INFORMATION

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INTERNATIONAL DUTY OF COMMUNISTS OF ALL COUNTRIES

SPEECHES BY:
Pham Van Dong
Luigi Longo

MARXIST THEORY OF THE STATE

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NEW PROSPECTS AND ROADS BEFORE DENMARK

CPD CHAIRMAN K. JESPERSEN REPORTS* TO THE 22ND CONGRESS OF THE PARTY, NOVEMBER 5, 1965

The first part of the report dealt with the situation in the country in the conditions of a high level of business activity. The power of capital has been concentrated and strengthened, Jespersen pointed out. All those who follow the constant struggle between the working class and the employers see that big capital is the chief adversary in the fight for progress. The trend of development and the rate of progress are determined by class struggle.

GOVERNMENT POLICY

The Social-Democratic leaders chose not to restrict the power of big capital but to rule together with it and in its interests. This does not make capitalism in Denmark more national and democratic, nor does it do credit to Social Democracy. On the contrary, their policy has led the Social Democrats to the loss of all principles. There do not exist for them any goals outside the framework of capitalism. For instance, the government concluded a quadrilateral agreement resulting in an overall increase in the rent by 25 per cent plus 10 per cent in case of sub-leasing. Then followed a general restriction of credits that hit communal housing and civil construction. In some regions of the country, building workers have been losing jobs. This shows that Denmark's progress cannot be ensured by the capitalist system of government and through cooperation with the bourgeois parties.

RESPONSIBILITY OF THE TRADE UNION MOVEMENT

Working-class organizations bear serious responsibility to the present and the future. To carry out their task and unite the democratic forces, they should abandon their present policy of accommodation and passiveness and work actively for their objectives. The unsound policy "in the interests of the whole of society" pursued by the leadership of the Trade Union Federation has resulted in a crisis of confidence in the trade union movement.

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*Slightly abridged from **Land og Folk**, November 6, 1965.

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The trade union movement should get rid of its rightist leadership and operate as an independent and active class organization.

The striving to steer the Danish trade union movement along a new course has expressed itself in many ways. One of them is the broad unity of action at the factory floor and during the elections of shop-stewards. The Communist Party owes its big success in these elections to its fight for the initially proclaimed aims of the trade union movement. The confidence shown in Communists was perhaps greater than in the entire history of both the Party and the trade unions. We succeeded, together with the active sections of the working class, in creating prerequisites for the realization of the decisions of the Party congress regarding the redistribution of the national income.

Following this road and promoting unity of action, the trade union movement can restore its authority and develop into a general forum for discussing the aims of the working class.

If the trade union movement wants to have a prospect and carry through its current tasks, it should guide itself by the interests and will of its members. It will then succeed in uniting all the democratic forces to settle accounts with its chief enemy, big capital.

THE TIME HAS COME FOR DEMOCRATIC DEVELOPMENT

There is a vast discrepancy between what the working class has given Denmark and what it receives from society. The demand for a secure life and democratic distribution is far from having been complied with. Moreover, there arise entirely new demands resulting from higher intensity of labor, double employment and the need for more leisure time. Following the employers' refusal to increase the wages in accordance with the development of production, society has been faced with the need to have unemployment at a level of 2 to 4 per cent.

Such is the future big capital has in store for our working people And the different future which the workers can build without the capitalists calls for a resolute struggle for genuine democracy.

SOME BASIC DEMANDS

The working class is demanding a 40-hour week, four-week holidays, a drastic wage-raise for low-paid factory and office workers, and equal wages for women. This is of special importance now, when inflation is reducing the purchasing capacity and wages are not raised commensurably with the growth of prices on the basis of the price index.

All big finance and business organizations should be placed

under effective democratic control and the big banks, insurance societies and building trusts, nationalized. Full publicity should be given to relations between big companies and to their contacts with foreign capital. The factory and office workers should be kept informed about orders, capital investments and profits. Immediate drastic measures are needed to combat land profiteering and inflation.

Every citizen should have the right to a modern dwelling at a reasonable rent. It is necessary to protest resolutely against the catastrophic housing shortage, which is spoken about by all, at least before elections, and which is further aggravated by the acts of the parliamentary parties.

DEMOCRACY AND SOCIALISM

The struggle for the transition to socialism is always democratic, for it brings freedom to the majority of the people. Those who consider that the struggle for democracy may contradict the striving for socialism should think again, and then they will see how profoundly right Lenin was when he wrote: "It would be a fundamental mistake to suppose that the struggle for democracy can divert the proletariat from the socialist revolution, or obscure, or overshadow it, etc. On the contrary, just as socialism cannot be victorious unless it introduces complete democracy, so the proletariat will be unable to prepare for victory over the bourgeois unless it wages a many-sided, consistent and revolutionary struggle for democracy."

Socialism is the continuation of the best traditions of the democratic struggle of our people. Under socialism, all power now held by the monopolies will be transferred to the people and economic democracy free from exploitation will be established. Private ownership of the land and means of production will be abolished and public planning of all production, with the active participation and under the control of the people introduced. When economic power and political leadership of society pass to the working class, the future of every citizen will have been assured. Socialist democracy will be inviolable, and the existence of the multi-party system guaranteed by the constitution. We are fighting for the establishment of a social system under which every person would work according to his abilities and be remunerated according to his work. The restriction of fredom mentioned in our program is the abolition of the "freedom" of profiteering and enrichment at the expense of other people's labor.

"INDUSTRIAL DEMOCRACY"

Only after the employers' undivided rule is eliminated and the factory and office workers are granted the effective right to take

part in management, will it be possible to control the trend of development.

There is much talk going on about "industrial democracy" and other such things. This is a positive phenomenon, but more than this is needed.

Our legislation on shop-stewards is far from being just and genuinely democratic. Instead of defending them effectively, it allows the employers to invalidate their election and to dismiss them.

The Basic Agreement, concluded with the trade union movement's approval to replace the "September Agreement" and giving the employers the "exclusive right to run the production process" should be cancelled. It is necessary to place observance of all the ordinances regulating the relations between the workers and the employers under trade union control and to include them into collective agreements.

It is necessary to set up factory councils whose members could not be dismissed. These councils should have the right to discuss all questions pertaining to production. This would limit the employers' right to dismiss workers, for they would first have to consult the councils.

The establishment of factory councils could be started with the introduction of the democratic right to take part in running all state-owned and municipal enterprises, which might help towards the satisfaction of other demands of the working people. This calls, naturally, for an entirely new labor legislation guaranteeing the right to strike and ruling out compulsory arbitration in any form.

TAX REFORM

By paying direct taxes the working class benefits all groups of society, the employers included. But he gets no compensation from the other groups. The tax should be direct and progressive, so that the levies should be the lightest on the lowest incomes and heaviest on the highest ones. Therefore we demand exemption for incomes up to 15,000 kroner and bringing up the tax on corporate profits to the level existing in the other Scandinavian countries. All taxes on prime necessities should be abolished, and so should be the right to exemption. The rules on so-called extraordinary write-offs adopted in 1957 should be rescinded to prevent new investments for the sole purpose of evading tax. Such is the road to a democratic tax reform and a redistribution of the national income.

A large part of the report was devoted to the political split in the working class and the importance of the Communist Party.

The political split is responsible for the existence of three working-class parties. It would be unrealistic to speak of extensive actions on the basis of agreement between the parties, but we can mitigate the consequences of the split through promoting united action for common aims by the Communists and members of other parties.

Working-class unity of action alone can remove the artificial barrier which big capital seeks to prop up. It is the sole road to enhancing the influence of the working class as a whole. But this aim cannot be achieved on the basis of the views of any single party, be it the CPD, the Social-Democratic Party or the Socialist People's Party. Nevertheless, unity of action can pave the way for working-class unity, which is the aim of our struggle.

The differences between the three parties are known. The Social-Democratic road from reformism to management of the affairs of capitalism is one of renunciation of principle. The Socialist People's Party, originally a rightist group that broke away from our Party, has failed to implement its much-advertised socialist renovation, its efforts to induce Social Democracy to shift to the Left having been upset by life itself. The SPP congress has not offered any genuine alternative.

Accomplishing changes in society in the period of transition from capitalism to socialism calls for new leadership of society, leadership by the working class. But this presupposes the existence of a Communist party loyal to the socialist aim.

The fundamental difference between us and the other parties should show that the Communists are the best fighters for the interests of the working class and the entire people. This will strengthen the Party, enhance the fighting capacity of the working class and invigorate the entire Party. Struggle for unity of action, for popular movements for new objectives should keynote the activities of the Communists. Working-class unity is indispensable for existing democracy and ensuring the transition to socialism. Socialism is unattainable without unity, while unity is unthinkable without a principled and consistent struggle by the Communists.

NATO AND WEST GERMANY

NATO has revived dangerous German militarism and pushed Denmark, through the joint Danish-German command, into the fold of our old enemy. West Germany builds up its armed strength. The strongest army in capitalist Europe is demanding a revision of borders.

In their appeal to the London foreign ministers' conference in 1947 all our parties were at one in insisting that the German war industry and army should never be allowed to revive. Today, not

only has Denmark accepted the ominous facts of their revival; our government demonstrates extraordinary submissiveness to West Germany. Ignoring the facts, Krag and Haekkerup act as apologists for West Germany and will deny the very existence of West-German revanchism.

Trade discrimination on West Germany's part is either passed over in silence or made out as an argument in favor of our entry into the Bonn-dominated Common Market.

The government has never declared its recognition of the Oder-Neisse border nor did it protest against laying an atomic mine belt along the border between the two German states.

Moreover, Denmark denies "recognition" to the German Democratic Republic—that part of Germany which has fulfilled what Denmark demanded after the war.

This stand on the cardinal issues of our policy contradicts the interests of the country. It is indicative of Denmark's subordinate position in the NATO system which can expose our people to new dangers.

The term of the NATO pact will expire in 1969, and this is the latest date when we should close this humiliating and dangerous chapter in our history. Trends towards the break-up of this bloc have long been in evidence. Opposition to the perilous game being played by the U.S. and West Germany is mounting all over the world.

OUTLOOK FOR DENMARK

The talks with the Baltic socialist countries we held this year directly point to entirely new possibilities for freeing Denmark from the policy of blocs.

A neutral Denmark—individually or, better still, as part of a neutral and atom-free Northern Europe—may enjoy guarantees of its integrity. The socialist countries declared their readiness, should our people so wish, to participate in a system of guarantees for our neutrailty.

The idea of a Scandinavian defense alliance can be taken up, of course, in discussing Denmark's possible roads, but there is the self-evident danger of this alliance, after NATO is gone, being subordinated, in some form or other, to the policy of blocs pursued by the United States, West Germany or other countries. The main thing is Denmark's neutrality.

We will do our utmost to organize a popular movement for neutrality. We shall initiate debates and other activities and support all proposals for convening a national forum at which individuals or groups, regardless of their partiy affiliation, will determine ways and forms of guiding this struggle. We consider work in this direction to be the Party's most important task in the near future.

THE PEOPLES HAVE ONE FUTURE

Two worlds stand opposed to each other. One of them spells destruction and death; the other, socialism, is waging a hard, indefatigable struggle for peaceful coexistence. Peaceful coexistence cannot be identified with collaboration with imperialism. It is a method of class struggle whose aim is to remove the threat and causes of world war and to realize the possibility of freeing the peoples from hunger, misery, war and capitalism. There are two sides to peaceful coexistence. Talks with the capitalist governments on easing world tension, on the one hand, and unqualified support of all fighting peoples, on the other. Thus, there is no contradiction between the struggle for national freedom and the struggle for peace and socialism. The Soviet Union constantly proves this, in the present instance by its extensive assistance to the heroic fighting people of Vietnam.

We are alarmed by the developments in Indonesia. Attacks on Communists can always be taken advantage of by the imperialists. We want to express the solidarity of our congress with the Communist Party of Indonesia and all the Left forces of the Indonesian people.

The changes that have taken place in the world have prevented a new world war from breaking out. Today the task is to unite the forces to stop the aggression of U.S. imperialism.

It is necesary to restore the unity of the Communist movement on the basis of Marxism-Leninism. The internationalist community of the equal parties making up the Communist family does not imply a restriction of the independence of parties. It is the source of fresh strength. Far from contradicting the struggle for freedom, internationalism is essential for this struggle.

In their heart of hearts, our enemies envy the vigor with which we are marching forward. We exist, and our ranks will grow. Working better, we shall win recognition for our struggle. We have inscribed on our banner: "World Peace—Democracy for the People—for a Socialist Denmark."

NEW ROADS BEFORE DENMARK

POLITICAL MANIFESTO* ADOPTED BY THE 22nd CONGRESS OF THE CPD

For several years life in Denmark has been influenced by a high level of business activity. Technical innovations are applied in production and everyday life. More goods are being produced than ever before.

But the majority of people are uncertain of the future and deeply disturbed by the present. This is not because "life is too good," but, on the contrary, because people see or feel that everything could be different and better. The burdens shouldered by them growing ever heavier, the working people realize that they have to pay dearly for the results that have been achieved. The growing prices and taxes, the high rent, the instalment plan payments, the new requirements compel every member of the family to strive harder and harder to earn more and more. Many women carry the double burden, doing house chores after work. Young people are constantly confronted with new demands made of abilities and knowledge. Life is characterized by bustle, nervous tension and callousness.

People see that progress actually benefits very few, only the rich and the unscrupulous, whereas a large section of the population, especially low-paid factory and office workers, pensioners, orphans and sick and homeless people are denied its boons. Although democracy seems to exist in the country, the cold power of money and not the interests of the people determines developments. And behind all that looms the threat of being dragooned into the armageddon of a new war.

Discontent is mounting and manifesting itself in different places and in different forms, from spontaneous protest and vague questioning to conscious actions against those in power. Inter-party barriers are breaking down as a broad popular movement is mounting. People are searching for new roads, not always knowing how and where to look.

Where all this will lead cannot be said yet. The Rightists and reactionaries are busy trying to misdirect the actions by the people. They can do this because the Left forces have not countered them with unity of action, with a new, democratic alternative that would draw a line between the Right and the Left in Danish politics.

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*Land og Folk, November 14-15, 1965.

The Communists stress that the difficulties experienced by the people are the consequence of the rule of monopoly capital over society, and they show why this is so. Our aim, therefore, is to destroy this power. Our opinion on how to accomplish this is stated in our program for the renovation of democracy. It is our duty to continue to explain this. At the same time, it is also necessary to say that there is ground for rallying all the Left forces to carry out much-needed joint actions and to forge ahead.

