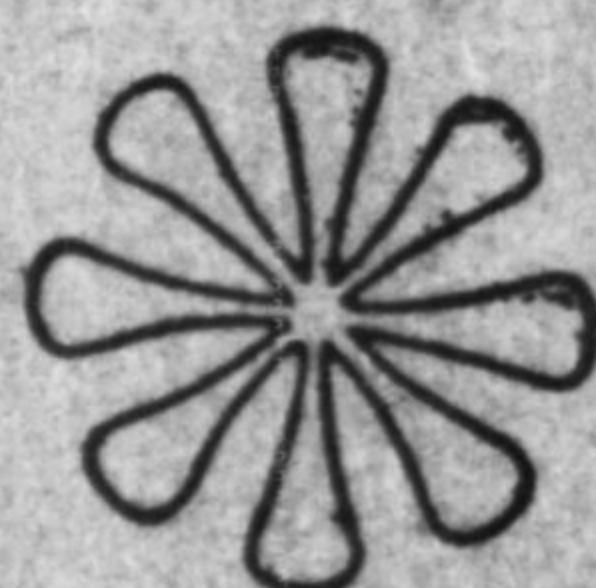


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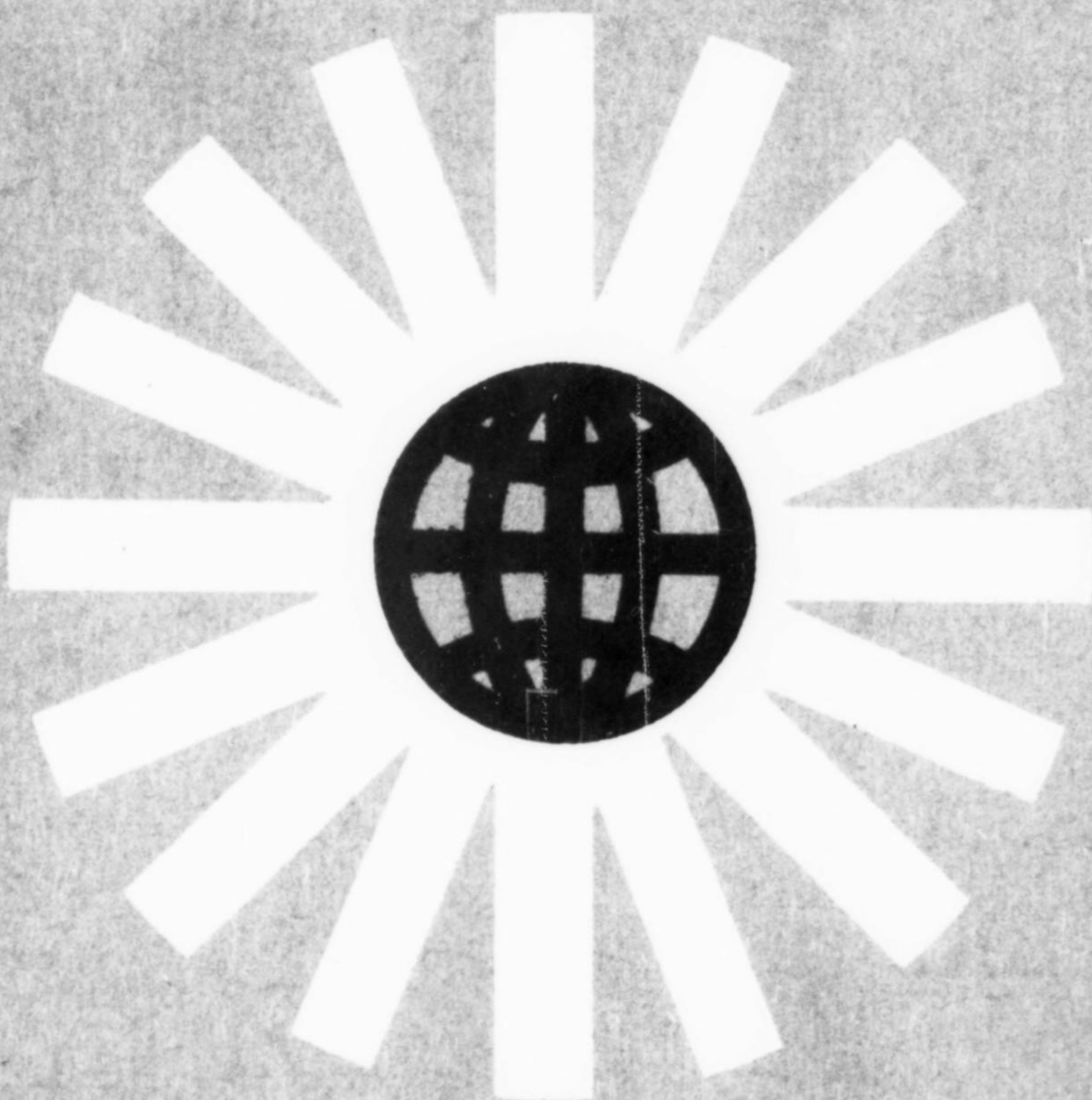
**USSR-USA
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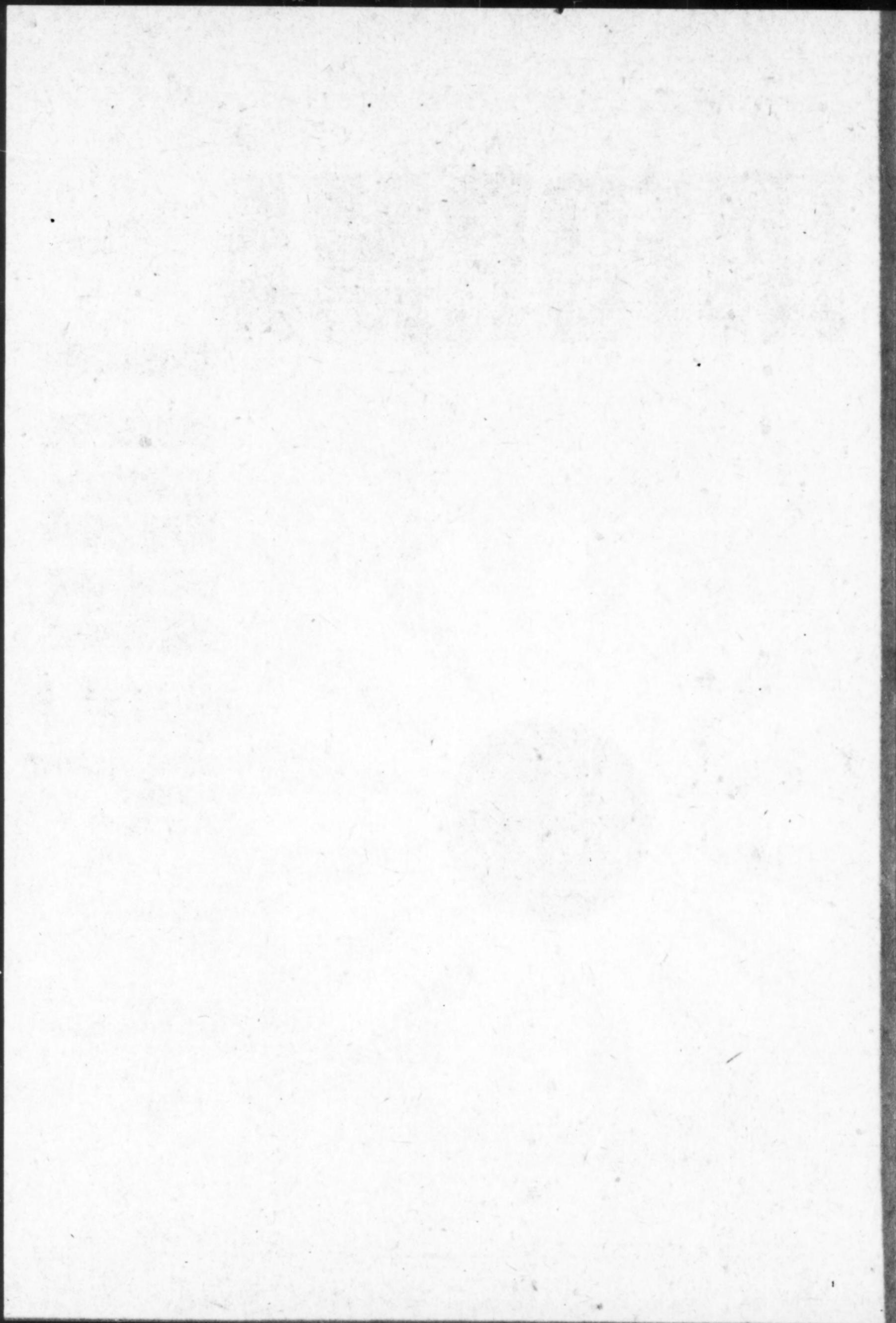
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MEXICO



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PROGRAM OF PEACE IN ACTION

SIGNING OF THE TREATY

A Treaty between the USSR and the USA on Underground Nuclear Explosions for Peaceful Purposes was signed in the Kremlin on May 28. The two sides had agreed to prepare this Treaty during the Soviet-American summit meetings.

The Treaty and the Protocol to it were signed, on behalf of the Soviet Union, by General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee L.I. Brezhnev.

Before signing the documents L.I. Brezhnev made a statement.

The signing ceremony was attended by: Y.V. Andropov, V.V. Grishin, A.A. Gromyko, A.P. Kirilenko, F.D. Kulakov, K.T. Mazurov, A.J. Pelse, N.V. Podgorny, M.A. Suslov, P.N. Demichev, B.N. Ponomaryov, M.S. Solomentsev, V.I. Dolgikh, M.V. Zimyanin, K.U. Chernenko, vice-chairmen of the USSR Council of Ministers, ministers of the USSR, chairmen of State Committees of the USSR, and other officials.

Also present was U.S. Ambassador to the Soviet Union Walter Stoessel.

The Treaty on Underground Nuclear Explosions for Peaceful Purposes and the Protocol to it were signed simultaneously in Washington by President of the USA Gerald Ford.

STATEMENT BY L.I. BREZHNEV

Esteemed comrades,
Gentlemen,

The Treaty between the USSR and the USA on Underground Nuclear Explosions for Peaceful Purposes is being signed today in Moscow and Washington. On the American side it was signed by President Gerald Ford.

The decision to prepare such a Treaty was taken during the Soviet-American summit meetings. It has now been given practical effect. This gives us a feeling of gratification.

It can be said with confidence that a useful thing has been done. The new Treaty is called upon to ensure that the underground nuclear explosions referred to in it are used precisely for peaceful and solely for peaceful purposes. For this the necessary guarantees are envisaged, including provisions for control. At the same time, the Treaty will promote the development of cooperation between the USSR and the USA in the peaceful uses of the energy of the atom, which will benefit other countries as well.

In combination with the previously achieved agreements, the Treaty constitutes another link in the chain of measures aimed at restraining the growth of armaments, and at achieving the goal of the universal and complete ending of nuclear weapons tests.

The political significance of the Treaty undoubtedly lies also in the fact that it is a concrete step in the positive development of relations between the Soviet Union and the United States.

Speaking of the achieved success — the conclusion of the Treaty on Nuclear Explosions for Peaceful Purposes — one cannot, at the same time, fail to recall that there are several big problems still awaiting their solution. They include completion of the elaboration of a new long-term agreement between the USSR and the USA on strategic arms limitation. In this connection, I should like to emphasize anew that, as before, the Soviet Union, for its part, is doing all in its power to that end.

In cooperation with other nations, we are ready to move vigorously along a broad front of measures leading to a curbing of the arms race and to disarmament. There is no loftier and more humane goal than the utmost strengthening of peace and international security, and the elimination of the threat of war from relations among states.

Guided by that goal, the 25th Congress of our Party advanced a program of concrete action whose implementation would not only put an end to the still continuing dangerous arms buildup, but would also ensure a resolute transition to the physical reduction of stockpiles of arms and to factual disarmament. Governments and responsible leaders of states should be clearly aware that the urgent need to resolve these issues is prompted by life itself.

Pravda, May 29, 1976.

TREATY

Between the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the United States of America on Underground Nuclear Explosions for Peaceful Purposes.

The Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the United States of America, hereinafter referred to as the Parties, proceeding from a desire to implement Article III of the Treaty between the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the United States of America on the Limitation of Underground Nuclear Weapon Tests, which calls for the earliest possible conclusion of an agreement on underground nuclear explosions for peaceful purposes, reaffirming their adherence to the objectives and principles of the Treaty Banning Nuclear Weapon Tests in the Atmosphere, in Outer Space and Under Water, the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons, and the Treaty on the Limitation of Underground Nuclear Weapon Tests, and their determination to observe strictly the provisions of these international agreements,

desiring to assure that underground nuclear explosions for peaceful purposes shall not be used for purposes related to nuclear weapons,

desiring that utilization of nuclear energy be directed only toward peaceful purposes,

desiring to develop appropriately cooperation in the field of underground nuclear explosions for peaceful purposes, have agreed as follows:

ARTICLE I

1. The Parties enter into this Treaty to satisfy the obligations in Article III of the Treaty on the Limitation of Underground Nuclear Weapon Tests, and assume additional obligations in accordance with the provisions of this Treaty.

2. This Treaty shall govern all underground nuclear explosions for peaceful purposes conducted by the Parties after March 31, 1976.

ARTICLE II

For the purposes of this Treaty:

(a) "Explosion" means any individual or group underground nuclear explosion for peaceful purposes;

(b) "explosive" means any device, mechanism or system for producing an individual explosion;

(c) "Group explosion" means two or more individual explosions for which the time interval between successive individual explosions does not exceed five seconds and for which the emplacement points of all explosives can be interconnected by straight line segments, each of which joins two emplacement points and each of which does not exceed 40 kilometers.

ARTICLE III

1. Each Party, subject to the obligations assumed under this Treaty and other international agreements, reserves the right to:

(a) carry out explosions at any place under its jurisdiction or control outside the geographical boundaries of test sites specified under the provisions of the Treaty on the Limitation of Underground Nuclear Weapon Tests; and

(b) carry out, participate or assist in carrying out explosions in the territory of another State at the request of such other State.

2. Each Party undertakes to prohibit, to prevent and not to carry out at any place under its jurisdiction or control, and further undertakes not to carry out, participate or assist in carrying out anywhere:

(a) any individual explosion having a yield exceeding 150 kilotons,

(b) any group explosion:

(1) having an aggregate yield exceeding 150 kilotons except in ways that will permit identification of each individual explosion and determination of the yield of each individual explosion in the group in accordance with the provisions of Article IV of and the Protocol to this Treaty;

(2) having an aggregate yield exceeding one and one-half megatons;

(c) any explosion which does not carry out a peaceful application;

(d) any explosion except in compliance with the provisions of the Treaty Banning Nuclear Weapon Tests in the Atmosphere, in Outer Space and Under Water, the Treaty on Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons, and other international agreements entered into by that Party.

3. The question of carrying out any individual explosion having a yield exceeding the yield specified in paragraph 2 (a) of this Article will be considered by the Parties at an appropriate time to be agreed.

ARTICLE IV

1. For the purpose of providing assurance of compliance with the provisions of this Treaty, each Party shall:

(a) use national technical means of verification at its disposal in a manner consistent with generally recognized principles of international law; and

(b) provide to the other Party information and access to sites of explosions and furnish assistance in accordance with the provisions set forth in the Protocol to this Treaty.

2. Each Party undertakes not to interfere with the national technical means of verification of the other Party operating in accordance with paragraph 1 (a) of this article, or with the implementation of the provisions of paragraph 1 (b) of this Article.

ARTICLE V

1. To promote the objectives and implementation of the provisions of this Treaty, the Parties shall establish promptly a Joint Consultative Commission within the framework of which they will:

(a) consult with each other, make inquiries and furnish information in response to such inquiries, to assure confidence in compliance with the obligations assumed;

(b) consider questions concerning compliance with the obligations assumed and related situations which may be considered ambiguous;

(c) consider questions involving unintended interference with the means for assuring compliance with the provisions of this Treaty;

(d) consider changes in technology or other new circumstances which have a bearing on the provisions of this Treaty; and

(e) consider possible amendments to provisions governing underground nuclear explosions for peaceful purposes.

2. The Parties through consultation shall establish, and may amend as appropriate, Regulations for the Joint Consultative Commission governing procedures, composition and other relevant matters.

ARTICLE VI

1. The Parties will develop cooperation on the basis of mutual benefit, equality and reciprocity in various areas related to carrying out underground nuclear explosions for peaceful purposes.

2. The Joint Consultative Commission will facilitate this cooperation by considering specific areas and forms of cooperation which shall be determined by agreement between the Parties in accordance with their constitutional procedures.

3. The Parties will appropriately inform the International Atomic Energy Agency of results of their cooperation in the field of underground nuclear explosions for peaceful purposes.

ARTICLE VII

1. Each Party shall continue to promote the development of the international agreement or agreements and procedures provided for in Article V of the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons, and shall provide appropriate assistance to the International Atomic Energy Agency in this regard.

2. Each Party undertakes not to carry out, participate or assist in the carrying out of any explosion in the territory of another State unless that State agrees to the implementation in its territory of the international observation and procedures contemplated by Article V of the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons and the provisions of Article IV of and the Protocol to this Treaty, including the provision by that State of the assistance necessary for such implementation and of the privileges and immunities specified in the Protocol.

ARTICLE VIII

1. This Treaty shall remain in force for a period of five years, and it shall be extended for successive five-year periods unless either Party notifies the other of its termination no later than six months prior to its expiration. Before the expiration of this period the Parties may, as necessary, hold consultations to consider the situation relevant to the substance of this Treaty. However, under no circumstances shall either Party be entitled to terminate this Treaty while the Treaty on the Limitation of Underground Nuclear Weapon Tests remains in force.

2. Termination of the Treaty on the Limitation of Underground Nuclear Weapon Tests shall entitle either Party to withdraw from this Treaty at any time.

3. Each Party may propose amendments to this Treaty. Amendments shall enter into force on the day of the exchange of instruments of ratification of such amendments.

ARTICLE IX

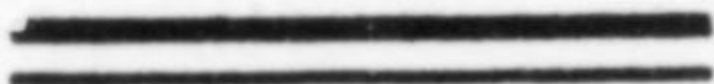
1. This Treaty, including the Protocol which forms an integral part hereof, shall be subject to ratification in accordance with the constitutional procedures of each Party. This Treaty shall enter into force on the day of the exchange of instruments of ratification, which exchange shall take place simultaneously with the exchange of instruments of ratification of the Treaty on the Limitation of Underground Nuclear Weapon Tests.

2. This Treaty shall be registered pursuant to Article 102 of the Charter of the United Nations.

Done at Moscow and Washington, on May 28, 1976, in duplicate, in the Russian and English languages, both texts being equally authentic.

For the Union of Soviet
Socialist Republics:
L. BREZHNEV,
General Secretary of the
Central Committee of the CPSU

For the United States
of America:
G. FORD,
The President of the
United States of America



CONGRESSES

THIRD CONGRESS OF THE IRAQI COMMUNIST PARTY

The Iraqi Communist Party held its Third Congress in Baghdad on May 4 to 6 under the slogan, "For Consolidation and Deepening of the Revolutionary Process and for Iraq's Orientation Toward Socialism."

A communique, published by *Tariq al Shaab* says that the delegates, who represented the workers, peasants, students and revolutionary intellectuals of Arab, Kurdish and other nationalities, discussed and approved the Central Committee report delivered by First Secretary Aziz Mohammed, and adopted a new Party Program and amendments to the Rules. Greetings from the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, other Communist and Workers' parties, and revolutionary-democratic parties were warmly welcomed.

The report analyzed the processes that had occurred in the world communist, working-class, Arab and national movements, in Iraq and the world since the previous congress, and defined political, economic, ideological and organizational tasks for the coming years. (An abridged version of the report is given below).

The Congress elected a new Central Committee, Political Bureau and Secretariat, with Aziz Mohammed re-elected as First Secretary.

In his concluding remarks at the Congress, Mohammed reaffirmed the Communists' loyalty to the cause of the working class and other working people, to Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, their solidarity with the world communist movement and its vanguard, the glorious Leninist Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

REPORT BY AZIZ MOHAMMED

Events of the past five years have confirmed the main conclusions drawn by the 1969 International Communist Meeting and approved by the Second Congress of our Party in 1970. The world revolutionary process has continued to develop, and important gains have been achieved in the struggle against imperialism and the forces of reaction

and war. The period under review has also seen changes in world affairs in favor of peace, détente and international cooperation.

The revolutionary movement of the past few years has given the lie to the Maoists' claim that peaceful coexistence helps capitalism and to their argument that détente consolidates the status quo, means peace with imperialism to the detriment of the peoples' revolutions and national-liberation movements, abolition of class struggle or provides a framework for ideological coexistence. Marxist-Leninist theory and the Communists' principled policy have laid bare these claims and disproved the right-revisionist doctrines and distortions by the hostile and renegade forces.

The radical changes of the past few years have been favorable to the world revolutionary movement despite certain reverses such as, for instance, in Chile, in some of the Arab countries, and in Bangladesh. At the same time, the collective efforts and joint action of the Communists and all forces of peace and progress have helped realize the call of the 1969 International Communist Meeting, namely, that maximum use be made of the existing possibilities for a broader struggle against imperialism, against the forces of reaction and war, for achieving fresh victories. Indeed, many of the aims set in the internationalist document of this Meeting and in the Soviet Peace Program have been attained.

The international communist movement holds vanguard positions in the world revolutionary movement. It is the most powerful political movement of our time. More and more revolutionaries see in it the future of mankind fighting for a world without exploitation and classes, for a world of freedom, justice, equality, peace and happiness.

There is no doubt that an important factor of the strength of our movement since its inception has been its internationalist nature, the fact that the Communists of all countries are guided by one and the same scientific theory, namely Marxism-Leninism, and that they cooperate in formulating their policies and plans of joint struggle.

The rich experience of the world communist and working-class movement and the present and future requirements of the struggle confirm the importance and need of holding bilateral, regional and international meetings of Marxist-Leninist parties whenever there are favorable conditions for them. These activities are important for strengthening the world communist movement.

Together with the Communist parties in the other Arab countries and the Communist parties in different parts of the world, our Party

calls for an international meeting of Communist and Workers' parties, all the more so that many of the militant tasks of the program of anti-imperialist struggle approved by the 1969 Meeting have been fulfilled. The new conditions require that the Communist and Workers' parties collectively advance new tasks.

The policies and actions of Maoism over the past years, its attitude toward the communist and working-class movement, the Soviet Union and most of the other socialist countries, the national-liberation movement and the tasks of the struggle for peace and international security, show that it is no longer a mere ultra-leftist deviation in the communist and working-class movement or a mere negation of the Marxist-Leninist teachings, and that it has adopted a hostile attitude to Marxism-Leninism. Because of these attitudes Maoism has objectively become a reserve of imperialism in its policy of struggle against the socialist countries and the national-liberation movement, and against the working class of the capitalist countries.

These policies and actions spell serious dangers to the three contingents of the world revolutionary movement. Therefore, continuing the struggle against Maoism and unmasking its ideas is an internationalist and national duty of all Communists, of all progressives. The influence of Trotskyism and ultra-leftist movements which flourished for some time, is receding, and their empty "ultra-revolutionary" claims are falling apart under the pressure of the successive victories of the world revolutionary movement. To continue the struggle to defeat them is a pressing ideological task of the world revolutionary movement.

The sharpening class struggle in the capitalist countries and the aggravating general crisis of capitalism in contrast to the growing positions and influence of the world communist and working-class movement compel capitalism and its ideological and political institutions to exert more efforts in sowing discord in the communist movement, preaching anti-communism as an ideology and raising the tattered banner of anti-Sovietism. All this is done with the aim of distracting the attention of the workers and other working people from the superiority of socialism over capitalism, diverting them from the correct course and making them abandon Marxist-Leninist theory.

In the struggle against the right-wing revisionist trends our Party adheres to the general laws of revolution and socialist construction, laws reaffirmed in the documents of the international communist meetings and tested by life. It also adheres to the principles of

proletarian internationalism as a tried and tested weapon of the communist movement, the working class and the national-liberation movement in the struggle against imperialism and for social liberation. Like Communists throughout the world we believe that the safeguarding of proletarian internationalism is also necessary for the accomplishment of our national task.

