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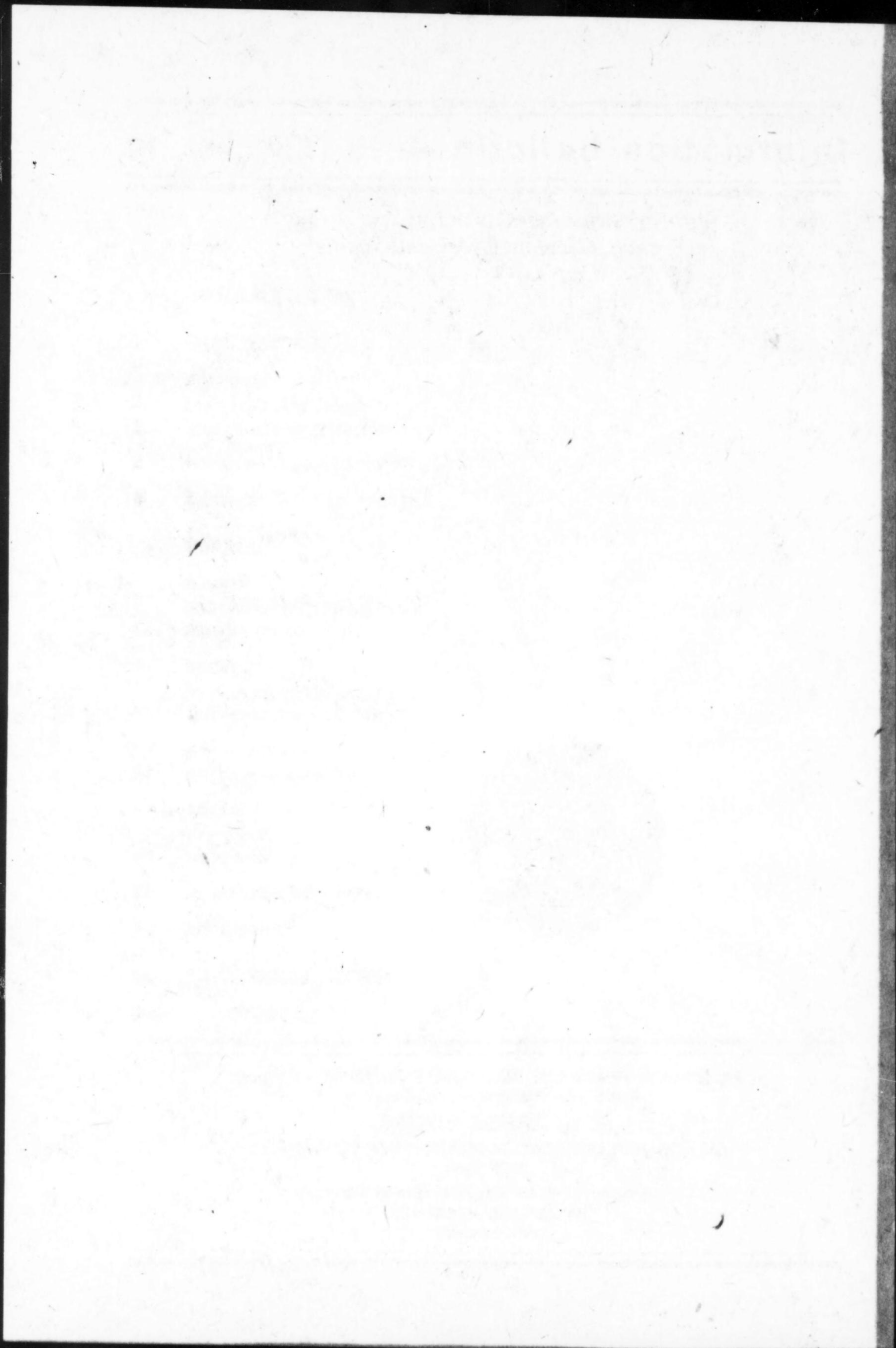
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CONGRESSES

TWENTY-FIFTH CONGRESS OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF DENMARK

The 25th Congress of the Communist Party of Denmark took place in the Odd-Fellow Palace in Copenhagen on September 23-26, 1976. Its agenda included the political report of the Central Committee, the reports of the auditing and control commissions, adoption of a new Party Program and of amendments to the Rules, election of leading Party bodies, immediate objectives.

Around 400 delegates from across the country took part, as well as more than 20 delegations from fraternal parties, including the CPSU delegation headed by Central Committee secretary K.U. Chernenko.

Party Chairman Knud Jespersen delivered the report "Against Big Capital, for Unity of the Working People, for Peace and Socialism." (Published below in condensed form.)

K.U. Chernenko, head of the CPSU delegation, addressed the delegates. (Published below in condensed form.)

Member of the Executive and Central Committee secretary Ib Norlund summed up the discussion on the draft Party program conducted by Party organizations and the public throughout the country during the past year. Our program, he said, sets new goals not only for the Party but for the entire working-class movement. It affirms socialism as its aim and points out ways leading to it.

The capitalist system, the speaker continued, is shaken by a general, all-pervading crisis. For the working people and the entire Danish society it means worsening social conditions, lower living standards and curtailing of democratic rights.

The earnest of our success is the alliance of the working class with all strata of society suffering from monopoly domination. The strength of the working people lies in united action, Norlund said further. The Communists see it as their duty to be the firmest, most consistent and staunchest champions of the working-class cause.

Speaking in the debate on the report, the delegates noted with

satisfaction that in the period since the last congress the Communist Party had consolidated its ranks and strengthened its influence upon the broad popular masses, the young people in the first place.

The delegates unanimously approved the Central Committee report and adopted a resolution on it. The new Party program and amendments to the Party Rules were also approved.

In the foreign policy sphere the Party sees its primary task in the struggle to extricate the country from NATO and the Common Market, strengthening security and cooperation on the continent and implementing the Final Act of the Helsinki Conference. Solidarity was expressed with the peoples fighting against imperialism, reaction and fascism.

The political manifesto adopted by the congress sets forth the objectives of the Party in the economic and social policy spheres.

Much attention was given to the ideological and organizational strengthening of the Party and to raising its authority and influence among the masses.

Congress showed that the Communist Party, a revolutionary party, is closely linked with the working-class movement of its country, with its struggle, problems and aspirations. Condemning opportunism in all its manifestations and the reformist theories of "class collaboration," the Danish Communists vigorously come out for united action of all working people in the struggle against big capital, for peace, and socialism. The Party program, which was discussed and adopted by the congress, is based on the teaching of Marx and Lenin; it sets new goals not only for the Party but for the entire working-class movement of the country. The program affirms socialism as its goal and points to ways of building a new society.

As Chairman Jespersen said in his concluding speech, the 25th Congress of the Danish Communists marked a new important stage in the Party's struggle for the interests of the Danish working people.

Congress elected a new 47-member Central Committee. Knud Jespersen was re-elected Party Chairman.

REPORT BY KNUD JESPERSEN

The 25th Congress of the Danish Communists, the speaker said, is meeting at a time characterized by the aggravation of the general crisis of capitalism and growing working-class struggles. Since the last congress in 1973 the Party has achieved substantial successes. The 1973 elections brought us back into parliament, and the 1975 elections

reaffirmed our advance. We also scored successes in the municipal elections.

In the period under review, Jespersen continued, 5,000 joined our Party. The Communist Youth League also achieved considerable gains. Our successes show that the strengthening of the communist movement fortifies the positions of democracy and the working class. This is evidenced, in particular, by the annual *Land og Folk* fundraising campaigns. In three years we collected almost five million crowns.

Our gains stem from the correct general line which was unanimously endorsed by the 24th Party Congress. The principle of united working-class action has become the linchpin of our activity. We cannot successfully fight for higher pay and employment, broader democratic rights, etc., unless we can inspire forces with common interests to united action. We must clearly see the complexity of the tasks facing us. The continuing capitalist crisis makes itself felt in our country too. We are confronted with it at every step. It is primarily an economic crisis, but it is also a moral crisis, revealing ever more clearly the decay of the capitalist system.

Touching on the Party's attitude to a number of domestic policies of the ruling circles, first of all in the economy and social reforms, the speaker noted that the stand of the Communist Party and its clear-cut policy played a decisive part in organizing powerful demonstrations and large-scale united actions of the working class, which led to the fall of the bourgeois government in 1975.

The trade unions have an important part to play in the struggle of the working class and all working people for their rights. As a class organization, the trade union movement is not called upon to defend the interests of any party but must adhere to political positions conforming to the vital interests of the working class and the broad popular masses.

We have only one main enemy — big capital, Jespersen went on. Unfortunately, the split in the working-class movement and the policy of class collaboration conducted by the Social Democrats played into its hands. The process of overcoming the split in the working-class movement is a prolonged one, but we can reduce the consequences of this split and it is our responsibility to do so already now. This cannot be attained, however, by adapting our policy to the policy of the Social Democrats or by declaring war on them, as they did with regard to us.

As distinct from the capitulation of the Social Democrats, and instead of condemning the working class to passivity and submission,

like they are doing, we want to induce it to independent activity through new proposals and actions.

We are a revolutionary party of the Danish working class. That is why we have never limited ourselves to the narrow framework of parliamentarism.

Recalling a number of the Party's important political actions in the past period, Jespersen touched on the objectives now facing it in the trade union movement and in ideological education.

In analyzing the Party's international policy, the speaker dealt especially with the severe consequences for Denmark due to its participation in NATO and the Common Market. NATO is actively coming out against the Helsinki agreements, seeking to increase tension and to step up the manufacture of armaments. To this we have only one answer: "NATO — get out of Denmark!" It is said that NATO defends us. But against whom? It was promised that the Common Market would strengthen us economically, ensure employment and guarantee higher living standards. But today even those who were for the Common Market are forced to admit that either they deceived the Danish people or were deceived themselves. Our attitude to the EEC has not changed. We want Denmark's fate to be decided by the Danes themselves. Ours is a policy of maintaining peace and cooperation in the whole world, between states with different social systems. This is the only alternative to war. And implementation of the Helsinki agreements is the best way to achieve this.

The Berlin Conference of European Communist and Workers' Parties helped to strengthen Communist unity on the continent despite the differing conditions of their activity. It expressed the common will of 29 million Communists to fight for peace, against war and reaction, for democracy and social progress. The conference led to the strengthening of the working-class and democratic movement in Europe.

The efforts of the countries of victorious socialism, particularly the Soviet Union, in the struggle for peace and peaceful cooperation, their support for all social and national-liberation movements have created the basis for the victory of the peoples. Victory in every country is achieved by the people themselves, and the liberation of the working class in every country is achieved by the working class itself. The earnest of success is proletarian internationalism. Our ideology, the speaker stressed, is based on the principles of proleta-

rian internationalism. Communist solidarity is voluntary and stems from the complete equality and independence of each Party.

Jespersen stressed the Danish Communists' solidarity with the struggle of the Chilean people against the military-fascist dictatorship. He demanded the release of Luis Corvalan and other Chilean patriots, and came out in support of the national-liberation struggle of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America.

Jespersen then went on to sharply criticize militarism. Militarism, he said, is madness, especially in our time, with the stockpiling of a formidable quantity of mass-extinction weapons and the immense sums spent on creating even more destructive weapons. This madness must be stopped before it leads to a catastrophe.

In fighting for socialism in Denmark we do not import any models, either partially or completely. We shall build socialism, he said, in the conditions of Danish reality, independently, by the efforts of our working class and under its control. We have been and will remain a revolutionary party fighting jointly with other Communist Parties, with the Soviet Union and other socialist states, for the victory of peace and freedom of the world over.