We urge all who cherish peace, Denmark's independence and active democracy to heed the existing possibilities. We call for a common search for what unites us against those who want to subordinate everything to NATO militarism and to the power of moneybags. We invite them to examine and discuss our views.

FOR A NEUTRAL, PEACE-LOVING AND INDEPENDENT DENMARK

There exists a possibility for Denmark to change the grievous situation it has found itself in as a result of participation in NATO; membership of NATO has entailed loss of independence, West German infiltration, the arms race and economic difficulties. The most reactionary circles of Denmark had always striven to secure NATO's support, and they got it.

It is admitted openly today that the NATO policy has no justification in reality. Centrifugal forces are constantly growing in this military bloc, and an open discussion is under way on what will replace NATO. Only the most zealous supporters of NATO pretend that nothing has happened.

We should see to it that 1969 is the latest date of Denmark's participation in NATO. Already now it is necessary to begin moving away from this bloc, above all by rejecting close cooperation with West Germany in military matters.

Denmark should again become a neutral country and employ political means to utilize the possibilities there are for obtaining guarantees of her security. The road to this is indicated by the proposal on setting up in Europe zones free from nuclear weapons, zones free from conventional weapons, and neutral zones. The socialist countries have expressed readiness to contribute to guaranteeing the integrity of such zones. Denmark should demand corresponding guarantees from the Western powers. It is necessary to utilize the existing possibilities for turning the entire North into a neutral and atom-free region.

Denmark should support the proposal that after NATO ceases to exist a collective European security system be set up based on the principle of peaceful coexistence and envisaging the liquidation of military blocs and the provision of guarantees against all revanchist and aggressive policies. It is high time to recognize the

existing borders and stop evading recognition of the GDR.

The growth of armaments, which weighs heavily on the economy and endangers it, has to be stopped. Only when Denmark frees herself from her NATO shackles will she be able to pursue an independent defense policy.

The Danish people should decide themselves what military establishment should exist in the country. We consider that all possibilities should be utilized to reduce armaments and effect disarmament, and that already now military expenditure should be substantially reduced, the term of military service shortened and the army democratized.

On the economic plane, Denmark should regain freedom of trade and resist the plans for subordinating her to economic blocs. Trade should be promoted with all countries, but it should be equal trade. The production apparatus of the country must not be allowed to become the property of big foreign monopolies. Still broader use should be made of the possibilities for concluding important long-term agreements with the socialist countries, which are free from crisis phenomena.

In the field of foreign policy, Denmark should everywhere champion peace and national freedom. An end must be put to the government's disgraceful attitude of tolerance to the U.S. dirty colonial war of aggression in Vietnam. Denmark should render material, humane assistance to the victims of aggression.

Denmark should support the liberation of the peoples of the former colonial countries and join in the effort to help the new countries in attaining complete equality and an adequate level of material development.

FOR A DEMOCRATIC ECONOMIC POLICY

Those who sell their labor are the overwhelming majority of the population of Denmark. They are united in big organizations which may constitute a tremendous force. But their influence on decision-making in the economic field is insignificant, and it is by no means the wage workers who benefit from economic development.

In the conditions of the economic boom the monopolies have been making greater profits than ever before. Nine-tenths of the increment in new wealth created has been going into the capitalists' pockets. The exploitation of every worker by capital has grown by almost 50 per cent. This makes up a lucid picture of big capital ruling Denmark.

The wealth appropriated by big capital is produced by working people — factory and office workers, peasants and artisans. In modern industrial society the methods of appropriation grow more and more sophisticated and all-embracing. This is what makes

some people believe that the monopolies have become softer and moderated their claims, but the facts of the latter's enrichment show that this is not the case. They have merely learned better to camouflage their activities.

Industrial workers are compelled to work ever harder, with disregard for their physical abilities and nervous system. Outside the factory, usurers, housing profiteers and instalment plant dealers seek to extract most of their wages. The state, whose activities boil down, in the main, to seeing to it that monopoly exploitation continues unhindered, claims an increasing share of the wages in taxes. In addition, by constantly raising the turnover tax it causes the prices to rise. Its incomes policy and other forms of government interference gradually rob the wage workers of the social gains won by them.

To be sure, the state is compelled to compensate the people somewhat in the shape of allocations for social needs, etc. This, they claim, shows that the taxes are used for the good of the nation itself. But by granting special tax privileges and placing orders and making capital investments to meet the needs of the monopolies, the state redistributes the means in favor of capital.

Thus, the exploitation of the population by big capital has been more extensive. Concessions in one field are nullified by intensified plunder in another. For this reason the struggle against big capital must also be extended. The progress made so far has been won by the working people after years of struggle. Everything that has yet to be won also can be won only in struggle.

This struggle should be waged first and foremost by the organizations of the working people, above all working-class organizations. But their leaders do not measure up to these tasks. They have adapted themselves to a policy which has invariably favored big capital.

To uphold the interests of the workers in modern capitalist society, where the state plays an important role, the trade unions cannot wage a struggle on the narrow professional and economic basis. In our time the trade union movement should act as an independent political force which is free to interfere actively in the economic, social and cultural life and, hence, to present also political demands to the government.

This means that the working-class movement should represent many other groups of the population — the office workers, pensioners, small peasants and shopkeepers, intellectuals and artisans. They, too, support the demand that the state pursue a democratic economic policy and curb the monopolies.

Such essentially is the policy of the Left with which to counter the policy of the Right, aimed solely at catering to the interests of the monopolies and militarists.

The reactionaries and monopolies feel good and safe, what with the government's constant concessions and, indeed, capitulation to the Right parties. Only a bold democratic policy will ensure victory over the Right political parties and the monopolists backing them.

There are substantial differences between the parties, groups and individuals that can be listed among the Left in Danish politics. But, judging by their programs and pronouncements, there are demands around which these forces can unite. Shouldn't we, then, exert joint efforts to bring about the realization of at least these demands?

A minimum program of democratic demands which will be supported by the majority of the people could include:

1. A democratic anti-inflation policy to ensure full employment and primarily aimed at stopping the growth of prices and profits and reducing the colossal gains from land profiteering.

2. Measures against the incorrect practice of capital investments which breeds threatening difficulties and imbalances in the economy, i.e., control over investments, and participation in supervising the business activity of the monopolies.

3. Control over the monetary and tax policy through the transfer of the National Bank to the state, rational reorganization of the insurance societies, and supervision over the big banks and other institutions engaged in financing.

4. Abolition of the inordinate tax privileges granted to capitalists under the write-off rules. A democratic tax reform to shift the burden on big and non-earned incomes.

5. The right for the working people to take part in managing enterprises, with the government bodies and the communes setting the example by granting this right to their employees.

6. A program of civil and housing construction, above all cutting the interest rate to make it cheaper.

7. A democratic policy in the field of education.

8. A progressive policy in the field of culture, with the allocation of the means that will enable Denmark to reach a level conforming to the modern requirements.

9. Better social services, above all to the old, disabled and orphans.

10. Extension of communal self-government and of its links with the population.

The program of minimum demands should include the demand for a policy aimed at ensuring Denmark's independence through the proclamation of her neutrality and the provision of peace guarantees to her, and also at reducing her military expenditure. In the UNO, Denmark should unreservedly advocate measures to

secure an international detente and disarmament and guarantee the equality and independence of all peoples.

Such a policy would win the support of the majority of the people. But there is no doubt that it will be fiercely resisted by the reactionaries, who will set into motion their propaganda machine and go out of their way to split the people and scare them away from progress.

But the challenge has to be accepted! The main weakness of the Left forces is that up till now they have avoided settling accounts with the Right on a clear, unambiguous basis. To win in this struggle, it is necessary to produce facts about the influence of the monopolies in Denmark and to appeal to public opinion for active support. Action by the people themselves — this is the force with which to counter the reactionaries.

Democratic struggle against the Right can signify the commencement of the offensive of the people against monopoly domination. As soon as the working people's organization begin to act, they will see how much they can accomplish. This is the road to the genuine renovation of democracy and political life in Denmark.

The Communists are prepared to do everything to unite and develop the forces of the people, also in the elected bodies, in order to initiate such democratic actions.

THROUGH EXPANDING AND RENOVATING DEMOCRACY TO SOCIALISM

In our time the striving for a genuinely progressive and democratic solution of the problems of the people invariably conflicts with the very foundations of capitalist society. This happens whenever the matter concerns the pursuit of a democratic policy in the economic and educational field, whenever an effective right for co-management is pressed for, and whenever defense of peace and independence is demanded. Always and everywhere the power of monopoly capital stands in the way.

As a result, more and more people are beginning to doubt whether modern society rests on rational foundations, and to show increasing interest in new social forms, in socialism. They are attracted and inspired by the impressive progress the formerly backward countries have made owing to socialism.

The Communists have never agreed that reforms within the framework of capitalist society were enough. When social forms begin to hamper democratic progress, it should proceed all the same, changing society itself.

Communists favor the most consistently democratic system of society: there should not exist two groups of people one of which is exploiting the other.

For this reason we strive for socialist society. We consider that

this striving has a theoretical substantiation in the scientific socialism of Marx and Lenin. A practical proof of the existence and advantages of such a society is furnished by the socialist countries. But we believe that Denmark's progress to socialism should proceed in forms determined by the conditions of our country and by the possibilities afforded by our time.

We consider that the transition to socialist forms in Denmark can be accomplished by peaceful means, through the utmost development of the struggle of the people for democracy. The extensive democratic activity of the people can make the reactionaries give up their attempts to seize power as hopeless. International solidarity and fidelity to the fundamental principles of peaceful coexistence can frustrate intrigues from abroad against a people changing the form of their society.

The Communists regard socialism in Denmark as democracy extended to all spheres of social life. We have never advocated a dictatorship against the people. We want political power to be in the hands of the working class, the entire working people, all those who want to be free from the rule of monopoly capital. We want this overwhelming majority of the people to utilize their political power as a democratic right to build a new and well-organized society in which the riches of the country and the decisive means of production would be properly developed according to a public plan.

In Danish society, now monopoly-controlled, the enterprises and finance centers of the monopolies should be the first to become the property of the people. This would provide the basis for developing the economy in the interests of society. Denmark has many efficient small industrial, handicraft, trading and other establishments whose produce is highly appreciated by the population. They could go on operating in the economy of a society advancing to socialism. In town as well as in the countryside, promotion of cooperatives can produce new forms of social production.

Our opinion is that in a country with political traditions such as in Denmark, political power can take the form of parliamentary republican government by several parties. None of the rights won in democratic struggle by the generations of working people will be curtailed, while many will be extended. These rights will be guaranteed by cardinal changes in society and by the fundamental law of socialist democracy which will be binding on all.

WHY THE COMMUNIST PARTY

Our aim is socialist society, and we do not need to conceal this. We consider it to be a feasible aim opening up before everyone the prospect of a healthy, secure and rich life.

We do not want to impose our views on any one. We want to

persuade. We consider that persuasion is necessary, for the struggle of the working class and the democratic forces in general has never resulted in the building of the new society, socialism, without influence by a party consistently acting from the principles of scientific socialism.

It is precisely because Communists proceed from the concept of class struggle as the decisive factor in social development that they should make a contribution of their own to the democratic struggle, a contribution which no one else is able or willing to make.

We Communists constantly stress that democracy means above all activity by the people, that the working class plays the decisive role in renovating society. We Communists are working tirelessly for the people to grasp the process of socialist development now under way in the world.

We believe this contribution to be indispensable for the development of democratic struggle. Acting accordingly, Communists see that the views which they alone formerly held have gradually won wide recognition.

This success of our ideas bespeaks political influence, which, naturally, gladdens us. But we are not satisfied, because this has not found direct expression in a corresponding inflow of new members into our Party. We consider that this impedes the democratic struggle of the people. The working people's strength depends on the strength of the Communist Party.

We call upon all those who refuse to put up with the inertness and lack of ideals in Danish society and in the organizations of the working class proper, all those who wish to be with us in the consistent struggle for the cause of the working class, for democratic renovation, for the independence of the peoples, for world peace, for socialism, to join the Communist Party of Denmark, to take part in its work, to support it and infuse it with fresh strength.

Communists do not conceal their intentions. We declare our views and aims not only in order to reply to those who vilify us and our aims in an attempt to retain their privileges. We do so also in order to further a sober a serious discussion between the Left groups and within the Danish working-class movement itself. Too much strength has been expended in a futile struggle.

We say to the people whose views differ from ours: Let us find the ways to unite our forces around what we agree on! Let us find the ways to discuss that which disunites us!

In our day when so much that is new is emerging, social relations cannot and must not remain what they used to be. Otherwise the new sources of energy and technical discoveries can spell doom for the peoples. Hence the need to redouble the efforts to promote progress. For peace, democracy and socialism!

INTERNATIONAL DUTY OF COMMUNISTS OF ALL COUNTRIES*

A close, irreconcilable and unceasing struggle for social progress, for the advancement of the great revolutionary cause is going on in the present-day world. The forces of socialism, the international Communist, working class and national liberation movements, the forces of democracy and peace are steadily advancing on the positions of imperialism, pressing it back step by step. This onslaught takes the most varied forms and is waged in different directions, political, economic and ideological. The historic struggle of socialism against imperialism determines the solution of the basic problems of mankind.

How will the world revolutionary process develop further? How long will exploitation and oppression of man by man remain in a part of the world? How long will there be a place for diktat and violence in the international arena? At what price will mankind's social progress be achieved? Will a world thermonuclear war break out?—these are the questions now in the focus of attention of present-day society.

The reply to these questions is supplied by the struggle of the socialist world system, the national liberation movement, the working class movement in capitalist countries above all the struggle of its communist vanguard. This reply is offered by their remarkable victories won during almost half a century since the October Revolution.

Each of the three great revolutionary forces of our time operates in specific conditions and solves its problems by its own methods and means. But their interests lie in the same place, they have the same common enemy—imperialism. Success on any sector of anti-imperialist struggle is a success for the entire revolutionary front. And this provides an objective foundation for joint action, mutual assistance and cooperation of all revolutionary forces.

Experience patently shows that joint actions by the revolutionary forces provide the best conditions for the building of a new society in the socialist countries, for new victories of the national liberation movement, for strengthening the independence and ensuring the social progress of the young national states, enable the the international working class movement to deal increasingly more telling blows at the class enemy; they provide an oppor-

*Pravda editorial, Nov. 28, 1965. Translation Novosti Press Agency.

tunity for curbing the aggressive forces of imperialism and preventing a world thermonuclear war.

