health, environmental protection, tourism, physical culture and sports, and in other spheres. They will also encourage the development of contacts between the working people of the two countries.

ARTICLE 4

The High Contracting Parties will help in every way the further development of fraternal relations between all the states of the socialist community and constantly act in the spirit of strengthening their unity and cohesion. They declare their preparedness to take the necessary measures to protect and defend the historic achievements of socialism and the security and independence of both countries.

ARTICLE 5

The High Contracting Parties shall continue to take all possible measures for the consistent implementation of the principles of peaceful coexistence between states with different social systems, for the expansion and deepening of the process of détente relations, and shall work for the final preclusion of war from the life of all nations. They shall also exert every effort for the defence of international peace and

the security of peoples from the encroachments of the aggressive forces of imperialism and reaction, for the cessation of the arms race and the promotion of universal and complete disarmament, for the final abolition of colonialism in all its forms and manifestations, and the rendering, to states which have freed themselves from colonial oppression, of support in strengthening their national independence and sovereignty.

ARTICLE 6

The High Contracting Parties regard the inviolability of the state borders in Europe as the most important prerequisite for ensuring European security and express the firm resolution, jointly and in alliance with other member-states of the 14 May 1955 Warsaw Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation and Mutual Assistance, to ensure, in accordance with it, the inviolability of the borders of the member-states of this Treaty, including the border between the German Democratic Republic and the Federal Republic of Germany, as they emerged as a result of World War II and postwar development.

The Parties shall exert joint efforts to counteract any manifestations of revanchism and militarism, and shall work for the undeviating fulfillment of the treaties concluded with the aim of consolidating European security.

ARTICLE 7

In accordance with the 3 September 1971 quadripartite agreement the High Contracting Parties shall maintain and develop their ties with West Berlin, on the basis that it is not part of the Federal Republic of Germany and shall also not be controlled by it in the future.

ARTICLE 8

Should one of the High Contracting Parties become the object of armed attack by some state or group of states, the other High Contracting Party will view this as an attack also upon itself, and will render without delay all kinds of assistance, including military assistance, and will also give support with all the means available by way of exercising the right to individual or collective self-defense in line with Article 51 of the United Nations Charter.

The High Contracting Parties will inform without delay the UN Security Council of the measures taken on the basis of the present Article and will act in line with the provisions of the UN Charter.

ARTICLE 9

The High Contracting Parties will keep each other informed, consult each other and act in all important international matters, proceeding from the common stand agreed upon in line with the interests of both states.

ARTICLE 10

The present Treaty does not affect the rights and commitments of the High Contracting Parties under already effective bilateral and multilateral agreements.

ARTICLE 11

The present Treaty is to be ratified and will come into force from the day of the exchange of the instruments of ratification which will take place in Berlin at the earliest possible date.

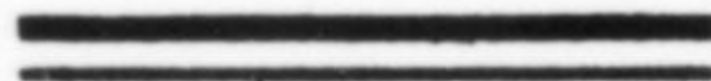
ARTICLE 12

The present Treaty shall be operative for 25 years and will be automatically prolonged subsequently for 10-year periods, unless either of the High Contracting Parties declares 12 months before the expiry of the current term its desire to terminate the Treaty.

The present Treaty is made out in Moscow on October 7, 1975 in two copies, each in Russian and German, with both texts being equally authentic.

For the Union of
Soviet Socialist Republics
L. BREZHNEV

For the German
Democratic Republic
E. HONECKER
Pravda, October 8.



PLENUM OF CENTRAL COMMITTEE, SOCIALIST UNITY PARTY OF GERMANY

The Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany met on October 2 in Berlin. On behalf of the Political Bureau a report on economic matters and current international problems was made by Political Bureau member and Central Committee secretary Kurt Hager.

The report noted the major achievements scored by the German Democratic Republic in all fields of economic and public life and in foreign policy. The successes of socialist economic integration were highly appraised. Of special importance for the further dynamic advance of the GDR economy, the speaker said, is coordination of its national economic plans with the USSR for 1976-80. During this period the volume of trade between the two countries will increase from 20 billion rubles to 28 billion.

The recent period, Hager went on, is characterized by the further change of the world balance of forces in favor of peace and social progress. Détente is increasingly becoming the dominant trend in world politics. This process must be made irreversible.

In this connection, the speaker stressed, the Political Bureau and the Council of Ministers come out for the beginning of concrete preparations for a world disarmament conference proposed by the Soviet Union, and for steps to implement the Soviet proposal for cutting the military budgets of the UN Security Council permanent member states. The report highly appraised the Soviet proposal in UNO for the complete and general prohibition of nuclear weapons tests.

A report on the results of the European Security and Cooperation Conference was presented by Political Bureau member and Central Committee secretary Hermann Axen. The successful completion of the Conference on Security and Cooperation on our continent, he said, was an historic event in European development.

The final stage of the Conference, Axen said, clearly demonstrated the great international prestige of the Soviet Union and its leading role in the fight for peace and security. Under the guidance of the CPSU Political Bureau and personally Comrade L. I. Brezhnev the Soviet Union made new considerable advances in its Leninist foreign policy.

A report on inner-Party questions was delivered by Erich Honecker, First Secretary of the SUPG.

The plenum approved the reports, adopted directives of the Central Committee for annual Party meetings in 1975 and 1976, and laid down the procedure of electing leading Party committees and delegates to Party conferences and congresses, including the forthcoming Ninth Congress of the SUPG.

REPORT BY ERICH HONECKER

The entire activity of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany in the next few months will be keynoted by preparations for its Ninth Congress, Erich Honecker said. Annual meetings in Party organizations, he noted, are a good occasion for an extensive discussion of the results, problems and further tasks of our home and foreign policy, all the more so since we are now at the juncture of two five-year plan periods which are of great significance for building a developed socialist society in the GDR and its gradual transition to communism. The principle aim of the forthcoming elections in Party organizations is to enhance the SUPG's leading role still more in all fields of public life, strengthen the Party's potential for action, and equip all Communists with a clear understanding of the demands presented by the next five-year plan, Honecker pointed out.

The policy formulated by the Eighth Congress of the SUPG is yielding good results in all spheres of public life, the speaker observed. The targets of the current five-year plan are being fulfilled and overfulfilled. Profoundly aware that socialism guarantees them social stability, security and a clear perspective for the future, the working people of the GDR are bending every effort for the further flourishing of their socialist state linked by inviolable bonds of friendship with the USSR and other fraternal countries.

Touching on the international situation, the First Secretary stressed: the political realism of the Peace Program advanced by the 24th CPSU Congress, to the implementation of which the GDR has made a constructive contribution, manifested itself once again in the establishment of the principles of peaceful coexistence. Despite the opposition of the most aggressive and reactionary forces of imperialism,

these principles are increasingly becoming a standard of relations between states with different social systems. The idea of holding a Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe was carried into effect thanks to the unremitting activity of the Soviet Union, the German Democratic Republic and other fraternal countries. The Final Act of the Helsinki Conference signed by the leaders of 33 European states, and also the USA and Canada, is expressive of the recognition of the results of World War II and postwar development.

This document formalizes the commitment of the participating states to apply the principles of peaceful coexistence in the concrete situation obtaining on our continent. It confirms that in settling other issues of inter-state relations it is essential to proceed primarily from the principle of ensuring security, and above all, the inviolability of frontiers, respect for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of each state, and non-interference in its internal affairs.