In conclusion the speaker said: We appeal to all, including those who do not agree with us on all points: let us advance together against the common enemy in order to free our country of crises, capitalism and exploitation. We put our Party at the service of the struggle for a peaceful and socialist Denmark.

Summarized from *Land og Folk*, September 24, 1976.

SPEECH BY K.U. CHERNENKO

It gives me particular pleasure to fulfill the personal assignment of General Secretary Leonid Brezhnev — to convey from him warm friendly greetings and wishes for the fruitful work of your congress, Chernenko said.

Our delegation expresses its gratitude to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Denmark for the invitation to take part in the work of its 25th Congress. We see this as proof of the growing friendship and cooperation between our parties.

We heard with close interest, the speaker said, the Central Committee report delivered by Chairman Knud Jespersen, a prominent leader of the Communist Party of Denmark and the world communist movement. The atmosphere of unity, cohesion, businesslike and creative discussion of the Party's tasks, in which the congress is taking place, is heartening to us, your friends.

The head of the CPSU delegation expressed his conviction that the congress would mark a new important stage in the Party's activity, in the Danish Communists' struggle for the cause of the working class and all working people of their country.

It should be noted, he continued, that an atmosphere of genuine comradeship and communist solidarity reigns at your congress. This is yet another manifestation of the profound internationalism of the Communist Party of Denmark.

Then the head of the CPSU delegation told the delegates about the activity of the Soviet Communists and the creative endeavor of the Soviet people in solving consistently, step by step, the tasks set by the 25th CPSU Congress. Leonid Brezhnev said: "...the revolutionary, creative spirit, the ideas of the 25th Congress are embodied in the day-to-day affairs of our Party, our people. Understood and accepted by the millions, they increasingly become a material force, a powerful accelerator of our development."

Precisely in this, Chernenko noted, lies the strength of our democratic system, the effectiveness of socialist democracy. Without the day-to-day conscious and active participation of the broad masses in the affairs of the state our country could not have attained such immense successes, either in the economy, in spiritual development, or in any other sphere.

Speaking of the achievements of the Soviet economy, which has embarked on its tenth five-year plan, the head of the CPSU delegation noted that accomplishment of the objectives set for the new five-year period will considerably improve the well-being of the people. We will in future too, he said, systematically raise the wages and salaries, and the incomes of the collective farmers will continue to grow. As before, the state will show concern for improving the living conditions of the pensioners and for bringing up the younger generation.

There are, of course, some unresolved problems about which we speak with a straightforwardness typical of Communists and discuss collectively in order to find the best solution, the speaker said. But these are quite different from those confronting the working people in the capitalist West. We do not have to worry about unemployment, because we have no unemployment, or about the inflation and spiraling prices, which are the curse of the working people in the capitalist countries. We have firm confidence in our future, and this is something we take a legitimate pride in.

The creative, constructive character of the activity of our Party and people at the home front determines the peaceful character of Soviet

policy on the international arena. A program for the further struggle for peace and international cooperation, for freedom and independence of the peoples was adopted by the 25th CPSU Congress. And our Party, its Central Committee are doing everything to undeviatingly implement this program. We have worked and are working consistently in that direction, coordinating our efforts with the fraternal socialist countries, strengthening solidarity with the Communist and Workers' Parties, cooperating with all the forces advocating peace and progress.

Our primary task today is to fortify the positive trends on the international scene, and to make détente irreversible. This is a complex and multiform task. First of all, progress must be made in curbing the arms drive, and political détente must be complemented by military détente.

The Soviet Union and the other socialist community states are actively and consistently working for the full implementation of the Final Act of the European Security Conference. We proceed from the premise that realization of the Helsinki agreements corresponds to the interests of the peoples.

The CPSU, Chernenko continued, highly assesses the results of the Berlin Conference of European Communist and Workers' Parties. In Berlin 29 million European Communists authoritatively and confidently called on all other democratic forces to act jointly for peace and social progress on the continent, combine efforts to stop the arms drive and consolidate international détente. Our Party sees it as its duty to do everything to achieve the goals set by the conference.

Twenty-nine fraternal parties resolved in common to further internationalist cooperation in order to achieve the collectively worked out goals on the basis of the great teaching of Marx, Engels and Lenin, on the universally accepted norms of relations between parties. We wish to assure you, comrades, that the CPSU will continue to take an active part in such cooperation.

The Soviet Communists highly appraise the fraternal ties and cooperation developing between the CPSU and the Communist Party of Denmark. The meeting between Leonid Brezhnev and Knud Jespersen in Berlin reaffirmed the unanimity of views of our parties on all fundamental present-day problems, a unanimity based on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism.

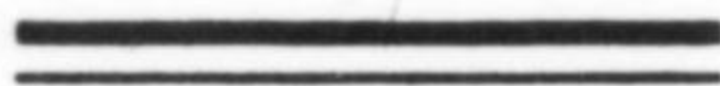
We note with gratification that relations between the Soviet Union and Denmark are developing positively. We know that the Danish Communists vigorously advocate furthering friendly relations be-

tween our countries on the basis of equality and mutually beneficial cooperation.

The Danish Communists have always championed effective support for and active solidarity with those who fight for national independence and freedom, peace and socialism, the sacred right of their people to choose their own way of social development. Permit me, from the rostrum of the congress of your Party, which is invariably loyal to the ideas of proletarian internationalism, to hail on behalf of the Soviet Communists the revolutionary parties of many countries represented here and to express our warm solidarity with the comrades fighting in the harsh conditions of reactionary dictatorships and terror, with Luis Corvalan, a comrade dear to all of us, whose heroic deeds our state marked recently by awarding him the Order of Lenin, the highest award of our country.

Chernenko wished the congress success in its work and all Danish Communists fresh achievements in their struggle for the interests of the working class and all working people, in the efforts to strengthen the Party and expand its influence and to bring about united action of all the working people. He expressed his firm conviction that the long-standing friendship between the CPSU and the Communist Party of Denmark will continue to develop for the good of our common cause, for the good of peace and socialism.

Abridged from *Pravda*, September 25, 1976.



OUR WATCHWORD: UNION AND ACTION OF THE MASSES

*Report by Georges Marchais at FCP Central Committee
Meeting on September 6, 1976*

Actions by the working people should be directed first of all against the government's stepped-up austerity policy, for the satisfaction of their vital demands.

An unprecedented campaign is being conducted to convince the French, particularly the working people, that they are responsible for one of the ills — inflation. The working people's wages, it is said, have been excessive and they live better than the nation can afford. Hence, the only means of remedying the situation is to lower purchasing power and consumption.

This false campaign must be vigorously opposed. It is necessary to lay bare the real causes of inflation and the danger posed by the austerity policy, for, far from solving existing problems, it only aggravates them. I want to deal at length with this important question.

To compare the official price index and the evolution of the hourly wage at the privately-owned enterprises, as the government propagandists and big employers do, is a fraudulent practice. The official index does not reflect the real growth of the cost of living for families of the working people, and the hourly wages used for comparison do not represent their actual earnings after tax deduction. This is confirmed by the fact that these families find it increasingly harder to make ends meet, by the poverty of the aged, the increasing cases of confiscation of property, cutting off of gas and electricity and the shorter vacations of many families this year.

The Ministry of Labor publishes quarterly reports on the evolution of the working people's incomes which take into account their wages, family allowances and taxes. On the basis of these data and using for comparison the price index of the General Confederation of Labor, which is the closest to reality, we find that from July 1974 to January

1976 the purchasing power of a worker's take-home pay dropped by 5-8 per cent. That is the real situation!

Moreover, though production has not reached the 1974 level, it has been on the rise for almost a year and labor productivity is growing especially rapidly. According to official data, it will increase by 8-10 per cent in 1976 compared to the previous year. This means that the working people produce more. Yet their purchasing power remains at the same level or is even lower. A longer period, from July 1968 to January 1976, shows that it dropped by 2-8 per cent while industrial output went up 35 per cent and labor productivity, 48 per cent.

Thus the working people multiply the national wealth by their labor but do not themselves benefit by it. Their living standards are below the wealth that they produce for the country.

Of the developed capitalist countries, France has the highest percentage of poor people, as evidenced by the recent data of the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development, confirming the analysis made by our 22nd Congress.

Today the monthly take-home pay of 6.5 million working people is less than 200,000 old francs. Nine million earn less than 250,000 old francs. This wage is insufficient for the most essential needs in the France of 1976. If we add to this the unemployed, aged, single women, the incapacitated, in a word, all those whose incomes are below that sum, the total of poor people in France will run up to 16 million. More, we witness the continually worsening situation of a substantial mass of wage and salary workers whose earnings are higher.

There is a tendency to counterpose technicians and engineers to workers, and wage earners to peasants. This is done in the name of struggle against social inequality. But this must be combated. No one opposes social inequality and injustice more vigorously than the Communists. That is why we fight for better conditions for the poorer sections, for a just wage scale. But to do this to the detriment of the administrative personnel or the engineers and technicians would mean falling into the trap set by the government. It is not they who are the privileged, but a few dozen, few hundred thousand who live in private villas in fashionable districts, in castles or palaces, wallowing in luxury and spending more in a day than a worker or even an engineer can earn in a whole year. It is against them that the attack should be directed and not against those who live by their labor.

It should also be noted that the average wage in France (as evidenced by studies and statistics) is about 30 per cent lower than in

Belgium and Holland, as well as in Germany, which is always being thrown in our faces. These studies also show that less is spent on wages in those Common Market countries where inflation is the highest, that is, in France, Italy and Britain.

Thus the wage and salary workers are in no way responsible for the inflation. To impose new austerity measures on them is to punish not those who are responsible, but the victims.

And where are those responsible for the situation? In the government and in big business. They are the owners of 25 giant financial and industrial companies, who with government help inflate prices and devalue the franc. They raise prices because this ensures them rapid and easy super-profits, favors quicker returns on investments, leading to an artificial and temporary increase in the rate of profits. This also enables them to bring down the incomes of the working people, accelerate concentration of capital as a result of the liquidation of small enterprises and depreciation of the savings of small depositors. The state of financial magnates participates in this inflation, by raising tariffs, making ever bigger presents to the trusts, favoring the export of capital and speculation, and submitting to the law of the dollar and the mark.

We are told that France lives beyond her means. But what really is beyond France's means is the destruction of fruit and vegetables, the hundreds of thousands of flats remaining vacant because of exorbitant rent, giving 150 billion francs to the Michelin firm while it invested 140 billion in the United States, raising the price of nuclear reactors by 50 per cent in two years, which Baron Empain sells to the sole buyer, Electricité de France, the closing down of dozens of fully viable enterprises and scrapping large amounts of absolutely new machinery, the flow of 1,000 to 2,000 billion old francs abroad to pay for speculation against the franc, which led to its devaluation. What really is beyond France's means is the lack of a new plane to replace the Caravelle, subsidizing the Dassault firm for the manufacture, and Air-Inter for the purchase, of the Mercure-100 plane, and the planned purchase of outmoded American DC-9 planes.

The drive for profit of a few giant trusts which seek to profit from the vast capital concentrated in their hands — that is the source of misfortune, that is the cause of the inflation affecting the country.

It is the cause of the country's other ills, unemployment first of all. It also lies, as we have proved, at the basis of the present system's crisis.

Tightening of the austerity policy would signify dipping into the

pockets of the working people to pay for the extravagance of the privileged, the bosses of the economy and the state and, finally, to aggravate the causes of inflation.

The French know this from their own experience. Since 1962 they have experienced four severe austerity plans, all of which in the final count led to accelerated price increases.

Today the austerity policy, apart from everything else, is fraught with a new sharp rise in unemployment, and with restriction of public consumption, which is the principal means of economic upturn.

These are the serious reasons prompting us to say "no," a resolute "no" to the austerity policy and the attempt to shift the burden on the working people.