It is unity of action of all anti-imperialist forces that will ensure the ultimate triumph of peace, democracy, national independence and socialism over war, reaction, colonialism and imperialism. As Lenin pointed out, "without a voluntary striving for alliance and unity on the part of the proletariat, and then all the working masses of all countries and nations of the entire world, the cause of victory over capitalism cannot be successfully completed." (*Works,* 4th Edition, Vol. 31, p. 128).

Unity of action of the Communist and Workers' parties is the cornerstone of the rallying of the revolutionary forces of our time. This is especially true in our day when the Communist movement has become the most influential political force of our time, when the extent and complexity of its historic tasks has increased considerably.

Unity of workers' parties has never come about automatically, by itself. It has been achieved as a result of long, patient and persistent work, as a result of struggle against revisionist and dogmatic distortions of Marxism, on the basis of the assertion in the revolutionary working class movement of ideas and principles conforming to the pressing needs of the time.

It is well known how implacably and consistently Lenin fought against Right-wing opportunism and its attempts at a revision of the revolutionary principles of creative Marxism, exposed its striving to turn back the working-class movement. This struggle was designed to rally the healthy forces in the social democratic movement, to help the masses shed opportunist illusions, and to pave the way for their unity on the principled basis of scientific communism.

In the years before and immediately after the October Revolution, Lenin accomplished tremendous theoretical work to show what great harm Left-wing opportunism and sectarianism does to the working-class movement. Lenin's book *Left-wing Communism, an Infantile Disorder* and many other of his works helped the Communist parties correctly to define their tasks, taught fraternal parties to resolve arising differences in the spirit of Communist loyalty and proletarian internationalism.

In the new historical conditions, the Communist and Workers' parties continue to work persistently and patiently, in the Leninist way, to strengthen the unity of all Communists of the world. A remarkable example of this are the 1957 and 1960 Moscow Conferences. By making a thorough analysis of the changes in the present-day world, and advancing a number of new ideas which developed Marxist-Leninist theory and enriched the strategy and

tactics of the working-class movement, the Communist parties have created conditions for close unity of the revolutionary forces.

The Declaration and the Statement, which were agreed upon and jointly adopted at the Moscow meetings, by the fraternal parties, constitute a principled foundation on which their cooperation in various forms can develop successfully. The Moscow Statement of 1960 says that "the Communist and Workers parties are tirelessly educating the working people in the spirit of socialist internationalism and intolerance of any manifestations of nationalism and chauvinism. It is the cohesion and unity of the Communist and Workers parties and the peoples of the socialist countries, their loyalty to the Marxist-Leninist teaching that is the main source of the power and invincibility of each socialist country and the socialist camp as a whole."

This stresses both the need for unity, and its ideological and political platform — loyalty to our great revolutionary teaching, which is collectively developed by all the detachments of the Communist movement, and is constantly enriched by the experience of the revolutionary struggle of the masses.

On the basis of the ideas set forth by the Declaration and Statement, new important achievements were gained in the people's struggle for peace, national independence, democracy and socialism during the past few years. It should be admitted, however, that the tremendous opportunities existing today for the further development of our revolutionary cause were not used fully. The effectiveness of joint actions by revolutionary forces was considerably weakened and undermined by differences that arose within the Communist movement.

An overwhelming majority of fraternal parties follow firmly the general line of the Communist movement charted by the 1957 and 1960 Moscow conferences. Certain parties hold positions radically differing from the common platform of Communists.

In these conditions, this majority of Marxist-Leninist parties calls for rallying the ranks of the Communist and the entire liberation movement, despite the existing differences, and for resolute struggle against the common imperialist enemy on the basis of the policy of united action.

The CPSU and the other Marxist-Leninist parties pursue this policy in practice, deal one blow after another to imperialism and strive to organize joint actions designed to curb imperialist aggression, to defend the rights of the peoples fighting for freedom.

This approach conforms to the supreme interests of all the revolutionary forces—the interests of struggle against the common enemy. It also contributes to the attainment of better understanding among the Communists of different countries, to the attainment of the necessary conditions and atmosphere conducive to

overcoming the differences that have arisen among them.

This approach found expression in the decisions and actions of the overwhelming majority of the fraternal parties, in the documents of the March Consultative Meeting.

Marxist-Leninist parties pay ever increasing attention to efforts toward strengthening the unity of the communist ranks. The growing mutual understanding and cooperation forged in the course of joint anti-imperialist actions is further strengthened and embodied in growing contacts and bilateral and multilateral meetings between representatives of the fraternal parties.

Of great importance in this respect were such international communist actions as the meeting of the representatives of all fraternal parties of Latin America, the Brussels conference of representatives of the West-European Communist parties, the exchange of views among representatives of almost 40 parties in Prague to mark the occasion of the 30th anniversary of the Seventh Congress of the Comintern. All these meetings were held in the spirit of unity and, in discussing their specific questions, fully reaffirmed the principles of the 1957 and 1960 Communist international forums.

Guiding itself by the supreme interests of the revolutionary cause, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, together with the other Marxist-Leninist parties, is sparing no effort to overcome the difficulties that have cropped up in the Communist movement. The CPSU and its Central Committee have done and are doing everything in their power to ensure the normalization of relations between the USSR and China, between our two parties. In the past year, the CPSU Central Committee has time and again proposed to the Chinese leadership to take joint actions on highly important specific issues, to develop relations between the two states, to settle many problems in dispute.

Demonstrating its good will, its striving for the cohesion of all revolutionary forces, our Party has refrained for over a year from open polemics. This is not because it has nothing to say. The CPSU, educated by Lenin, has fought resolutely throughout its history and is fighting now against nationalism, dogmatism and revisionism, to rally the Communists on the principled basis of the revolutionary theory of Marxism. It has always been implacably opposed to any opportunists who, donning various masks, including those of "super-revolutionaries," have tried to divert the Communist movement from the right road and thereby to undermine its struggle for the cause of the working class.

In refraining from polemics, the CPSU Central Committee was guided by the supreme interests of the international Communist movement, the interests of struggle against imperialism. In conditions when the imperialist forces are becoming more active, any aggravation of differences within the communist ranks and fanning

up of open polemics play into the hands of the class enemy and is used by the class enemy to deal blows at the liberation movement.

Unfortunately, the CPSU and other Marxist-Leninist parties met with no positive response from the CPC leaders in their desire to ensure the unity of action of Communists.

Of course, unity of action cannot be imposed on anyone by force. But the interests of every party, every socialist country, objectively coincide and cannot be counterposed to the common interests of the Communist movement and the socialist community. And if one is guided by the interests of struggle for socialism in deed and not in words, one cannot but admit that whatever serious differences there may be between the different detachments of the great Communist army, refusal to take solidarity actions in the struggle against a common enemy weakens their positions, leads to mistakes, miscalculations and can do serious harm to our common cause.

The policy of frustrating unity of action, the line towards intensifying attacks on the Marxist-Leninist parties are harmful to the entire international communist and liberation movement. This line also has an adverse effect on the activities of the fraternal parties of the capitalist countries which are fighting in difficult conditions against the class enemy. It causes great damage to international democratic organizations and creates an unhealthy atmosphere in their work. It complicates considerably the struggle of the peoples for liberation, the consolidation of all anti-imperialist forces. The hardest hit by this splitting line are those fraternal parties and peoples which, like the Workers' Party of Vietnam and the Vietnamese people, are in the forefront of the armed struggle against imperialist aggressors and are therefore in particular need of support by a united socialist camp and a united world Communist movement.

Refusal to take joint actions presents an especial danger when it is a question of parties in power in the socialist states. The socialist system is the principal gain of the revolutionary forces, their main stronghold in the struggle against imperialism. It is the main factor ensuring mankind's steady advance along the road of social progress. To undermine the unity of the socialist countries in face of the growing activity of the imperialist forces means in effect to weaken deliberately the revolutionary front, to encourage deliberately the enemies of peace, democracy and socialism.

A line of political and organizational division, a line of splitting the Communist movement is now actually counterposed to the clear-cut position of Marxist-Leninist parties which come out for unity of action. The declaration of this course is accompanied by fierce attacks on the Soviet Union in the spirit of the worst examples of anti-communist propaganda.

Ever since the victory of the October Socialist Revolution in 1917, imperialist policy has been invariably spearheaded against our country. The reasons behind this policy are clear. The Soviet Union with its strong economic basis and armed forces is correctly regarded by the enemies of peace, democracy and socialism as the main obstacle to their anti-popular designs. For decades, the Soviet people stinting themselves in many things, had been building, under the leadership of the Communist Party, this economic basis in order to ensure the growth of people's welfare and culture, strengthen the country's defense capacity and fulfil most successfully the great international mission placed by history on the first socialist state.

In an effort to smear and slander the Soviet Union, our bourgeois opponents try to call in question the prospects of a revolutionary reorganization of society, to discredit and belittle that which is especially precious to the communist movement, that which the working people of the world so treasure—the gains of socialism.

Indeed, what a godsend for imperialist propaganda are the actions of those who consider it compatible with the conscience of a Communist to repeat the slanderous fabrications of the imperialist ideologists about a "capitalist regeneration" of the Soviet state and even go so far as to call for organizational dissociation from the principal forces accomplishing the historic mission of building a new socialist and communist society and waging the decisive battle against imperialism.

In appraising a particular political line, a particular action, the great Lenin taught the Communists to ask the question: "Who benefits by it?" Who benefits today by the attacks on the Soviet Union, on the other socialist countries, on the Marxist-Leninist parties fighting heroically against the class enemy in the capitalist countries? Who benefits by the policy of political and ideological cleavage, the split of the communist ranks? The answer to these questions is crystal clear. These attacks, this policy is only to the advantage of the imperialists, the enemies of peace, democracy, national independence and socialism.

One cannot but see that such actions may do great harm, first of all, to those who sponsor them. Indeed, whom are they going to disassociate themselves from? Against whom are they going to unite? As a matter of fact, this means disassociation from an overwhelming majority of Marxist-Leninist parties which stand on the positions of the 1957 Declaration and 1960 Statement, disassociation from the overwhelming majority of detachments of the liberation movement which favor unity of action in the struggle against imperialism.

The vital questions of struggle against imperialism imperatively call for joint actions of the Communist Parties of the socialist

countries and other anti-imperialist forces. This is an issue the attitude to which is a gauge of a principled approach to the discharge of the supreme revolutionary duty.

The entire world follows with emotion the Vietnamese people's heroic struggle against the American aggressors. In these conditions, support rendered to the Vietnamese people's just struggle is the touchstone of how this or that Communist Party fulfils its internationalist duty.

The Soviet Union is providing and will provide all the necessary assistance to the heroic people of Vietnam. The Communist Party of the Soviet Union, our entire people are sacredly fulfilling their internationalist duty. The leaders of the Working People's Party and the government of the DRV have more than once spoken highly of this aid. Only recently, on the occasion of the 48th anniversary of the October Revolution, the Prime Minister of the DRV Comrade Pham Van Dong said: "The CPSU, the Soviet government and the Soviet people are providing resolute and active support to the just struggle of the entire Vietnamese people against American imperialism, support the correct position of the DRV and the South Vietnam National Liberation Front, render every assistance to the DRV in strengthening its defensive capacity and economy."

Other fraternal parties have also actively come out in support of Vietnam, for curbing the imperialist aggressors. The forms of their activities and methods of struggle include direct material assistance by the socialist countries, a solidarity movement, the collection of funds, bringing pressure to bear on reactionary governments which send their troops to Vietnam.

However great the assistance given to the Vietnamese people by individual detachments of the Communist movement, its effectiveness depends in many ways on coordinating the efforts of the fraternal parties and the socialist countries.

The developments over the past few months have convincingly shown that imperialist is trying to capitalize on the weakened unity of communist ranks. Those who refuse to cooperate and turn down proposals for joint actions against the aggressors are hampering the struggle of the Vietnamese people and are helping the aggressor.

The present-day Communist movement was founded by the great Lenin who laid down its ideological and organizational principles. The CPSU and other Marxist-Leninist parties sacredly follow Lenin's behest that the great tasks of the workers' struggle for their liberation should be accomplished through achieving in practice "the unity of the working-class struggle for communism throughout the world" (*Works*, Fourth Russ. Ed., Vol. 31, p. 244). This unity has already brought great victories to the revolutionary cause. To oppose this unity now, and to call for division is tanta-

mount to acting contrary to the interests of the revolution, opposing Lenin and renouncing his heritage.

The objective nature of the identity of interests and aims of all the revolutionary forces of our time predetermines in the final analysis the inevitable failure of any attempts to undermine their cooperation, to divide the world revolutionary front into isolated detachments. It would be wrong, however, to ignore because of this the growing efforts to undermine the unity of the world Communist movement. As pointed out in the Statement of 1960, "Resolute defense of the unity of the international Communist movement on the basis of the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, prevention of any actions capable of undermining this unity are an indipensable condition of victory in the struggle for national independence, democracy and peace, for the successful realization of the tasks of the socialist revolution, the building of socialism and communism."

The CPSU favored and continues firmly to uphold the cohesion of the communist ranks, of all the revolutionary forces. It has pressed and always will press for such a cohesion on the principled basis of Marxism-Leninism, putting first the interests of the common struggle against imperialism, against its policy of reaction and aggression, for the triumph of the cause of communism.

Our Party has never made any compromises at the expense of principles. It has fought and will always fight implacably against any opportunism, against all who distort the great teaching of Marxism-Leninism, it will continue to follow undeviatingly the Leninist course which ensures the successful building of communism, contributes to the progress of our common revolutionary cause.

This course has stood the test of life. It meets the vital requirements of the country, the vital interests of all sections of Soviet society—workers, peasants and intellectuals—and therefore it is unanimously acclaimed and supported by the people. Soviet people welcome the CPSU's foreign policy aimed at creating more favorable international conditions to build communism in our country, ensuring closer unity and cooperation of all countries of the socialist community, giving all-round support to the peoples' liberation movement, strengthening peace and peaceful coexistence among states with different social systems.

The socio-political and ideological unity of all the Soviet people, their cohesion around the Communist Party, its Central Committee, and its Leninist line, as determined by the decisions of its congresses, and the CPSU Program—are the source of the invincible might of the Soviet Union, an earnest of a successful solution of the tasks facing it.

During its long and hard, but great and glorious history, the

world revolutionary movement has lived through many ordeals and overcome many difficulties. It always emerged from these difficulties strengthened and more experienced. There can be no doubt that the present difficulties, engendered by attempts to split its ranks, will also be successfully overcome. An earnest of this is the tremendous collective experience gained by the fraternal parties of action in the struggle against imperialism, for the great ideals of peace and socialism.