The Soviet Union, the GDR and other socialist countries have fully acquainted their citizens with the results of the Conference, which, regrettably, cannot be said of some countries in the West boasting of their freedom of information, Honecker pointed out. On the basis of what has been achieved, he went on, it is necessary to make détente irreversible and give practical effect to the Helsinki final documents.

The promotion of extensive and mutually advantageous economic, scientific, technical and cultural cooperation will have a stabilizing effect on détente and its spread to other areas of the world. As to the countries of our community, the speaker noted, they will be able to continue building socialism and communism in a more favorable international climate.

Recently the USSR made another important step toward stronger peace and international security, Honecker said. The Soviet proposal in the UNO concerning a treaty on complete and universal prohibition of nuclear weapons tests and also an agreement on banning the development and manufacture of new types of mass destruction weapons and new systems of such weapons means fresh support for all peace-loving forces. The conclusion of such treaties would be of great significance for limiting the arms race and consolidating peace.

Jointly with the USSR and other fraternal countries, the First Secretary went on, we shall exert every effort, in the spirit of the Helsinki Conference, to deepen the process of détente and cooperation between states with different social systems. This applies to the GDR's relations with all capitalist countries, including the FRG.

Passing on to inner-political problems, Honecker announced that

by the end of August the republic had fulfilled the annual plan by more than 66 per cent, creating thereby good conditions for fulfilling and overfulfilling the targets set for the current five-year plan period by the Eighth Congress of the SUPG.

Noting that in the past five years the GDR had carried out the most significant socio-political program in its history, the speaker stressed that the strengthening of the country's economic might was directly linked with the consolidation of its position in the socialist community.

The First Secretary pointed out that the further socialist intensification of production was decisive in raising the material and cultural standards of the people.

All that we have built, Honecker said, is being reliably protected by the National People's Army and other armed services of the republic, which, in firm alliance with the Soviet Army and the armies of other Warsaw Treaty member-countries, guarantee the successful development of socialism in our country.

Political and ideological work aimed to give the people a clear idea that our epoch is determined by the transition from capitalism to socialism, the First Secretary stressed, has been and remains the key aspect of our entire activity.

The Ninth Congress of the SUPG will be a new milestone on the road of the GDR's social development. Our preparations for it are permeated by a realization of the fact that we side with the CPSU and the fraternal Soviet Union, with all the parties and countries of the socialist community rallied around the Soviet Union.

Neues Deutschland, October 3-5.
(Summary)



TWENTY-FIRST PLENUM OF CENTRAL COMMITTEE, COMMUNIST PARTY OF ISRAEL

On August 31, the 21st plenary session of the Communist Party's Central Committee took place with the participation of the members of the Central Control Commission. The plenum was presided over by Ruth Lubitz, member of the Political Bureau. General Secretary Meir Vilner delivered a report on the interim accord between Israel and Egypt, and summed up the discussion.

The Central Committee approved the report and its conclusions, and a resolution on the subject was passed. It also decided to express solidarity with the Communist Party and other democratic forces of Portugal.

It was decided to strengthen solidarity with the Chilean people's struggle against the fascist junta and to demand the release of Luis Corvalan and all political prisoners, victims of the fascist dictatorship in Chile.

At the opening of the plenary session, the Central Committee honored the memory of its late member Othman Abu-Ras, secretary of the Triangle district organization, who was killed in a road accident.

THE INTERIM ACCORD LEAVES UNCHANGED THE DANGER OF WAR

The Central Committee states that conditions are prevailing to achieve an overall peace settlement between Israel and the Arab states, to solve the fundamental problems of the Israeli-Arab conflict and the Palestinian question on a just and realistic foundation, based on the Israeli withdrawal to the pre-4th of June 1967 lines, by turning them into peace frontiers, and on the basis of recognizing the Arab Palestine people's right to self-determination, including the right to set up its own sovereign state, and respecting the right of sovereign existence of the State of Israel.

Such an overall peace settlement can be reached by means of the Geneva Conference, under the auspices of the Soviet Union and the USA as chairmen of the conference and with the participation of all parties concerned. Such a peace settlement would be secured by international guarantees.

Accordingly the interim agreement between Israel and Egypt is not the result of lack of opportunity to reach an overall settlement and the establishment of peace, but the result of the annexationist policy of the Israeli government and the imperialist policy of the U.S. administration.

The U.S. Administration works for the postponement of a solution of the fundamental problems of the Mideast conflict, the postponement of peace, in order to exploit the continuation of the conflict for the sake of the American monopolists' domination over the region, to split the peoples and instigate quarrels between them, to bring about an adjustment of policy, to change the directions of the anti-imperialist Arab countries and to prevent progressive social developments.

This policy is contrary to the interests of peace and the independence of the peoples.

The new interim agreement between Israel and Egypt which is about to be signed, is not aimed at furthering an overall peace settlement, but to delay and reject it as far as possible. The Government of Israel, for its part, aims at gaining time, to create a new status quo, by leaving unchanged the occupation of the remaining Arab territories, by creating additional "established facts" (colonialist settlements) in these territories and to prevent a just solution of the Palestinian problem.

This policy leaves the danger of a new outbreak of war in the Middle East as it was.

The interim accord also includes an especially dangerous provision: One-sided American involvement under the pretext of installing American experts. This American involvement is contrary to the United Nations' resolutions concerning the Middle East, is creating a new source of tension in the region, and is contrary to the interests of peace in the Middle East and in the world.

Therefore, the CC has decided not to support the new interim agreement between Israel and Egypt.

Considering the fact that the agreement includes an element of withdrawal from occupied Arab territories as well, and in the presence of the nationalist-fascist assaults opposing every withdrawal — the CC decides not to vote against the agreement in the Knesset.

The Central Committee decides that our faction in the Knesset will abstain from voting. It calls upon all the forces of peace and democracy in Israel, without difference of ideological and party affiliations, to join efforts and energetically repulse the nationalist-fascist

onslaught of GUSH EMUNIM and HERUT, who oppose the interim accord out of the extremist, nationalist and aggressive position of rejecting any withdrawal whatsoever.

The Central Committee calls for an increased united struggle of all the forces of peace and political realism, for a change in the government policy, for the establishment of just and lasting peace, for a solution of the fundamental problems of the Israeli-Arab conflict and the Palestinian problem in the framework of the Geneva Peace Conference, for the benefit of all the peoples and states in the Middle East.

SUMMARIES

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

The Central Committee of the Communist Party met in Prague on October 6-7. The plenum was opened by General Secretary Gustav Husak. On behalf of the Presidium, Jan Baryl, alternate member of the Presidium and Central Committee secretary, presented a report on steps to promote the growth of agriculture and the food industry.

On discussing the report, the plenum adopted a decision noting that the growth of agricultural production depends in the main on a better use of the advantages of the planned economy, closer links with industry, broader socialist relations of production in agriculture, and enhancing the leading role and prestige of the Communist Party.

The meeting approved a Central Committee message to Party committees and organizations and all Communists on preparations for the 15th Congress. It also endorsed a report on the work done by the Presidium and Secretariat since the previous meeting and proposals for personnel shifts.