We are against this disastrous orientation and come out for effective measures to solve the important problems of the country.

That is why we call for action to check inflation, in particular by blocking the purchase prices set by the big enterprises, annulling the added value tax on prime necessities, abolishing the enormous tax privileges enjoyed by the big companies and taxing their speculative profits. We call for stringent control over state credits to the trusts in order to combat the squandering of state funds by controlling the transfer of capital abroad. Extension of the workers' rights at enterprises and immediate nationalization measures would greatly help to achieve these aims.

At the same time we favor bigger public consumption — primarily by establishing a minimum monthly wage of 200,000 old francs — by raising the purchasing power of wages and pensions, as well as the incomes of farmers, and by doubling family allowances. In view of this we vigorously reject the Giscardian super-tax, and note with satisfaction that the struggle against it is gaining in scope.

The measures proposed by us are aimed not only against inflation and devaluation of the franc, but will help to combat unemployment. This question remains highly topical, and the behavior of the government, which apparently hopes that the worries and suffering of the unemployed and those threatened with dismissals or shutdowns can be disregarded, is simply scandalous. And in this case also we state that there are other solutions to the problem. We are on the side of the working people fighting to keep their jobs. We demand a slower work tempo, shorter hours, control over investments which must be used to create new jobs especially needed in the services, development of industries corresponding to the needs of the country, and aid to the small and medium enterprises.

These in short are the measures proposed by our Party for the solution of immediate problems. There can be no talk of waiting with folded arms for the 1978 elections. First, because the working class and their families, who bear the brunt of the difficulties, cannot wait any longer. Second, because only by a day-to-day struggle in defense of their interests, only by bringing about a just solution to the problems can we win more supporters needed by the left for victory, as it would be dangerous to assume that it is already in the bag.

These measures have nothing to do with a catalogue to be used only in its totality. They are not restrictive. They are not a general plan which we would expect the present government to put into effect.

We have no illusions. We know that there is only one way to implement these measures, the way of struggle.

We appeal to the Communists, all Party organizations boldly and vigorously to play the role of vanguard, of a force uniting the working people. Precisely this is their role in the struggle to defend the working people's demands. We appeal to them to use the growing opportunities favoring the convergence of all actions against the common enemy — big capital and its power.

Abtided from *L'Humanité*, September 7, 1976.

TWENTY-EIGHTH PLENUM OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE, COMMUNIST PARTY OF ISRAEL

Meeting in plenary session on August 26-27, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Israel unanimously approved "the Party" section of the material being prepared for its congress, scheduled for December 15-18, 1976.

The plenum also approved the following agenda for the congress:

1. Report of the Central Committee.
2. Report of the Central Auditing Commission.
3. Discussion and adoption of resolutions.
4. Election of the Central and Central Auditing Commission.

The meeting adopted a number of resolutions on the political situation, against the unholy alliance with the racist, fascist regime in South Africa, in defense of the working people's interests and for

stronger solidarity with the Chilean people in their struggle against the fascist dictatorship.

RESOLUTION ON THE LEBANESE QUESTION

Hands off Lebanon!

Let us step up the struggle for peace, against occupation!

The Central Committee assailed the Israeli government for interfering in the Lebanese civil war in the interests of the reactionaries and the fascist Kataib party. According to various sources, including the Israeli news media and the loyal press, Tel Aviv is abundantly supplying the reactionary forces in Lebanon with arms. The Israeli fleet has blocked the Lebanese ports held by national forces and the Palestine Liberation Organization. Israeli units are systematically intruding into southern Lebanon. As for the formal refutation made in the wake of the Soviet warning against Israeli interference in Lebanon, that is simply dissembling.

The Israeli government's interference in the affairs of Lebanon is coordinated with the U.S. government. It is an attack on the independence of Lebanon and the freedom of its people, aimed against the national anti-imperialist Arab movement and designed first of all to deal blows against the Arab people of Palestine and its acknowledged representative, the Palestine Liberation Organization. There is direct evidence of an imperialist plot to divide and partition Lebanon. The expansionist circles in Israeli hope in this way to annex the south of Lebanon.

The Israeli government, in encroaching upon the territory of Lebanon, benefits by the military interference of Syria, which, under pressure of the rightist Baathists, refuses to withdraw its troops despite the demands of the national Lebanese forces.

Only the Lebanese people themselves, aided by progressive world opinion, should and can solve its internal problems without any foreign interference.

Tel Aviv's interference in Lebanon conflicts with Israel's genuine interest in a just and lasting peace. Only peace will bring security to the Israeli people, will help in defending its national independence and in solving social problems.

The Central Committee warns against the illusion being spread by the ruling circles and the right-extremist Likud, which seek to put an end to the national existence of the Palestinian Arabs. This policy, based on perpetuating the occupation of the Arab lands seized with

the help of U.S. imperialism in 1967, is fraught with the danger of a fifth Israeli-Arab war.

The Arab people of Palestine continues to exist. The future is with the heroes of Tell-Zaatar, and not with the fascists and imperialists. It is not the stand of the Palestine Liberation Organization, as alleged by the lying official propaganda of Israel, but the position of Israel itself that is so evil, due to the policy of its government.

The representative of the Palestine Liberation Organization took part in the non-aligned conference — held this month in Colombo, Sri Lanka, with the participation of 86 states, i.e., the majority of mankind — and was elected a member of the coordinating committee of non-aligned states. This important forum assailed the policy of war, occupation and oppression by the Israeli government, and resolved to set an embargo on the sale of oil to it because of its military aid to the racist regime in South Africa.

It is not the stand of the Palestine Liberation Organization, but the official stand of Israel that is castigated on the world arena. This further increases the isolation of Israel.

The decisions adopted at the Colombo conference is a fresh warning to the Israeli people that the policy of its ruling circles is divorced from world and regional realities. The present strife in the Arab world does not and cannot alter the basic truth or the main problems. Today, as before, it is imperative to solve the Israeli-Arab conflict and the Palestinian problem by establishing a just and lasting peace, which would guarantee, in line with the Security Council and United Nations resolutions, Israel's withdrawal from all the Arab territories it occupied in 1967, assurance of the right of the Palestinian Arabs to self-determination, creation of an independent Palestine state along with the State of Israel, the sovereignty of Israel and the Arab states, and their territorial integrity.

The Geneva conference, held under the auspices of the UN, the co-chairmanship of the Soviet Union and the United States of America and with the participation of all sides involved in the conflict, including the Palestine Liberation Organization as the legitimate representative of the Arab people of Palestine — that is the best way to overcome the basic difficulties and to establish peace and provide sound international guarantees to be assured by the United States and the Soviet Union.

An end to the occupation, to participation in imperialist machinations, establishment of a just and lasting peace, such are the genuine interests of Israel.

The Central Committee calls for an end to Israel's interference in the internal affairs of Lebanon, for a fundamental change in official policy in the interests of Israel, of all Arab peoples, in the interests of peace and security in this region.

Al-Ittihad, September 3, 1976.

FOURTH PLENUM OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE, POLISH UNITED WORKERS' PARTY

The Central Committee of the Polish United Workers' Party, meeting in Warsaw on September 9, heard a Political Bureau report, "For full implementation of the Seventh Party Congress decisions in the field of agriculture." The report was delivered by First Secretary Edward Gierek.

The plenum determined the aims of provincial Party committees and Party bodies in the branches servicing agriculture in increasing farm output.

REPORT BY EDWARD GIEREK

In recent months, Gierek said, the Polish people have been concerned about food supply and prices, which are directly linked with agriculture. In the first year of the new plan period we again focus our attention on farming in view of its role in the harmonious growth of the economy as a whole and the growing demand for food products.

Gierek noted that back in 1974 the 15th plenum of the Central Committee charted a long-term comprehensive program of food production. But, he stressed, during the last five years agricultural development has been uneven. Due to unfavorable weather the output of grain and fodder has dropped, affecting the output of livestock produce despite substantial state subsidies and the costly import of grain and fodder.

Better food supply depends on overcoming the existing difficulties and expanding farm production in the present plan period, the First Secretary said. This is the prime task on which we should concentrate.

The speaker noted that allocations for agricultural development will

increase by approximately 560 billion zlotys during the current five-year period. These are extensive but necessary investments, he added.

Our aim is to modernize agricultural production, making it a stable part of the Polish economy. In the next few years we must ensure a substantial growth of domestic grain and fodder reserves. This is dictated by both economic reasons and the existing opportunities of farming. Another important aim is to expand the grain-growing area and to rapidly increase crop yields.

Raising agricultural output, Gierek said, also involves the labor of hundreds of thousands of workers, engineers, technicians and other people engaged in branches producing farm machinery and directly or indirectly influencing the growth of crop yields, livestock produce and productivity.

We had to cope with mounting difficulties in balancing the supply and demand of some food products, the speaker went on. The purchasing prices on agricultural products have been raised several times in order to create the best conditions for bigger output. As a result, they have gradually approached the retail prices of corresponding products, and often are even higher. The situation that has taken shape in agriculture beginning with 1974 has been aggravated by unfavorable weather. Therefore, it is a task of prime importance to rapidly increase the output of food products.

Proceeding from important economic and social motives and concerned with the country's further progress, the government proposed in June this year changes in the prices structure, with a corresponding rise in wages, family allowances and pensions. These proposals, approved by the Political Bureau, envisage solving a whole range of problems and creating the basis for a relatively prolonged stabilization of prices at a new level.

The immediate public reaction to the government's proposals and the experience of the past months show, the speaker said, that the great majority of working people have understood the motives behind them. However, a substantial part of society, while conceding the need for changes in the prices structure, had differing views and doubts regarding the amount and scale of the proposed changes and the method of compensating for them. It is these doubts and the proposals expressed in due procedure that we took into consideration in deciding on a gradual and slower solution of this problem. That was a sound decision, corresponding to the vital interests of the nation,

though extremely difficult from the political and economic point of view.

In adopting these decisions we reaffirmed the profound democratism of our system, the indissoluble alliance of the Party and the masses, its flexibility in correcting its policy, leaning on the opinion of the working people.

During these days and weeks, he said, when very difficult decisions had to be made, we witnessed a heartening show of solidarity, support and confidence on the part of the Polish working class, peasantry and intelligentsia with respect to the policy of our Party and government, with respect to the Central Committee. This is an earnest of fruitful activity and successful implementation of the Seventh Congress line.

The problem of the prices structure will remain topical for a long time, Gierek noted. To solve it gradually and at a slower pace is a difficult and complex job. For that we need a well thought-out and multiform socio-economic program, patience and strict public discipline. Only an analysis of all these factors will enable us to realistically plan wage increases and a flexible prices policy for the next few years.

We suggest that competent Party-government panels formed by the Political Bureau be charged with compiling the necessary materials and with analyzing and preparing proposals on the matter concerned. The panels should be given a year's time to elaborate corresponding proposals, the First Secretary said. The importance of the problem may make it necessary to submit the proposals worked out by the panels for consideration by a second national Party conference. In suggesting this we are aware of the difficulties of maintaining the present prices on basic food products for a prolonged period.

At present we must concentrate on the most urgent problems connected with market equilibrium, now a major economic and political task, the speaker stressed. The shortcomings in providing supplies have various reasons. Many of them are the result of poor organization and impermissible negligence of the public needs.

There is a meat shortage in our country, the speaker continued. We will mobilize all our reserves, including imports, but even then the demand cannot be fully satisfied. We say this outright, because it is poor policy to make lavish promises. We expect the working people to support the efforts of the government and to show understanding and discipline.

We will in future too strengthen our economic ties with the other socialist countries and actively participate in implementing the inte-

gration processes in the CMEA framework, Gierek said. We will expand economic cooperation with all our partners.