SPEECH* BY PHAM VAN DONG

Premier Pham Van Dong conveyed friendly greetings to the people, the Communist Party and the Government of the Soviet Union. He stressed the vast importance of the October Revolution. Giving due credit to the progress made by the Soviet people in 48 years, he said:

"The Soviet people, led by the glorious Communist Party of the Soviet Union, have during the past 48 years transformed their country into a mighty socialist power.

"The great victories won by the Soviet people in every field have earned them renown and are an object of pride for the working class, the oppressed peoples, and progressive men and women throughout the world. These victories are an important contribution to the strength of the socialist community and to the maintenance of world peace. The Vietnamese people warmly welcome these gains of the Soviet people. They are confident that the fraternal Soviet people, successors of Lenin's cause, will fulfil their lofty mision of providing the material and technical base for communism and so greatly promote the revolutionary struggle of the working class, the working people and the oppressed of the world."

Speaking of the intensification of the cruel, barbarous war of aggression in Vietnam by the U.S. imperialists, Premier Pham Van Dong said:

"The whole Vietnamese people, from south to north, are staunchly waging a sacred war against U.S. imperialism, for the salvation of their country. They are sure to win this war. The situation on the fronts show that the strength of the Vietnamese people is growing as they fight, that they are winning one victory after another and are advancing confidently to complete victory. At the same time world events show that the Vietnamese people enjoy increasing sympathy and receive increasingly effective support and assistance from the peoples of fraternal socialist countries, the working class of the world, the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America, and all the peace forces of the globe, specifically the peace-loving democratic forces of the United States. A broad mass movement in support of the Vietnamese people is developing in every corner of the world. It is gradually becoming a united front of the peoples of the world against U.S. imperialism."

Stressing the fraternal friendship of the Vietnamese and Soviet

*Delivered at the Soviet Embassy reception on the occasion of the forty-eighth anniversary of the October Revolution. Published in **Nian Dan**, November 8, 1965.

peoples, Premier Pham Van Dong mentioned the heartfelt support which the Soviet Union extended to the Vietnamese people during the war against the French imperialist aggressors, the aid which the USSR gave the Vietnamese so that they could rehabilitate the ravaged national economy and carry on socialist construction in North Vietnam, and the assistance it is rendering in the present struggle against the American imperialists, for national salvation.

"Allow me to express the whole Vietnamese people's heartfelt thanks to the Communist Party, the Government and the fraternal people of the Soviet Union," Premier Pham Van Dong said in conclusion.

WE HAIL THE ANNIVERSARY OF THE GREAT OCTOBER REVOLUTION*

Today the working class and the people of our country as a whole join the fraternal Soviet people, and working men and women throughout the world in celebrating with joyful enthusiasm the 48th anniversary of the great October Revolution. The broadside fired by the cruiser *Aurora* announced the beginning of a new era in history and "initiated the radiant springtime of mankind," as Chairman Ho Chi Minh put it. Led by the great Lenin, the Russian Communists were the first in the world to accomplish a socialist revolution, establish a proletarian state, and eliminate the exploitation of man by man on one-sixth of the globe. The October Revolution aroused the East and kindled the flames of the national-liberation revolution in Asia, Africa and Latin America. It heralded the era of the downfall of imperialism and colonialism.

Following the path pioneered by the October Revolution, a great revolution triumphed in China. It dealt a powerful blow at the entire imperialist system and tipped the scales in favor of the forces fighting for independence, freedom, democracy, peace and socialism. Following the path pioneered by the October Revolution, the August Revolution triumphed in Vietnam, resulting in the establishment of the first people's democratic state in Southeast Asia. This victory constitued a powerful source of inspiraion for the national-liberation movement all over the world. Following the path pioneered by the October Revolution, the revolution triumphed in Korea, Cuba and Mongolia, and the peoples of Eastern Europe made tremendous historical progress.

By now the socialist community has become a mighty, invincible force. It is gaining in might, and is shaping the trend of human history. The ranks of the world Communist and working-class movement are swelling day after day. Every year more countries are taking the road to freedom and independence, to courageous struggle against imperialism, colonialism and neocolonialism. The imperialist camp is weakening from day to day, and internal contradictions are growing. The revolution has achieved tremendous victories during the past 48 years.

In 48 years of struggle and construction the Soviet Union has become a mighty socialist power. The Soviet people's outstanding successes rejoice the working people of the world. The Soviet socialist economy is going from strength to strength as it develops.

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*Nian Dan, November 7, 1965.

The USSR has made remarkable progress in culture and science. The world admires the Soviet Union's outstanding historic achievements in space exploration. The defense capacity of the Soviet Union is growing continuously.

Our people are truly happy about the great achievements of the fraternal Soviet people. The militant unity of the Vietnamese and Soviet peoples is becoming stronger with every passing day. Now that the U.S. imperialists are recklessly escalating their war of aggression in Vietnam, sending more troops to South Vietnam and barbarously bombing North Vietnamese territory, the Soviet people show deep sympathy and genuine solidarity with our people, and help them in the struggle for the independence, freedom and unification of their country. The Soviet government has repeatedly signified its complete solidarity with the position of the DRV Government and the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam. The Soviet people side firmly with our people. They fully agree with our people's line of action against the U.S. imperialists and for the salvation of the country, and step up their support of and assistance to our people, so that we may defeat aggressive U.S. imperialism.

On this day which is so joyous for the Soviet people and the whole of progressive mankind, our people send the Soviet people their warmest and most sincere good wishes. We wish the Soviet people still greater victories in communist construction.

We will work steadfastly for the further continuous growth of friendly relations and cooperation with the Soviet people on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism.

Our people will always follow Chairman Ho Chi Minh's recommendation. "The Vietnamese people," he said, "who are following the road of the October Revolution under the banner of Marxism-Leninism, maintaining close links with the peoples of the socialist countries, are certain of their victory, and are advancing with firm step to a happy future, to socialism."

NOVEMBER 7*

It is 48 years since the historic day when Russia's workers and peasants, led by Lenin's Party, accomplished the Great October Socialist Revolution and established working people's rule on one-sixth of the globe. That glorious event marked a turn in the destinies of mankind and opened a new era in the development of society, the era of far-reaching revolutionary change, of the transition from capitalism to socialism, of the triumph of Marxism-Leninism on a world scale.

The dire effects of World War I, the enormous aggravation of the crisis of the capitalist system, and the sharpening of the antagonisms of bourgeois society roused the people to fight, and a revolutionary situation developed in many countries.

Following the great October victory, the Soviet people courageously overcame great difficulties and hardships and beat off the attacks of world imperialism. In a historically brief period they did away with the appalling backwardness inherited from tsarism, and established a socialist system. Today they are achieving remarkable successes in communist construction as they work enthusiastically under the tested leadership of the CPSU.

The Soviet Union, which has been pursuing the Leninist policy of socialist industrialization as the only road to progress and civilization and has been developing the productive forces on this basis, has become a great economic power accounting for one-fifth of world industrial production. Since the Soviet state came into being industrial output has increased 56 times and power generation 230 times over 1913. With the assignments of the Seven-Year Plan fulfilled or exceeded, gross industrial output by the end of this year will be 84 per cent greater than in 1959.

The steady growth of industry has provided opportunities for the technical equipment of every branch of the national economy.

The progress made in highly important fields of science and technology, the universally recognized achievements of the Soviet Union as the pioneer of space exploration, and progress in education, culture, public health and the working people's standard of living are all indications of the creative effort of the Soviet people.

The working people of our country, who hailed the October Revolution and actively supported it, follow with warm sympathy the Soviet people's progress in communist construction and rejoice in it with all their hearts.

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*Scinteia, November 7, 1965.

The mighty revolutionary process of our time is developing steadily, renovating the face of the earth. The revolution has triumphed in China and a number of other countries, where the people's power has been established. The formation of the socialist world system, the greatest gain of the international working class, is a mighty embodiment of the deep-going changes that have occurred in the world. The socialist countries, which account for one-third of the population of our planet and supply about 40 per cent of the world industrial product, constitute an important political, economic and social force.

As a result of the victories achieved by the Rumanian people with the working class in their van and under the leadership of the Rumanian Communist Party, Rumania today is a country in its prime where socialism has triumphed completely and finally. The revolutionary changes that have taken place in the life of the people, and the present stage of the development of our country are reflected in the new fundamental law, the Constitution of the Socialist Republic of Rumania.

The Ninth Congress of the RCP, upon surveying the great achievements of the people, worked out guidelines for the continuation of the process of completing socialist construction on a higher plane, a program for the all-round development of the economy, science, culture, and the individual. At the heart of the Party's economic policy is socialist industrialization, the only road to continuous growth of the productive forces, to the well-being of the people, and to the actual safeguarding of national independence and sovereignty. The successes of our country and the other socialist countries add to the strength of socialism. They demonstrate the superiority of the new system and exert powerful influence on the peoples.

In contrast to relations in the capitalist world, characterized by inequality and by economic and political dependence, the relations of a new type which have shaped between the countries of the socialist world system are aimed at fostering the all-round development of each state, of each socialist nation, and fraternal cooperation between them on an equal footing, with a view to ensuring the progress of each country and strengthening the socialist system as a whole.

Within the framework of these relations, Rumanian-Soviet friendship has made important headway. The recent visit of the Party and Government delegation of the SRR to the Soviet Union contributed to the fraternal relations between our parties, countries and peoples.

The world Communist and working-class movement is a most important factor for social progress today. The Communist and Workers' parties are becoming steeled as they fight against reac-

tion. In a number of countries they still have to operate in difficult conditions, being persecuted by methods ranging from fake trials and outlawing to terrorism and repression on the part of the extreme Right. Experience shows, however, that the anti-Communist witch-hunting organized by the forces of reaction, imperialism and colonialism cannot curb the struggle of the working-class parties, which meets the requirements of historical progress and the fundamental interests of the people. Defense and promotion of the cohesion of the world Communist and working-class movement and of the unity of the socialist world system on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism is the paramount earnest of the triumph of the cause of socialism and peace.

Today the demand that the sovereignty and independence of the peoples, and their sacred right to shape their own fortunes be respected is asserting itself with unprecedented force.

As a result of the victories of the national-liberation movement, more than 1,500 million people have cast off colonial tyranny during the last decades, and dozens of new states have emerged. The disintegration of the colonial system and the increasing role of the newly-independent states are components of the world revolutionary process, historical events of our time.

Safeguarding peace and foiling imperialist plans of aggression are among the cardinal international problems of today. The homeland of the great October Revolution, whose first legislative move was the Decree on Peace, has won high appreciation thanks to the activity it has been carrying on together with the other socialist countries to maintain peace and international security, avert world war, and develop relaions of cooperation between states irrespective of their socio-political systems.

Reality shows that so long as imperialism is there the causes of international conflicts and aggressive trends will remain and encroachments on the independence and sovereignty of countries will continue. U.S. aggression in Vietnam is a grave danger to peace. The Rumanian people, in common with the peoples of the other socialist countries and with all the peace forces, have condemned, and condemn, imperialist intervention in Vietnam. They insist on its immediate discontinuance, and express their fraternal solidarity with the heroic struggle of the Vietnamese people, whom they give their internationalist support.

In our day hundreds of millions of people on all continents are fighting for an end to the arms race, for the final removal of the spectre of nuclear danger by banning and scrapping weapons of mass destruction, for a durable peace.

To promote peace and security, the peoples should heighten their vigilance more steadfastly than ever, and all the anti-im-

perialist forces should merge into a single stream and step up their fight.

On the occasion of the glorious anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution the Rumanian people send the Soviet people warm greetings, and fraternally wish them further success in their effort for the steady development of their country, for its advance to the heights of communist civilization, and in their struggle to maintain peace.

THE HEARTBEAT OF THE GREAT OCTOBER REVOLUTION HAS SET THE RHYTHM OF OUR COUNTRY

Herman Axen

ALTERNATE MEMBER OF THE POLITICAL BUREAU CC, SUPG

Forty-eight years ago a shot from the *Aurora* announced the beginning of the most significant, the decisive turn in human history. No event had ever recast all of society's foundations and form of existence so thoroughly, or renovated them so humanely, as did the Great October Socialist Revolution. No event had ever quickened the process of history to such an extent as did that memorable storming of the Winter Palace and the establishment of the first workers' and peasants' state in the world.

1. GROWING ROLE OF THE SOVIET UNION: A LOGICAL DEVELOPMENT

The past 48 years of Soviet power has been years of hard-won fame. The progress of the first socialist state was indescribably difficult. The dialectics of the class struggle willed that the proletarian revolution should triumph first in an economically backward capitalist country, and that it should for a whole period not go beyond the one country. The appalling material and cultural legacy of tsarist Russia, and the ravages of World War I were supplemented by the devastation of imperialist intervention and encirclement, economic and political blockade, and military provocation. Lastly, Hitler's predatory war involved the Soviet people in unprecedented sacrifice and loss.

But the peoples of the Soviet Union, freed by the October Revolution from social exploitation, national oppression and racial discrimination, brilliantly withstood the severest tests of history. With their Communist Party leading them firmly onward along the Leninist road, they overcome the greatest difficulties in a historically short space of time.

Today 48 years of successful socialist construction in the USSR bear out the universally valid proposition of the international working-class movement that the Soviet people owe their epoch-

*Abridged from **Neues Deutschland**, November 6, 1965.

making achievements, which are transforming the world, primarily to the correct leadership provided by their Communist Party. It is not the shortcomings or the errors, or yet the passing setbacks that are typical of these forty-eight years of advance across unexplored historical ground. What *is* typical of the road of the CPSU since October 1917 has been, and is, the Party's tested loyalty to Marxism-Leninism, to the Leninist general line, and to proletarian internationalism. The thoroughly progressive and humanistic main feature of the new social system is obvious. Its impact has never failed.

Typical and logical of these 48 years is the Soviet people's pioneering for the benefit of human progress.

Typical is the complete and final victory of socialism in the Soviet Union.

Typical and logical of the past 48 years of Soviet power was the victory of the Soviet Army in the Great Patriotic War and the liberation of the peoples from fascist tyranny. And typical of CPSU policy is the fact that ever since November 7, 1917, the Soviet Union has proved itself to be an indestructible foundation and bulwark of the world revolution. In the days of the Communist International, but particularly in the recent period, the CPSU made a decisive contribution toward a tremendous upswing in the world Communist movement and the Leninist steeling of fraternal parties. We owe it to the international impact of the October Revolution and to the policy of the Soviet State that the national-liberation movement of the oppressed nations has become stronger and is now merging with the international working-class movement into a world-wide revolutionary stream.