The Iraqi Communist Party works out its policy in the light of the specific conditions of the country and guided by the principles of Marxism-Leninism. At the same time it holds that respect for independence of Marxist-Leninist parties in formulating their policies should not serve as a cover for artificially counterposing the national interests to the internationalist objectives, the principles of independence of each detachment of the world communist movement to the common aims that unite them. Marxism-Leninism confirms the connection between the general laws of building socialism and the national features which are reflected in the conditions and forms of socialist construction.

Our Party has taken part in numerous internationalist actions and consolidated its relations with the Communist parties in the socialist, capitalist and developing countries. It has participated in the meetings of the Arab Communist parties, in the deliberations of the congresses of fraternal parties and in the work of *World Marxist Review*. The Party has sought to increase its circulation in Iraq. It has held bilateral meetings with many fraternal parties, and its relations have also been consolidated with revolutionary-democratic parties in the Arab countries, with the Palestine resistance organizations and with revolutionary and progressive organizations in other countries.

We express our satisfaction therewith and stress our determination to continue this policy more firmly in the interests of unity of the world communist and working-class movement and closer unity of the revolutionary forces in the struggle against imperialism, for peace, democracy and socialism.

The April 1975 meeting of the Arab Communist parties made a considerable contribution to our struggle. It analyzed the present situation in the Arab national-liberation movement and defined its tasks. The continued strengthening of the role of the Communist and Workers' parties in the Arab national-liberation movement and in fulfilling its tasks is assuming special importance. This role is growing markedly in the conditions of a sharper confrontation between the patriotic progressive forces, on the one hand, and the forces of imperialism, Zionism and reaction, on the other. This calls for a

stronger solidarity and cohesion of the Arab Communist parties, for the maintenance of their ideological, organizational and political independence, consolidation of their principled unity, defense of their history and legacy. This also requires a determined and consistent struggle against all disruptive, sectarian and subversive trends and actions.

Closer cooperation and coordination between the Arab Communist parties and broader exchange of experience effectively help to find correct answers to the problems that arise before the Arab national-liberation movement and to solve the economic and social issues that confront our country. This contributes to a firmer unity of the progressive and revolutionary forces in the Arab world, to their stronger alliance with the contingents of the world revolutionary movement led by the forces of socialism, and to the struggle against imperialism, Zionism and reaction.

The Arab-Soviet alliance remains the main target of intrigues and machinations by imperialism and reaction in our region, because it is a guarantee of the strength of the Arab national-liberation movement, the progressive Arab regimes, as well as the main support in the struggle against the Israeli aggression and imperialist maneuvers. The progressive forces and the people of the Arab countries realize more clearly now than before that a firm and durable alliance with the Soviet Union is a primary patriotic and national task. They strongly rebuff the attempts to invent contradictions between patriotism and nationalism, on the one hand, and internationalist solidarity, on the other. They also realize the gravity of the harm that can be done to the national interests as a consequence of abandoning alliance with the Soviet Union and the world socialist community.

Arab-Soviet militant solidarity derives its strength from the requirements of the victorious liberation struggle against imperialism, Zionism and reaction. It also draws its strength from an objective factor, because it is a concrete form of the organic link between the forces of socialism and the national-liberation movement, because it stems from the interests of the joint struggle of all detachments of the world revolutionary movement against imperialism. Proceeding from this stand of patriotic and national responsibility and from the principles of internationalist solidarity, our Party tirelessly combats anti-Sovietism and works for a close strategic alliance with the Soviet Union and other countries of the socialist community, the basis of international support for the Arab peoples' struggle of liberation.

The period since the Second Congress of our Party (September

1970) has witnessed important political, economic and social developments and big successes which have created objective conditions for consolidating the scientific criteria worked out by this congress, and for amending the policy and program of the Party in the light of those developments.

The congress has drawn up the Party's policy for the present stage of revolutionary patriotic movement and defined the tasks for the subsequent struggle to strengthen political sovereignty, achieve economic independence, bring about socio-economic changes, grant more democratic freedoms to the people, form a patriotic front and a coalition government, settle the Kurdish problem in a peaceful, democratic way, on the basis of the March 1970 Manifesto, and meet the pressing demands of the people.

The congress favorably assessed the achievements of the Baath Party since it came to power in July 1968. It expressed the view that the above-mentioned tasks could be fulfilled by mustering the efforts of the various strata and all progressive patriotic organizations in the united patriotic front.

The congress stressed in its documents that "the policy of patriotic cooperation and the United Front are not a passing tactic for us, Communists, a tactic to which we resort for purposes of propaganda and maneuvering, for the sake of some temporary gains," but a firm principled course of action.

We did not have any doubt that the accomplishment of this task is fraught with many difficulties considering the circumstances in which the Second Congress was held. This was pointed out in the political report of the Central Committee: "The establishment of the Patriotic Front is basically the outcome of the patient, consistent struggle of the people who are vitally interested in strengthening it." Our Party attached special importance to bringing closer its views to those of the Arab Baath Socialist Party in order to accomplish this task and set up a Patriotic Front. On the basis of the directives formulated by the Second Congress, the Central Committee has worked to mobilize all the energies of the Party to fulfill this important task despite the considerable difficulties the latter faced at the time. The Party regarded the overcoming of these difficulties as a prelude to an alliance with the Baath.

Since the time the leaders of the two parties signed the National Action Charter and Agreement on principles of cooperation in the Progressive National Patriotic Front, the Communist Party has emphasized its principled stand toward the Front as a big achievement of

the patriotic forces and an important guarantee of Iraq's development along the road of democracy and social progress. These assessments were carried forward in the resolutions of the Central Committee at its extraordinary meeting on July 27, 1973, in the resolution on the subsequent plenums of the Central Committee, and in the day-to-day activity of our Party. It was stressed in the resolutions that the future of our country is closely connected with "the alliance of the progressive patriotic and national parties and forces and with the consolidation and development of this alliance, and that the Iraqi Communists do not view the possibilities of developing their relations with the Baath Party as limited by the bounds of the present alliance and by the accomplishment of the tasks of the National Action Charter, great as they might be. The Communists believe that these relations can develop and deepen and lead the Baathists and Communists, that is, our two parties allied in the Progressive National Patriotic Front, along the joint road of building socialism."

In this assessment our Party took account of the objective conditions for the revolutionary movement of our people and of the tasks facing them, and the nature of the Front which has all the possibilities of carrying out its progressive program.

Foremost among the achievements of the Front is the Law on Autonomy for Kurdistan and suppression of the reactionary, rightist rebellion in that area. The Front held a number of mass seminars and other activities and consolidated its ties with the Arab and international progressive forces.

Stronger action by the Front and a firmer patriotic alliance in the field of political power demand:

a) the continued mass and Party education on the basis of the National Action Charter, which must be a common program of all patriotic forces united in the Front; the formation of specialized committees of the Front under the auspices of the Higher Committee, its Secretariat and provincial committees to draw up such programs, carry out the decisions adopted and implement the provisions of the National Action Charter;

b) a greater role of the Front in the political life of the country and in its institutions so that the Front could carry out the Rules of Action, including public control over the government bodies, effective participation in the drawing up and realization of the programs for economic, social and cultural development, and the creation of a climate of trust and comradely solidarity among the parties affiliated to the Front;

c) turning the Front into a broad and active mass body comprising all the progressive forces of our people, and spreading its various branches all over the country to ensure the broad mobilization of the people;

d) adoption of a formula of alliance of the Front by all mass organizations, primarily the Trade Union Federation, peasant co-operatives, women's, student and other youth organizations. This should be done in view of the mass character of these organizations, which play the main part in translating the Front's Charter into life and in implementing its decisions;

e) the principle of equal opportunities for all citizens and the employment of the scientific, administrative and teaching personnel from all the parties of the Front and all patriots in the bodies, offices and institutions of the state without discrimination; efficiency and loyalty to the progressive advance and the National Action Charter should serve as criteria in using the energies and talents of these people;

f) a common policy of the Front in the field of information for popularizing the aims of the National Action Charter and the spirit of the patriotic alliance, for strengthening the militant brotherhood and patriotic unity of the parties united in the Front, and for combating hostile reactionary propaganda, which strives to split the national ranks, sow discord and play on the sensitive relationships of the Front's forces;

g) an end to the wrong practices toward members of our Party and other patriots, practices contradicting the laws, rights and freedoms of the citizens, for they may have negative consequences for the entire activity of the Front and for relationships within the Patriotic Alliance.

Our Party has always viewed the Kurdish problem in Iraq as part of the problem of democracy and called for its solution on a peaceful and democratic basis, in keeping with the just national aspirations of the Kurdish people. We favored autonomy for Kurdistan within the bounds of the Republic of Iraq and a stronger brotherhood of the two peoples and their unity in the struggle against imperialism and reaction, for progressive economic, social and cultural changes.

The defeat of the reactionary armed rebellion has created better objective possibilities for a peaceful and democratic solution of the Kurdish problem, for winning over the Kurdish people through the Law on Autonomy, by deepening the revolutionary progress and invoking the Kurds' creative energies.

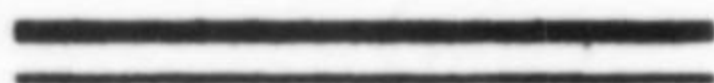
Implementation of autonomy in Kurdistan assumes great im-

portance in the conditions of the present-day national movement of its people. For the first time in Iraq's modern history the autonomous area has been delineated within the framework of the Republic. This area has its Legislative Council and Executive Council. As an experiment, autonomy is still in its early stage. All patriotic and national forces, Arabs and Kurds alike, and the institutions of the area must coordinate their efforts for the development and consolidation of autonomy. These efforts are particularly needed on the part of the central government bodies, which have considerable facilities for rendering such assistance.

Success of the autonomy and consolidation of the Arab-Kurdish brotherhood depend in the main on how the Kurdish people exercise their national rights and, above all, on the implementation of the Law on Autonomy in the whole of Kurdistan, as stipulated in the March 1970 Manifesto, on the preservation of the local national structure of the population, and respect for the national sentiments and culture, language, progressive Kurdish legacy and its development.

This policy leads to a closer unity of the Kurdish people in their support of Iraq's progressive regime, and, strengthening the revolutionary advance of the Kurds, it wins for Iraq greater respect of the progressive forces in the Arab countries and all over the world.

(Abridged)



STATEMENTS AND SPEECHES

THE MARTINEZ DE HOZ PROGRAM

The economic group headed by Martinez de Hoz has announced policy guidelines. Strictly speaking, they do not constitute a definite plan. Scientific planning, it will be recalled, originated in the Soviet Union on the basis of socialist ownership of the means of production. The Soviet Union recently adopted a national development plan for 1976-1980 as part of a long-range 20-year plan coordinated with the plans of the CMEA member countries. The de Hoz program, however, has nothing in common with the concept of planning. What he proposes is not actually a plan, but rather a program serving the interests of the big monopoly landowners and the multinational companies. That is the essence of the program, which is clearly directed against the people.

Martinez de Hoz's statement caused a good deal of excitement on the stock exchange. Press reports spoke of "an unprecedented atmosphere of euphoria" and an "all-time record volume of business."

THE MAIN POINTS OF THE PROGRAM

Briefly, the de Hoz proposals are:

- general increase of prices on petrol, electricity, gas and transport;
- abolishment of the price ceiling on practically all consumer goods;
- suspension of all wage negotiations, coupled with the liquidation of trade union autonomy, and with individual rather than collective bargaining. Revision of the law on labor agreements. Labor legislation, won in hard-fought social battles, is now seriously endangered;
- abrogation of Article 14-b of the Constitution providing guarantees for workers' representatives. Continuation of the policy of obligatory arbitration, implying suspension of the constitutional right to strike. Trade union pluralism, a ploy designed to split the unions by chopping them up into smaller units;
- wage increases tied to prior increases in productivity.

Economists of the de Hoz school point to the USA as a model — with its continuing crisis and with about 10 million unemployed!

De Hoz also holds up the Brazilian model, which has proved a fiasco. Mario Enrique Simonsen, the Brazilian Minister of Finance, admitted that in 1969 the share of the poorest sections — 40 per cent of the population — amounted to 11.2 per cent of the national income, and in 1970, hardly reached 9.05 per cent, while the share of the richest sections — 10 per cent of the population — amounted to 36.07 per cent of the national income in 1969, and in the following year went up to 48.53 per cent. The data for 1973 cited in the report of the Inter-Union Department of Statistics and Socio-Economic Research in Sao Paulo show that in order to regain their 1958 level, wages would have to be increased by 171.7 per cent, and to provide for an average family (rent, clothing, water and transport), a person would have to work 38 hours a day. Such is the minister's philosophy. Wages in Brazil in 1974 were less than half of that on the eve of the 1964 coup.