DENMARK

A Communist Party conference, held in Arhus from October 4 to 6, was attended by 400 delegates and by representatives of the Communist Youth League and Communist Union of Students. It discussed the draft of the new Party Program to be adopted by the 25th Congress in 1976, and passed a number of resolutions and appeals on domestic and international issues. Party chairman Knud Jespersen noted that the Communist ranks had increased considerably and stressed that the primary task is, now as in the past, to strengthen the

Party organizationally and numerically.

The conference called on the working people to take an active part in the *Land og Folk* fund-raising campaign. The Helsinki summit, it said, turned a new leaf in the relations between countries with different social systems.

The delegates condemned Chile's fascist junta and demanded the immediate release of Luis Corvalan and other political prisoners.

A message of greetings was sent to the Spanish people, expressing solidarity and support for their struggle against the Franco regime.

FINLAND

The Central Committee of the Communist Party met in Helsinki on October 3-4 to review the parliamentary election results and the political situation at home. The plenum was addressed by Olavi Hänninen, vice-chairman of the Party.

Aarne Saarinen, chairman of the Party, and Taisto Sinisalo, its vice-chairman, submitted reports on the progress made in carrying out the 17th Congress decisions.

In its statement on the domestic political situation the plenum stressed that the gains scored by the Communists and People's Democrats in the September 21-22 parliamentary elections were convincing proof of the electorate's confidence in the Party's program for a radical revision of home policy in the working people's interests, and in the policy line of the 17th Party Congress. The meeting pointed to the need for cooperation between the Left and centrists with a view to changing the internal policy of Finland in keeping with the working people's interests. The Communists proposed to the Social Democratic and Center parties to commence talks on cooperation.

The draft Program for Cooperation of Democratic Forces approved by the 17th Party Congress and the election program of the Democratic League of the Finnish People could become the starting point for the proposed talks and for solving the problem of forming a government, the statement says. It lists concrete steps to improve the economic situation and the people's condition, and stresses the need to defeat the attempts of big business to curtail the democratic rights of the working people.

The plenum called on the Communists to carry out the 17th Congress decisions on strengthening the Party's unity, increasing its militancy and extending its influence. It also approved a statement urging the working people and all democratic forces to denounce the fascist regimes of Spain and Chile.

STATEMENTS

APPEAL BY COMMUNIST AND WORKERS' PARTIES OF EUROPE

In view of the latest crime perpetrated by the Spanish fascist regime, the World Federation of Trade Unions and international and national trade union organizations of Europe took the initiative to hold Day of Action Against Francoism, for Freedom and Democracy in Spain in all countries of the continent on October 2.

Communist and Workers' parties, including the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, decided to publish a joint appeal in support of the trade union organizations' initiative.

The Communist parties of Europe, the appeal says, welcome the joint initiative of the international and national trade union organizations of Europe in favor of Day of Action Against Francoism, for Freedom and Democracy in Spain, to be held on Thursday, October 2, all over the continent.

They call on all working people, all democrats, all friends of the Spanish people, to support this anti-fascist action as widely and strongly as possible.

CALL FOR FIGHT TO IMPROVE RACE LAW PROPOSALS

While welcoming the positive proposals in the government's white paper, "Racial Discrimination," a statement issued by the Communist Party today criticizes its omissions and weaknesses.

It calls on the labor movement to take up the challenge to press for changes in the government proposals to strengthen them. The statement says:

. . . There are serious weaknesses and omissions (in the white paper) which, if not put right, will continue to place difficulties in the way of those working to end racial discrimination and incitement to race hatred.

These shortcomings will be felt above all by those, both individually and collectively, who are the victims of discriminatory practices and of racial prejudice.

Because these prejudices exist and discriminatory practices take place, and because racist bodies such as the National Front actively promote these hateful attitudes and activities, it is necessary for the labor and progressive movement in Britain to take up the challenge, press for changes in the government's proposals, and combat energetically all forms of racial discrimination and incitement to racial hatred.

One of the welcome proposals in the white paper is that as far as racial incitement is concerned it will no longer be necessary to prove a subjective intention to stir up racial hatred. The fact of having stirred up such hatred will presumably be what counts.

This positive change, however, is weakened very much by the proposal not to act against the dissemination of publications containing racist propaganda.

It is a strange and dangerous logic that the law should act against what it terms "crude verbal attacks," but allows freedom to more sophisticated printed material.

. . . The whole point is that by permitting the spread of racist propaganda in this way the government will be contributing toward the creation of an inflamed political atmosphere in which racial discrimination will flourish and racial incitement become more blatant.

The government, realizing that "strong views are held on this subject," has promised to consider further representations made to it.

The labor and progressive movement should make early calls on the government to include printed racist material and all other forms

of racial incitement in the scope of these actions which are liable to criminal proceedings.

The Communist Party views with concern, also, the proposal to scrap existing conciliation procedures. In their place it is proposed to allow direct access to courts and tribunals by individuals complaining of racial discrimination.

This leaves individual black and immigrant workers to process their own cases without the support and experienced help they could seek hitherto from the Community Relations Commission.

It also handicaps seriously those unable to meet the possible financial obligations, especially if they lose their appeal and have to pay the costs in part or full, as envisaged. But the average black and immigrant worker would be helped rather by the backing which a statutory body could provide.

It is also regrettable that no provision is made in the white paper for the involvement of black and immigrant organizations, trade unions and anti-racist bodies and political parties in the proposed Race Relations Commission.

. . . Local Community Relations Councils should be financed by statutory government and local authority grants, but this financial backing should not be allowed to weaken the democratic functioning of these bodies.

The local councils should certainly take an interest in the CRCs and participate in their work, but not have a decisive controlling voice.

Pressure on the government to strengthen the Race Relations Act beyond what is envisaged in the white paper is essential. While the law can be a useful weapon in the struggle against racism, it will not of itself be decisive.

The whole labor and trade union movement must use its full resources and power to challenge racism.

Despite the weaknesses in the white paper, fascist and right-wing bodies have already started their attacks against its modest proposals.

The Communist Party appeals to the entire labor and democratic movement to resist this campaign, alongside working for radical changes in the white paper proposals so that they really end discrimination and outlaw racial incitement.

The racist 1971 Immigration Act should be repealed, and the racist activities of the National Front and of other fascist organizations should be banned.

Morning Star, September 18.
(Abridged)

number 19, 1975 33

JORDANIAN COMMUNIST PARTY CHANGES NAME OF ITS WEST BANK BRANCH

Proceeding from the interests of the Palestinian workers and other working people on the west bank of the Jordan River, of the present-day and future just struggle of the Palestinian Arabs to ensure their legitimate national rights, the right to self-determination and to form an independent national state on the Palestinian land to be liberated from the Israeli aggressors, in the light of the developing struggle of the Arab people of Palestine and their important political gains such as the decision of the seventh Arab summit in Rabat and the resolution adopted by the 29th session of the UN General Assembly in 1974, and in the light of the support the Palestinian Arabs have always received from the forces of peace, national liberation and world socialism with the Soviet Union in their vanguard,

having consulted with a number of fraternal Communist parties, the Central Committee of the Jordanian Communist Party has decided:

“The section of the Jordanian Communist Party on the west bank of the Jordan River shall be renamed ‘Communist Palestinian Organization on the west bank of the Jordan River’.”