The October Revolution was a logical result of the process which at the turn of the century shifted the center of the revolutionary movement to Russia. It is a result of the fundamental changes that have occurred since the October Revolution, and an indication of the higher stage of the world revolutionary movement, that the center of the revolutionary movement is no longer in one country or shifting from country to country. Today the socialist world system, the greatest achievement of the international working class, is the natural and invincible center of all the revolutionary movements of our time.

In this great community of 14 equal socialist countries, the socialist Soviet Union is the main force.

The Socialist Unity Party of Germany stresses the history-making role of the Soviet Union for something more than its achievements during the 48 years which have passed since the October Revolution. The socially most advanced country on our planet, a a country building communism, and the economically, militarily and culturally strongest socialist state, led by the most experienced and

tested contingent of the international working-class movement, it is a source of strength for every nation of the socialist world system, and a decisive factor for its international appeal.

On the 48th anniversary of the October Revolution the Soviet people, who are aware of their historic mission, are advancing to the 23rd Congress of the CPSU. Between the 47th and 48th anniversary of the revolution the CC CPSU, headed by Comrade Leonid Brezhnev, created conditions for a new, great stride of the country toward communism. The CC, CPSU decision of October and December 1964 and March and September 1965 are aimed at promoting the Leninist standards of Party life, at expanding the Soviet economy at a rate indispensable for the historic competition with capitalism, at giving socialist democracy a more profound character and ensuring a steady uptrend in every sphere of public activity. Guided by the decision of the September plenum of the CC, CPSU and the October session of the Supreme Soviet, the Soviet people are setting out to raise the socialist planned economy to a higher plane, which will make it posible to meet the requirements of the scientific and technological revolution.

The CC, CPSU and the Soviet Government are firmly pursuing the Leninist foreign policy. It was after the October 1964 plenum that further progress was made in fostering the unity and cooperation of the great commonwealth of socialist countries, strengthening the defensive alliance of the Warsaw Treaty nations, and promoting the cohesion of the world Communist movement. The CC, CPSU and the Soviet Government actively combine the Leninist policy of peaceful coexistence with the peoples' growing mass struggle for peace, national independence, democracy and socialism.

II. COOPERATION BETWEEN THE GDR AND THE USSR ON A HIGHER PLANE

Every anniversary of the October Revolution quickens the heartbeat of the peoples. Looking back on the tremendous progress made by the Land of Soviets, they estimate the road they have to travel in developing their own countries, and visualize their own historical prospects.

This is true of our country also, all the more because the October Revolution, and the existence and growth of the USSR had, and continue to have, a deep-going and beneficial influence on things in Germany.

The Treaty of Friendship, Mutual Assistance and Cooperation concluded in June 1964, and the Communique of September 26 on the stay of our Party and Government delegation in the Soviet Union, issued on September 26, are among the outstanding testimonies of German-Soviet friendship.

It would be hard to overrate the significance of the September negotiations between our two countries. The Communique statement "that there is an unshakeable community of views between the two Parties on all the essential issues of the theory and practice of socialist and communist construction, and that the closest friendly relations and fraternal cooperation have developed between them" is of the utmost importance for the present and the future.

The Party and Government delegations of the two countries did not discuss pressing political issues only. Their negotiations were also concerned in substantial measure with new urgent problems of the development of socialist economy and society. The point is that communist construction in the Soviet Union, and the completion of socialist construction in the people's democracies fall in with the period of the scientific and technological revolution. Objectively, this calls for a higher standard of economic planning and management and, to quote the Communique, "for new forms of cooperation between the two countries in the fields of science and production."

Friendship and cooperation between the GDR and the USSR contribute to the unity and might of the great commonwealth of socialist countries. Also, they are guiding factors as regards the road and goal of the German nation. In Germany, the world-wide antagonism between socialism and imperialism, embodied in the existence of two socially different German states, manifests itself in a particularly sharp form.

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The U.S. invaders' barbarous war against Vietnam is threatening world peace and more and more. It is already clear to the whole world that the mightiest imperialist state is unable to defeat the peace-loving Vietnam people. This is one of the important results of the October Revolution.

By intervening in Vietnam, the U.S. imperialists have badly isolated themselves, in both political and moral terms. Even militarily, they can no longer win the war they have launched in Vietnam.

The SUPG reaffirms its complete solidarity with the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam. We fully support the DRV government's four proposals intended to put an end to the war.

In the interest of joint action by all the anti-imperialist forces, we demand that the open polemics of the Chinese press against the Soviet Union be stopped. Anyone who insists on a public discussion of ideological differences and therefore ignores the need to

establish the necessary unity of action against imperialism, is putting the differences before the fight against imperialism.

When the Russian workers and peasants had cast off capitalist and landowner tyranny for all time and established their own socialist power Lenin had the discernment to predict that the world-wide transition from capitalism to socialism must give rise to increasingly varied forms of proletarian dictatorship. The period since the October Revolution has strikingly borne out Lenin's prediction. The popular revolutions which triumphed in numerous European and Asian countries since World War II provided a new form of proletarian dictatorship, the people's democratic state.

Ever since then the revolutionary process has been truly world-wide. As the forms of proletarian dictatorship become more varied so do the ways of transition from capitalism to socialism.

The multiformity of the revolutionary movement is growing. At the same time, however, there is a logically growing need for the unity of this movement on the basis of the immortal ideas of the October Revolution, the growing influence of the socialist world system, and the requirements of the world-wide struggle for peace, national independence, democracy and socialism, against imperialism and war. Hence the utmost importance of the unity of the world-wide anti-imperialist liberation movement, unity of the socialist commonwealth of nations, unity of the world Communist movement, and union of the working-class movement and the national-liberation movement.

SPEECH* BY LUIGI LONGO

We are assembled here for two reasons: to celebrate the 48th anniversary of the October Revolution and to present the theses for the 11th Congress of the ICP, published today.

"It is 48 years since the victory of the Revolution in the USSR ushered in a new era, the era of socialism. Since then the socialist idea has become reality for one-third of mankind. The construction of socialism, first in the Soviet Union and then in other countries, changed the balance of forces between the socialist world and the world of capitalism and imperialism. This change made and still makes it possible to pose in a new way the problem of maintaining peace, and in many countries the problem of advancing to socialism. Italy's road to socialism, elaborated by us under Togliatti's guidance, proceeds from the new balance of world forces and from the particular conditions in which the class struggle is going on in Italy. This is why it is only natural that we should begin by recalling the role and importance of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries in shaping the present international situation and the possibilities for its development."

The experience of these years has also shown, Luigi Longo stressed, that only the socialist concepts elaborated by Lenin and the achievements of the October Revolution have made it possible really to establish a new society free from class exploitation and oppression. Conversely, Social-Democratic concepts, socialist only in name and never affecting in the least the economic and political power of big capital, have failed dismally, their failure often expressing itself in betrayal and bloodshed.

The construction of socialism in the USSR—and not merely the overthrow of tsarism—was an essential factor in the upswing of the world revolution. It made a decisive contribution to the liberation of mankind from fascist slavery and to the destruction of the principal centers of imperialist reaction. It rendered the most effective assistance to many peoples of Europe and Asia fighting for liberation from capitalist oppression. And it is the construction of socialism in the USSR and in the other socialist countries that today renders the greatest assistance to all liberation movements.

By indicating that the Soviet Union is their chief enemy, the imperialists show who bears the brunt of the anti-imperialist struggle in the world. And while those who smear and slander the Soviet Union are still unfortunately many, the peoples fighting against imperialism know very well of the role which that country

*Abridged from **L'Unità**, November 8, 1965.

has been playing. They know well that the daring and consistent initiative of détente and peaceful coexistence taken by the Soviet Union — the other socialist countries and the international working-class movement has defeated the cold war, forced imperialism to give up the idea of destroying the socialist regimes, and helped dozens of peoples to win political independence.

Thanks to this policy, which is the supreme manifestation of the struggle for peace and unity being waged by the socialist countries, the newly-independent countries, and the working-class and liberation movements, the idea of the necessity and possibility of avoiding a nuclear war has gained ground with mankind. This idea has given rise to disagreement and division even among the leading capitalist groups. It is thanks to this policy, furthermore, that the conditions for political and social struggles have changed for the better in numerous capitalist countries.

Longo pointed out that the weakening and disruption of the international unity of some sectors of the working-class movement have encouraged the onset of extremist imperialist groups. He stressed the gravity of the international situation resulting from the brutal U.S. aggression in Vietnam, and the increased danger of world war. At the root of this aggravation, he said, are the American imperialists' refusal to recognize the new realities of the world, and their attempt to prevent the world from achieving — in and through coexistence — a new equilibrium based on the peoples' right to freedom and independence. This onset is prompted by the crisis of American society, which bases its development on a continuous increase in military spending, and by the problems of a profound racial conflict which is bound to cause many deep cracks in the entire social structure. It reflects America's inability to indicate a way of closing the widening gap between the underdeveloped or developing countries and the industrial powers, or to offer a solution for the growing problem of hunger, which is gripping Asia, Africa and Latin America.

This policy of aggression is the source of the greatest menace to détente and peace. But does this mean that the policy of peaceful coexistence is in crisis, that the reasons which prompted this policy have disappeared or are disappearing, and that the situation has changed to such an extent as to call for a change in this line and this strategy? The draft theses for the 11th Congress answer these questions in clear and precise terms. They maintain that this policy and this strategy should be confirmed and that the increasingly aggressive nature of the United States makes their necessity still more evident. Safeguarding peace and saving mankind from atomic destruction are the important problems today. We must therefore make the struggle for peace the watchword and the main task of our Party.

Longo next quoted the theses word for word where they say that the concept of peaceful coexistence is a dynamic concept rejecting and combating the status quo, and that it is based on renunciation of the use of force as a means of settling international disputes, on respect for the independence and sovereignty of every country, on non-interference in the internal affairs of other countries, and on the establishment of international relations enabling every nation to solve the problems of its existence according to its own aspirations and interests.

"In this way," the theses say, "the struggle for peace and coexistence links up with the struggle for democracy and socialism, and hence with the vital economic and political demands of the working class, the people at large and the middle strata of producers and intellectuals. International détente and peaceful coexistence by no means imply renunciation of these demands."

Experience has shown, Longo continued after mentioning Suez, the Lebanon, and Cuba, that whenever all the anti-imperialist forces press imperialism for détente, it backs down and abandons its claims. Cuba, supported by the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries and holding its arms at the ready, has been building socialism for three years now. And the imperialists have had to keep their promise to respect the independence of the island.

The fact that contradictions in the socialist camp in recent years have had an adverse effect on the international situation calls for effort by all the anti-imperialist, socialist and peace forces to achieve at least unity in the face of the attack launched by imperialism. This is why recent Soviet statements to the effect that all the countries of the world should contribute on an equal footing to the policy of peaceful coexistence, and acts emphasizing the autonomy of each socialist country and indicating the various forms which relations between them may take, should be seen as positive developments.

The speaker stressed the value of the aid which the socialist countries, headed by the USSR, render to the Vietnamese people in their heroic fight, and the importance of the efforts which are being made in order to take the edge off the polemics with the CP of China. The situation, he said, requires a vigorous struggle for détente, coexistence and peace. This struggle should be aimed at ending imperialist aggression in Southeast Asia, staving off the danger of a new world war, guaranteeing the people's right to independence and self-determination, taking the first concrete steps toward disarmament and the abolition of military blocs, and advancing in Europe an alternative of peace, progress and labor.

This policy necessitates a clear realization of the close connection between the international situation and the situation at home, between action for a new foreign policy and struggle for a new

home policy. "Atlanticism" and "Europeanism" have always been used by conservative groups as weapons to resist all policy of renovation, and have always exposed us to the danger of being involved in atomic conflicts. At the same time the Common Market places us in an inferior position in face of international competition. Today this situation is being aggravated by the massive penetration of American capital into Italy, and by its effort to seize key positions in Italian production, as is evident from the transfer of the electronics section of Olivetti to General Electric, the sale of RIV to SKF, etc.

Longo pointed out that the theses deal with these problems of foreign and home policy and that they have been drafted with due regard to reality, experience, and Togliatti's recommendations.

Togliatti foresaw in his last speech in Parliament that the policy announced by the Center Left government would give rise to "new tensions, new unrest and new struggles" involving an increasing section of the population. "But the way out of this crisis," Togliatti added, "does not lie in our planning or promising a hypothetical City of the Sun. It lies in posing problems, in inviting everyone to discuss them, in putting forward solutions that will meet the interests of the nation and the working classes, and in calling on the mass of the people and the middle strata to promote and fight for these solutions." The way out "lies in developing a unitary policy with the object of establishing a fundamental agreement between the democratic forces which are supported by the working people and really want to work for the renovation and development of Italian democracy."

This is the line we follow in the draft theses when speaking of alternatives, Longo said. Our proposed alternative to the monopolistic development under way is not yet socialist, nor can it be. But we realize that progress at the present stage in the development of the country is possible only if solutions in the direction of socialism are indicated. Where does the watershed between a reformist policy and a socialist policy lie today? Togliatti asked in the Central Committee in July 1963. It lies primarily in the demand for structural reforms. "Every working-class and socialist party should strive through its political and economic struggles to modify, or at least to begin modifying, the economic structure of society. At the same time it should aim at extending the autonomy and power of the working class. Unless these two points are borne in mind the advance to socialism becomes an aspiration that will not materialize."

The task is, in fact, Longo said, to attack the power of the monopoly groups while proceeding in these two directions and gradually to strengthen the power positions of the working class.

To attain these objectives, which are stated in the draft theses

(all the comrades should study the draft and make suggestions), it is necessary to work for the formation of a new democratic majority. It would be absurd to think that the Center Left can be renovated on more progressive lines. Having failed in all its premises, the Center Left has virtually become a cover and an instrument for the policy of preserving the social status quo and of recasting the structure of the monopolies. Besides, the failure of the Center Left was accompanied by the political and moral exhaustion of part of the Left forces which had encouraged and backed it, and this means that we cannot expect an abrupt leftward turn of these forces. Hence what we need to achieve a new majority is a vigorous initiative in political and ideological struggle, such as will lead to a profound renovation, generate new energy, and promote the development in every sphere of unitary trends opposing the process of division that is going on. The question is, first of all, to safeguard and develop unity, which is already being attained at the local administrative bodies, and to do all that can be done to bring about a useful consensus of opinion, agreements, and unitary action by all the democratic political forces on particular aims, including immediate and partial ones, which suggest themselves as a result of the failure of reformist solutions and the aggravation of the problems of the country.