OTHER ASPECTS

Just like Senora Maria Martinez, who at the General Confederation of Labor a few days before her downfall said to the trade union leaders: "You've got to work hard, boys," the minister is demanding new sacrifices of the workers, who are already at the end of their tether. At the same time he announced, with profound regret, that staffs would be cut, leaving tens of thousands of civil servants without jobs. As for the workers, it is common knowledge that they work overtime and their working day runs up to 10-12 hours. In this way, and with the earnings of other members of the family, they somehow make ends meet. The legal eight-hour working day is no longer a reality for most workers:

- all federal aid to the provinces to help cover their budget deficit, has been suspended;

- the minister emphasizes that private enterprise is the driving force of the economy;

- to strengthen the private sector, the municipal services and other branches not taken over by private enterprises (evidently due to their unprofitability) will be nationalized; wherever there is sufficient private capital, the state is to refrain from interfering in their activity. With respect to enterprises that are not subject to confiscation, the state must suspend all activity at them. This tough line of putting state enterprises in private hands is the main feature of official policy. It should be noted, however, that this unrestrained denationalization

based on risky contracts, as in the case of the state-owned Yacimientos Petroliferos Fiscales, is fraught with grave consequences. At stake, apart from other considerations, are the future of the continental shelf and the principle of state monopoly in oil and gas, two industries in which the state is thus directly and unconditionally serving private interests.

In fact, the plan does not see the state as neutral. All state resources, production stimulators, such as tax exemptions, customs and tax reductions, credits, access to domestic savings, etc., will serve the interests of private enterprise, particularly the multinationals. There is no question, of course, of legalizing participation of private capital in enterprises engaged in the production of armaments. The military have not forgotten the patriotism of the senior officers, who set an example in upholding the national interests and sovereignty in economic affairs. Symbolic of them is General Enrique Mosconi, who declared that he was ready to help, by all lawful means, to liquidate the *trusts* and who had the foresight and backbone to say, in connection with the question of oil, that "there is no other way but to establish an all-embracing state monopoly, that is, on extraction, processing, transport and marketing." Like many other officers, he realized that the requirements of national defense are incompatible with the penetration of the multinationals in the oil industry. On the oil issue there is a vast difference between Mosconi's proposal and the de Hoz program, which serves the interests of foreign capital.

Besides revoking the decision on nationalizing bank deposits and closing down the national meat and grain juntas, in disputes with foreign companies the program favors the latter.

— No less dangerous is the attempt to give the multinationals the right to prospect for minerals, because this greatly impairs the country's sovereignty;

— The minister is against bilateral trade. If this rule is applied, economic links with the socialist countries will be impossible, and the country will be entirely dependent on the U.S. monopolies;

— The minister advocates trade with all countries, irrespective of ideology, on the condition, however, that it is not used as a tool for ideological infiltration. In this de Hoz is at one with Stroessner, who recently opposed the delivery of Soviet turbines for the Itaipu hydropower station (being built jointly by Brazil and Paraguay) on the pretext, that, in his words, communism might come in together with the Soviet engineers;

— The minister declares his support for capital investments (another form of state interference in favor of private enterprise) and that this will be achieved at the expense of consumption. And he adds, that this is practised by the socialist countries too. Martinez de Hoz is mistaken. During the five-year period 1971-75, industrial output in the USSR increased by 43 per cent, that is, an average annual growth of 8.6 per cent, which is much higher than in the major capitalist countries. During this period, the real income of the population went up by almost 25 per cent. Capital investments were not increased to the detriment of popular consumption. Moreover, prices in the USSR are stable, and there is neither inflation nor unemployment.

THE AGRARIAN QUESTION

The minister never mentions the agrarian reform, though it is an imperative requirement for Argentina. The program in no way affects the privileges of the latifundists regarding the rich pampas lands. With regard to land ownership, it takes account only of the less valuable land, and as for state lands, it proposes handing them over to the land speculators, the same as a century ago. No wonder the Rural Society of Argentina (SRA) supports the minister's program. Its attitude reflects the reactionary conceptions of Martinez de Hoz. What is the SRA? Writing on the history of this organization, Jorge Newton said that it consists of 9,000 members, which means that out of 600,000 agricultural producers only 1.5 per cent are represented in the SRA. The de Hoz program serves the interests of only this insignificant minority while gravely harming 98.5 per cent of the producers. It is, therefore an anti-popular program geared to the interests of the oligarchy. Such a policy runs counter to the interests of the peasants and agricultural workers and restricts the growth of the home market, while it is common knowledge that implementation of the agrarian reform is one of the most reliable ways of expanding it.

MULTINATIONAL MONOPOLIES

It is a program designed to strengthen the positions of the landed oligarchy and rapacious foreign capital, the multinationals in particular. The workers and working people in general have to shoulder the entire burden, tighten their belts, forget about milk, butter, bread, meat, medicines — that is what de Hoz's program implies — because only by oppressing and depriving the people can Argentina gain the confidence of the multinationals, and their consent to even greater

exploitation of the working class. It is a sheer mockery to say that involvement of foreign capital will help to cushion the negative social consequences of the program. It will only aggravate them. To whet the appetites of the multinationals, the minister promises to radically revise the law on foreign capital investments. Thus the program is not only anti-popular, but also anti-national.

Moreover, the government program of economic development offers nothing to the people, but everything to the domestic and foreign rich. Does it envisage liquidation of the budget deficit? Nothing of the kind: this must wait three to five years. Among the questions evaded by the minister is population growth, which has a close bearing both on economic life and national defense. It is rightly said that the population of a country is its most valuable asset, but Argentina has still to reach its optimal population. To promote population growth it is necessary to implement a progressive social policy and, in this framework, carry out an agrarian reform. But this is rejected by Martinez de Hoz's program.

NOT ORIGINAL

Martinez de Hoz can lay no claim to originality. For the past 20 years at least, those heading the Ministry of the Economy have subscribed to the same concept and pursued identical aims. But compared to his predecessors, the present minister's attitude on these questions is more brutal and inhuman. His policy has been implemented in various forms over a prolonged period. What are the results?

There is only one result: an economic crisis affecting the entire country. Martinez de Hoz's policy, a policy fraught with catastrophe and chaos, has suffered setbacks during this entire period. This line has been firmly applied for over two decades. The results are evident: inflation, stagnation, high prices, foreign debts, a drastic reduction of wages and worsened conditions of the peasants and small producers, deterioration of the educational system and a loss of prestige on the international arena. And it was not the working people, but the representatives of the landed oligarchy and multinational monopolies who were in power during these two decades. Those responsible for the bankruptcy can be named. Consider this: the policy recommended by Martinez de Hoz has been in operation for years. The result: the present pitiful economic and social situation. The de Hoz policy is unsuitable; it can only spell disaster for Argentina. But if unsuitable, why is it being imposed? It should be noted in passing that

between 1955 and 1976 there have been four coups. Consequently, a different road must be chosen.

It should be stressed that the Peronist masses, together with the entire working class, vigorously opposed retreat from 1973 program provisions, and were particularly against Lopez Rega, Rodrigo and Mondelli, the men responsible for the retreat. The experience of these years proves that united action by the working people is one of the basic factors of social and national liberation.

PINOCHET

Martinez de Hoz did not personally invent the program. Its authors are the multinationals, operating under their own signboards and also through international organizations. Among the latter, which they manipulate as they see fit, are the International Monetary Fund, the World Bank and others. It is not by accident that the capitulant Krieger Vasena now holds a high post in the IMF. The IMF's recipe is the same for all Latin American countries with only slight circumstantial differences. It has been imposed on Brazil, Chile and Uruguay. In Chile, thanks to the present dictatorship, a frenzied blitzkrieg was carried out against the progressive economic nationalization of the Salvador Allende government, the domination of the North American monopolies has been re-established, and they get millions of dollars, while the working class and middle sections are being socially oppressed and are writhing in the stranglehold of hunger. Production has been disorganized to such an extent that its volume in 1975 was 24 per cent below even the very poor indicators of the previous year. Chile and Brazil are the most loyal executors of the IMF's instructions. This explains the factual alliance between them.

BRAZIL

The Brazilian "model" comprises, among other things, an economic onslaught by the foreign monopolies.

The foreign debt, which before the 1964 coup amounted to 3 billion dollars, has now, according to official data, reached 22 billion, though private sources put it as high as 25 billion. Exports are boosted in every way, and yet 1975 ended with a trade deficit of \$1.5 billion. Almost 50 per cent of industrial plant in Brazil is owned by the multinationals. They dominate the vital industries. Recently, the government decided to liquidate state oil monopoly. And now Martinez de Hoz (prodged by the IMF) proposes the same solution for Argentina. His program is largely a copy of the Brazilian economic policy

which has been in operation since 1964. The Argentinian people reject the Brazilian model, which, apart from everything else, contains anti-Argentinian features.

A CRITICAL SITUATION

The present program of the Ministry of the Economy is thus but an inferior version of those of all previous ministers since 1955. For a fundamental solution, a complete restructuring of the socio-economic system is needed, with abolition of the latifundia system and economic dependence. This is the road the Argentinian people are bound to follow. In view of the critical situation, however, we propose a solution to the immediate tasks, which includes, apart from the free democratic activity of political parties, trade unions and other institutions, and a stop to all forms of terrorism and brutalities by the "Anti-Communist Alliance of Argentina" (AAA) and other groups of this kind, effective measures to curb inflation, protect our national industry, increase exports (in which the main role belongs to the national junta for meat and grain), raise the workers' living standards in town and country, increase farm output, ensure the independent development of the Argentinian economy, provide real guarantees, without discrimination, for mutually beneficial trade with all countries based on non-interference, and for Argentina to make its contribution to peaceful coexistence. In view of the disastrous dimensions of the foreign debt, negotiations on this matter should be started to ensure conditions favorable for the country's development. The first step on the road to reconstruction is to discard Martinez de Hoz's program.

The country is at a crossroads: everything now depends on what choice it makes: the road of regression, which will lead to economic and social chaos, or the road to progress and democracy. Long experience has proved that no political party can govern the country alone. The dividing line is not between the civilian and military forces, but between the proponents of economic independence and democracy and those of reaction and imperialism. History sets the Argentinians an important task: to create a powerful front of the progressive, patriotic forces, both civilian and military, which would facilitate the forming of a broad coalition government. Only such a government is capable of pulling the country out of the mire and of leading it along the road of stable anti-imperialist and anti-latifundia democracy.

Rodolfo Ghioldi
(Abridged)

Buenos Aires, April 14, 1976.

INTERNATIONAL SOLIDARITY MEETING

Italian Communist Party General Secretary Enrico Berlinguer and French Communist Party General Secretary Georges Marchais addressed an International Solidarity meeting attended by thousands in La Porte de Pentin near Paris.

Enrico Berlinguer spoke of the economic crisis in the West European capitalist countries and said that the ruling circles and big capital were incapable of finding a way out of the situation.

Just as before the conservative and reactionary groups are placing the burden of the crisis on the working classes, the youth, the women and middle strata. Just as before part of the ruling class believes that command posts can be maintained by attacking or endangering democratic rights and freedoms in every country and by sabotaging détente, cooperation and peaceful coexistence on a world scale.

Times, however, have changed. These are not the 1930s when fascism was already ruling Italy and had crushed democracy in Germany and in Spain and unleashed the Second World War. Neither is this the 1950s when Europe was in the grip of the cold war that followed the disintegration of the great anti-nazi alliance and the democratic and popular alliances in many countries.

Today, as distinct from the past, détente is being asserted in Europe and, apart from the conditions, there is also the resolve to stop those forces who are attempting to prevent this. Mankind is vitally in need of détente, peaceful coexistence and cooperation. And this is what we are working for together with the peace forces in our countries and the world over.

In contrast to the 1930s and 50s, the balance has changed and continues to change between the classes and parties in each country starting with France and Italy. The militancy, political maturity and organized force of the working class and all working people are growing and becoming stronger. New forces are emerging on the scene, also wishing to transform society. These are peasants, the youth, women, cultural workers, the middle strata who are objectively creating new working-class alliances, and we must draw them into the general movement for change, making them active participants of this movement. This means that today the working-class, democratic and popular forces are stronger than the conservative and reactionary forces.