The Central Committee announces that an enlarged meeting recently convened by Party activists on the west bank accepted the new name. It holds that the change is in keeping with the achievements of the Arab people of Palestine and serves the interests of the joint struggle of the two fraternal peoples, Jordanian and Palestinian, against the imperialist-Zionist alliance. It was made with an eye to the future of the Arab people of Palestine and their struggle motivated by the just desire to set up an independent national state.

Central Committee, Jordanian Communist Party
End of July 1975.



FIGHT AGAINST THE POLICIES OF THE CHINESE LEADERSHIP, WHICH HAS BETRAYED THE PRINCIPLES OF PROLETARIAN INTERNATIONALISM

*Statement of the Political Bureau,
Communist Party of Venezuela*

The Fifth Congress of the Communist Party of Venezuela (November 1974) showed up the disastrous nature of the Chinese rulers' activity against the world communist unity. It called attention to the damage they cause to the international working-class and progressive movements, and forewarned against underrating this reality.

At present, 10 months after this exposure by the Party's highest authority, the Mao group is operating against the world communist movement and socialist countries even more barefacedly and provocatively. Evidence of this is the following incomplete list of facts:

— China's present rulers estrange the country from the socialist community and endanger world peace by their militarist plans and war preparations as an official policy, as well as by spending over 40 per cent of the budget for military purposes.

— China has reduced its trade with socialist countries to 13 per cent. Trade with capitalist countries increased to 67 per cent in 1974, seriously injuring the national economy as a result.

— The Chinese leaders' activity is directed against the unity of Communist parties, against socialist countries and other progressive and peace-loving forces, against the international working-class and national-liberation movements engaged in an offensive against imperialism.

— The Maoist leadership collaborates with reactionary forces all over the world and refuses to seek mutual understanding with socialist countries and Communist and Workers' parties. This is a perfectly obvious, indisputable and instructive contradiction.

— In Chile the Maoists oppose Popular Unity forces and ally themselves with Pinochet's fascists.

— In Europe they come out against the Warsaw Treaty and for NATO, against the socialist Council for Mutual Economic Assistance

and for the Common Market, this instrument of imperialism, against the German Democratic Republic and for the Federal Republic of Germany.

—In Japan they operate against the Communist Party, ally themselves with the ruling clique and stimulate revanchism against the Soviet Union.

— In India and Bangladesh the Maoist leadership backs the most reactionary forces and tries to undermine the internal situation, thereby operating against two developing states of key importance.

— In Angola it supports the ultra-rightist FNLA (National Liberation Front of Angola) by sending instructors and rendering material and technical aid to this front, which is also backed by Mobutu. It is this front that has started a civil war against the MPLA (Popular Liberation Movement of Angola), which has for years been fighting for national independence.

— The Mao group was against the Middle East ceasefire whereas it was perfectly clear that the Arab countries needed the truce, approved by the UN.

— The Maoists have always opposed a united front of socialist countries to resist U.S. aggression in Vietnam, a resistance which could have helped to save more lives and spare the peoples of Indochina much suffering.

— China's leaders declare for the continued presence of U.S. troops in South Korea as a "counterweight" and a "defensive" force against the alleged Soviet threat in Asia.

— China's leaders exert very strong pressure on the Mongolian People's Republic and nurture expansionist plans with regard to it.

— Whenever a mass movement is invited to send a delegation to China the Maoist leadership refuses visas to worker Communists, women Communists and young Communists.

— In Africa it flirts with the racist governments of the South African Republic and Rhodesia. This angers the African peoples, who refuse to understand this shameless practice of China's rulers.

— For years now the Maoists have been carrying on subversion against the Communist and Workers' parties of many countries. They now join in election campaigns in capitalist countries but their action is directed solely against candidates enjoying Communist support.

The Maoists try to cancel all of China's commitments to socialist states and to unite "third world" nations, Britain, France, Japan, the Federal Republic of Germany and other capitalist countries under the leadership of the "great helmsman" so as to oppose them to the two

"superpowers." This ridiculous scheme, while doomed to failure, injures national-liberation movements by misleading groups that are not conscious enough politically, and helps the imperialists to whitewash their crimes against peoples. The Maoists would like everyone to forget about the one solely responsible for the suffering of the peoples held down by colonialism now or in the past. They slanderously make out the Soviet Union to be an "enemy" as dangerous as, or even more dangerous than, the United States and try to estrange developing countries from their loyal ally, the Communist Party founded by Lenin, and to draw them into an anti-communist front which they expect to form under the leadership of the Chinese government. The working class and the peoples should know about these wild hegemonist plans and combat them.

— The Maoists cause damage to Communist and Workers' parties and the revolutionary movement by their divisive stratagems, which expose them as potential allies and collaborators of imperialism.

— The imperialists and other reactionaries use the Chinese leaders' divisive activity in their own interests. They take advantage, for instance, of the Chinese leaders' contention that if the U.S. withdrew its troops from Europe the "Soviet Union would dominate the whole continent." They also seek a revision of the results of World War II already formalized in international treaties.

— The Chinese leaders declared against the détente achieved at the Helsinki Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe. They repeat slanderous inventions of reactionaries to the effect that the Conference benefited none but the socialist countries of Europe.

— China's leaders reject the idea of collective security in Asia, as well as peace with India.

— Maoism, which uses "leftist" phraseology, has become an aggressive variety of anti-communism.

— The neutrality between Marxism-Leninism and Maoism predicted by the Maoists is a counter-revolutionary trap.

— The imperialists make no secret of their delight over the fact that they have succeeded in opening an important second front against the Soviet Union on the part of China. But the peace policy of the socialist community and the vigilance of the peoples will help to defeat the wild anti-Soviet and anti-communist plans of the Maoist leaders.

— Even though the Chinese leaders' betrayal of the interests of the world progressive forces is likely to continue for a time, the working

class and people of China will eventually defeat them completely and for ever. The Leninist truth will triumph in China as well.

— Our Party is not prejudiced against the revolutionaries of other countries, nor can it be. But the outrages and attacks of Mao and his group against the world communist movement have gone too far to be tolerated and passed over in silence. In August 1975, for example, the Chinese government did not allow Soviet war veterans who took part in liberating China to visit the memorials erected to their comrades-in-arms who fell fighting the Japanese invaders.

These and other facts notwithstanding, we Communists trust in the revolutionary potential of China's working people. We are convinced that sooner or later the Chinese working people will see to it that their great country finds itself once again in the community of socialist countries and that the Communist Party of China again makes common cause with brother parties, which are leading mankind to a peaceful and happy future in line with Marxist-Leninist theory.

The Political Bureau of the Communist Party of Venezuela calls in this connection for analysis and study — both in Party branches and individually — of the grave international situation created by the Chinese leaders' betrayal of the principles of proletarian internationalism and by their actions against the cause of world peace. We call for safeguarding Marxism-Leninism and strengthening Party branches with the aid of Leninist ideology. Let us fight in common, comrades, to overcome difficulties through fruitful creative effort.

Political Bureau, Communist Party of Venezuela
Caracas, September 3, 1975.



TWENTY-FIRST CONVENTION OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY USA

We print below the first, second and seventh sections of Gus Hall's report to the 21st Convention.

FROM GUS HALL'S REPORT TO THE 21ST PARTY CONVENTION

1. ECONOMIC CRISIS

The people of our rich and productive land face many problems. But clearly the problem that has emerged as the key link in the chain of life is the economic one.