Longo stressed that there has been agreement and unity of action also in recent years, preventing socio-political stabilization on a Center Left basis. It is significant that despite requests and pressure on the part of the Christian Democrats and Right-wing Socialists the General Confederation of Labor maintains organizational unity, and unanimously condemns and successfully combats the policy on incomes. The Center Left wanted to isolate the ICP and to reduce its field of action. But it is the Italian Socialist Party (ISP) that during the past three years of collaboration with the Christian Democrats in the Center Left has lost its Left wing, which has formed the Italian Socialist Party of Proletarian Unity. Inside the ISP there has emerged a Left trend, and its autonomist majority itself has split. At every election it has to register a substantial loss of votes.

As for the Communists, the influx into their ranks has not diminished, and the number of votes cast for them has increased noticeably. Besides, the militancy of the people is very great despite repressive measures and the exhortations for renunciation emanating from ministers and propagandists. This militancy is seen from the strikes and demonstrations held so far, and from the ferment which is the prelude to the entry of large sections of the people into the fight for the renewal of contracts.

As regards the shift of the ISP to Social-Democratic positions, it is being strongly resisted by the rank and file of this party and

the people following it. We must vigorously criticize this political and ideological retrogression of the ISP. This should be combined with positive unitary action on real problems of the working class, with a view to arousing the democratic and class consciousness of the Socialist rank and file and of the working people influenced by the ISP. It is in this sense that we consider the initiative of founding a single party of the working class perfectly timely. This initiative differs entirely from the Social-Democratic proposal for unification, which proceeds from acceptance of the present system and from renunciation of the fight against capitalism and imperialism. Our initiative has produced a first result. It has encouraged discussion and new meetings, and has prevented the problems of Socialist unity from being presented to the people in the misleading terms of Social-Democratic unity. This initiative should be carried forward with vigor and tenacity.

Longo devoted the closing part of his speech to the speculations of the conservative press regarding the recent debate in the CC and CCC. By speaking of division, disruption and decline of the strength and solid unity of our Party, the conservative press has merely expressed once again a desire which it has always cherished but which has never been fulfilled. The discussion was broad and even lively, but we held it as Communists, prompted by the desire to carry our analysis still deeper, to make our line still more precise and more capable of bringing us new important successes.

We suggest that those who speculate on the discussions accompanying presentations for the 11th Congress give up their illusions about disunity in our ranks. The Party and its theses reject the formation of any trends or factions, or the tendency to form them, because the democracy of a party is not gauged by their existence. More, their existence is the negation of freedom of debate and of democracy, as the theses show only too clearly. We will encourage discussion in the Party and among the people by way of exchanging views and experience. As to those who hope for a weakening of our Party or for its decline, we say:

"Look at the first results of eight days of re-registration and recruitment. They are highly indicative of the aims that have been achieved and of the enthusiasm that has attended them. They speak eloquently of a party that is sound, strong, united, and confident of itself, its leaders and the cause it champions. They also speak of the increased militancy of the working people."

Longo closed his speech by calling on the comrades who have already exchanged their membership cards to prompt others to do likewise or to join the ICP, which is fighting for the maintenance of peace, for democratic renovation and for socialism.

APPEAL* OF THE CP OF ARGENTINA

IN CONNECTION WITH THE 48th ANNIVERSARY OF THE GREAT OCTOBER REVOLUTION

Workers and peasants, toilers, Argentinians, all men and women cherishing democracy, national independence and peace.

On November 7 the peoples of the world celebrate the 48th anniversary of the victory of the glorious Russian Revolution which ushered in a new era in mankind's history, the era of socialism and communism.

On this anniversary one can fully appreciate the importance and influence of the victorious proletarian revolution which ended the rule of landlords, capitalists and foreign monopolies in Russia. Neither the invasion by imperialist armies, criminal sabotage against the socialist system, nor the Nazi aggression during World War II could halt the victorious construction of socialism and the advance towards communism.

Dirty calumnies by agents of imperialism and world reaction against the Soviet system failed to prevent the truth about social gains from shining ever brighter.

News agencies, the press and those intellectuals in the service of imperialism and its henchmen in our country try hard to conceal or distort the facts. But the news about the splendid successes of the socialist system in all fields is breaking all barriers. And there is nothing surprising about this.

Compared with pre-revolutionary Russia, industry has grown 45-fold. In the last seven years industrial output has increased by 84 per cent, and 5,500 new big enterprises have been built. Towards 1970 the Soviet Union will have surpassed the United States in per capita industrial production, and towards 1980 output by industry will have grown six-fold, more than double the output per head of the population in the United States.

In agriculture, the Soviet Union grows more grain and sugarbeet and produce more wool than the United States. It has overtaken and outstripped the U.S. in per capita milk and butter output.

As to the power industry, the vital nerve system of modern progress, the Soviet Union generates in two days as much electric energy as was generated in pre-revolutionary Russian in a whole

*Nuestra Palabra, November 3, 1965.

year. In the last seven years power output has doubled, and by 1980 the Soviet Union will be producing ten time more electricity than now — 2,700 million to 3,000 million kwh annually.

In Soviet Central Asia, formerly a land of backward peoples, a new township is built by the enthusiastic and generous hands of young Communists every seventy-five days. Glorious Soviet spaceships are plying stellar expanses, bringing nearer the historic hour of man's landing on the Moon.

The Soviet Union, like the other socialist countries, has done forever with social ills plagueing the peoples of the capitalist world—hunger, misery, unemployment, illiteracy, crises, inflation.

The wages and real incomes are growing constantly, having gone up by 61 per cent between 1954 and 1964. At the same time the prices of consumer goods have been steadily reduced.

The rent does not exceed 4 to 5 per cent of the breadwinner's earnings. In the seven years since 1958, 80 million people — four times the population of Argentina — have moved into new houses or flats.

Medical care is free; the average life expectancy has increased from 32 years prior to the revolution to 70 years under socialism.

The working day, which lasts six or seven hours, is the shortest and best-remunerated in the world. Preparations are under way for the transition to a six- and five-hour day.

Forty per cent of the workers and 23 per cent of the collective farmers have a secondary or higher education. Sixty million men and women are studying in the USSR, which turns out 125,000 engineers a year and boasts of 400,000 scientists.

The future holds out still brighter prospects.

By the end of 1980 social services will be meeting half of the needs of Soviet people. Housing, medical care, education at all levels, public transport, electricity and other utilities will be free.

The Soviet man has really passed — as the founders of scientific socialism predicted — from the realm of necessity to the realm of genuine freedom!

That is why the peoples exclaim on that day:

Long live the 48th anniversary of the glorious October Socialist Revolution!

Long live the glorious Soviet Union, which inaugurated in 1917 a new era in the history of mankind, the era of socialism and communism.

Long live the firm unity of the world Communist movement, based on the immortal principles of Marxism-Leninism, the guarantee of the final victory of the proletariat.

Long live fraternal friendship with the glorious Soviet Union!

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Whereas millions of men and women in the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries are building a life of prosperity and happiness, millions in the capitalist world are suffering the terrible consequences of the constant deterioration of living and working conditions, resulting in the death of people in some regions of Asia, Africa and Latin America. But in all parts of the world there resounds ever louder the call: Down with misery, hunger and submission! The great heroic struggle of the working class and the peoples is shaking the foundations of this inhuman society, and scores of enslaved and dependent peoples are casting off the shackless of colonialism and searching for ways to a new life, to democracy and socialism. This movement owes its existence chiefly to assistance from the glorious Soviet Union, which is rendering fraternal help to all the peoples who have not yet freed themselves from capitalist exploitation and plunder and who are fighting for their liberation.

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That is why more reactionary imperialist circles, those in the U.S. especially, are trying to stem the irresistible movement of the peoples for freedom and independence by unleashing aggressive local wars and planning aggression against the USSR and the socialist world, thus provoking a terrible thermonuclear war.

This is the gravest danger now facing mankind.

But this danger can and must be averted. It is possible and necessary to prevent devastating thermonuclear war. The peace forces with the Soviet Union in the lead, the socialist camp and all the peoples of the world are stronger than the hysterical forces provoking war. And if they fight in unity, they will curb the forces of war and stay the aggressors' hand.

That is why the present watchword of the Communists of all countries is:

Today it is more necessary than ever to build a broad front of peace champions the world over, in every country, every city, every village, at every place of work and study, in order to stop the imperialist militarists and aggressors and put out the sparks of war kindled in Vietnam, Santo Domingo and any other region of the world!

Our people should contribute to this historic battle of all the peoples more resolutely than ever before.

Display still greater solidarity with the heroic people of South Vietnam, who are defending, with exemplary patriotism, their freedom and independence, and with the valiant Democratic Republic of Vietnam fighting, with equal patriotism, to safeguard its socialist gains!

Display still greater solidarity with the fraternal Dominican Republic occupied by the insolent U.S. marines and paratroopers who, using the OAS as a cover, are killing with impunity workers, students and political leaders! Display active solidarity with the heroic Dominican people, as our people did in the recent memorable days of struggle!

Denounce and fight against the imperialists' intrigues in Cuba, the Congo, Angola, Pakistan, Indonesia, Southern Rhodesia — in every corner of the world where the imperialists are trying to set up a new hotbed of subversion and war!

Denounce and fight against the colonial Mann and Johnson doctrines and the constant interference of Yankee imperialism in the affairs of the Latin American countries! Teaming up with the landed oligarchy and reactionaries in every country, the U.S. imperialists are trying to overthrow the civilian governments which do not submit unconditionally to their colonialist challenge and to install military fascist dictatorships, abolishing all vestiges of democratic freedoms. Imperialism has already done this in some countries, and recently in Brazil, where it used the services of its agent, the "gorilla" Branco.

Denounce and fight more resolutely than ever before against the U.S. imperialists' intention to establish, under their command, permanent inter-American armed forces similar to those operating already in the Dominican Republic, where they have occupied its territory and are killing the best sons of the people fighting for the liberation of their country!

Fascist-ridden Brazil and occupied Santo Domingo—such is the prospect U.S. imperialism offers to the Latin American people!

Let those honest democrats who still believe imperialist propaganda about "communist subversion" draw proper lessons from these tragic facts. It has been proved once again that anti-communism is nothing else but the smokescreen behind which coups d'état are engineered and true democrats persecuted. Brazil is the case in point. They began there with the persecution of Communists and ended with the establishment of a bloody dictatorship!

To foil these anti-popular and anti-national plans, all who stand for the freedom and independence of their country must unite under the slogans:

Drive out of the Dominican Republic and Vietnam the U.S. marines, paratroopers and soldiers who have invaded these countries and are massacring their people!

Active solidarity with the heroic people of Vietnam!

Strengthen solidarity with the courageous fraternal people of Santo Domingo!

Solidarity with all the colonial and dependent peoples of Asia,

Africa and Latin America fighting for national independence and social emancipation!

Long live the heroic people, government and militant Communist Party of Cuba which are building the first socialist republic on our continent and whose example inspires the liberation struggle of the other Latin American peoples!

For the restoration of diplomatic, commercial and cultural relations with fraternal Cuba!

For independent foreign policy for Argentina!

Let our government come out at the next OAS conference against the establishment of the inter-American armed forces and demand the withdrawal of all occupation troops from Santo Domingo!

For support of the Soviet UN draft on non-interference of states in each other's internal affairs and conclusion of a treaty on the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons!

For a complete cessation of all nuclear tests and for general and complete disarmament!

For an immediate reduction of allocations for a war and repressions, and greater allocations for education, health and improvement of the life of our people!

For peaceful coexistence of all peoples and countries with different political and social systems!

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In our country, U.S. imperialism and its agents — the oligarchy, big capital and the "gorillas" — are pressuring the present government, as they did the previous ones, intending to bring it under their complete control or depose it with the help of a coup if it refuses to obey them. Instead of rebuffing the "gorillas" while relying for support on the working class and the people in general and satisfying their just demands, President Illia and some of his colleagues are making ever new concessions to the imperialist monopolies and big landowners, harmful to the interests of the people and the nation.

Thus, the Illia government has yielded to the demands of the International Monetary Fund and oil trusts, failed to solve important problems involving the vital interests of the working class and the entire people, such as the high cost of living and unemployment, permitted the curtailment of fundamental human rights and the persecution of Communists and other true patriots by applying to them the infamous Article 213-bis on the strength of which even now more than a hundred Communists remain in custody, and prohibited such activities as the October 17 celebrations; it suppresses workers' and popular demonstrations with the

help of "special detachments" of the police; and proscribes trade unions under the pretext that they engage in political activity; it has modified the law on professional associations in order to aggravate the split in the working-class movement and set up "free" trade unions loyal to the employers' association and imperialism.

Thus, the democratic road that was opened in 1963 is being gradually blocked. Only united action by the people can prevent this road from being completely closed and ensure complete restoration of civil freedoms by establishing a genuinely democratic and popular government.

Let no one, and least of all the Illia government, delude itself. The road of concessions to the people's enemies can only lead it to where the Frondizi government ended. Let it correct its policies in good time if it does not want the same fate as befell the Frondizi government!

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Past and recent experience shows that there exist within our people immense democratic potential capable of overpowering the civic and military groups in the service of imperialism and the oligarchy. This is clear from the mounting struggle of the working class, the students, peasants, women, young people and other sections of the population in defense of their immediate socio-economic demands, democracy, national independence and peace. The sustained nature of this struggle, which should be constantly intensified, and the growing unity of all the popular and democratic forces taking part in it are the most reliable guarantee of victory in the struggle against surging McCarthyism, the policy of betrayal and the threats of the "gorillas" and putschists.

Unity of action, and unity alone, as our Party has repeatedly stated, can frustrate the sinister plans of the sworn enemies of the working people and our country and bring nearer the victory of the people. Consequently, everything that in some form or other obstructs or is likely to obstruct unity, everything that for ideological, political or racial reasons tends to split the working-class and popular movement, everything that through its silence or passiveness paves the way for McCarthyism—all this, consciously or otherwise, furthers the interests and plans of imperialism, the oligarchy and reaction.

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Unite, always unite. Redouble the efforts for unity — this is our watchword Unite the workers in the factories, in the trade unions and in the Trade Union Center. Unite the peasants in their

organizations and broad agrarian movements surging in the country. Unite the students, lecturers, graduates, professional people, artists, scientists and cultural leaders through various forms of organization and struggle. Unite the small and middle producers and tradesmen in the fight against the avarice of the monopolies and in defense of their just demands, and also in defense of their organizations. Unite the entire Argentinian people: Communists, Peronists, Socialists, Radicals, Christian Democrats, Progressive Democrats, Catholics and people of other faiths as well as non-believers. Unite them in everyday actions for their immediate demands and develop this unity to build a powerful national democratic front for peace, against imperialism and the oligarchy, a front which will serve as the basis for the establishment of a new type of government capable of effecting the extensive reforms of the democratic, agrarian, anti-imperialist revolution which are needed by the country and demanded by the vast majority of our people.