This is becoming particularly apparent in Italy and France. However, in many other European capitalist countries an offensive by the left and not the right forces is emerging and being successful in its various aspects.

During the June 1975 municipal elections the left forces, particularly the Communist Party, were very successful. As a result the number of regions controlled by left parties has increased from three to six and the popular forces are in control of the administration in many provinces and cities, including Turin, Milan, Venice, Florence and Naples. New alliances had been created in various forms in other regions and local administrative bodies with intermediary parties and in some cases the Christian Democratic Party participating.

All this is a sign of the strong desire in Italy for change and for unity. Our entire policy should concentrate on consolidating and broadening this offensive to establish a new, democratic and consistent leadership of society and the state.

This will not be easy. The closer the possibility of changing the government, the more obstacles arise. Powerful internal and international conservative forces are mobilizing in an attempt to interfere with this new and democratic solution of the Italian crisis, a solution increasingly necessary for the country's future.

Italy's future, said Enrico Berlinguer, must be decided by the Italian people, who cannot permit any infringements on their sovereign right, within the framework of our democratic Constitution, to elect governments and choose the way society will develop.

In France, said Georges Marchais, the people also desire changes. The present situation cannot continue any longer, say the people.

Month by month the French people's living standard is dropping and daily they face mounting difficulties. When our people suffer, said the speaker, France suffers. Under Giscard d'Estaing, production has dropped, the national debt has grown, while regions are experiencing a slump, entire branches of the economy are falling under the control of foreign companies and we are returning to the old policy of following the United States.

We are told that there are signs of a "revival" in the economy. However, this "revival," to say nothing of its short and unstable character, solves nothing. This is seen in the seventh government plan which aims solely at reducing employment in industry, particularly among women, and an unprecedented drop of job openings for skilled workers. The plan foresees a severe wage control and higher taxes on the family budget. There will be a new attack on social

security and a further cut in allocations for education and other social needs. At the same time the plan announces new privileges for big capital.

It is clear, therefore, that this is not just another circumstantial or temporary crisis and that it deals a heavy blow against the working people, affecting the entire country and all spheres of national affairs. This is a deep, a global crisis, affecting state institutes, large segments of the population, moral values, in other words, "the very essence of society."

However, there is neither fatality nor mystery surrounding this crisis. It is the result of government policy which is totally in the service of big capital.

And for this reason we Communists will support the social struggle, all actions by the workers, farmers, teachers, youth and women with greater determination than ever before. More than ever before we shall be in the front ranks of those struggling for a better life for themselves, for their families and for their children.

The popular forces are waging a calm, determined and serious struggle in contrast to the anger of the government and right forces, who are furious because they are unable to bring the country out of the crisis, because they cannot settle any of the country's problems, are incapable of meeting the demands of the French people.

Actually, the conservative and reactionary forces fear our people. They are aggressive because they are weak, because the government was unable to fulfill its plans.

The government failed to force the workers to accept an austere economy because we Communists untiringly opposed the notion of the crisis' fatality and the harmful measures of Giscard's policy.

It was unable to throw doubt upon the alliance that was formed around the joint program because we Communists acted decisively to consolidate this alliance and because we involved the masses in this.

It likewise failed to broaden its political base. On the contrary, the right forces are dwindling.

And that is the explanation for the frantic concern of the right. They are well aware that for the majority of Frenchmen the main issue today is:

either big capital and the government will secure their rule which will mean continuation and worsening of the present policy with all its negative consequences for the people and the country;

or it is necessary to act in order to introduce another policy, a policy of prosperity, justice and freedom.

There are means available which would make it possible for our economy to function to capacity, raise living standards and improve the quality of life. Yes, it is possible to live as free and responsible citizens without concern for the morrow.

This, however, requires profound economic and social transformations, truly democratic, structural reforms which would open the way to changing society and to a socialist France.

We have exerted a great deal of effort and time, said Georges Marchais, to create an alliance of left forces based on a correct, joint government program, a progressive economic and social program providing for democratic changes at this present stage. Naturally the alliance could be effective and would justify the expectations of the people only if it is geared to the people's interests, the people's demands and national interests. We shall continue our efforts to preserve, strengthen and broaden this alliance of left forces on this reliable foundation.

French and Italian Communists, Georges Marchais pointed out, are working together for peaceful coexistence. It is a great historical event that as a result mainly of the peace policy followed by the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, there is a tendency toward relaxation in world affairs.

Abridged from *L'Humanité*, June 4, 1976.

POLITICAL REFORM FOR MEXICO

Report by Arnolfo Martinez Verdugo at the Third Plenum of the Central Committee, Communist Party of Mexico.

Four months have passed since the 17th Party Congress, which examined the economic and political situation in the country, formulated tactical aims and defined our tasks. In the present discussion we have not set ourselves the aim of covering all the problems forming the essence of the domestic situation, but propose only to deal with some characteristic features of the present political scene.

The development of the election campaign increasingly bears out our conclusion that the country is experiencing a political crisis. The events of the last few weeks also confirm that we are at the threshold of its aggravation. There is every indication that we are reaching the point when a reassessment of our political ties and the immediate

prospects of national development is inevitable. The upsurge of the working-class and peasant movement, coupled with the changing political situation, point to the possibility of providing a democratic content to the process of reassessing the political realities. This lays a serious responsibility on the Communist Party, all organizations who act in alliance with us, as well as the country's democratic and left forces in general.

In the months that have passed since the congress, the crisis of the party system has been most pronounced. It can be safely said that there is not a single party in this system which has not been confronted by serious difficulties in connection with the election campaign. It is equally true that none of these parties, the ruling one included, has proposed a viable solution to the political crisis. This points to the bankruptcy of the electoral system, its inability to find democratic channels through which the tendencies and aspirations of the various classes making up Mexican society could develop and manifest themselves. The crisis of the registered political parties also shows that their leaders are divorced from the real political and social problems of the country.

The conflicts between the various tendencies inside the ruling class found expression during these months not only in party struggle, but in forms peculiar to the anti-democratic political regime: various pressure groups, internal strife in the ranks of the Institutional Revolutionary Party (PRI); rumors circulated by the press; meetings of businessmen's organizations, etc.

The growing political contradictions, particularly between the various groups of the ruling class, stem from the struggle to elaborate policy principles for the next six years or, at the least, to seriously influence its direction. It is primarily the main sections of the big bourgeoisie and oligarchic groups who are alarmed.

In the present situation, our working people, workers and peasants, students and intellectuals need to increase their influence and political weight. The primary task of their politically conscious groups is to prevent solution of the country's vital problems as a result of pressure, conflict or compromise between factions of the ruling bourgeoisie.

SHARPENING CLASS STRUGGLE

The social and political discontent of the working people of town and country is one of the main aspects of the present situation. Though less intensively than in 1974, the working-class movement

continued organizing actions for higher wages and social rights, in the first place, and made headway in the restoration of its trade unions and freeing them from the control of charrism.*

Of the strike struggles, which were successful on the whole, the foremost were those of the metalworkers, textile and electrical workers, printers, etc.

The political struggle against trade union charrism reached its peak at a meeting organized on March 20 at the Monument to the Revolution by members of the democratic trend of the United Electrical Workers' Union and the unions, parties and social organizations acting in unity with it. This meeting turned into a political confrontation between the forces fighting for a change in methods of administration and forms of control over the trade union movement characteristic of a despotic regime, and the forces seeking to preserve these methods.

During these months, mass discontent and ferment were most pronounced in the countryside. Hundreds of farms in more than half the states were occupied by the peasants.

It is clear that the government has lost all initiative in the rural districts and is doing nothing to effectively solve the acute situation. During the past few months, the Agrarian Reform Secretariat even obstructed the incipient program of collectivization and dismissed a large number of officials assigned to this task.

The problem of the countryside is increasingly becoming a political problem requiring profound solutions rather than promises or partial measures.

In connection with the outbreak of serious incidents affecting the public, a new area of social conflicts has surfaced around the problem of mass housing construction, particularly on the outskirts of the cities. The events in the Federal District, the fire at the Dos de Octubre camp in Iztacalco and the grenadiers' attack against the settlers point to the gravity of the problem, for which the government has no immediate solution. The death of five people in a colony united around the Land and Freedom Movement in Monterrey resulted in a demonstration of 50 thousand people, headed by the metalworkers of the 67th and 68th sections of the miners' trade union.

*The term "charrism," which appeared in the Mexican trade union movement in the mid-1940s, was used to designate the conciliators, leaders of the yellow trade unions and corrupted trade union leaders in general. — Ed.

CONFLICTS IN THE RULING CLASS

It is the political problems that have become most acute in recent months.

The polemics around the draft law on the Asentamientos Humanos,* submitted to Congress by the President, illustrate the political climate reigning in the country, and the position of the various factions of the ruling class. The oligarchic Monterrey group and other reactionary tendencies have launched a broad campaign in the press, using the old tactics of spreading alarming rumors among the population designed to distort the essence of the draft law, and to bring pressure to bear on the government and Congress and, in this way, as has always been the case, to radically change the draft.

However, the breadth of the campaign launched by the most conservative oligarchic group and the President's answer to it in his speech on April 1, show that the problems are much bigger than implied in the presidential draft.

The attitude of the oligarchy in the mountain regions, and the Puebla, Guadalajara, Culiacan and other groups influenced by them, evidently has two main aims: first, to obstruct the limited reforms which President Echeverria and the more progressive businessmen, the government and PRI had initiated in response to the growing public discontent, and second, to influence the political atmosphere on the eve of the elections, thereby tying the future government to new compromises.

On this plan there are two trends among the oligarchy: on the one hand, there are the leaders of the businessmen's organizations who advocate conciliation and preservation of unity with the political bureaucracy on the basis of superficial preventive reforms, and on the other, a trend headed by the Monterrey group. The latter seeks to create conditions that would facilitate its becoming a ruling center of the big bourgeoisie and ultra-conservative forces who advocate a more authoritarian alternative to the existing regime. This group rejects any reformist measures.

In his speech Echeverria clearly states his reformist intentions and calls the attention of the Monterrey group to the fact that the path chosen by him guarantees preservation of the "mixed economy" system, which leads to state-monopoly capitalism.

**Asentamiento Humano — settlement. The draft law envisages regulation of the growth and development of city neighborhoods, migration from rural districts, purchase and sale of plots in the cities aimed at ruling out speculation. — Ed.

IS THE FASCIST THREAT IMMINENT?

Time and again the increasingly open and aggressive activity of the groups united around the oligarchy in the mountain regions, on the one hand, and the actions of the popular masses in defense of their rights, on the other, have been used by certain official circles to spread rumors of an impending danger of a fascist coup in Mexico or of a fascist-type dictatorship being set up by some other means.

This rumor is substantiated by a mechanical generalization of the tragic political experience of a number of countries of the southern cone, particularly Brazil, Chile and Uruguay. They would like to have the people believe that North American imperialism, which facilitated establishment of fascist dictatorships in these countries, seeks to do the same in our country.

However, not every instance of repression or every movement which advocates repression, can be called fascist. The proponents of fascism — both in the imperialist countries and in Latin America — are the oligarchy, big monopolies and financial groups. Its social base is the petty bourgeoisie, debilitated by the crisis and anti-communist propaganda attributing to socialism totalitarian aims which are alien to it.

Fascism is the last resort of the big bourgeoisie which knows from experience that it is a way fraught with mortal dangers, eventually depriving it of political power and economic domination. That is why it takes this risk only when the strengthened political might of the working class and working people in general becomes a real threat to its domination and the very existence of the capitalist system.

There are in Mexico undoubtedly groupings who long for a fascist solution to the problem, but we cannot speak of an imminent fascist threat, first of all because state power is firmly held by forces whose policy — as the past five years have confirmed — consists in promoting monopoly development and the growth of capitalism, alliance with foreign capital on definite conditions, and bourgeois control over the mass organizations. At present there is no fascist force or political movement in Mexico which represents an immediate threat to the regime. The position of the U.S. government and of influential circles in that country in relation to Mexico consists not in facilitating a fascist coup, but in preserving the continuity of a regime capable of effectively upholding the interests of North American capital.