The most critical problem is the devastating effect of the economic crisis. As a result there is a serious deterioration in the quality of life. Square meals are spaced out. Medical and dental care are postponed. Enrollment in a college is cancelled. There is a sense of insecurity, shock, fear and frustration. But the overriding mood is anger and a rising militancy to strike back.

The crisis is adding new notches to the belt of hunger and malnutrition. Living in poverty is a way of life for 37 million people. Millions of the employed have become partly-employed and partly-paid. More of the employed become the unemployed. The lines of those unemployed, who have lived beyond their government designated life span on unemployment insurance have become nonexistent. When they receive their last check their names are simply removed from all of the lists: They are not counted as unemployed and they are not recognized as being part of the labor force either. Following the racist patterns of the last-to-be-hired and first-to-be-fired, the same racist patterns continue among the unemployed who are expunged from all lists and records. They are not even counted in the 10-15 per cent unemployed.

The U.S. is the only major capitalist country in the world that places a cutoff date on how long an unemployed worker can live!

This crisis has branded the youth as a surplus generation. Most of the young people in the ghettos never reach the status of being employed or unemployed. They are condemned to joblessness before they reach the age of employment. Like a hurricane, the crisis is cutting the sharpest path of devastation across the ghettos and barrios of our land. The eye of the economic hurricane is brutally racist.

More of the elderly are dying from malnutrition and lack of medical care than from old age. Under capitalism these are called "natural causes." Not only are the elderly forced to eat dog food, but in New York the rich pay more per day for the upkeep of their dogs in the kennels than the state or city governments spend on the care of the mentally ill or the people on welfare. Over 50 per cent of the elderly live below the poverty level.

The crisis is wiping out the bridgeheads of equality won by working-class women. During each depression, and after each war, capitalism reverts back to holding women as a pool of reserve labor.

The crisis is adding a new dimension to the crisis of the cities. The urban centers are falling apart. Cities have been in crisis conditions for some time. But now many of them are teetering on the brink of bankruptcy. Like New York City, many are living on borrowed time and borrowed finances. The big cities are becoming the decaying slums of the nation, the centers of repression, malnutrition, and corruption.

History does not repeat itself. But big business demagoguery does. In the 1930s prosperity was "just around the corner" for many years. Now corporate propagandists want the people to get involved in the game of "is the crisis bottoming out?" We are not going to get into the charades of whether it is bottoming out or not. Such demagoguery is for the purpose of directing the attention of the people away from the real problems and away from the struggle.

Our task is to organize mass movements and struggles. The cardinal question for us is not when the crisis will bottom out, but how to develop struggles against the effects of the crisis; how to develop the struggle for jobs on the basis of first priority; how to stop the deterioration of the standard of living; how to make the rich, the banks, and the corporations pay for the crisis they have created, and how to force the government to change priorities.

For the banks and the corporations the crisis has bottomed out at a very high level of profit. For the people there is no bottoming out, only a deterioration in the quality of life. Big business would like to

get the people to debate when the crisis is "going to bottom out" while their bottoms are still out.

Our Convention must deal with this most central of all questions, seriously and concretely. We must declare loudly and clearly that not 10 per cent, not five per cent, not three per cent, not even one per cent unemployment is acceptable.

The basis for our approach is simple. An economic system that cannot provide the basic and elementary requirements of a job for all who want to work should itself be bottomed out of existence.

Speaking to a Chamber of Commerce dinner in Detroit a few days ago, the General Motors chairman, who makes a million dollars a year in salary and bonuses alone, said: "No thinking person would abandon the most successful system the world has ever seen until he has a reasonable guarantee that what is promised will be as good."

Well, Mr. Murphy, we are thinking people and we give not only a reasonable guarantee, but an absolute, ironclad, your-money-back-guarantee that the socialist alternative is not only as good but infinitely better than capitalism.

There is a strange silence from the ranks of the economic pundits of capitalism. Only yesterday they pompously pontificated on how capitalism, and especially U.S. capitalism, had overcome the problem of economic crises because it was a "neo-capitalism" that was "transformed," "reformed," and is now a "planned," "organized" system without class antagonism, without unemployment or poverty.

There are serious problems flowing from this crisis. And there are also critical new, longer range economic problems that are the products of a deeper deterioration of the foundations of capitalism. There are busy termites in the structural woodwork of capitalism which we will discuss later.

2. THE HISTORIC MOMENT

Each day adds its own evidence that, in point of time, this is the most explosive moment in the history of organized society. It is a moment when the cumulative processes of quantitative evolutionary change have been replaced by a revolutionary qualitative transformation. In a sense the world is being reborn. Human society is in the process of being basically restructured. The old system in decay, with all of its anti-human values, is now being rejected by a majority of the world's people. Open defenders of capitalism are fast becoming an extinct species.

Socialism is the new power base of human progress, the new

political, economic and ideological magnet. It daily demonstrates the superiority of a system, structured and motivated for the sole purpose of serving all of the people, a society that legislates against and frowns on private profit as a goal in life. This magnificent transformation is both quantitative and qualitative. It is evolutionary and revolutionary. On the scales of history, the direction and the process are irreversible. For anyone tuned in, it is very clear that the rhythm of the struggle for social progress is progressive and upbeat. And for us, of the greatest significance is the fact that we are at a point in time when all of the forces and factors propelling this transition are reaching new levels and new stages of development. We are also at a point in time when all of these processes have shifted to higher gears. There is a new tempo, a new explosiveness to all social, economic, and political processes. That which was a trend yesterday is today's reality.

To keep up with the times is to recognize the new stage and the new tempo of this historic transition. Not to recognize or not to understand this element of today's reality is to be out of step — is to tail events.

The main contradiction of this epoch — the epoch of the most fundamental turning point in history — is between socialism and capitalism. The lines for this confrontation were drawn, and the gauntlet was thrown down, with the birth of the first socialist state, the Soviet Union. During the epoch, the confrontation between these two systems has been the main factor in shaping world history. From the moment the Putilov factory workers scaled the walls of the decaying Czarist empire, for world imperialism, the guiding principle for its policies and actions, has been the political, ideological and physical destruction of socialism. This has always superceded all other desires of imperialism.

At every turn of events, imperialism has returned to the preparations and implementation of this principal class objective. This has significance because today there is a new reality. Today the main cardinal factor determining the direction of human events is the qualitative shift in the balance between these two opposite forces of this epoch — the challenger has become the champion and the comeback trail for aging imperialism is largely closed.

As the balance has shifted, it has increasingly become more difficult for imperialism to implement its policies, based on the destruction of socialism. That, which from its class viewpoint remains desirable, has become increasingly impractical and impossible.

The tides of history are now with socialism. The essence of im-

perialist initiatives is aggression. As imperialism has lost its dominating influence, the options for its initiatives continue to narrow down. It is in a position where it is forced to react to events. In most parts of the world imperialism is frustrated and on the defensive. And in most parts of the world it is the forces of progress that are on the offensive.

This correct understanding of the nature of the relationship of forces should of course not lead anyone to complacency. Imperialism retreats, it maneuvers, but it does not give up.

There are some imperialist "crazies" who would rather see the world destroyed than to see the final defeat of capitalism.

In its post-Vietnam editorial, the *Wall Street Journal* said it again: "The main threat remains the trust of the Soviet Union." The designs and desires of imperialism remain. Therefore, it continues as a source of danger.