Touching on the need to improve quality, the First Secretary said that the Central Committee will examine at its early meeting a draft five-year plan as well as how to improve economic activity and raising its effectiveness.

The speaker further said that the Party will continue to strengthen socialist democracy, the principles of which have nothing to do with work stoppage instead of talking things over, disruption of the normal rhythm of production activity, manifestation of indiscipline, to say nothing of resorting to forms of pressure which cause public tensions, playing into the hands of anti-social and hostile forces.

Poland is our common good, Gierek noted. The fate of the people, their independence and security depend on its power and well-being. He who does not understand and respect this, comes in conflict with the fundamental interests of the people.

In improving Party and government work we will invariably be guided by the Leninist norms of Party life, strengthen the Party's ties with its activists and membership, and with the working class, Gierek said. We must study more deeply the people's sentiments, know better their views and feelings, thoughtfully assess public opinion and the political situation. Only on this condition will our proposals and decisions become not only rational but realistic.

An important political objective now is to consolidate the activists and the Party as a whole, to mobilize it for vigorous and effective actions. We must, he stressed, resolutely overcome the doubts appearing here and there, barren fault-finding and passivity. Our Party's general line, charted at its Sixth and developed at its Seventh Congress, is correct. Its implementation has substantially advanced socialist construction, multiplied the productive forces and improved living standards. We have consolidated Poland's position, deepened respect for the achievements of our people. We have strengthened our political, economic and ideological ties with the socialist community, first of all with our main ally and friend, the Soviet Union.

We have every reason, Gierek concluded, to look confidently to the future. Everything depends on our work, on civic discipline and real concern for the common cause, for the progress of our homeland and the well-being of our people. I am profoundly convinced that every Pole, whether a Party member or not, will give all his energies to this great, patriotic cause.

Recapitulated from *Trybuna Ludu*, September 10, 1976.

SUMMARIES

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

A plenary meeting of the CPCz Central Committee, held in Prague on September 13-14, discussed questions of developing the iron and steel and machine-building industries after the 15th Party Congress, and preparations for elections to the Federal Assembly, republican and local government bodies.

Reporting on the first question, Lubomir Strougal, member of the CPCz Central Committee Presidium and Chairman of the Government, pointed out that in line with the 15th Congress decisions, along with the overall growth of industrial output by a third, the production of machines and other equipment will increase by half in the present five-year period.

Presidium member and Central Committee secretary Vasil Bilak informed the plenum of the results of the Conference of European Communist and Workers' Parties. The activity of the CPCz delegation at this conference was approved.

General Secretary Gustav Husak made the concluding speech at the meeting.

FINLAND

The Central Committee of the Communist Party held a plenary meeting in Helsinki on September 18, which discussed the results of the Berlin Conference of Communist and Workers' Parties, some questions of the international situation, and the Party's preparations for the municipal elections.

The Central Committee approved the activity of the Party delegation in the preparatory work for the Berlin conference and at the conference itself, as well as the final document "For Peace, Security, Cooperation and Social Progress in Europe," and adopted corresponding resolutions on the questions discussed.

The meeting expressed full support for the peoples fighting against imperialism, for freedom, independence and democracy.

A statement adopted by the meeting condemned the policy of apartheid in the South African Republic and vigorously demanded that the Vorster government stop the terror and racial discrimination. It called on the government of Finland to break economic, political and diplomatic relations with Pretoria.

THE NETHERLANDS

The Communist Party of the Netherlands met in plenary session in Amsterdam on September 10-11. The agenda included two questions: the work of the Party in the present economic and political situation and the work and results of the Berlin Conference of Communist and Workers' Parties of Europe.

After discussing the first question, *De Waarheid* reports, it was decided to convene a national conference of the Party. The date will be announced later.

On the second question, the communique notes that in the opinion of the Central Committee the participation of the Party delegation at the Conference of European Communist and Workers' Parties was correct and useful. The plenum noted that the conference's analysis of the international situation is on the whole correct. The necessity was stressed of displaying greater attention to solidarity with the struggle of the Indonesian people against neo-colonialism.

Seeing non-interference in the internal affairs of parties, freedom of choice of ways of their struggle, and their responsibility to the working class and people of their country as a necessary condition of mutual solidarity, the Communist Party of the Netherlands states that, on its part it will do everything to ensure the effective internationalist unity of Communists throughout the world for the common struggle against imperialism, to make it stop the arms drive, eliminate the dangerous hotbeds of war, put an end to the relapses into cold war against the socialist countries, and assure the free development of peoples still under imperialist domination by forming democratic and peace-loving governments. The Central Committee calls attention to the need to continue the struggle against negative tendencies hindering the consolidation of the international communist movement.

Chairman Henk Hoekstra, honorary member of the Central Committee, Paul de Groot and other Party functionaries spoke at the meeting.

NORWAY

The National Board of the Communist Party met in Oslo at the end of September. It discussed questions connected with the 1977 parliamentary elections and the condition of the working people in view of the spiralling prices, and defined the immediate objectives of the Norwegian Communists.

MEETINGS AND TALKS

CUBA

A Party and government delegation of the Laotian People's Democratic Republic, led by General Secretary of the People's Revolutionary Party and Prime Minister Kaysone Phomvihane, was on an official friendly visit to Cuba in mid-September.

During the visit Cuban and Laotian government delegations met for official negotiations. The Cuban delegation was led by Fidel Castro, First Secretary of the Communist Party and Prime Minister, the Laotian delegation was led by Kaysone Phomvihane. The talks were held in an atmosphere of fraternity, comradeship and mutual understanding, the press release noted.

The Laotian Party and government delegation toured the country.

A mass rally held in Santiago de Cuba highlighted the friendship between the Cuban and Laotian peoples.

The joint communique published after the visit expresses the gratitude of the people and government of the Laotian People's Democratic Republic to the Communist Party and revolutionary government of Cuba for their solidarity with and support of the Laotian patriots' struggle against U.S. imperialism.

The Cuban side noted the vast changes in the life of the Laotian people since the People's Democratic Republic was proclaimed. It warmly acclaimed the historic victory won by the Laotian people in hard and sustained revolutionary battles against colonialism and neo-colonialism. It stressed the role of the People's Revolutionary Party, which united the country's revolutionary forces and led them to victory with the support and solidarity of the peoples of the socialist countries and progressives the world over.

The Cuban delegation stated its firm conviction that under the leadership of the People's Revolutionary Party and with the support of international solidarity and, above all, with the aid of the socialist countries, the fraternal Laotian people would win new victories in rehabilitating its country and in creating a peace-loving, independent, democratic, united and flourishing state.

The Laotian side, for its part, upheld the just demand that U.S. troops be unconditionally withdrawn from the territory of Guan-

tanamo, which they occupy against the will of the people and government of Cuba.

As noted in the joint communique, Cuba and the LPDR hail the historic victory of the peoples of Vietnam and Cambodia, declare their full support for the Korean people's struggle for the peaceful unification of their country. Both sides express concern over the Middle East situation and hold that the complete withdrawal of Israeli troops from all unlawfully seized territories and guaranteed rights for the Palestinian people are requisites of a fair solution of the problem. Both sides express satisfaction over the important victory of the Angolan people. The Laotian Party and government delegation signified its support for the principled policy of the Cuban revolution and its solidarity with the Angolan people.

Both sides expressed support for the non-aligned movement, which opposes imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism, Zionism, apartheid and other forms of racial discrimination. They consider that unity between the non-aligned and socialist countries and other progressive peace forces is a reliable earnest of furthering the gains of the non-aligned movement.

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

A Laotian Party and government delegation led by General Secretary of the People's Revolutionary Party and Prime Minister Kaysone Phomvihane has concluded an official friendly visit to Czechoslovakia.

The delegation had talks with General Secretary of the CPCz Central Committee and President of the Republic Gustav Husak and other Czechoslovak leaders. They discussed steps to expand Czechoslovak-Laotian friendly relations and cooperation as well as important international problems.

Both sides spoke favorably of the results of the European Security Conference. They noted with satisfaction that by implementing the provisions of the Final Act, the European socialist states have made headway in strengthening peace and security in Europe. The steady all-round growth of the might of the socialist countries is a decisive factor in promoting peace and security throughout the world.

The Communist Party of Czechoslovakia and the People's Revolutionary Party of Laos noted the contribution of the Berlin Conference of European Communist and Workers' Parties to peace, security and cooperation on the continent. They expressed their

resolve to work for stronger unity of the world communist and working-class movement.

The CSSR and LPDR fully uphold the struggle of the non-aligned states against the policy of aggression and imperialist interference, for freedom and independence, for the right to be masters of their natural wealth, for sovereignty, equality and mutually beneficial relations. They expressed the conviction that growing cooperation and solidarity between the socialist and non-aligned countries, as well as among the non-aligned countries themselves, would enable the non-aligned movement to achieve new victories in its just struggle.

Both sides denounced imperialist interference in Asia and demanded the withdrawal of U.S. troops from the region and the abolition of all imperialist military bases, including the one on Diego Garcia.

The CSSR and LPDR support the struggle of the progressive forces of Arab countries against Israeli aggression, which is abetted by international imperialism and Zionism, and demand a just political settlement in the Middle East.

The Czechoslovak and Laotian delegations fully identified themselves with the struggle of the Chilean patriots against Pinochet's fascist junta and demanded the immediate release of CP General Secretary Luis Corvalan and other Chilean patriots.

The communique notes that the talks reaffirmed complete unanimity on all questions discussed, as well as the desire and resolve of both sides to further fraternal ties in every sphere between the two parties and countries.

HUNGARY

Pieter Keuneman, General Secretary of the Communist Party of Sri Lanka, visited Hungary from September 9 to 13, at the invitation of the HSWP Central Committee. During the visit Keuneman was received by HSWP First Secretary Janos Kadar.

During their cordial, comradely talks, the representatives of the HSWP and CPSL noted with satisfaction that due to the consistent peace policy of the socialist countries and to the actions of the international communist movement, the national-liberation forces and the peace-loving and progressive forces, international détente is making headway and the policy of peaceful coexistence is gaining ground. This fosters the struggle for social progress and independence. The camp of the supporters of détente, security and cooperation is grow-

ing all over the world. In this connection, both sides stressed the significance of the Colombo conference of non-aligned states.

The representatives of the HSWP and CPSL spoke highly of the Conference of European Communist and Workers' Parties, which contributed to the unity of the forces fighting for international peace and security and social progress. They stressed the need for bilateral and multilateral exchanges of experience between fraternal parties. Both sides attach great importance to stronger united action of the Communist Parties and other anti-imperialist, democratic and progressive forces in the fight for peace and security, for national independence, the interests of the working people, for social progress.

During the talks, both sides noted with gratification that relations between the two parties are developing successfully on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. Pieter Keuneman's visit, the communique notes, helped to promote close fraternal cooperation between the two parties.

On September 17, Janos Kadar received Rodney Arismendi, First Secretary of the Communist Party of Uruguay, who was visiting Hungary. At the meeting, which passed in a cordial, comradely atmosphere, opinions were exchanged on the activities of the two parties, current international issues and the world communist and working-class movement. Kadar and Arismendi noted that the Havana Conference of the Communist Parties of Latin America and the Caribbean and the Berlin Conference of European Communist and Workers' Parties had strengthened the forces opposed to imperialism and championing peace, détente, social progress and unity of the world communist movement.

The solidarity of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party and Hungarian people with the Communist Party of Uruguay, with the struggle of the Uruguayan and other peoples of Latin America against the forces of fascism was stressed at the meeting.

ITALY

A delegation of the Lebanese Communist Party led by General Secretary Nicolas Chaoui met in Rome in mid-September with a delegation of the Italian Communist Party led by Enrico Berlinguer.