The differences between some sections of the big bourgeoisie and

government leaders are not contradictions between the representatives of fascism and those of bourgeois democracy.

Official circles are brandishing the bogey of fascism in an attempt to portray their regime as the highest democracy attainable in this country. In reality, however, the persistent defense of structures and practices obstructing the participation of genuinely anti-fascist forces in the political life of the country, the systematic recourse to the false argument identifying the Communists with the fascists weaken the struggle against both fascist and non-fascist ultra-reactionary tendencies.

NEED FOR POLITICAL REFORMS

Of the problems facing our country, none is more important than that of a fundamental change of the norms and practices limiting the political activity of the people, workers and farmers in particular. Political activity in our country is regulated by legislation and methods that are divorced from socio-economic development, the aspirations of the working masses and even some sections of the bourgeoisie.

But the time has come to put an end to this. Sooner or later the Mexicans, workers and peasants in the first place, as well as other classes and groups, will overcome the obstacles on the way to their political self-expression, participation in government affairs, influencing the elaboration of legislation, and defense of their own interests.

The most progressive sections of the ruling class, too, realize the need for changes. Evidence of this are President Echeverria's words at the beginning of his rule to the effect that the government intends to carry out a political reform. The vacillation and fear of the consequences of lifting restrictions which the state bureaucracy uses in its own interests, as well as pressure by the right have impeded implementation of the reform.

President Echeverria holds that his constitutional reforms and the new federal electoral law constitute the necessary political reform. But it is not hard to prove that it is directed at strengthening the existing party system, the crisis of which became apparent during the present election campaign. Echeverria's reforms retained the official monopoly on "legal" political activity, doubled the obstacles to registration of new parties, supported charrism and government control over peasant organizations, while leaving the repressive legislation intact.

We interpret the struggle for political freedoms from a class point of view. We are convinced that in conditions of political freedom the working class can more rapidly organize its forces, politically educate its members and reveal the conditions in which it can play its leading role, that is, to seriously pose the question of a socialist transformation of society. But a regime of political freedom also allows other classes to defend their option, to uphold the advantages of the socio-economic regime of their choice.

A political reform that would open the doors to genuine freedom for all citizens is what is needed to help the country avert a long period of violence. Contrarily, methods of suppressing popular will, falsification and substitution of the people's initiative — that is what creates conditions for the outbreak of violence. We Communists, it will be remembered, are not opponents of violent means, but we have always proclaimed that we prefer to effect the necessary changes through peaceful means. Nor are we adventurists, or proponents of spontaneity, that is, we have no intention of letting events take their course because that would amount to relinquishing the initiative to other classes or groups. We say clearly that at present there exists a concrete way for the country to solve the serious social issues facing it, which is the way of a democratic political reform. And to this end we direct all our efforts.

A primary condition for any political reform is a radical reform of the federal electoral law and the corresponding state laws. This is necessary, first, to eliminate the existing restrictions to forming political parties and to their participation in elections on an equitable basis. Second, to ensure respect for the will of the voter by creating the corresponding electoral bodies as a guarantee against falsification of the election results. And, third, to ensure conditions in which the elections would not be the prerogative of the government.

To implement a political reform it is imperative to put a stop to repression or discrimination on political grounds. This is also necessary to stimulate the people's participation in political life. We consider the law on amnesty, the draft of which President Echeverria has submitted to Congress, as a victory of the democratic forces although it refers only to those detained in connection with the 1968 events.

A general amnesty would most fully respond to the conclusion of one stage in the political life of the country and the beginning of a new one, free from persecution on political grounds.

Another fundamental aspect of reform is to guarantee trade union freedoms and the right to strike.

It is necessary to eliminate from the police and traffic regulations everything obstructing the right to demonstrations or public meetings, and to abolish repressive legislation, particularly Part 2 of the Federal Penal Code.

The political reform, which we advocate, would best of all help to solve the present political crisis by democratic means. It would reliably guarantee that the country will not be reduced to a brutal authoritarian regime, let alone fascism. Certainly, political reform will not affect the roots of social evil nor change the dependence on imperialism. Nor will it solve the economic problems of the popular masses of town and country. But it will greatly facilitate an early solution to these problems: it will permit organized struggle of the working people, eliminate legal obstacles to realization of democratic rights as well as develop initiative, a spirit of solidarity and confidence in one's own strength.

A POLICY OF BROAD ALLIANCE

We fully realize that implementation of a democratic political reform requires the contribution of numerous forces, including social groups with opposing economic interests and different ideologies. The forces opposing the country's democratic development are powerful, and they use every means not only to preserve the authoritarian structure, but to increase its aggressiveness. And these forces exist not only outside the government. In the face of the growing working-class, peasant and student movement there is a danger that they will resort to repressive methods. Unless the balance of forces includes broad social strata with a stake in putting an end to the authoritarian traditions and of barring the development of fascist or other similar forms, the political crisis cannot be solved by democratic means.

Not only the Communists and left parties and organizations are interested in the struggle for political reform, but democratic groups in the PRI, including representatives of the business world as well. Our duty is to find points of coincidence, promote actions pursuing identical aims, and to direct the struggle toward isolating the most authoritarian, fascist and pro-fascist groups both in and outside the government apparatus.

This requires, first of all, an ability to guide mass actions.

The experience of all revolutionary movements shows that the masses rally in defense of their interests and everyday demands, and

not around some great abstract principles. And it is this movement that opens a way to major political changes.

The driving force of these changes is an alliance of the democratic and left forces. Anyone in the least politically informed will see that our Party is committed to promoting the unity of these forces and that it is not responsible for the disunity that still persists.

The months since the onset of the election campaign have fully confirmed the correctness of the decisions of the 17th Congress on the Party's participation in them and of nominating its candidates.

It is becoming increasingly clear to thousands of Mexicans that we can offer a new alternative.

The election campaign shows that today we have the opportunity which we lacked for years — to draw to our side significant masses of workers, peasants, students and intellectuals. This poses new tasks to the Party, which we must try to solve in the remaining months of the election campaign.

Abridged from *Oposicion*, April 26, 1976.

FOR SOLIDARITY AND COOPERATION

Speech by Nicolae Ceausescu

Addressing a congress of workers in the realm of political education and socialist culture, held in Bucharest, Nicolae Ceausescu, General Secretary of the Rumanian Communist Party and President of the Socialist Republic of Rumania, spoke at length of the history of the Rumanian people and their culture. Touching on Rumanian-Russian relations in this connection, he said in particular: It is well known that there were many instances of Rumanian troops fighting together with the Russian armies against the Ottoman Empire. I also want to stress the rich traditions of Rumanian-Russian relations and the fact that Russian revolutionaries time and again came out against the tsarist policy of oppressing other nations.

Ceausescu emphasized the great significance of the formation of the Communist Party in 1921. From the outset, he declared, our Party was a powerful political force. It resolutely opposed fascism and war, and advocated a policy of friendship with the Soviet Union and other neighboring countries.

In conditions of intensified joint struggle of the internal anti-fascist, democratic and patriotic forces and the favorable international circumstances due to the successes of the Soviet Army at the front, the victories of the entire anti-Hitler coalition, Ceausescu continued, the Communist Party organized an anti-fascist and anti-imperialist national armed uprising, which resulted in the overthrow of the fascist dictatorship, the country's withdrawal from the war against the Soviet Union, and to the transfer of Rumania's entire military and economic potential to the side of the anti-Hitler coalition. This ushered in a new era in Rumania's history, opening the way to the final liberation of the country from imperialist domination, the realization of the people's aspiration to be the masters of their wealth and labor effort, of their own destinies.

Our epoch has seen profound revolutionary transformations in the socio-economic structure of the world. This epoch was initiated by the historic victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution in Russia, which put an end to capitalist domination and ushered in the epoch of proletarian revolutions and the transition of mankind to socialism.

In our relations with the socialist countries, Ceausescu said, we consistently proceed from what unites us, as well as from the objective necessity to strengthen cooperation and solidarity. We attach primary importance to the traditional friendship of our peoples, the revolutionary and working-class movement. We see it as our national as well as international duty to do everything so that some problems inherited from the past, resulting from the policy of the exploiting classes, would not overshadow the cooperation and solidarity of our parties and peoples. In this connection I would like to note that the Socialist Republic of Rumania has neither territorial nor any other problems with the Soviet Union and the other neighboring states. We want the borders between Rumania and all its neighbors to be borders of friendship and cooperation in working for socialism and communism, peace and cooperation the world over.

A member of the Warsaw Treaty Organization, Rumania shows constant concern for strengthening the fighting efficiency of its national army, cooperates with the armies of other Warsaw Treaty member-states and is ready to honor its commitments at any time. Together with other countries, we continue to come out for the liquidation of military blocs, for the simultaneous abolition of both NATO and the Warsaw Treaty.

Of course, even after the abolition of military blocs we will con-

tinue to cooperate with the armies of the Warsaw Treaty member-states in defense of the independence and sovereignty of our peoples, the great revolutionary gains, the cause of socialism. At the same time we are consistently promoting cooperation with the armies of all socialist countries, as well as with the armies of other friendly states.

As a CMEA member, our country actively participates in the work of this organization, contributing to the fulfillment of the Comprehensive Program. We will in future too seek to improve CMEA activity with the aim of promoting the economy of each CMEA member-country and of accelerating the process of levelling up their socio-economic development.

In Rumania's foreign policy, Ceausescu added, the struggle to ensure European security holds a primary place. After the successful conclusion of the Helsinki Conference, we consistently advocate fulfillment of the commitments contained in the documents signed there. As we see it, one of the most important policy tasks of all European states is to implement concrete measures to ensure military détente on the continent. It is also necessary that the agreements concluded in Helsinki should find practical implementation in accords on economic, scientific and technical cooperation between all the states of the continent. We deem it necessary to expand cultural exchanges on the basis of corresponding agreements, which would ensure a broad exchange of spiritual values, literature and art. We will, of course, see to it that deleterious works which harmfully affect the moral development of man, especially the younger generation, are excluded from these exchanges.

The Rumanian Communist Party, Ceausescu went on to say, is developing broad cooperation with all revolutionary, progressive and democratic parties, consistently promoting solidarity and cooperation with them. I want to stress that maintaining relations of international solidarity and mutual aid with other advanced contingents has always been characteristic of the revolutionary and democratic movement of Rumania.

I want to note that, at the same time, our country's revolutionary movement has been rendered broad international support in various forms in its struggle against exploitation and oppression, for national and social liberation. The Communist Party, our entire people will never forget the aid extended by the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the peoples of the Soviet Union and its mighty army, which shed its blood not only for the liberation of its own homeland but for the final defeat of fascism, facilitating the liberation of the entire

territory of Rumania. The joint struggle of the Rumanian and Soviet peoples, who shed their blood for the complete liberation of Rumania and then for the liberation of Hungary and Czechoslovakia, was a concrete expression of the solidarity of two nations, and raised to a new level the relations between our parties and states.

Our Party, Ceausescu said in conclusion, is actively participating in the preparations for the conference of Communist and Workers' parties of Europe, which, in our opinion, could be held at any moment. We consider that it should provide a broad and profoundly democratic framework for the exchange of experience and opinions, which would lead to the creative development of the Marxist-Leninist teaching, its enrichment with new conclusions deriving from the revolutionary experience and practice of the Communist and Workers' parties.

Abridged from *Scinteia*, June 3, 1976.

TASS STATEMENT ON THE SITUATION IN LEBANON

In view of the sharp aggravation of the situation in and around Lebanon TASS has been authorized to state the following.

The developments in Lebanon are assuming a tragic character. There is mounting bloodshed in the fratricidal war in which Arabs are fighting Arabs. Ever more civilians — women, old men and children — are victims of the fighting.

The events are going beyond the bounds of Lebanon, as seen, in particular, by France's statement on the possibility of sending a French troop contingent to that country. U.S. naval forces continue maneuvering off the Lebanese coast.

The Soviet Union has already warned that the situation in Lebanon and the Middle East as a whole can become complicated still more unless the attempts at foreign interference in the Lebanese affairs are stopped.

The Syrian Arab Republic has stated many times that the mission of its troops in Lebanon is to help stop the bloodshed. Nevertheless, the bloodshed continues today on a larger scale.