Wherever imperialism finds a weakness, it penetrates. Therefore, vigilance is necessary. When imperialism is blocked in one form, it seeks out new forms. Therefore, anti-imperialism must be ready to shift to the new fields of battle.

But all of these activities take place in the context that imperialism cannot now force its will. It cannot now force its policies on the world. That fact is the cardinal question, when we consider the point of time, the time of day in the epoch of history's greatest turning point.

7. THE PARTY

Since the last Convention, our Party has come a long way — in fact a hell of a long way.

Who can seriously challenge the fact that we are now the most viable, most influential, the fastest growing, the best organized, the most youthful, the liveliest, perkier, and most united force on the left bank of U.S. politics. We have left the doubters and the sceptics, the left political sidewalk superintendents, the corporate ideologues and the soothsayers in the liberal camp somewhat baffled and confused. They are bewildered because we are the one organization only a few years ago some predicted would die, would wither on the political vine. Their predictions were that the Party would wither away because it was irrelevant, old; it had lost its revolutionary character mainly because it stuck to its positions of internationalism; because it continued with the old bag of classes and class struggle; because it did not join U.S. imperialism and its CIA-Voice of America anti-Soviet slander; and because it would not opportunistically set aside the

struggle against racism. They are baffled because most of the organizations they predicted would replace the Communist Party are now in shambles, and the one organization they predicted would die is now the most revelant, viable and growing organization on the left.

For some, such predictions were calculated slander. For others, it was just simply miscalculation. The ones who miscalculated did not understand the laws of capitalist development, the basic nature of the class struggle, the role of classes, and our relationship to such developments. They did not understand the unique nature of our Party, they did not have the benefit of a revolutionary science, they did not understand that the Communist Party is not just another organization on the left — that Marxism-Leninism is not just another body of thought. It is a basic revolutionary science.

The Communist Party is relevant because it refuses to be swayed by opportunistic pressures, because it refuses to follow will-o'-the-wisp, subjective fantasies. It is the Party with working-class principles. It doesn't compromise to the ruling class, and not to the publicity agents or media of that class. It has a working-class loyalty and is in the class struggle. Communists don't seek an easy, cheap buck from the book publishers. The Communist Party is unique.

We are here because we have our feet planted firmly in the soil of U.S. class realities. I really don't want to sound too boastful. It's just that the truth sometimes does sound that way.

And of course we do have weaknesses and shortcomings.

The basic class contradiction based on the capitalist law of private appropriation of the socially produced products continues to give rise to new problems which, in turn, propels new movements and new struggles. In all this, spontaneity to one extent or another may be a temporary factor. But in a basic sense, the potential of that which surfaces with the mass upsurge can be realized only by a conscious effort of organization and leadership.

Thus, capitalist relationships and the class struggle as a continuous process present situations that call for initiatives and leadership. With such initiatives vacuums develop — vacuums looking for initiatives and leadership. The political force that moves into such vacuums becomes the leading force. One of the reasons our Party has gained influence since our last Convention is that we have taken the initiatives, often together with others, in many areas where life has presented vacuums. This is true where we have been instrumental in organizing rank and file groups. The sharpening class contradiction

and the class collaborationist leadership create vacuums and opportunities.

This is true regarding TUAD. It is the case with the organization of the National Alliance Against Racist and Political Repression. The latest examples of this initiative and moving into a vacuum is the movement which has resulted in the National Coalition to Fight Inflation and Unemployment. This is also true with the work of the National Anti-Imperialist Movement in Solidarity with African Liberation. Our Party's initiative plays an important role in the movement against the junta in Chile, in the struggle against the military budget and in many other areas. These are significant initiatives and examples of leadership.

However, I am sure you will not be surprised when I say that in spite of these examples we cannot be satisfied. We cannot be satisfied for many reasons. First, because life presents the vacuums as a continuous process. Therefore, we cannot rest on the laurels of our past initiatives. Second, because we do not always follow through (as they say in golf lingo). Third, because we do not always give the same attention in building the grass roots base for these movements. Fourth, because we have missed the bus in many cases.

For example, we have talked a lot about the economic questions. We all agree the problems facing the people are urgent and serious. Based on that sound judgment we took important initiatives in organizing movements against the effects of the economic crisis. These initiatives were instrumental, directly and indirectly, in creating the movements that brought to the March on Washington the 75,000 trade unionists on April 26th. But in spite of all this, many states and cities do not have meaningful coalitions around these economic issues, we have very few examples of neighborhood coalitions or state-wide coalitions. This is true even in the areas where the devastation has been the most severe. Thus, on the economic front these are areas where there is a vacuum, a need for leadership.

Important coalitions have been developed in certain election campaigns, and especially in those of a more local area — including the campaigns of Mark Allen, Alva Buxenbaum and Amadeo Richardson, as well as in New Haven, Boston and in a number of cities. Yet, even in this field we do not have coalitions on a state scale, although in past years, we had such coalitions on specific issues for a temporary period, such as on taxes in Ohio.

We can learn from all these experiences, and take many bold initiatives to meet today's crisis problems. We can also draw some lessons from the willingness of people to join in broad sponsoring

committees, especially on the issues of inflation and unemployment — and the November 16th action in 40 cities was an important coalition development.

Any Party organization — be it on a club, city, state or national level — that is not involved, does not take the initiative and provide leadership in building forms, coalitions, alliances, forms of organization, or does not take initiatives to concretely take up the economic problems facing the people, is not fulfilling its vanguard role, and will remain isolated and live in a sectarian shell.

It is in this same sense, and in the context of filling vacuums, that we must see the indispensable role of the Young Workers Liberation League (YWLL). In many ways it is filling the vacuum in the youth field. As odd as it may seem, I'm afraid that many in our Party are not aware of the growth and influence of the YWLL.

I don't remember when I was more inspired, felt a greater sense of pride or a deeper sense of confidence as I experienced at the last national YWLL Convention which was attended by 750 young delegates and invited guests.

The prospect of "jobless generations" and the accompanying accelerating development of mass radicalization of the youth make both necessary and possible the rapid growth of a mass YWLL. Such a development of the YWLL meets the needs of the youth, the working class and the Party.

The YWLL has proven its ability to unite broad sections of youth — young workers, racially oppressed youth and high school and college youth, in struggle for their needs in connection with the building of Youth United for Jobs (YUJ) groups in 14 cities.

The youth contingents of the National Coalition to Fight Inflation and Unemployment at the April 26th March on Washington and the contingent in the April 4th march against racism were very impressive. The YWLL works to build a youth front of this generation to fight for the "right to earn, learn and live." It provides the youth movement with a working-class hinge. It is now moving sizable numbers of youth, and can move many more who are searching for radical answers — who are looking toward Marxism-Leninism and socialism and, therefore toward the Communist Party.

We need to step up our efforts to assist the YWLL to realize its potential in the current situation. This means helping to move the labor movement and all other people's forces to support the special demands of youth for summer jobs and jobs in general. Adult working

people are deeply concerned that their children will be provided a real opportunity to "earn, learn and live."

This means we must assist the League in developing its own youthful and flexible style of work and a stronger orientation toward the more youthful sections of the young generation. This means we must assist the League in their educational work and in the crucial development of cadre for League work.