During the talks, the LCP delegation told about the situation in Lebanon. The Lebanese Party leaders reaffirmed the desire of the country's national patriotic forces to find a political solution to the

crisis that would preserve the unity and territorial integrity of the country, safeguard democracy and recognize the right of the Palestine Liberation Organization to continue the fight for the national rights of its people.

The Lebanese Communists pointed out that at a time when the right Christian troopers stage provocations and resort to mass murder and when Israel is blockading Lebanese ports, great importance attaches to the worldwide solidarity campaign based on the demand for the withdrawal of Syrian troops, a requisite of solving the crisis by political means.

On behalf of the Italian delegation, Berlinguer assured the LCP leaders that the Italian Communists would, in common with all democrats, contribute ever more effectively to a political settlement of the Lebanese conflict and the vindication of the national rights of the Palestinian people as the fundamental condition for a just and durable peace in the Middle East.

SOVIET UNION

On September 20, CPSU General Secretary Leonid Brezhnev received Averell Harriman, noted U.S. politician and public figure, in the Kremlin at his request.

During the interview they dealt with questions concerning Soviet-American relations, as well as some international problems.

Leonid Brezhnev emphasized the importance of improving Soviet-U.S. relations in the interests of both peoples and of strengthening world peace. He noted that the Soviet Union, guided by its principled policy, consistently advocates the expansion of these relations on the basis of equality and mutual benefit, and that it strictly adheres to the agreements and concords achieved between the USSR and the USA.

Averell Harriman, for his part, expressed the hope that Soviet-U.S. relations would make further progress in the period ahead.

The interview proceeded in a frank and friendly atmosphere. A.M. Alexandrov, assistant to the CPSU General Secretary, took part in it.



STATEMENTS AND SPEECHES

COMMUNIST CALL TO CUT TIES WITH RACE-HATE STATES

Without the support of imperialism, and especially British imperialism, the white minority systems in southern Africa could not carry on, and action is urgently necessary to compel the government to end its shameful collaboration with these regimes.

Making this plea to Britain's labor and democratic movement, a statement adopted by the Communist Party executive at its weekend meeting noted that the racist apartheid system in South Africa is facing its biggest crisis.

"The resistance of the oppressed majority is rising to unprecedented heights. Despite the savage reign of terror unleashed against the people by the Vorster regime, resulting in thousands of arrests, and the killing and wounding of many hundreds, the latest explosion of the people's just anger which began in Soweto in June is still continuing in its third month."

END INVESTMENT

In Namibia and Zimbabwe, the statement continued, the national-liberation struggle to put an end to white minority rule continued to grow.

"In this moment of grave crisis it is urgent that the British labor and democratic movement exert the utmost pressure to compel the British government to end its shameful collaboration with the hated racist regimes in southern Africa."

The government should now be pressed to:

- end all British investment in South Africa, all loans by British banks, and all exports of capital goods;
- place an immediate embargo on all direct and indirect military aid, including mercenaries, from Britain to South Africa, Rhodesia and Namibia;
- support all international moves to introduce economic sanctions against South Africa;

— demand the release of all political prisoners in South Africa, Rhodesia and Namibia, and the cessation of all executions of liberation fighters and their supporters;

— give no support to the maneuvers of the U.S. which are designed to safeguard the essentials of white domination in southern Africa and to protect the profits of the big monopolies and international firms and the strategic interests of imperialism.

The statement welcomed the recent statement of the Labour Party Executive on South Africa and the resolution adopted last week by the annual conference of the British TUC.

“Both these declarations should receive the strong support of the whole movement.”

FINANCIAL SUPPORT

“Financial support for the national-liberation movements in southern Africa should be organized in Britain by the labor and progressive movement,” the statement urged.

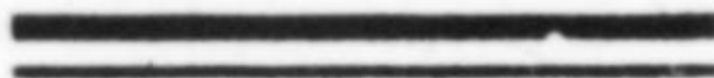
Industrial action, too, against military and economic backing from Britain for the racist regimes would be a significant act of solidarity for the national-liberation movements.

“The big monopolies and international firms which are the basis of the racist regimes are the main enemies of the British working people. In aiding the national-liberation movements in southern Africa, the British people are helping their own struggle for social liberation and democratic advance.”

The Communist Party executive sent its fighting greetings and solidarity to the courageous members of the South African Communist Party and of the African National Congress, the leading force in the liberation front of the people of South Africa.

“We pledge to increase still further our Party’s activity in support of the struggle in southern Africa so as to hasten the day of liberation from all forms of racism, discrimination and repression.”

Morning Star, September 13, 1976.



STATEMENT BY THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF CHILE

In the three years since the September 1973 coup the Chilean people have been waging a steadily mounting struggle against the fascist tyranny. This terrorist dictatorship serves the predatory supranational monopolies and the most rapacious and aggressive clans of the domestic financial oligarchy and big landlords. It has brought chaos to the economy and unprecedented catastrophe to the country as a whole. The dictatorship is abolishing public property, destroying important sources of production, ruining the middle sections and has reduced the working class to extreme poverty and hunger. Its aim is to destroy national culture and crush all popular organizations. It has established arbitrary rule, a regime of crime, and denial of even the most elementary norms of law, resorting to brutal repression and murder on a mass scale.

But the military-fascist junta has been unable to throttle public consciousness, keep the people silent and subdue them. Reports from Chile speak of expanding democratic resistance headed by the working class and involving ever broader sections of society.

Fascism has created nothing in Chile. Its only "achievement" is destruction and crime. This regime was imposed by an imperialist conspiracy masterminded by the CIA which declared war against our people.

Three years after President Salvador Allende was killed the usurpers of power find themselves in the grip of a rapidly growing economic and financial crisis, in the grip of a social, political, moral and institutional crisis. They are unable to strengthen their regime and are being isolated more and more.

The Communist Party remains a closely-knit, militant and indestructible organization with deep roots among the masses. It conducts a persistent struggle, calling for joint action and patriotic unity and instilling in the people faith in their ability to ride out the present hard trials and overthrow fascism. The Communist Party is not alone. It is closely united with its Popular Unity allies — the Socialist and Radical parties, the Left Christian Party, the United Popular Action Movement, and the Workers' and Peasants' Party (MAPU).

The mass organizations of diverse trends have remained viable, and this is a most important achievement of the popular movement. Worthy of special note is the trade union movement, which has

maintained its unity, independence and class character. Trade union activity required and still requires a courageous, heroic effort at the cost of heavy sacrifice. But now, at their present high level, the trade unions can be destroyed by no one.

The experience has borne out the policy aimed at regrouping the patriotic forces in order to achieve a democratic consensus as a real alternative to fascism and as an embryo of an anti-fascist government. More, the struggle for bread and life is not something that concerns political parties only. It concerns everyone, and a special role in it belongs to independent forces, professional organizations and religious institutions. Our people highly appreciate the courageous stand taken by the Catholic Church and other religious communities, their solidarity with the people persecuted by the regime, and their defense of human rights. The excommunication of the hangmen from DINA, Pinochet's Gestapo, who had attacked three bishops, has had wide repercussions.

Of late, the tyranny has intensified the already severe repressions, arresting or kidnapping thousands, denying responsibility for their fate. The defense of the lives of these Chileans becomes a very urgent matter. Defying the voice of our people, the demands of world public opinion and the UN resolutions, Pinochet has done away with many respected and beloved leaders, well known for their revolutionary activity. For more than a year there has been no word about the whereabouts of Socialist leaders Exequiel Ponce, Carlos Lorca and Ricardo Lagos. The truth about what happened to David Silberman and Jose Baeza is concealed. The tyranny brazenly insists, in the face of facts, that it knows nothing about the arrest by the DINA of Victor Diaz, Mario Zamorano, Jose Weibel, Jorge Munoz, Jaime Donato and other Communist leaders. This amounts to admitting that no charges have been brought against them and that their arrest is but an act of fascist terror. However, this also exposes the arrested Communist leaders to extreme danger, which emphasizes the need for energetic effort to prevent their physical liquidation and to get them released.

Communist Party General Secretary Luis Corvalan will celebrate his 60th birthday in a concentration camp in September. We feel proud that he displays high morale in face of his jailers. Luis Corvalan is a symbol of all the people persecuted by fascism. The campaign for his release, conducted by democrats and other people throughout the world, is a campaign for the release of all political prisoners in Chile and of all who have been kidnapped and are being kept in jails by

DINA agents, for the shutdown of all concentration camps, lifting of the state of emergency and curfew, return to Chile of all the exiled with guarantees for their life and rights, for the punishment of the assassins and hangmen, and for the restoration of human rights. The fight for freedom is the duty of everyone, because fascism attacks all democrats. The attack on Jaime Castillo, a prominent Christian-Democratic leader, and on Eugenio Velasco has touched off a wave of solidarity with them. The supreme duty of all Chileans is to unite for joint action so that the spirit of concord would triumph. It is essential to place above all the interests of Chile and its people and to clear the way for a bloc of all anti-fascists in order to destroy the tyranny as soon as possible. We Communists, in Chile and abroad, devote all our energies to this supreme duty.

The people of Chile have been highly honored by the support and splendid solidarity of other peoples. Of inestimable value for our anti-fascist struggle is the feeling that all progressive forces of the world are on our side. The campaign of solidarity has reached unprecedented proportions, involving the international communist and working-class movements, the non-aligned, progressive liberal circles and parties, governments and political parties of diverse trends, universities, young people and women.

The words said about our struggle by Leonid Brezhnev at the 25th Congress of the CPSU, and the resolutions of solidarity adopted at this forum and the congresses of other Communist and Workers' Parties in socialist and capitalist countries have roused a broad response in Chile.

We also highly value the anti-fascist decisions adopted by Social-Democratic, Socialist and Christian-Democratic parties and by parties of other trends.

It is not only a question of the struggle and suffering of our people, but of something that stands above its tragedy and deserves the highest praise. It is a demonstration of the firm resolve to bar and eradicate fascism, a threat to world peace and to humanity. Hence our unity and solidarity with the fraternal peoples of Uruguay, Brazil, Paraguay, Bolivia, Guatemala, Nicaragua and Haiti, with all who resist reaction and fascist terror in Latin America. Hence our unity and solidarity with the African peoples fighting against racism and neo-colonialism, with the Palestinians and the Lebanese, with all peoples of the Middle East, with the Spanish people, who are paving the way by combating the survivals of Francoism, with all and everyone who fight for peace and against imperialism.

September marks the anniversary of the independence won by Chile in 1810, and also the anniversary of the election victory of President Allende in 1970. It also has a black-letter date, September 11, when a bloody and perfidious coup was staged. This year September marks a crisis of the tyranny, which will become increasingly pronounced.

In view of this we urge the world public to redouble effort for the release of all jailed patriots. We call for greater solidarity with the anti-fascist struggle of the Chilean people, which is gaining momentum and embracing ever broader sections of the people.

Coordinating Committee Abroad,
Communist Party of Chile.
September 1976.

RELATIONS BETWEEN THE GDR AND THE FRG

Statement of the Board Presidium, German Communist Party

In the light of the recent initiatives in normalizing relations between the Federal Republic and the GDR, the GCP Presidium welcomes the GDR's preparedness to develop constructive, mutually beneficial relations with the Federal Republic, as expressed by SUPG General Secretary Erich Honecker. In the view of the Presidium, the stand of realistically-minded representatives of the Federal Government has been influenced by the will of the general public who want the successes achieved in relations between the FRG and the GDR to be expanded.

The GCP Presidium notes the significance of furthering relations between the Federal Republic and the GDR in the interests of our citizenry, in the interests of consolidating détente and security in Europe. There is no alternative to the policy of peaceful coexistence, the consistent implementation of agreements concluded between our country and the socialist states.