The events in Lebanon threaten to grow into a broad international conflict and the Soviet Union calls upon all states to refrain from any actions contradicting the principles of respect for independence,

sovereignty and territorial integrity so that these universally recognized principles should be implemented in full measure toward Lebanon. For this, it is necessary first of all to stop the bloodshed there. It is necessary for all sides involved in one way or another in the Lebanese events to cease fire immediately.

The Soviet Union feels it necessary to state the following to those powers which, claiming an interest in these events, threaten direct military intervention in Lebanese affairs: the Middle East is much closer to the Soviet Union than to those who make such threats, and the USSR is no less interested in how events develop in and around Lebanon. This should be remembered by all.

The Soviet leadership also finds it necessary to call attention to yet another aspect of the Lebanese events. As is known, there are hundreds of thousands of Palestinians on Lebanese territory, who have found refuge in that country and continue the courageous struggle, in the ranks of the Palestinian resistance movement, for their legitimate national rights, for the common Arab interests in eliminating the consequences of the Israeli aggression. What is happening to them today? They have also been drawn into the fratricidal war.

The Soviet Union expects that due responsibility will be shown by the sides directly involved in the Lebanese events and by all other states which are aware of the dangers of a further worsening of the situation in the Middle East.

Pravda, June 10, 1976.

TWO HUNDRED YEARS OF CLASS STRUGGLE

Following is an abridged text of remarks delivered by Gus Hall at the symposium on "Marxism and the Bicentennial" at Columbia University, New York City, on April 24, 1976.

It should not surprise anyone that there are basically two schools of thought, two different approaches to our history and our bicentennial celebrations. Perhaps, it will be a surprise to some of you that the opening line of the *Communist Manifesto*, written by Karl Marx and Frederick Engels 125 years ago, clearly draws the line and defines the issue that divides the two schools and two approaches to our 200-year history.

The Manifesto begins with a statement which is a simple but basic truth: "The history of all hitherto existing society is a history of class struggle." Thus, because the class struggle is the pivotal axis, the primary element of all societies based on exploitation, it is also the basic element of their histories. For one school, this is a skeleton in the closet, for the other, a point of reference, a source of strength.

The class struggle was the stowaway beneath the decks of the ships that sailed for the Americas. The class struggle was the first to set foot ashore at Plymouth Rock. And within 16 years after the Pilgrims landed there was a strike (recorded in history) by fishermen. Of course the employers and the British called it a "mutiny."

And to make the projection more binding, the Communist Manifesto asserted the following, specifically about capitalism: "Capitalism has simplified the class antagonisms. Society as a whole is more and more splitting up into two great hostile camps, into two great classes, the working class and the capitalist class."

Basically this is the essence of our 200-year history. It has been 200 years of class struggle, 200 years of a process of "splitting up into two great hostile classes" and class antagonisms.

For 200 years the class struggle has been the pivotal point in the economic bullring. But what has been covered up, what has not always been observed is the role of the class struggle and its influence in general in all areas of life.

The class struggle generates a force that influences developments far beyond the economic arena and far beyond the ranks of the working class. In fact, it is the primary factor influencing all aspects of life. The class struggle adds a dimension to all relationships.

Fundamentally, the struggle for democracy is related to the struggle between the exploiters who want to limit the right to resist, and the exploited who want to expand such rights.

The spinoff influence of the class struggle was a primary factor in such struggles as the struggle to eliminate private property as a condition for the right to vote. It has been an influence in the movement for voting rights for women and it is not an accident of history that the first and staunchest ally of the women's movement was the socialist working class movement, the movement which was the most intimately related to the class struggle.

The spinoff influence of the class struggle has obviously been present in all of the great anti-trust movements.

Most of the basic issues that angered and agitated the people were issues related to the class struggle. So the class struggle has been a

basic motive force in moulding mass patterns of thought throughout our 200 years.

While it is true the class struggle has been the single most important component in our 200-year history, the working class has not yet arrived at the point where it is the dominating force. Our working class has not yet fully moved into the power slot history has assigned it. It is inescapably advancing to take its leading place, but so far it has not taken full command.

Why the working class in the United States is not yet at all points fulfilling its historic role as the advanced detachment is a most important question. In a sense, for the partisans of the working class it is the most important question of all the bicentennial questions because the answer to it will go a long way toward helping the working class to play its inevitable, historic role.

I want to discuss three factors that have inhibited and slowed down our working class from moving in to fully assume its historic advanced position. These three factors are all hurdles the working class must overcome before it can become the dominant voice determining the social, economic and political course of our nation. The three hurdles are closely interrelated, one having an effect on the other. In a basic sense, they are ideological hurdles. They are: the crucial question of a further deepening of class consciousness, secondly, the rejection and burning out of the influence of racism and thirdly, the necessary growth of a broader, pro-socialist and a Marxist-Leninist sector.

Generally, the question of working class influence on the nation is equal to the level of its own class consciousness.

During the last 100 years or so, U.S. capitalism has meticulously followed the *Communist Manifesto's* predictions of "simplifying the class antagonisms." As a result the class struggle has become sharper and therefore it has a more direct influence on all processes.

Around the turn of the century, U.S. capitalism mustered its total ideological reserves for a Madison Avenue-like campaign to the effect that while there are two classes in the U.S., there need not be a class struggle or class antagonisms. They proclaimed that there are differences, but no class contradictions. In fact, this was the period when the original "think tanks" made their appearance. And thus was born the phoney concept of no-fault class relations.

This ideological blitzkrieg became the foundation for the policies of class collaboration. It spawned the concept of business unionism, and the legalistic labor-movement contracts, dues checkoffs and business

agents, as well as a variety of arbitration schemes. They were all offsprings of what could be called "no fault class relations." But the corporate no-fault schemes could not have seen the light of day without the support of at least a section of the trade union leadership. Corruption and payoffs became the system. It also opened the doors of the trade unions to the racketeering element.

Thus was born the oddest trade union leadership in the world. From a position of class collaboration on economic questions other steps followed, including a policy of supporting the corporate candidates for public office behind the slogan, "reward your friends and punish your enemies."

No-fault class collaboration has been and is today a hindrance to development of class consciousness. It is a cover-up for corporate exploitation.

Our 200-year history has been 200 years of class struggle. But it has also been 200 years of racism. It is a history of massive brainwashing, of sweeping mind-twisting. It stands as the most enormous injection of ideological poison in history. Racism has always engulfed the entire spectrum of life in the United States. This is a bicentennial of racism in the social and cultural fabric of life in our society. It is a bicentennial of racism in education, in housing, medical care and recreation.

In a more fundamental and primary sense, it is a 200-year history of racist discrimination in the economic arena. Through the years, racism has been the source of billions of dollars in extra profits for U.S. corporations. Racism has been interwoven into the capitalist system of class exploitation. For this reason there has been and there is today a close relationship between the struggle against racism and the class struggle.

It is a fact of our history that racism has been an effective ideological weapon in slowing down the maturing process of the U.S. working class. It has been and still is an effective antidote for class consciousness. It has kept the ranks of the working class divided.

It is also important to say that while racism remains a serious obstacle, the struggle against it is being won. However, from every point of view, too slowly, as the events in Boston clearly prove.

A third prerequisite — or one could call it a historic necessity, is that the working class must develop a socialist consciousness, a revolutionary outlook. Class consciousness alone does not provide the working class with a solid enough base to be able to withstand the assaults, the maneuvers of a powerful class adversary. It needs the guiding light of a social science. It needs the leadership of an ad-

vanced revolutionary sector. It needs a theory of struggle. And it needs a political party that can put it all together, a working class party that makes the link between the immediate issues and the struggles with a longer range outlook.

Historically, in the realm of social systems, the American revolution was a big advance. In the realm of human thought the appearance of Marxism was a qualitative leap. The rise of Marxism reflected the new level in the overall storehouse of knowledge, which in turn reflected the new quality in social and economic relationships.

Marxism has been an important influence on a wide spectrum of thought throughout U.S. history. Its influence has not been limited to matters directly related to the class struggle. It has been one of the important influences in philosophy, sociology, economics, literature and other cultural areas as well.

However, a body of thought, especially a revolutionary body of thought, becomes a moving power only when there is a class to sustain it. Marxism-Leninism has become the most influential, respected and accepted world body of thought in all of history. It is the most important moving power in the world precisely because it is sustained by the class that is leading human society to a new and higher stage. The growth of socialist consciousness is a prerequisite of such a stage in the USA.

But we in the United States have not yet overcome the ban against Marxism, the bars put up against it by the ruling class. Recent proof of this is the ban against Dr. Herbert Aptheker at Yale University. In addition, the mass media is closed for Marxism and Marxists. For most of our 200 years, Marxism has been an illegal, forbidden doctrine.

Time does not permit me to detail the various methods by which the state apparatus tries to strangle the democratic rights of Marxists to the ballot.

I strongly urge that those who work and live on the campuses of America, faculty and students alike, take up that fight for the democratic right to the ballot for all who want to use it. After 200 years there is a need for a simple Federal law that makes the ballot available to all parties. It is an essential part of the struggle to maintain and extend democratic rights in this bicentennial year.

IN DEFENSE OF THE VICTIMS OF REACTION

BRITAIN

The Political Committee of the Communist Party Executive has condemned the terror, reprisals and torture of the military-fascist junta in Chile, and called upon British progressives to voice their solidarity with the Chilean people's struggle and protest against the crimes committed by the Pinochet clique.

CHILE

The Communist Party of Chile has sharply condemned the new wave of terror launched by the military-fascist junta. "According to reports from Chile," says a statement released by Chilean Communists, "the junta has started the worst campaign of terror and repression since the fascist coup of September 11, 1973."

The scale of the fascist escalation of violence is indicative of the junta's fear and despondence in the face of the growing resistance and unity of the people.

Chilean Communists call upon democrats the world over to help save the lives and secure the release of all Chileans who are in mortal danger in the prisons and concentration camps.

FRG

The German Communist Party has condemned the new acts of terror in Chile against Communists active in the underground movement. The GCP Board has addressed UN Secretary-General Kurt Waldheim with an appeal to take measures to save the lives of Luis Corvalan and other Chilean patriots, to put an end to the junta's crimes.

ITALY

The Secretariat of the Italian Communist Party has appealed to Italian democrats to form a united front in the effort to free Luis Corvalan and other political prisoners in Chile.

PARAGUAY

The Paraguayan Communist Party has called for international solidarity with Paraguayan patriots languishing for years in the jails of the Stroessner dictatorship, and to demand their release.

A June statement by the PCP says that a month earlier the PCP Chairman Antonio Maidana, Central Committee members Julio Rojas, Alfredo Alcorta and other Party veterans were transferred to the prison hospital following a hunger strike of several days. In spite of the inhuman conditions they are kept in, in spite of the torture and mistreatment at the hands of the jailers, the Communist Party leaders are not losing their fighting spirit.

The Party also appeals for a more active campaign for the release of Central Committee secretary Miguel Angel Soler, the leader of the Communist Youth Federation Derlis Villargui and others.

The Communist Party points out that about 200 Paraguayan patriots were jailed during the recent wave of arrests. The ominous silence of the authorities concerning the fate of the victims, the Party states, causes particular concern for their lives. The lawlessness and arbitrary practices of the dictatorship are in gross violation of the UN Declaration of Human Rights.

SPAIN

A group of Spanish political and public figures have addressed a petition to the chairman of the government Carlos Arias Navarro demanding freedom for members of the Executive Committee of the Communist Party of Spain — Santiago Alvarez, Simon Sanchez Montero, Luicsio Lobato Espronzeda and other political prisoners held in the Carabanchel fortress.

The petition was signed by the leader of workers' commissions Marcelino Camacho, the leader of the Socialist People's Party Enrique Tierno Galvan, the General Secretary of the Socialist People's Party Raul Morodo and others.

URUGUAY

The First Secretary of the Communist Party of Uruguay Rodney Arismendi has strongly condemned the crimes committed in the Argentine capital by the fascist terrorist groups who killed two outstanding members of Uruguay's democratic movement — Selmar Micelini and Hector Gutierrez Ruiz. The responsibility for these crimes, he said, also devolves on the Uruguayan repressive organs and special agencies backed by the CIA. All this is part of the campaign of terror, assassinations, kidnappings and torture against thousands of Uruguayans, mainly against the progressive and democratic forces.