There is no doubt that broad sections of the population are growing increasingly aware of the need for unity of action to defend freedom and national independence.

The need for unity is realized also by many in the armed forces who, inspired by the ideas of San Martin,* do not want to act as mercenaries of imperialism, U.S. imperialism in particular, a role which some reactionary leaders are trying to impose on the Argentine army, navy and air force.

This same process is developing in the Catholic circles, which share in the difficulties experienced by the people and which, inspired by the United Nations speech of Pope Paul VI, are taking an ever more active part in this front.

Awareness of the need for joint struggle will facilitate the establishment of ever closer contacts between the Peronist workers and the people generally on the one hand, and the Communists and the other democratic forces, on the other, accelerating their turn to the Left.

They will be joined by all those in the different political parties openly protesting against the present state of things and demanding resolute steps towards democracy and national liberation.

On this new anniversary of the victory of the glorious socialist revolution in Russia the Communist Party urges joint struggle:

For the immediate release of hundreds of political and trade union leaders and for full respect for democratic freedoms and trade union rights!

For the repeal of the disgraceful Article 213-bis of the Criminal

*A leader of the national-liberation movement in Argentina at the beginning of the 19th century.—**Ed.**

Code and all the repressive ordinances entailing persecution and discrimination for ideoloigcal reasons!

For effective measures to combat the high cost of living, to ensure full employment, increase the wages and substantially raise the living standard of the working people and the nation as a whole!

Against the evictions of peasants, for fair prices and credits on easy terms for our toiling peasants, for the transfer of the land to those who till it!

For uniting the working class in a single trade union center and for uniting the entire people in a democratic national front for peace, against imperialism and the oligarchy!

The Communist Party calls upon the workers, peasants, all the working people to join its ranks and strengthen it, for a strong Communist Party is a guarantee of victory!

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Long live the 7th of November!

Long live the fraternal Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the standard-bearer of the struggle for world peace victoriously leading its people to communism!

Long live the Communist Party of Argentina, the wise leader of the working class and the people in the struggle for a better life, democracy, national independence and peace!

Long live unbreakable friendship between the Argentine and Soviet peoples!

STATEMENT* BY THE PB, AKEL

The political crisis in Greece, caused by imperialist interference and by political subservience to the U.S. imperialists and to NATO, did not come to an end when the Stephanopoulos government was enabled by unlawful means to win a majority of two votes. On the contrary, the crisis will go on deepening.

There are great national, constitutional, democratic and moral problems that will become more acute day after day, They are whether Greece will at last be enabled to enjoy freedom and democracy, for which it has suffered so much and shed so much of its blood, or whether it will remain a dependent country, an object of imperialist interference; whether a government established by the will of the people, such as the Papandreou government, has a right to function or whether the exercise of this sovereign democratic right is to depend on the whim of the monarchy; whether the King is to respect the expressed will of the people or may scorn and ignore it as he has done during the past two months; whether politicians who condemn and anathématize renegades will become renegades themselves the moment they are offered money or a ministry; and whether all these people may be called a government and can represent the country.

This is why the political crisis in Greece will go on deepening till a new, unrigged election is held and the unvanquished Greek people sweep away this disgraceful government which humiliates Greece and set up a government of their own choice.

The Greek people, by forming a broad general democratic front and by launching unprecedented mass actions during the past two months, have shown the greatness of their democratic traditions. They have shown that despite the venality and corruption of many politicians, which anger and disgust them, they themselves remain as incorruptible and staunch champions of freedom and democracy fighting in the forefront. This is why they are rightly esteemed and admired by the whole of freedom-loving and progressive mankind.

The imperialists and their underlings in our country plan through repressive, fascist measures to impose an anti-popular, anti-democratic regime on Greece. They plan to set up a regime of terrorism and falsification because they are afraid of the people and dread elections. But the people, who have not bowed down before Hitlerism and foreign occupation, will not submit to the assassins of today. They will have their will respected. They will enforce elections. Only elections will make it possible to resolve

*Charavgi, September 29, 1965.

the political crisis and to restore democratic order, which has been disrupted by foreigners and the Palace.

The advent to power of a palace government of renegades is fraught with great dangers for Cyprus also. Stephanopoulos, the palace Prime Minister, has already stated in Parliament that he will continue the dialog with Turkey, although an appeal has been made to the UN. This statement is an act of subversion and betrayal with regard to the Cyprus problem. Since the matter is under consideration in the UN, and and since an effort is being made to win the support of the members of this international organization, continuing the Greek-Turkish dialog is a stab in the back, to say the least.

Moreover, the designs of almost all the renegades who make up the Stephanopoulos government, and of the ERE party, which is responsible for the Zurich-London agreements and is the only prop of the government, in respect of the Cyprus problem are well known. Everyone knows that they have accepted the Acheson plan and are willing to close the Cyprus problem by yielding to the Anglo-American-Turkish dismemberment program. The "assurances" offered by Stephanopoulos, a renegade, or by Kostopoulos, who finances anti-Cypriot publications, to the contrary are worth no more than their "respect" for their Greek electorate.

So long as there is a palace government in power, with the traitorous ERE party as its only prop, the solution of the Cyprus problem will remain in direct jeopardy.

The Cypriot people condemn the dialog and declare that they will under no circumstances accept the solutions which are being hatched behind their backs in the interests of imperialist NATO.

The Cypriot people condemn the Stephanopoulos government and the super-government, the ERE party, as saboteurs of the Cyprus government's appeal to the UN. They wholeheartedly support this appeal.

The Cypriot people declare that they are the sole masters of their country and that the Cypriot problem will be sovereignly settled by themselves when they have thrown off all the fetters of the Zurich-London agreements and gained the opportunity to exercise their inalienable right to self-determination.

The Cypriot people, who are prepared to repulse every attempt to impose spurious, imperialist solutions, no matter where they may originate, will rally their forces and cherish their unity as the apple of their eye. They will heighten their patriotic vigilance to the utmost, support the appeal to the UN, and follow their own road to genuine freedom without any conditions, bases, or deals. And they will win.

MARXIST THEORY OF THE STATE, AND FINLAND'S ROAD TO SOCIALISM*

Interest in socialism, and in Marxism generally, is growing in our country. The discussion which has lately been going on in the press has shown once again that the problem of the forms and the essence of the state, particularly as regards working people's power, and also of the road of development leading to socialism is highly important and complicated. This problem merits thorough study and patient explanation. The task is made difficult by the fact that the principal concepts of the doctrine of the state that are being used in the discussion and actually bear on it, such as the concepts of democracy and dictatorship, do not always stand for identical things. They have been interpreted in different ways throughout their long history, and will continue to be so interpreted.

With a view to contributing to the positive development of the discussion, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Finland considers it opportune to state its opinion in greater detail, first of all on the issues on which there is no agreement.

Since the problems involved in the discussion are not only practical but largely theoretical, we must resort to the aid of science if we are to settle them. The Marxist theory of the state remains the most valid theory for anyone who wants clarity on these problems. This conviction is based on the experience of class and national-liberation struggles, and on the awarness that practice alone can reveal how sound a particular theoretical proposition is. And yet referring to past experience is not enough to prove a proposition correct at a later stage and in changed conditions. In carrying on their activity, Marxists always proceed from a careful and unbiassed appraisal of the actual situation and, moreover, take into account international experience and the national and historical peculiarities and traditions of their own countries. However, an accurate appraisal is impossible without the help of theory.

Diverse as the forms of the state may be, the important thing is invariably the issue of state power, of who wields it, who is ruling, what social force, *what class*, plays the leading and decisive role in the state. The classics of Marxism described the power exercised by a definite social class as the dictatorship of the class in question, and spoke accordingly of the dictatorship of the bour-

*Statement adopted by the CC CPF on October 16, 1965. Published in **Kansan Uutiset**, Oct. 21.

geoisie and the dictatorship of the proletariat. In this sense, every state, however democratic, is basically a dictatorship of this or that class.

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The economic power of the capitalist class underlies the rule of this class in other social spheres. Based on it is also political power, which the capitalists use in their own interests, as a means of promoting the mode of production and the social system that suits them. The main function of the bourgeois state is to protect private capitalist property relations.

Even if the bourgeoisie were to exercise its class rule in the form of democracy, the latter could not under capitalism be people's rule in the exact sense of the term, since the key positions in economic life, which is the basis of society, would still be held by an insignificant minority. The various degrees of democracy of the bourgeois state may vary greatly, ranging from, say, fascist Spain to present-day Finland, but bourgeois democracy never represents the rule of the majority of the people. Only in the socialist state—a state based on social ownership of the means of production—can the majority of the people determine the content and decide on the appropriate use of state power.

The Marxist doctrine of the state, in focussing its attention on the class content of democracy, by no means underrates the legal aspects of the matter: methods of rule, the constitutional rights of the citizens, the electoral system, freedom of speech, assembly and association. It is the working-class movement, especially its Left wing, that has been fighting with the greatest energy for the fundamental political rights of the citizens. This was so under the tsarist regime. It has been so since the inception of our independence and, in the case of the CPF, since it was founded. As for the bourgeoisie in power, it has been striving to rob the people of their rights, resisting even the introduction of universal and equal suffrage. Up to 1944 it deprived precisely the Communists and the Left-wing Social Democrats as well as many other opponents of war and fascism, of their basic political rights—in blatant violation of the Constitution.

In both its Program and "Defense and Extension of Democracy," a policy document approved by its 13th Congress, the CPF firmly pledges itself to uphold the constitutional rights of the citizens, to foil attempts at curtailing these rights, and to work for their extension. The document says: "These rights and liberties, among which the right to vote in parliamentary and communal elections and the right to strike, as well as freedom of speech, assembly and association, are the most important, enable the people to express

their opinion and to present their demands. They are of great positive significance for the success of the struggle which the workers and other working people are compelled to wage continuously under capitalism in order to uphold their rights and their living conditions."

When we sharply criticize bourgeois democracy we are not criticizing its democratic character but its bourgeois limitations, for it grants too few rights and liberties to the working people and too many to the moneybags and the reactionary elements, and has even in postwar years allowed the authorities to beat up, kill or imprison workers who maintained their constitutional rights.

The Communists appreciate the fact that in our country no terroristic methods like those mentioned above have been used against the workers for almost ten years now. Nevertheless, the class nature of the bourgeois democracy still in power in our country should not be ignored. A state in which the decisive sphere of social activity—the key economic positions—is dominated by private capitalist property and whose apparatus is still largely in the hands of agents of the extreme Right, is a far cry from people's power. While the big capitalists and the reactionaries are no longer in a position to use for the protection and consolidation of their rule the brutal methods of the past, the bourgeois parties have curtailed, and are still trying to curtail, civil rights, in particular by transferring to the government and the officialdom the powers of Parliament and other bodies elected by the people. The CPF is firmly opposed to such trends. It considers that preserving and extending the powers of Parliament and other elected government and public bodies is the main condition for the development of people's rule. At the enterprises, the workers cannot exercise even their constitutional rights. Only a change in the economic system, and the establishment of socialism can fully guarantee also the exercise of the basic political and social rights and liberties of the citizens.

However, the CPF does not alone set or account for the course of future development in these spheres of government and social activity. It should also be remembered that both the Constitution and the various political institutions change in step with general development. It would be very important for all the democratic forces jointly to guarantee the positive course of this development and jointly to prevent, now as in the future, violations of democracy, of civil rights and liberties. It is also essential to nip in the bud all attempts to revive the fascist and pro-fascist organizations banned by the Peace Treaty.

The democratic rights of the citizens may be broad or narrow but democracy has been restricted, in one way or another, everywhere and at all times. Ever since it came into existence the bour-

geois state has put greater or lesser curbs on civil rights, especially those of the workers. The socialist state has also had in certain situations to limit the freedom of action of the enemies of socialism.

Lenin made a most valuable contribution to the elucidation of the relationship between democracy and dictatorship. Anyone can satisfy himself of this by comparing Lenin's statements with the impasse into which the bourgeois theory of the state has run on this issue. For theories dividing the states into "democracies," which are alleged to have nothing whatever of a dictatorship, and "dictatorship," in which democracy is said to be denied to everyone, do not hold water. They fully betray their untenability the moment they are compelled to decide to which group of countries, the "democratic" or the "dictatorial," belongs, say, the United States, which has discredited itself by persecuting Negroes and Communists, West Germany, where the legal activity of the Communist Party, a party championing the cause of the working class, is obstructed by the most unscrupulous methods of coercion, its members being debarred completely from democratic activity, or the bourgeois Finland of 1918-44, with its well-known terroristic practices.

The Marxist theory of the state does not deny the democracy even of the bourgeois state. It should be borne in mind, however, and this has been pointed out by many bourgeois theoreticians—that "even democracy as a social institution is in the last analysis based on coercion" and that "democracy is also backed by the state machinery of coercion—arms, police, and army—even if it is perhaps seldom used" (Antti Eskola). These comments fit in with statements by Marxist theoreticians.

The socialist state is based on social ownership of the means of large-scale production. The establishment of this ownership is the starting point for the planned development of production for the good of the working people and in the interest of all-round progress. Politically, this implies a vast extension of the social basis of the state in comparison with what it is in capitalist conditions, and the participation of much larger sections of the people in the direct management of public affairs. The protection of public property owned by the whole people is one of the main functions of the socialist state.

The Marxist theory of the state does not offer beforehand any elaborate set of forms and methods to be used by the working class and its allies in exercising their power during the transition to socialism. The content and form of state power depend on the situation in the country concerned and on the international situation at the given moment, as well as on the experience gained by the people in the struggle for democratic change. The wide range

of forms of state power is a fact borne out by history. Obviously, a state building socialism has a coercion apparatus like any other state, but it would be wrong to regard coercion as the chief function of the socialist state. "Revolutionary coercion," Lenin pointed out, speaking of the experience of the Russian revolution, "is a necessary and legitimate method of the revolution only at definite moments in its development, provided there are definite special conditions, whereas a more deep-lying, a permanent property of the revolution, and a condition for its victories, has been, and remains, organization of the mass of the proletariat, organization of the working people."