Therefore the vital interests of the Federal Republic and its working people demand a vigorous rebuff to the frenzied campaign of slander mounted by the CDU/CSU leadership against the GDR and its constructive peace-loving policy. Also contrary to the interests of the

Federal Republic is the fact that representatives of the Federal Government yield to pressures by anti-communist instigators and call in question the Federal Government's willingness to punctually implement the agreements and accords concluded with the socialist states, as well as the Final Act signed in Helsinki.

The Presidium duly assesses the constructive, forward-looking policy of the SUPG and the GDR government, which is designed to expand businesslike, mutually beneficial relations between the Federal Republic and the GDR. By concrete actions the GDR, a socialist German state, proves that it is fulfilling the agreements and accords concluded with the Federal Republic, that it strictly adheres to the provisions of the Final Act of the European Security Conference and calls for the broad use of all opportunities provided by the policy of peaceful coexistence.

We Communists of the Federal Republic come out for the use of every opportunity to expand businesslike relations in the interests of the peoples and peace. What was gradually achieved in recent years on the basis of agreements and the Helsinki Final Act must not be jeopardized. The past years have proved that development of businesslike relations between the FRG and the GDR are beneficial to the Federal Republic and its citizenry, to the cause of peace and security of the peoples. This is evidenced by the expanding tourist ties between the two countries, the transit communications across the GDR territory, the growing economic and trade relations of our country with the GDR and the Soviet Union, and with other socialist states. It is precisely in conditions of the capitalist crisis that economic relations help to create jobs.

The GCP Presidium stresses that further successes can be achieved only if responsible circles in Bonn proceed from the premise that the GDR exists as a sovereign, independent state and, as a member of the United Nations, is playing a universally recognized constructive role in the struggle for détente, security and peace. Any other course, any concession in face of the anti-communist attacks by the right forces is futile and can only bring harm to our country.

Unsere Zeit, September 10, 1976.



FOIL PLANS FOR A STEEL CARTEL DOMINATED BY WEST GERMAN MONOPOLIES

*Statement by the Communist Parties of the FRG, Belgium,
France and Luxembourg*

The planned cartellization and monopolist restructuring of the steel industry directly concerns the daily life and employment of the steel workers of our countries, who already feel the painful effects of the crisis. This vital branch of the economy of our countries is controlled by several giant monopolies, exploiting hundreds of thousands of workers.

On the pretext of "rationalization" they have launched on a large-scale supra-national concentration of financial and industrial capital aimed at a massive reduction of jobs. The merger and amalgamation goes beyond the frontiers of several states and has the sole purpose of maintaining and increasing, at the expense of the working people, the colossal profits of the monopolies and of expanding their power.

Contrary to their own decisions, the Common Market leading bodies have given the steel companies a free hand in setting up a new cartel that is dominated by the most powerful steel monopolies. Thus with the help of the Common Market, the FRG monopolies are assuring themselves a dominant position in Western Europe.

The Communist Parties of the FRG, Belgium, France and Luxembourg vigorously expose the maneuvers of the steel magnates, who receive huge subsidies from the government devoted to them.

They appeal to the working people to step up, through a broad alliance, political and trade union action against plant closures and the sacking of tens of thousands of workers, which is what the cartellization and restructuring of the steel industry would lead to.

They call on the peoples of their countries to rebuff the new onslaught by the transnational monopolies on their national independence and not to permit the takeover of the key branch of the national economy by the Thyssens and other steel barons, who supported and benefited from the Hitler aggression and today symbolize the insolent revival of West German imperialism, the strike force of Atlanticism in Europe.

The Communist parties of the FRG, Belgium, France and Luxem-

bourg decided to hold a meeting in Luxembourg on November 6, 1976 to work out joint actions that would foil the plans of big capital.

L'Humanité, September 22, 1976.

STATEMENT OF THE PERUVIAN COMMUNIST PARTY

In connection with the political situation and the latest presidential message, the Peruvian Communist Party considers it necessary to state the following:

1. In July important changes took place in the top leadership of the government and armed forces. These changes, which resulted in the military leaders known for their revolutionary stand and behavior leaving the government, generated a wait-and-see attitude among the people.

The working people followed the events with apprehension, expressing concern over the possibility of deviations in the revolutionary process. That is why the presidential message was met with such enormous interest in expectation.

2. In view of this the Communist Party attaches special significance to the President's statement that "*the revolution will continue until it achieves its goals*," that there will be no deviation from its essence and that the implemented changes will be irreversible. We also positively assess the assurance that democratic freedoms will be observed.

In the hope that the statement will be implemented in practice, we Peruvian Communists reaffirm our principled stand, which is the fundamental contribution of our Party in promoting the revolutionary process.

For us, like for the great majority of our countrymen, the Peruvian revolution would become meaningless if it deviated from its basic aims — genuine and definitive national liberation and social progress — that is, if it lost its anti-imperialist and anti-oligarchic essence and waived its aim of substantially improving the people's living conditions.

These two goals, inscribed in the Revolutionary Statute, in the "Ideological Principles" and the Inca Plan, are also the only slogans

under which all true Peruvians, irrespective of ideological and theoretical differences, can unite.

It is these slogans that ensured popular support for the process and that the message refers to in saying: "*the real commitment of the armed forces is to Peru,*" and "*first of all to the Peruvians who have suffered most from domination and injustice for centuries.*"

In the present context loyalty to this fundamental course should be manifested concretely in the following: structural changes should continue and be made irreversible, which is what the message says, and our country should pursue an independent anti-imperialist policy of non-alignment. Implementation of the objectives of social progress should envisage the conclusion and strengthening of the agrarian reform, consolidation and expansion of the labor communes and the public sector, an educational reform, and consolidation of the gains in labor legislation and other social gains achieved over these eight years.

3. In view of the difficulties with which the revolutionary process is confronted and which led to the replacement of prominent revolutionary leaders in the government, the people's apprehension regarding the fate of these major gains is not without foundation.

We are aware of the new difficulties facing the armed forces government at this stage, the most serious and important of which are:

- (a) the economic and financial situation;
- (b) the situation of revolutionary Peru in the present conditions of Latin America and the whole world;
- (c) the domestic political situation.

THE ECONOMIC CRISIS AND WAYS OF SOLVING IT

4. In the first place, as noted in the message and which corresponds to reality, the economic crisis affecting Peru is not only a repercussion of the world capitalist crisis. Moreover, this crisis has hit us at a time when the economic structure is backward and in a dependent position. Implementation of the structural changes and vast development plans fall far short of the liberation objectives, and our products are sold on the capitalist market at prices well below the world level. At the same time the country does not yet produce an adequate amount of manufactured goods, with the bulk of imported goods and additional means of production coming from the capitalist states at excessive prices. It is also true that the lack of a realistic attitude was an

obstacle to the *"changes in the socio-economic structure being accompanied by timely and short-term measures in economic policy."*

What should these measures have consisted of?

The message points to certain aspects which should have been taken into consideration earlier, substantiates a series of recently adopted measures and announces new measures designed to overcome the difficulties. It is maintained that for a balanced trade the production of our export items must be increased, especially non-traditional ones, i.e., domestic products that would replace the basic imports. It is considered necessary to reduce the import of capital goods and additional means of production and to exert "vigorous efforts to orient and plan the production structure of the private sector." It is a matter of what the recently adopted measures were based on.

But at the same time the sol was drastically devalued, the price of gasoline has substantially increased, while collective labor agreements have been suspended for six months, employment has been stabilized at existing levels in the main branches and the right to strike has been repealed for the duration of the "emergency situation." Some measures have been adopted to bring the cost of production in line with retail prices, as well as other measures favoring the state enterprises and the agro-industrial cooperatives. However, these measures also help to increase the profits of the multinational companies. At the same time they sharply increase the cost of living and impinge on some basic rights of the working people.

In this respect we hold that although the latest devaluation might have been inevitable by the time it was announced, it could have been more limited in scale had preventive measures been adopted and a differential scale established for the chief imports paid for in dollars. As we see it, measures dictated by expediency alone will not alleviate the economic crisis. Radical structural changes are needed to alleviate the consequences of the crisis and chart effective ways of solving it.

If the crisis is due basically to disadvantageous trade with the major capitalist countries, should we not reorient our foreign trade toward bigger imports (and not only exports) from the socialist camp and the non-aligned countries?

And if the multinational companies and private trading enterprises engaged in imports are a serious obstacle to this, what stops the state of taking into its own hands the most important items of this trade? Equally, if it is true that we should increase production, and also that this is hampered by the conscious boycott of the capitalists who

refuse to make investments, systematically oppose the labor communes and the implementation of trade union rights, then why should the workers be punished for striking while the proprietors are not punished for *lockouts*? Why should striking workers lose the right to steady work and suffer from an onslaught on their right to vacations, while the proprietors act with impunity and are not subjected to any sanctions? Why are not the same sanctions imposed on the civil servants who abet the actions of the owners aimed at destabilization?

If cutbacks in production and insufficient use of existing capacities harm primarily the working people, then why are they not ensured participation in the solution of these questions? And if, finally, increasing prices on essentials are artificially aggravated by the actions of speculators, then why not legitimize the direct and effective participation of the working people and population in general in controlling prices and in the struggle against speculators?

These are constructive proposals based on the concept of social revolution, and in the case of the Peruvian revolution they envisage the principle of "full participation." It is not a matter of abusing the revolutionary gains achieved, or of losing sight of the relation of forces or of disillusioning those who could to a certain extent, including the small and medium proprietors, contribute to the economic liberation of our homeland. Nor is it a question of perpetuating the outmoded privileges of the exploiters, but of identifying oneself with the interests of the working class, peasantry and other sections in conformity with the propositions contained in the "Ideological Principles" and the Inca Plan. This is backed by both theory and practice, because the experience of every revolution without exception proves that their fundamental strength lies in the working people who are directly interested in the definitive implementation of the revolutionary changes.

The experience of every revolution proves, on the other hand, that the counter-revolution has powerful means at its disposal, which virtually never serve to overcome the difficulties facing a revolution, but quite the contrary. This is how our people see it, and rightly so, in assessing the measures for solving the crisis. The terms for implementing these measures have been imposed by the International Monetary Fund, the World Bank and other imperialist-controlled financial organizations. It is with their help that imperialism is fishing in murky waters. World imperialism, the menace of all countries and nations, completely disregards the peculiarities of a revolutionary process, just as it does not respect the independent will of any nation.

THE REVOLUTIONARY GAINS MUST REMAIN INVIOABLE

5. This is what dictates our concern with regard to the planned measures. We see it as a positive aspect that the message reaffirms the fundamental role of the state sector in the multi-structural economy and recognizes the function of the "*state as the representative of the entire society*" in the process under way. However, what constitutes a real danger in the present situation is that the imperialist consortiums seek gradually to liquidate the state-owned enterprises and put them under their control. For this they use the message's proposition: "the state will not necessarily seek to play the main role at the enterprises belonging to it." As for Decree 21558, according to which the anchovy fishing branch is transferred to the small proprietors, we consider that no matter how difficult the situation in the Peruvian fishing industry, there was no need to return, even indirectly, this branch of fishing to private owners. On the contrary, it should have been turned over to the fishing cooperatives of the working people, thereby ensuring more stable employment and the inviolability of the social rights of the fishermen.

Equally we hold that the government's intention to extend the sphere of activity of the labor communes to trade and to all state-owned enterprises, is commendable. But we think that the principles of their activity should be inviolable. We warn against the danger that the enemies of this important social reform will try in the present conditions to turn the labor communes into a new version of "people's capitalism" by referring to the message's proposition on greater property rights for the working people, which signifies that they have the right to buy or sell it freely.