FROM THE PARTY PRESS

PROLETARIAN AND SOCIALIST INTERNATIONALISM

Proletarian and socialist internationalism is a question influencing the activity of the entire world working-class and communist movement. It is no accident, therefore, that this principle, its implementation in everyday political practice, also drew the attention of the 15th Congress of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia.

Proletarian internationalism, and today we can justifiably speak of socialist internationalism, has a long history. The birth of proletarian solidarity on a world scale coincided essentially with the emergence of the revolutionary working-class movement, that is, of Marxism, which made proletarian internationalism an inseparable part of working-class ideology. Its essence is expressed in the well-known slogan: "Workers of all countries, unite!", the watchword of the founders of the League of Communists, the first international party of the working class.

As to socialist internationalism, it is much younger. It owes its origin to the creation of the community of socialist states after the Second World War. But it has time and again proved its viability and strength and is continuing to do so virtually every day.

In this connection, the question may be asked: Why are there "two types" of internationalism, or, what is the difference between them?

Proletarian internationalism, as we see it, concerns relations in the working class, in the world proletariat based on united action, mutual aid and support, whereas socialist internationalism is an expression of the relations not only within one class, but between socialist states as well. There is, therefore, no difference in the essence of the concept. As the 15th Congress of our Party noted, "the defense, affirmation and development of the ideals of proletarian and socialist internationalism, this lofty principle of the world revolutionary movement, serves the vital interests of all sections of the working people." This is understandable since the world is divided into classes, and history has repeatedly demonstrated that in the class struggle the victory of

the cause of socialism, communism and peace can be ensured only by consistently implementing this principle.

Socialist internationalism has been and is primarily the force which has made the socialist countries (in contrast to the capitalist) invincible, economically powerful, and successfully developing. This is in the interest of all working people, irrespective of nationality. The 25th CPSU Congress noted in this connection: "The ties between socialist states are becoming ever closer with the flowering of each socialist nation and the strengthening of their sovereignty, and elements of community are increasing in their policy, economy, and social life. There is a gradual levelling up of their development. This process of gradual drawing together of socialist countries is now operating quite definitely as an objective law.

"Of course, much depends on the policy of the ruling parties and their ability to safeguard unity, to combat isolation and national exclusiveness, to honor the common international tasks, and to act jointly in performing them."

In implementing the principle of proletarian and socialist internationalism it should be borne in mind that the capitalist world is also uniting its forces in the struggle both against the progressive revolutionary movement on its own territory and against the countries of the socialist community. It is pooling political, economic and military resources and cultural media in the vain hope of prolonging its existence, and consolidating its rule.

In contrast to the unity of the international working-class and communist movement, the ruling bourgeois class' striving for unity is motivated primarily by its drive for profits and is therefore of an entirely different character. It is supra-national, cosmopolitan; the homeland and the people have no role whatsoever to play in this process, barring the deliberately inculcated nationalism, which has nothing in common with the interests of the homeland and the people.

"*Socialist patriotism and internationalism*," as was stated at the 15th CPCz Congress, "are, on the contrary, interrelated. Our entire experience proves that there is no genuine patriotism without conscious internationalism, that the internationalists are the most consistent, dedicated and genuine patriots."

The Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, a component of the world communist movement, is, like the other Marxist-Leninist parties, internationalist in character, which is determined by the objective internationalist requirements and interests of the working class and all working people. This finds expression, first of all, in a

program based on Marxist-Leninist ideology, in the comprehensive implementation of the Leninist principles and norms in the Party's internal life and activity.

The very principle of membership, recorded in the CPCz Rules, beginning with the formulation that "every citizen of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic can become a member of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia . . . ," is an expression of the internationalist basis of the Party, its internal aspect. As a multinational state based on the principle of federation, our republic cannot disregard the question of relations between nations and nationalities. On the contrary, its solution is linked with the worldwide development of proletarian and socialist internationalism.

The internationalist character of the CPCz is reflected in purposeful and systematic efforts directed at a rational coordination of both national and international requirements and interests, as well as the tasks and responsibilities this implies. *Basing itself on an analysis of world development, the Party takes full account of the growing tendency toward international political alliance of nations and states and that questions of universal social development are being increasingly solved in the field of foreign policy.*

The 25th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, which convened shortly before the 15th CPCz Congress, stressed that "in shaping our foreign policy we now have to reckon, in one way or another, with the state of affairs in virtually every spot on the globe." Our Party, which proceeds from the rich experience of the CPSU, is also fully aware of this. That is why it is developing and expanding its foreign policy activity to promote the Peace Program charted by the 24th and further developed by the 25th Congress of the Soviet Communists.

The character of the CPCz and the content of its international activity is expressed in the preamble to its Rules. There it is plainly stated: "The Party tirelessly promotes the fraternity, firm alliance and all-round cooperation of the Czechoslovak people with the Soviet people and the working people of other socialist countries. It strengthens its international ties with the working class of the world and renders aid to peoples fighting for liberation from imperialist and colonial oppression. The Party guarantees the defense capacity of the country, actively counters the aggressive designs of imperialism and seeks to promote friendly relations with all nations, as well as co-operation between states with different social systems. In this way the

Party contributes to the victory of the forces of peace and progress, the victory of socialism over capitalism the world over."

Together with the 15th Congress, our whole society has entered a new stage of its development. The Congress decisions, which among others deal with the question of proletarian and socialist internationalism, are a guide to action for all Party bodies, organizations and for each of us.

Tomas Mrhal, Miroslav Solc

Abridged from *Rude Pravo*, May 14, 1976.

CHINA AFTER THE APRIL RIOTS

It is reported from Peking that since the April riots in Tienanmen Square passions have, superficially at least, quietened down. However, tension can still be felt in the behavior of the authorities. Militiamen continue to inspect houses and courtyards and there are armed patrols in the streets.

In Tienanmen Square, the scene of anti-Maoist demonstrations two months ago, soldiers maintain a day and night cordon around the monument to the martyrs. Nobody is allowed to approach the tomb because, as the authorities are well aware, the display of a poster or even a wreath would in the present situation mean an open challenge to Mao and his associates.

The April rioting has revealed the incompatibility of interests between the people and the ruling clique that claims to represent them. This was demonstrated by the behavior of the masses and the numerous anti-Maoist slogans. About 100,000 people gathered in Tienanmen Square at the climax. Some of them were obviously hostile to the present regime, while those who had come "to see what was going on," as the official report put it, did nothing to counter the anti-Maoist marchers.

Peking propagandists are now trying to "forget" this fact and are busy with stories of people who were supposedly active in catching anti-Maoists, of youths who took down the bicycle registration numbers of marchers, thereby facilitating their subsequent arrest, and so on. In fact, quite the opposite was true. The only active people were the security men, who mingled with the crowd and took pictures of individuals and what they were doing.

The latest reports say that some of the demonstrators arrested in Tienanmen Square have received long sentences and some have been

executed. The main hunt now is for those who wrote the anti-Maoist verses and leaflets that were distributed in the square during the events.

With Peking now calmer, at least on the surface, the rest of the country is still in ferment. Riots have been reported in a number of provinces, mainly in Central and Southwest China. The industrial workers are demanding higher wages and decent living conditions.

The workers' economic action is closely linked with the political developments, because the feud between the Maoists and the opponents of their policy affects a vast range of economic and social issues. Since the standard of life is very low, the official slogans of "restricting the bourgeois right" are viewed by the working people as a new encroachment on their social rights and an attempt to bring down the living standard still further.

It will be recalled that in the early years of China as a People's Republic, during the period of Sino-Soviet cooperation, the life of the urban and rural population improved to some extent. A start was made on housing construction and laws on labor protection and rest and recreation were passed. Overtime was paid and the basic foods were not rationed.

Far from registering a further improvement, the life of the people has grown worse since then. Housing construction has been drastically curtailed, and the laws on labor protection, rest and recreation are now ignored. Bonuses, labelled as a "bourgeois" form of material incentives, have been cancelled. Very low rations have been set for the staple foods, with the exception of vegetables. Lagging industry is unable to absorb the urban population increase. To get rid of the extra mouths in the towns, the authorities have sent about 20 million secondary school graduates and near-graduates to the countryside.

Economic difficulties have grown into a serious social problem, the problem of the relationship between the Maoist leadership and the people. The situation has become so grave that the Maoists have had to rush big army units to the disturbed areas.

To divert the people's anger, Mao and his group are using demagogic propaganda to rouse popular feeling against the high- and middle-rank cadres suspected of opposing the official line. The *People's Daily* recently carried Mao's latest instruction, which says that bourgeois elements are present in the Party and that they must be relentlessly combated. The newspaper called for mass support in "completing" the rout of the adherents of Teng Hsiao-ping.

Foreign analysts believe that calls of this kind also aim at exerting

pressure on those who are not zealous enough in pursuing the anti-popular line of the present Peking leaders. Keeping these Party members under the constant threat of being dismissed from their posts on the most fantastic charges, Mao and his intimates are preparing the ground for another round of repressions which will probably not be long in coming.

Pravda, June 5, 1976.

INTERNATIONAL REVIEW

The countries of the socialist community are steadily consolidating their positions on the world scene. This is largely due to their consistent, active implementation of the decisions of the 25th CPSU Congress, of the Program it adopted for further struggle for peace and international cooperation, for the freedom and independence of the peoples.

Foreign policy in the countries of the fraternal community is the concern of the masses. The Soviet people contribute to the consolidation of peace and security by their successful building of communism.

The CC CPSU resolution based on proposals made by General Secretary L.I. Brezhnev is convincing proof of the Soviet people's confident advance. Dealing with the further development of specialization and concentration of agricultural production on the basis of interfarm cooperation and agroindustrial integration, the resolution has attracted public attention in many countries and has aroused extensive press comment. It clearly reflects the realistic and scientific character of the CPSU's agrarian policy.

The new Stockholm Appeal for an end to the arms race and for disarmament launched by the World Peace Council is meeting with wide support. The Soviet people have warmly approved the Appeal, which responds to the foreign policy line of the 25th CPSU Congress. The signature campaign is also making good progress in other countries where the new Stockholm Appeal has met with live public response. There can be no doubt that this new initiative will be a weighty contribution to international security.

The developing countries are siding with the socialist community against imperialism and the dangers which it bodes for mankind. The Soviet Union regards these countries as its friends and comrades. Added evidence of this was the recent visit to the USSR of Lopo do Nascimento, Prime Minister of the People's Republic of Angola.

Free Angola has now entered a new stage in the struggle to consoli-

date its political and economic independence and continue its social progress. In this state, too, an important role will belong to close Soviet-Angolan friendship. The USSR does not pursue the selfish aims ascribed to it by imperialist propaganda. The Soviet people are convinced that it is the internationalist duty of all freedom-loving peoples to render Angola every aid and support in consolidating her achievements and international position, in economic upbuilding and social change.

The visit to the Soviet Union of the President of the Republic of the Philippines is added proof of the shift to peaceful coexistence and mutually-advantageous cooperation. The talks between General Secretary Leonid Brezhnev and President Ferdinand E. Marcos, and the negotiations held in Moscow, showed that there was a good foundation for bilateral contacts corresponding to the modern character of international relations, the universal striving for peace and security, and closer comprehensive, mutually advantageous cooperation.

The Soviet people cordially welcomed a dear guest from a great and friendly country, Prime Minister Indira Gandhi of India. The Soviet Union and India have long-standing and firm ties of friendship and cooperation based on equality, mutual understanding and mutual benefit. They share the common goals of peace and social progress. The USSR has consistently worked for close political and economic cooperation with India. The Soviet people are confident that this visit to the USSR will bring the two countries still closer together.

All peace-loving forces are seriously concerned about the situation in the Middle East, where four wars have been fought in the past 30 years, and where the threat of another war still exists.

The Arab peoples, fighting for the elimination of the consequences of the Israeli aggression, have the invariable support of the Soviet Union. This was demonstrated anew by the visit of A.N. Kosygin, member of the CC CPSU Politbureau and Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR, to Iraq and Syria, with which the USSR maintains relations of friendship based on mutual respect and trust, on common goals and solidarity in the fight for peace and progress.

The forces of imperialist reaction — the U.S. hawks and the West German ultras — as well as the Maoists, who are in the same camp, are trying to stop mankind's advance and bring back the cold war. But although their actions do complicate the international situation, the peoples have every reason to be optimistic about their future. For this future belongs to the forces of peace and social progress.

Abridged from *Pravda*, June 6, 1976.