We must face the hard fact that we cannot fulfill the leadership vacuum in the youth arena without a strong YWLL.

There are many other areas in which we are not satisfactorily filling the leadership vacuum.

There are some very important stirrings in the field of culture. There is a rising mood of struggle and an important sector of the cultural movement is developing a militancy and a close kinship with the mass movements in the country — including the struggle against imperialism and racism. This cultural upsurge is also developing a close relationship with the working class movement.

We have taken some steps in the field of culture, including the national Party conference and the continuing publication of a very fine, popular newsletter that has turned into an excellent cultural magazine. And there is some very good work being done by some art and cultural projects, including the movement here in Chicago around the painting of outdoor mass murals, in addition to other activities. But we are not measuring up to the tasks or the upsurge. Leadership attention to the cultural field is an absolute necessity. It is an indispensable ingredient of the mass struggles, of the anti-monopoly, anti-racist democratic movements. The cultural movement is a most important contingent in the struggle for socialism. We must take steps to fill this vacuum of leadership in this field.

The same is true in the area of farm work. The Draft Political Resolution, with many of its weaknesses, is in our opinion, a beginning in filling the leadership vacuum in this field. But to continue this work we must set up a structure, both within the Party and for mass work, in the farm communities. We must not only reject ideas that there are no farmers who can be won over to struggle, but begin serious work with farms. There are many examples of struggles of the farmers. The monopolies are as much an enemy of the small and middle farmers as they are of the industrial workers.

There is a vacuum in our work in such fields as public education. This is largely left to some comrades who are teachers or who work in

this field. It is an important area in which the Party as a whole must find ways of giving leadership.

Mass Education. We have generally improved our work in mass education. But in spite of this the vacuum, or the gap, is growing. We are not keeping up with the potential that this moment presents.

The present crisis affords an excellent opportunity for raising the level of class consciousness of the workers. Though political struggle is the major road to class consciousness, it is not separate from simultaneous propaganda and agitation. We cannot say that education is our strong point from the standpoint of the masses.

Ideas are a mobilizing force. And Communist ideas, both fundamental and immediate, are indispensable for elevating the struggle in the country.

During this last year we have greatly increased the circulation of the *Daily World* and *People's World*. But they are not yet instruments of mass education, agitation and propaganda. To fill the vacuum, their circulation should reach into the hundreds of thousands. That is a new concept, in keeping with the mass upsurge in the thinking of millions who want to know why the millions of Italians in the recent elections voted for the Communist Party, and together with the Socialist Party, they are at the top.

To fill the vacuum in mass education we need popular mass pamphlets on such burning questions as the economic crisis.

To close the gap we must put an end to sectarian concepts of the role of the science of Marxism-Leninism. Too often mass pamphlets are viewed as inner-Party property, something we use internally to analyze objective events. We underestimate the desire of the masses for such literature. Such a concept is not in step with the level of today's mass movements. Often when we write about Marxism-Leninism, the language and style of the material is obviously meant only for ourselves. It is written in a very special inner-Party language. Let us open this great body of thought to workers, to masses generally. When we do not present this great science to the people, the phonies step into the vacuum with their dogmatic, distorted, sectarian concepts.

We need to have popular pamphlets on basic features of Marxism-Leninism. We should open up and initiate public mass dialogues. More schools and seminars, open to all who want to study this great science can help meet the desire of workers for this basic knowledge.

The press must have popular features on Marxism-Leninism.

Marxism-Leninism is a mass ideology and should be regularly featured in the mass media. A fight to establish departments of Marxism-Leninism in colleges is in order, following the example of the University of Minnesota. As an additional example, this is the third year that the New School for Social Research in New York City has been giving a three-credit undergraduate course in the "Fundamentals of Marxism" by an active Marxist, who was Chairman of the Economics and Politics Department of the Jefferson School of Social Science. And the New School bulletin notes this fact, as well as his political activism in Cuba work and civil liberties.

Political Affairs should become a much more popular organ, packaging the ideas of the science of Marxism-Leninism in a manner that will excite and educate broad sectors of the people.

Routinism is a drag in all fields of work. But in the field of mass education, mass agitation and propaganda it is a most deadly weakness. To be in a rut is to be nowhere.

We have greatly improved our work in the area of ideology. Our Party is not only politically united. We have oneness ideologically. To reach this level, along the way we had to reject the revisionist idea that it is not necessary for the Party to fight for oneness in ideology. But we need to continue being on top of these ideological challenges. We need a continuing struggle for ideas, approaches, for styles of work which are associated with the working class. We need to develop working class characteristics in our leadership cadre. This means a struggle against all of the petty-bourgeois baggage of individualism, elitism, immodesty, the lack of ability to work collectively, low moral and ethical standards of behavior — which all adds to bureaucratic attitudes and methods of work.

A revolutionary working-class party must have a leading cadre that represents and reflects the best of our class.

We have made important headway against the seepage of racism and white chauvinism into our Party's ranks. But we cannot afford to be complacent for many reasons.

There are the dialectical two sides: new opportunities in the struggle against racism, as well as the continuing efforts by the ruling class to inject this poison into the lifestream of our society. As the crisis contradictions sharpen, the racist pressures increase. And the same sharpening of the contradictions gives rise to struggles that become a pressure for greater unity, which in turn helps to create the objective conditions in which the fight against the racist pressures can be more successful.

To meet this situation it is necessary for the Party to raise to new levels its role among the white sections of the working class and other white masses, to win them to struggle against the oppression and discrimination against Black and other nationally oppressed peoples, and against the influence of ruling class racism. This is a condition, a necessary feature in a successful struggle against reaction in general, which includes their own best self-interests. And connected with our ability to do this, and for the Party to be able to exert leadership by example among the masses, it must raise sharply the level of understanding internally, and the struggle against all manifestations of white chauvinism in its own ranks.

The primary test of whether we are making real progress should be the initiative of white Communists among white masses on today's decisive front with respect to racism, jobs and the economic crisis. This means setting concrete goals, with checkup and control, in placing demands and winning over white masses to support them for: special jobs creation programs for the victims of racism; the fight to modify seniority to break the last-to-be-hired, first-to-be-fired pattern, etc. It means rejecting the liberal and Social Democratic pressures to place the demand for full employment in such a way that it becomes an excuse for not fighting for the special demands of Black workers.

Since the ruling class is making the fight against busing their main front to divide and divert white working masses, this calls for new initiatives by our white comrades among white masses as a concrete test of our progress, setting tasks with specific checkup and control.

Our internal educational work, running from the basics on racism and the national question to the typical forms of the expression of white chauvinism in our ranks, must be raised to a new level.

To tolerate manifestations of white chauvinism, to have a liberal attitude toward acts of chauvinism, is to increase the seepage of the poison. The task is not only to put an end to the manifestations, but to burn out the ideological influence of white chauvinism that brought on the manifestations in the first place.

Zionism, as a bourgeois ideological current, continues to surface as a more serious problem. It is a very active, reactionary force working on all levels of our society. In the past years it has been increasingly able to misuse sentiments that stem from the experience of anti-Semitism, and the support and pride that Jewish masses feel for Israel as a country. Zionism utilizing these mass currents.

Because of the events in the Mideast and the Soviet Union's strong

anti-imperialist stand, the Zionist propaganda is extremely and viciously anti-Soviet.