The message speaks along the same lines about public property. If the society advocated by the ideologues of the process under way is oriented toward socialism, and if in view of this priority is given to the public sector, the sphere of its operation should not be limited solely to the "undeveloped" branches. Moreover, in our view, those who oppose public property, seeing in it a threat to private enterprise, are attempting to emasculate its real social content with the ultimate aim of eliminating public property. In this they refer to the part of the message which refers to the intention of turning each enterprise "into an autonomous production unit." In their opinion, this would signify their conversion into independent competitive enterprises similar to cooperatives or "communal enterprises," that is virtually capitalist enterprises.

REAFFIRMATION OF OUR FOREIGN POLICY

6. With respect to foreign policy, we are aware of the complexity of the situation on the Latin American continent. Because of its reverses in other parts of the world, imperialism seeks to re-establish and consolidate its positions in Latin America, whatever the price. This explains its hostility to the example set by Peru, a country that has taken the road of liberation and independent development, and to the armed forces which assumed the leadership in implementing these historic objectives. It finds even more inadmissible the precariousness of the fascist regimes imposed by it on some countries of the continent, which are ever more strongly condemned by the afflicted peoples as well as by progressives and most governments the world over.

Therefore the growing aggressiveness and fascization of imperialism is not surprising, which with respect to revolutionary Peru does not limit itself to economic blackmail but resorts to threats of aggression by fueling border conflicts inherited from the past. We Peruvian Communists will support patriotic efforts aimed at eliminating the danger. We support efforts to expand our relations with the Latin American peoples and governments which follow an independent policy and are prepared to take effective and coordinated actions in defense of their independence. In this sense we support the recent reaffirmation of the aims of the Andean Pact, in particular the viability of Decision 24. But for the same reason we hold that the main aspects of the foreign policy line of the revolutionary government should be continued, and that this is the meaning of the foreign minister's words to the effect that greater attention to relations with Latin American countries does not signify that Peru is abandoning the positions of non-alignment. Moreover, bearing in mind that imperialist spokesmen abroad and Haya de la Torre* in the country are applauding the alleged "adjustment" of our policy toward the narrow continentalism advocated by the U.S. State Department and its satellites, we alert the people against such plans. Though it is true that a common geography determines the affinity of problems and confronts us with the same liberation aims, it is also true that not all Latin American governments are struggling for national liberation. More, some openly and viciously oppose it. At the same time, the non-aligned countries represent a movement which includes nations upholding the princi-

*Founder and leader of the People's Party, which adheres to capitulatory positions with respect to imperialism.— Ed.

ples of independence and sovereignty. As we see it, our country must adhere to these positions because, apart from everything else, it is the best guarantee against imperialist pressure in general and against outside armed intervention in particular.

As a result of its achievements the revolutionary process in Peru has accumulated vast forces, making it invincible if it continues along its course. At home it is supported by almost all Peruvians as a people and nation who are ready to continue along the road of a second liberation and are fully resolved to defend its important gains. Outside the country, the solidarity of the socialist camp, the non-aligned movement and the peoples of all countries are on our side. In other words, it is not the decaying world that sides with us, but the world that is growing, gaining in strength and marching in step with history. So there is no reason to relinquish our positions.

REVOLUTION AND COUNTER-REVOLUTION

7. Something similar is occurring in the internal political situation. A feature of the present situation is the intensification of the counter-revolutionary offensive. This offensive became particularly evident in connection with the recent changes in the composition of the government, which apart from considerations of a military character, were insistently demanded by the counter-revolutionary press.

This state of affairs has led to the formation of opposing camps, and three conclusions can be drawn from it. First, the defense and deepening of the process cannot interest "all Peruvians" to an equal degree. The oligarchic and exploitative minority, having lost its privileges, seeks to block and liquidate the process under way. Second, the counter-revolutionary activity designed to destabilize the situation in the country is conducted primarily by this minority and imperialism, which abets and finances it. Objectively, the ultra-left elements cause as much harm as the ultra-right. It is not the socialist alternative which they claim to advocate that harms the revolutionary process, but the fact that by their provocative activity they discredit this prospect and play into the hands of the ultra-right forces and imperialism. Third, revolutionary stability depends not only on the armed forces and the government representing them, but on all revolutionaries, on the revolutionary potential of the social classes and sectors interested in consolidating and advancing the process.

Who has always combated the domination of imperialism and the oligarchy and who helped to continue this domination? Who has supported the present process and who has systematically attacked

it? During the past 50 years two opposite camps have been clearly delineated: the working people, the revolutionary movements and organizations fighting for the nationalization of oil, for an agrarian reform and for the return to the people of the natural wealth and its nationalization. And on the other hand, the exploitative classes, their political parties and professional organizations, seeking to maintain dependence and underdevelopment. We all know who betrayed the cause of struggle against imperialism and the oligarchy, becoming the main political tool of imperialist domination and social backwardness. However, what we say about the past is applicable to the process under way as well. Can anyone forget the large-scale actions of the working class and the popular revolutionary organizations whenever the process was endangered?

On the other hand, is not everyone aware of the obstructionist activity of the landowners, capitalist employers and their professional organizations against the agrarian reform, the labor communes, the public sector and the new labor legislation? And have not the employers, utilizing the restrictions imposed by the "emergency situation," launched a broad offensive against the working people, their leaders and their rights, often with the connivance of the civil servants? Can anyone have forgotten, among other acts aimed at destabilization, the counter-revolutionary uprising of the APRA-ists on February 5 of this year, the instances of sabotage and arson at state-owned enterprises?

The appeals for solidarity, concord and fraternal relations among Peruvians are noble sentiments, but they cannot become reality unless the causes of inequality, injustice and violence are uprooted.

Can any progressive person consider possible or desirable concord and fraternity with the APRA-ists, who in the past not only resorted with terrorism to appeals for concord as their principal political methods, but continue to maintain their aggressive gangs in full readiness and constantly attack university students? It is not a question of dividing the Peruvians into the "good" and the "bad" but of putting an end to the maladies affecting our country.

We consider that the revolutionary process can and should be invigorated by coordinating the actions of and uniting all the revolutionary and progressive forces. What is needed first of all is the organized and combined support of the process by the working class, peasantry, the small and medium proprietors and industrialists and the political organizations which are ready to join in the struggle against the principal enemies. Had a minimum of unity existed at the

present stage of the process, with coordinated actions of both civilian and military revolutionaries, the threat would not have acquired such dimensions and could have been easily averted, thereby not permitting the advance of the counter-revolution. Proof of this is the experience of all victorious revolutions.

THE SPLIT AND McCARTHYISM

8. However, unity was systematically opposed by those who consciously or unconsciously cultivated McCarthyism among the advocates of the process and in the government. Aware of the substantial influence of our Party on the working-class movement and the significance of solidarity on the part of the socialist camp in strengthening and defending the Peruvian revolution, U.S. imperialism and its agents are continuing their attempts to kindle anti-communist prejudices in order to isolate the process under way and to defeat it. McCarthyism is directed not only against the Communists and class organizations of the proletariat, but against all consistent opponents of imperialism.

In view of these considerations, we want to avoid any errors or confusion in connection with some aspects of the message.

Clearly, as we have repeatedly said, the ideology of the revolutionary process directed by the armed forces has not been and is not the ideology of the Communist Party. But the objectives of liberation from imperialist domination and of overcoming the backwardness generated by the dependence and oligarchic domination provide a broad basis for the coincidence of views of the country's revolutionary forces, with the Communists in the front ranks, as we see it. In view of this we Communists are not and cannot be opponents of this process. More, while it is being firmly and consistently implemented, we are its allies and participants. It is equally untrue that the alternative we Communists propose is similar to capitalism. Without referring to the question of individual freedoms and democracy, which in our opinion should be ensured first of all in the sphere of material and cultural opportunities, the more than half century experience, in spite of all the theorizing, shows the cardinal difference between the two systems. While the capitalist system headed by imperialism is sustained by colonialism and neo-colonialism, the socialist countries vigorously come out against such relations, contributing decisively to the national liberation of the peoples. While U.S. imperialism resorts to pressure and threats in seeking to derail this process and to destroy it, the countries of the socialist camp display active solidarity in all

spheres, without advancing any terms prejudicing national independence and social progress.

BAR THE WAY TO IMPERIALISM AND FASCISM

9. Finally, the Peruvian Communist Party holds that the counter-revolutionaries, spurred by the difficult internal and international conditions in which the process is taking place, are set on destroying it completely. The counter-revolution will continue its efforts to impose its will and definitively divert the process under way in the country, with fascism as the alternative. In face of this real threat, the Communist Party reaffirms its firm and conscientious support of any government measures to rebuff these attempts. But the basic requisite for the success of the anti-fascist and progressive struggle is the organized strength of the working people and other sections of the population. Therefore the Communist Party reiterates the need to fully guarantee the gains of the working people and their democratic rights, which it will not stop fighting for.

Now more than ever there is the need to strengthen the unity of all popular forces, all revolutionary forces in order to defend the revolutionary gains and rights of the working people and to be alert to the maneuvers of the enemies of national independence and social progress.

Political Commission,
Peruvian Communist Party.
August 10, 1976.

TO THE EIGHTH CONGRESS OF THE INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATION OF JOURNALISTS

My heartfelt greetings to the participants in the Eighth Congress of the International Organization of Journalists. It is noteworthy that you are meeting in Helsinki where just a little more than a year ago the highest representatives of 35 states signed the Final Act of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe.

The press, television and radio have a great influence on the minds and sentiments of millions of people, on the international political

climate and on moulding public opinion. Three decades after your organization uniting democratic journalists from many countries was founded, the goals which it had set — maintaining peace and strengthening friendship and cooperation among peoples by bringing free, truthful and honest information to the public — are now more topical than ever. Therefore the question — What role is played by mass media? Does it serve peace and progress or is it spreading the poison of discord and distrust among countries and peoples? — is exceptionally acute.

The forces of peace, socialism and national liberation have grown and are much stronger. Their victories in the struggle against imperialism and colonialism, for peace and détente, the successes of the socialist countries give new hope and optimism, and also create favorable conditions for the progressive press.

The noble duty of the democratic press is to continue to actively help strengthen world peace and international security, promote the struggle to make détente stable and irreversible, and ensure that aggression, military conflicts, exploitation, famine and poverty will be excluded forever from the life of mankind.

So far, however, and this should be said very definitely, not all and not everywhere have the lessons of history been learned. The echo of the cold war which often may be heard in the reactionary press, the attempts to justify and even whip up the arms race, the continuing attacks on the policy of peaceful coexistence, on the desire of freedom-loving peoples to be the masters of their destiny, show this to be the case.

In these conditions, the words of truth democratic journalists bring to the people, the militant words which unite people to firmly counter the schemes of the reactionaries, militarists and fascists, the words filled with the understanding of the people's vital interests are an instrument of peace, cooperation and social progress. And, I would also add, they are a highly effective and efficient instrument. I am confident that your Congress will greatly contribute to furthering and consolidating the positive changes over recent years in relations among peoples and states. I want to wish you heartfelt success and new achievements in the development of international democratic journalism.

L. Brezhnev
Pravda, September 21, 1976.

ANNIVERSARIES

SIXTIETH BIRTHDAY OF LUIS CORVALAN

"Freedom to Luis Corvalan!," "Freedom to Prisoners of the Chilean Junta!" — these appeals were voiced more emphatically in September, when progressives the world over observed the 60th birthday of Chilean Communist Party General Secretary Luis Corvalan, who has been held in fascist jails for three years now.

Since his youth, Corvalan has tirelessly championed the ideas of Marxism-Leninism. At 16, he joined the Communist Party, and five years later became an organizer and leader of the Liberation Alliance of the Youth. During the Second World War and in the immediate postwar years he was deputy director and then director of the Party newspaper *El Siglo*. Since 1958 he has been General Secretary of the Party. During the presidency of Salvador Allende, Corvalan fought energetically for consolidation of the revolutionary and democratic forces and unmasked the aggressive designs and intrigues of the reactionaries.

After the fascist junta seized power, Luis Corvalan was thrown into prison, but his confidence in the ultimate victory of the people never waned. "Marxism can never be destroyed, since it is impossible to destroy an ideology conforming to the spirit of the times and the vital interests of the majority of the society," he said to an Italian journalist in October 1973.

Messages of greetings were sent from many countries on the 60th birthday of this fine son of the Chilean people, including greetings from the leaders of a number of fraternal parties.

Below we publish a message of greetings from CPSU General Secretary Leonid Brezhnev.

Dear Comrade Corvalan,

On behalf of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, all Soviet people and on my own behalf I extend my warmest congratulations to you on your 60th birthday and on your being awarded the Order of Lenin.

We in our country know you well as leader of the glorious Communist Party of Chile, as a person who has dedicated his life to defending the vital interests of the working class, of all Chilean working people, as an ardent patriot and internationalist, a champion of friendship between the Chilean and Soviet peoples, as a consistent

fighter for the unity of the world communist movement on the principles of Marxism-Leninism.

Awarding you the Order of Lenin is not only a recognition of your outstanding contribution to the fight against imperialism, fascism and reaction, for democracy and social progress, for the triumph of the great ideals of communism, but also an expression of the feelings of fraternal solidarity of the CPSU and all the Soviet people with the Communists, democrats and patriots of Chile, an expression of our admiration for a revolutionary's staunchness which you have shown in prison.

I sincerely wish you good health and your early release. I also extend my best wishes to your wife Lily Corvalan and all members of your family.

Fraternal greetings,

L. Brezhnev

SIXTIETH BIRTHDAY OF YUMZHAGIIN TSEDENBAL

Yumzhagiin Tsedenbal, who recently celebrated his 60th birthday, was born into the family of a poor cattle breeder. After graduation from the Institute of Economics and Finance, he held top government posts. During the Second World War Tsedenbal, as deputy Commander-in-Chief and head of the Political Administration of the People's Revolutionary Army, did much to strengthen Mongolia's defenses, organize aid for the Soviet Army, and for the participation of Mongolian units in routing the Kwantung Army of imperialist Japan.

From 1952 to 1974 Tsedenbal was chairman of the Council of Ministers. In 1958 he was elected First Secretary of the Central Committee of the People's Revolutionary Party, and in 1974 — chairman of the Presidium of the Great People's Khural (parliament). At all these high posts Tsedenbal played an outstanding role in building socialism. Mongolia makes a worthy contribution to charting and implementing the coordinated foreign policy of the socialist community. Special attention is paid by the Central Committee of the People's Revolutionary Party to ensuring peace, security and good-neighbor relations in Asia through the collective efforts of all countries of the continent.

Yumzhagiin Tsedenbal is a prominent figure in the international communist and working-class movement. On his 60th birthday he

received cordial greetings from the Communists of many countries.

Below we publish a message of greetings from CPSU General Secretary Leonid Brezhnev.

Dear Comrade Tsedenbal,

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and all Soviet Communists extend cordial congratulations to you, the outstanding Party and state leader of the Mongolian People's Republic, prominent figure in the international communist and workers' movement, on your 60th birthday.

Your whole life has been inseparably connected with the struggle of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party for the triumph of the great ideals of socialism in Mongolia. You, Comrade Tsedenbal, the head of the leading Party and state organs of the country for many years, deserve great credit for the impressive successes the Mongolian people have achieved in all spheres of political, economic and cultural life, in strengthening the international authority of the Mongolian People's Republic.

The Soviet people know you as a consistent Marxist-Leninist, as a staunch fighter for unity among the ranks of the world communist and working-class movement, as a great friend of the Soviet Union, and highly appreciate your contribution to strengthening the traditional friendship and cooperation between the CPSU and the MPRP, between the USSR and the MPR.

We wish you, dear Comrade Tsedenbal, good health and new successes in your fruitful activities for the benefit of socialist Mongolia, in the interests of further deepening fraternal Soviet-Mongolian relations.

With communist greetings,

L. Brezhnev

Pravda, September 17, 1976.



FROM THE PRESS

THE SPANISH MONARCHY'S STAKE — ALL OR NOTHING

Franco would have recognized his own manner in the recent changes at the top rung of the Spanish government. Arias Navarro, dismissed by His Majesty, has gone off stage and now ostentatiously kneels at the tomb over the mortal remains of the Caudillo. The cumbersome machine, unhesitatingly called constitutional, has been set in motion: the Council of the Realm drew up a list of three men from which the king had to choose a new head of government.

This Council is a peculiar gathering of gerontocrats begotten by the most fantastic medieval notions of Francoist legislators. Its prerogatives guarantee continuity. It is in this way that Franco hoped to outlive himself.

It was anticipated that Areilza, count of Motricos, an energetic foreign minister of the Arias government, would be chosen. All the liberal aspirations of political Madrid, and not only Madrid, seemed to be concentrated around this name. Areilza was the only minister of the first post-Franco government who to some extent retained his reputation amid the general disillusion. If we reflect on it, this is not surprising: throughout this period he was the Juan Carlos monarchy's salesman abroad, specializing in democratic discourse for external consumption. He never said a disparaging word about the opposition. On the contrary, some of his bold statements led to his being attacked sharply by Francoist extremists. The publicity value of this was not negligible by far. More, when bloody events took place in Victoria and Montejurra, Areilza was not implicated. His continual travelling exonerated him from any responsibility for the disastrous economic situation. In short, it is because Areilza was favored that his name was expected to be on the list of three. But this did not happen. The choice fell on Adolfo Suarez, whom only a few wanted and whose choice was unexpected to everyone.

In any case, the removal of Arias Navarro, to the satisfaction of almost everyone (even the stock exchange reacted by a sharp rise) and appointment of Suarez, which was just as surprising to almost

everyone, by the Spanish king, was like a cold shower to public opinion. The decision was announced with great pomp. But the mechanism immediately began to creak: in forming his government the new prime minister was confronted with the refusal of two stars of official reformism: neither Fraga Iribarne nor Areilza wanted to return to office. And whatever the motives of either, this attests to the crisis of the regime. The sole peculiarity and the sole trump card of the new government is its youthful composition as well as the bas-relief of the profile of its head, this transparent-featured playboy dressed in a blue shirt, the blue of the phalange, of course.

Adolfo Suarez is so transparent that through him one can see the socio-economic fabric of the system. But let us take a closer look, and at the Council of the Realm, first of all. As we know, this institution proposed the list of three from which the king had to choose the head of government. Two potential candidates, Gregorio Lopez Bravo and Frederico Silva, are members of the administrative council and advisers of the Banque Banesto. The king decided on the third name, a candidature that received the fewest votes (12 out of 16) in the Council of the Realm, that is Adolfo Suarez. He was evidently given preference because of his lack of image or his position at the intersection of diverse tendencies that can identify themselves with him: the phalange, Opus Dei, the top Francoist administration. He never was anything but a highly placed Francoist functionary "who was above suspicion."

But this transparency also shows the essence of the monarchy. John Carlos inherited Arias Navarro from Franco along with his property and the crown. The Cabinet headed by Arias consisted of some powerful personalities with certain political autonomy. They did whatever they pleased in the government, while Arias was just a mediocre coordinator. The government formed by Suarez is the king's government, probably even more overtly than he would like. Now any success or failure will be attributed to the monarchy. "The crown is clearly the worse for wear," the Executive Committee of the Communist Party of Spain declared recently. "The downfall of this government (Suarez government) will inevitably lead to the downfall of the man who formed it in his image and likeness, that is Juan Carlos of Bourbon. And it will surprise no one if, with the kind of rule that can be expected of this government, the Spanish people will lean increasingly toward a republican option, which is inseparable from achieving democracy. In the light of the present events, the monarchy symbolizes continuity in the eyes of the country."

The government of Arias Navarro relied on the alliance between the reformists and the Bunker. The reformists proposed a gradual evolution toward democracy on the basis of the Francoist institutions, while the Bunker opposed any evolution. So there was no genuine reform if we discount the gradual retreat under popular pressure and some show of tolerance. The result: a more favorable situation for the people *de facto*, but no progress *de jure*: juridical monstrosities and above all the arbitrary use of laws. All this is evidence of a definite orientation: to divide the democratic opposition by continuing the anti-communist repressions. During the past few months the tendency has been toward strengthening and extending the democratic opposition. The people's aspiration for change has defeated all divisive manoeuvres. The Communist Party on its part was able to avoid the pitfall, and in connection with the tolerance shown toward others but denied to this party, resolutely stated: any extension of "tolerance" is essentially a democratic gain, and from this point of view we rejoice in it, but freedom for some can only be guaranteed if there is universal freedom. In Spain it is a question of democracy in general, and not of the Communists. And this voice was heard.

It is virtually impossible today, unless one openly sides with the Bunker, to advocate maintaining the ban on the Communist Party. Even Fraga Iribarne, who identified himself with this discrimination, had to show more flexibility on this issue during the last weeks of his ministerial activity. He spoke of legalizing the Communist Party at a second stage, after the elections (he evidently expected to be told "that's something at least").

Since Arias was unable to split the democratic opposition, the Bunker largely lost interest in an alliance with the reformists, and the advocates of a frontal attack against the opposition won a point. This led to increased terrorist activities, primarily against the press. At the same time, police actions became increasingly harsh. During seven months of the rule more people died from bullets than during the two years of the Portuguese revolution. But what is new is that the acts of repression arouse public indignation (in which the press plays a decisive role), and also that the government has to at least make a show of dissociating itself from such actions. In some cases it is even forced to punish the culprits.

In this troubled situation the Bunker distanced itself from Arias. As for the economic forces, the announcement of a 4.6 per cent price rise in May was the fatal drop, so to speak, that toppled the Arias government.

So, is the formation of the Suarez government a victory for the Bunker or the democratic forces? And is Arias' fall a victory for the Bunker or the opposition? It is precisely because Arias was unable to face up to the democratic opposition that the Bunker demanded his removal. But this by no means implies its victory or a victory in its interests. Proof of this is the fact that the Suarez government had to mark its first steps by resorting to high-sounding reformist terminology, and that it included some lesser personalities known for their differences with the Bunker, Interior Minister Martin Villa, for instance.

Another proof is the drafting of a new amnesty that would appear genuine (it will be recalled that the amnesty approved by Juan Carlos when he was enthroned permits the continued imprisonment of Communist leader Lobato, already in prison for 25 years), and the clash in the Cortes over the law establishing freedom for political parties: the ultras explicitly demanded that it should not include the Communist Party, while the government representatives suggested that this only be implied.

But whether Arias or Suarez heads the government, irrespective of any peripetia, it is a question of freedoms. The Spanish people were not consulted regarding reforms. At the most, they will be asked to approve them through a referendum and, possibly, to express their political will within a definite framework of the Francoist institutions. There is an abyss between the will of the popular masses, expressed in diverse forms and envisaging a genuine political renewal, and the liberalization tightly controlled by Franco's heirs. There cannot be two legalities: Francoist legality and popular sovereignty. To pass from one to the other is unthinkable without a decisive break. The democratic opposition is ready to begin broad negotiations on such a break with those tendencies and personalities within the system who come out for democracy, but it is clear that it will reject a regime of tolerance which leaves intact (just in case) the threat of a return to fascism in the institutions themselves.

Jean Rony,
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