This problem has been further complicated in the left ranks of the Jewish community by the capitulation and opportunistic accommodation to all these Zionist and reactionary nationalist currents by the editors of the *Morning Freiheit*.

Our comrades in the field of Jewish work are doing some very good work. They are beginning to fill the vacuum in this area, including the publication of *Jewish Affairs*. We must continue the struggle against these reactionary and opportunistic currents.

But while doing so we must guard against some weaknesses, weaknesses that appear from a one-sidedness. We are against the ideology and the policies of Zionism including their definition of anti-Semitism. But we are the most consistent fighters against anti-Semitism. We are against the policies of aggression pursued by the Zionist leaders of Israel. But we have, in the most consistent and principled manner, supported Israel's right to live in peace within the established 1967 borders. When we take issue with the reactionary currents (and we need to strengthen our ideological struggle against Zionism and expose the Zionist danger to peace and to the people of Israel), we must make absolutely sure no one can inadvertently or deliberately misinterpret our positions as giving support to anti-Semitism. This is in line with our Party's principled stand against racism, great power chauvinism and anti-Semitism.

One of the new questions with an ideological backdrop is the question of "planning under capitalism." Sections of monopoly capital, some leaders of trade unions, and young liberals have picked on this as the new panacea. It has especially attracted labor leaders who are looking for a way to differentiate themselves from Meany.

They call for long-term "planning" of monopoly capitalism — they say the cause of all the trouble is "lack of information." They ignore the question of who is going to benefit from such planning. Monopoly capital is not against planning if they are the beneficiaries. They do not want to change any of the present relationships. They do not call for nationalization or for workers' control, or for higher wages, tax cuts, or to control inflation, or to eliminate the racist patterns in industry.

The motivating thought of this "planning" is class collaboration. It is an attempt to overcome some of the rough spots of state-monopoly capitalism.

These five-year plans are not in any way related to socialist planning.

We are for planning where it helps the working class gain employment, reduce prices, democratize the work place, have a say in what is produced, how fast, and under what conditions. We are *not* for planning which protects and encourages corporate profits. We want planning which involves nationalization, under the most democratic control possible, not for planning which helps private companies win greater and more consistent profits.

We must say quite frankly that lack of "information" is *not* the main problem causing poor performance of the capitalist economy. Therefore, planning mechanisms which rely on "information" as the persuader will fail.

One of the questions that invariably comes up in every press conference or public appearance is: what are your Party's relations with the world communist movement? In most cases this is still the shadow of the old slander of whether we are a foreign dominated party. We have not yet fully dispersed the fog of anti-communism. Usually my answer is that our relations with the other Parties are very good. They are comradely and friendly. We are for ever closer, fraternal, comradely relations.

As a matter of fact we are very much in favor of another world meeting of Communist Parties as soon as possible. We believe the new stage of developments in the world should get the collective attention of the world communist movement. In the relationship with the world communist movement we contribute to and we learn from such exchanges and experiences.

We are not just another political party. We represent the working class, the leading and the only revolutionary class in this period of history. As a revolutionary party we have unique tasks. Our theories, our politics, our tactics, the structure of our Party and our discipline are all geared to fulfilling that historic task.

We are also unique in the way we view ourselves. We do not cover up. We do not overlook our own weaknesses. Criticism and self-criticism are integral features of being a Communist. They are methods of political and ideological growth and development. They are ways of nipping a shortcoming in the bud, before it starts to fester, before it becomes a major problem.

We are unique in that we speak of our weaknesses publicly. People should be told the truth, Lenin said, and generally they will draw the right conclusions: "If . . . we are not afraid to speak the sad and bitter

truth straight out we shall learn, we shall unfailingly and certainly learn to overcome all our difficulties" (Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 33, p. 98).

We must continue to develop this Leninist act of criticism and self-criticism. In a sense it is also a vacuum that must be filled.

But as with all phenomena, the single is related to and a part of the whole. Therefore, in a voluntary organization like our Party, with every right there is a corresponding responsibility. So Lenin added: "Every one is free to write and say whatever he likes without any restrictions. But every voluntary association (including a party) is also free to expel members who use the name of the party to advocate anti-party views" (*Ibid.*, Vol. 10, p. 47).

From some of the new revelations about the FBI we have learned something which we have really always known — that the enemy agent also uses the right of criticism in the Party. They use the right to slander and disrupt and to keep the Party involved in a constant condition of internal wrangling. This of course puts an additional responsibility on Communists. How to be critical, but not disruptive; how to examine things critically, but not create a platform for the enemy agent; how to open up weaknesses for discussion, but not open the doors to the enemy agent. This is a responsibility all Communists must accept.

The right of criticism must be placed within the democratic structure that once a majority has come to conclusions the minority must abide by such decisions. All this has to be considered within the context that we are all responsible for the unity and for the fighting *esprit de corps* of our Party. Unity and a spirited atmosphere are necessary conditions for building the Party.

Party Building. As was said before, we have come a hell of a long way. But we must complete that thought. We must add a qualifying phrase — that we have come a hell of a long way but not far enough and not nearly as far as we could have.

The Draft Main Political Resolution has a section on why we have not gone far enough in building the Party. What is bothersome is that in the very excellent and extensive pre-Convention discussions we have had on the Draft Resolution the part of the Resolution on the building of the Party did not receive much attention.

The 200-some new members whom we have recruited as a feature of the Convention preparations are proof of the fact that we are right about the possibilities of Party building. The increase in the circulation of the press is evidence of the growing range of the Party's

influence. But I think it is an absolute necessity that we now give Party building a new status on the list of our political and organizational priorities. We must now raise it from the status of being very important to the status of being *the most important*.

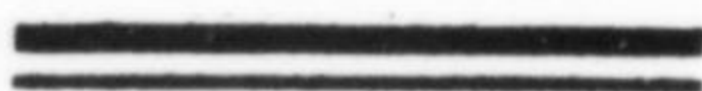
This must become the priority at all levels of the Party. We must take the question of Party building out of the secondary, the follow-up slot, and place it where it belongs — as a simultaneous and continuing prerequisite to successfully fulfilling our mass tasks, as a contribution to strengthening the mass people's struggles.

Without a bigger Party there is a built-in weakness, a built-in limitation within all mass movements. It is a hard fact of political reality — the potential of any mass movement cannot reach full fruition without the unique input of the Communist Party. Without this input, movements will flounder in the fog of reformist illusions, they will fly away, without aim or targets.

I spoke about the art of self-criticism. In that spirit I think we have to say that which very often goes unmentioned. And that is that there is something fundamentally politically and ideologically wrong with a Communist who is active, who relates to mass work, but who does not recruit members to our Party. It is a good place to start developing the art of criticism and self-criticism.

If we agree that our analysis of the moment and the accompanying mass upsurge is correct, then it seems to me we have to put our own house in order. We have to think in terms of political breakthroughs. We have to organize the work of the Party in terms of a qualitative turning point. The concepts of what mass work is in this period, the concept of what is possible and necessary in order to get our literature and press to the people, of what is possible in terms of Party building, must be brought into step with the historic potential of this moment — this turning point in history. This is the central challenge facing our Party and this 21st National Convention.

The events, the trends, the currents of history are not saying — take it easy, everything is coming up roses anyway. Their message is clear. You are now swimming with the tides of history. It is much easier, but you still have to swim and, at times, against strong counter-currents.



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