The political power which the Marxist theory of the state calls the dictatorship of the proletariat does not imply dictatorial power exercised by the working class in respect of its allies. The working class is not an autocrat. It rules the state together with its allies. Lenin, speaking of Russian conditions, described the alliance of the workers and peasants as the highest principle of the dictatorsisp of the proletariat. In the socialist state the use of force, if any, is invariably aimed at defending the cause of the vast majority of the people against all encroachments by its enemies.

Some participants in the public discussion in the press, to which non-party people have contributed along with members of the CPF, suggest that the CPF "renounce the dictatorship of the proletariat" or the concept of "the dictatorship of the proletariat," saying that this phrase should be deleted from the Party Program, and so on. The argument advanced in most cases is that the term "dictatorship" rouses an "unpleasant echo," "negative emotions," etc. It is true that during the past decades the meaning of this word in common usage has undergone a negative evolution as a result of the revolting developments it has been linked with primarily in the countries ruled by fascist dictatorships. The content which some attribute to the term "dictatorship" today differs a good deal from that which Marx and Engels attributed to it, and which it has in the exposition of the fundamental views of the Communist movement. The violations of socialist legality and democracy which occurred in the Soviet Union and in some other socialist countries, for their part, have provoked the contention that the Communists are enemies of democracy.

This state of affairs makes it necessary to give serious thought to the relationship between the content of concepts and the terminology used to express them. The concept of the dictatorship of the proletariat truly holds a central place in the Marxist theory of the state. Here in Finland, however, it will be more correct in every respect to speak of *working people's rule,* and the use of this phrase in our Party Program is perfectly appropriate. It is a well-grounded and theoretically sound expression when it is a question

of state power as a whole, with its every aspect, exercised by the working class and its organization. But one cannot completely dismiss the concept of dictatorship, any more than the concept of democracy, when one has to set forth accurately the theory of the state elaborated by Marx, Engels and Lenin, or to translate their writings into Finnish. In this particular case, the concept should be interpreted—from the standpoint of the theory of the state—in the same way as they did.

The clause in the CPF Program concerning working people's rule apparently requires a more precise wording. Still, the adverse impact of its present formulation on the support given to our Party is exaggerated by some

Consequently, there is no reason for us to dissociate ourselves from the Marxist theory of the state. This theory provides the most dependable basis on which we can arrive at a more thorough understanding of the problem if we proceed with patience and perseverance.

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At the moment no one can tell just how socialism will be realized in Finland, or what forces and counter-forces will influence solution. But the position and will of the CPF are clear. All its activities and plans are aimed at ensuring that the socialist revolution in Finland takes a peaceful course. Accordingly, the CPF Program seeks to bring about this course of development.

The long-range outlook for democratic development in our country seems more favorable than ever before. In Finland there exists a strong Communist Party and a people's democratic movement, the share of the working-class parties in the life of society and the state is very considerable, and together with other democratic forces they can become an effective obstacle to the domination of the monopoly bourgeoisie. The basis for this has been provided by the fact that the aspirations of the monopolies clash with the vital interests of increasing sections of the population, whereas the proportion of the working class in the population and its influence on the life of our society have grown considerably. The programs of both the CPF and the Social-Democratic Party of Finland (SDPF) speak of the need to transform the economic system, although the practical and theoretical activities of the SDPF leave this clause in the background.

The external conditions for peaceful development in our country are also more favorable than in many other countries of Western Europe. The relations between our country and the Soviet Union are good. We follow socialist construction at close range. The greater its achievements in the near future and the faster the

growth of production in the socialist countries, the more favorably the view on the economic and social superiority of the socialist system will shape. Bourgeois policies and the capitalist social system will in time be unable to meet the demands and requirements of the overwhelming majority of our people. Only socialism, if applied to Finnish conditions properly, with due regard to international experience and to our national institutions, customs and habits, can rally the nation together and use the people's creative power, energy and genius for their own good.

But the problem of the peaceful transition to socialism is in fact a set of complicated problems, and it is important to avoid oversimplification in examining this problem. Only through a careful scientific investigation can we ascertain in greater detail the requisites for peaceful transition in Finnish conditions.

The peaceful transition to socialism implies broad and serious democratic cooperation. Already in its Program, the CPF considers it a requisite for the transition to socialism that the working people, who make up the overwhelming majority of the population, should achieve victory in our country, that state power should pass to the working class and the working people allied with it, and that a parliamentary majority should come into being and begin, with support from the working people, to effect changes leading to a socialist social system. The peaceful transition to socialism is a multi-stage process of transformation. It is by no means easy, and will meet with grim resistance. However decisive the role of Parliament and however important the formation of a parliamentary majority advocating socialism, it is necessary that the majority of the Finnish people should itself recognize the need for socialist change, that it should be willing to work actively for its realization and be capable of supporting with its organized strength the activity of Parliament.

Bourgeois sociologists speak of so-called pressure groups, meaning various groups operating outside Parliament and striving to influence its decisions. They regard these groups as normal attributes of democratic procedure.

The resolution "Defense and Extension of Democracy," passed by the 13th Congress of the CPF, gives a true picture of the pressure which big capital puts on Parliament from without. There is no reason to expect—not as yet, anyway—that this pressure will fall off when the problem of socialist change comes up for solution. Rather the reverse will be the case. Support for the parliamentary group seeking socialist change by adherents of socialism outside Parliament is also necessary, expedient and perfectly legitimate. One can hardly think of the transition to socialism being effected without the active cooperation of major civic organizations, such as the trade unions. It is also possible that among the people striv-

ing for socialist change there will develop entirely new forms and agencies of cooperation directly representing the partisans of socialist change belonging to different ideological trends.

While the transition to socialism should not be conceived as a single surprise attack, the culmination of the series of events leading up to it will, nevertheless, amount to a sharp revolutionary turn in the history of the people. The transition to socialism can take place only by the volition of the majority of the people and can from the outset carry out some of the more pressing changes. There is little likelihood, therefore, that the people will want to fall back on capitalism once they have taken the socialist road. The people may vigorously express their discontent over possible shortcomings in practical activity but they will certainly not want the power of capitalist exploiters to return. The supposition of a return to capitalism is, in effect, no more than hypothetical.

The transition to socialism implies, not an ordinary change of government within the framework of a social system left fundamentally intact, but the transfer of power from one class to another. With the transfer of power to the working class and its allies, and with radical changes in the socio-political system, the democratic aspect of the state will, naturally, be accentuated and extended in a measure unthinkable under capitalism. On the other hand, the socialist state should, for its part, see to it that law and order are not infringed. The demand for democratizing the state apparatus, specifically the armed forces and the police—a demand contained in the programs of the CPF and the Finnish People's Democratic Union, as well as in the agreement on cooperation between the three major parliamentary parties—is already timely and meets the interests of all the democratic-minded groups and government officials.

The attitude of the CPF toward other parties supported by the working people is stated, clearly if briefly, in both the Party Program and the policy statement of the Political Bureau of the CPF, "The Ways of Transition to Socialism, and the Dictatorship of the Proletariat." The CPF lays no claim to a leading role for itself with regard to other parties. It envisions cooperation based on confidence between the parties allied with it, which, needless to say, is possible only if they enjoy completely equal rights. The question of which party should be regarded as the leading party during the transition to socialism must not be decided either at will or by administrative decree. It will be settled in the course of development, depending on how each party fights for socialism.

When one speaks of cooperation of the working-class parties as a condition for the victory of socialism, one does not imply a merger of these parties, nor even the adoption of similar programs by them. In the working-class movement, the division into parties

is already a decades-old tradition. The parties have programs and organizations of their own to which they are used to. They should merely reach mutual understanding on theoretical and practical matters, agree on methods of action, and always put the interests of the working class and other working people before their own party interests. Time alone will show whether the activities of the working-class parties will eventually draw close enough together for the memberships to consider the division into parties in the working-class movement superfluous and to unite the parties in a single new party.

A multi-party system, a modern parliament, and communal self-government are traditional in Finnish political life. To make them genuinely democratic means providing freedom of speech, assembly and association, the right to strike and demonstration, free elections, and equal rights, established by the law, for both those in power and the opposition. The CPF, which respects the traditions of the Finnish working-class movement, is fighting for these rights and freedoms today. It will fight for them during the transition to socialism, and will maintain them under socialism.

The widespread and lively discussion of the problems of socialism now taking place shows that the conditions for realizing socialism in Finland are seen as having improved.

It is important therefore, that the problems of socialism be studied thoroughly and applied to Finnish conditions without prejudice. More, it is necessary to study the various aspects of our public life: the economy, the make-up of the population, the state system, politics and culture, and the changes occurring in them. This study should contribute to and support the working people's fight for social change. As this fight goes on the necessity for *socialist change* will be realized by increasingly bigger sections of the people. At the same time the forces that are to bring about socialism in Finland will grow and develop.

COMMUNIQUE

OF THE FOURTH CONFERENCE OF THE COMMUNIST AND WORKERS' PARTIES OF MEXICO, CENTRAL AMERICA AND PANAMA

The Fourth Conference of the Communist and Workers' Parties of Mexico, Central America and Panama, convened to exchange the experience of the revolutionary struggle of our parties and peoples, discuss questions of common interest and work out a common stand on the problem of Central American integration, proceeded in an atmosphere of fraternity and mutual understanding characteristic of the relations between our parties.

1. The conference has demonstrated anew the consolidation of relations and comradely ties between the parties of Mexico, the Central American countries and Panama, just as between the Communist and Workers' parties of the whole of Latin America. Such conferences, held periodically, and the conference of the Communist and Workers' parties of Latin America that took place at the end of last year, are of exceptional importance for the development and consolidation of the unity and Marxist-Leninist solidarity of our parties—an earnest of success in the struggle of the working class and the peoples of Latin America.

However, exchanges of information and experience and the elaboration of common positions are not free from shortcomings yet. The general rise of the struggle of our peoples against imperialism and the domestic oligarchies, for a better life and for peace ever more insistently demands the removal of these shortcomings. The intensified offensive of U.S. imperialism and the domestic reactionaries against the national-liberation movement, socialism and the democratic gains of the peoples of our countries necessitates, in turn, broader and stronger contacts, solidarity, the closest possible unity, joint actions and the most effective and timely cooperation between all the Communist and Workers' parties of the Americas.

The cohesion of the revolutionary forces of our continent under the banner of proletarian internationalism and unity of the world Communist movement tremendously stimulates the revolutionary struggle in Latin America; it will contribute decisively to the historic victories of the cause of national liberation, the social progress of our countries, and peace.

The conference considers that in the conditions of the onslaught of U.S. imperialism and the practical implementation of the

"Johnson doctrine" it is necessary to search for new and more effective forms of coordinated action by all the anti-imperialist and revolutionary forces of Latin America.

2. The conference of the Communist and Workers' parties of Latin America, held at the end of last year, was an event of historic significance for all our parties, for the revolutionary movement in Latin America. It constituted an important landmark in, and provided a powerful impetus to, the struggle of the Latin American peoples against imperialism, U.S. imperialism in the first place, for peace, democracy, national liberation and socialism. The conference initiated a new stage in the development and consolidation of the Marxist-Leninist unity of our parties. It has signified a victory for proletarian internationalism.

We reaffirm our support of the decisions of the 1964 conference of the Latin American Communist and Workers' parties and declare our determination to work still harder to carry out its recommendations and decisions.

3. The conference calls upon the peoples of our countries to display greater vigilance and intensify their resistance to the U.S. imperialist plans aimed at suppressing by force of arms all movements for national liberation. Alarmed by the success of the national-liberation movement in Latin America and in other continents, the development of the socialist world system and the victories of the working-class movement in the developed capitalist countries, U.S. imperialism is trying in desperation to drown in blood the righteous striving of the Asian, African and Latin American peoples for freedom.

Trampling upon the principles of non-interference and self-determination of the peoples, carrying into practice the notorious "Johnson doctrine," a modern version of the big-stick doctrine, the U.S. imperialists invaded the Dominican Republic and sent there interventionist troops of some of their Latin American puppets to crush a democratic and constitutionalist movement. Denouncing the U.S. intervention, the conference demands, in the name of our peoples, an immediate withdrawal of the U.S. and "inter-American" OAS troops from the Dominican Republic. We demand respect for the freedom of action of all the democratic and revolutionary forces of the Dominican Republic and for the Dominican people's right to complete self-determination, and declare our unqualified solidarity with their valiant struggle for independence and national sovereignty, for democracy.

The conference also salutes the courageous patriots of South Vietnam who are successfully fighting against a strong army of the United States, for the independence of their country and the expulsion of the U.S. invaders. The conference hails the struggle of the people and government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam

in defense of its independence and social gains, and wrathfully protests against the brutal bombings of its territory by the U.S. air force and navy. The conference urges our peoples to use all means, active solidarity included, to support the struggle of the Vietnamese patriots for the expulsion of the foreign invaders and the reunification of their country.

4. In the course of the Fourth Conference all our parties declared their striving to ensure the unity of the world Communist movement, to solve the problems hampering joint struggle against aggressive U.S. imperialism. Our parties fully support the conclusions of the Consultative Meeting of the 19 parties held in Moscow last March, to the effect that in the present conditions the road to the unity of our movement lies through joint actions against the common enemy and collective consultative meetings to prepare a conference of all the Communist and Workers' parties.

Unity and internationalist solidarity of all the revolutionary forces of the world has always been a paramount principle to be expressed in concrete deeds. This is of special importance today, when desperation drives the imperialists to assume the offensive and intensify their policy of aggression and war. Nothing and nobody can justify disregard for or denial of the imperative need to rally the world Communist movement, to act concertedly in the fight against imperialist aggression.

The peoples and revolutionaries of all the world, who are aware of their historical responsibility and of the dictates of our time, expect not only declarations in favor of unity, but above all concrete actions to follow up the calls for the unity, solidarity and joint actions of all the revolutionary forces. It is concrete deeds that testify to the real desire and determination to act in the interests of the peoples and of their revolutionary struggle. This is the way to exercise proletarian internationalism. The imperialist aggression against the fraternal Vietnamese people fighting valiantly for the complete liberation of their country and its reunification vividly shows how the imperialists take advantage of the situation obtaining in the world Communist movement in their struggle against the peoples. The supreme interests of the struggle against imperialism and, in the present situation, the need for solidarity with the people of South Vietnam demand that the main emphasis be laid on unity of action by all the contingents of the world Communist movement.

5. Reaffirming our determination to fight for the cohesion of the world Communist movement, we urge all Communists to safeguard and strengthen the Leninist unity of each Communist party, an essential condition for the development of the revolutionary process in every country, and resolutely denounce any manifestation of factionalism and splittism in the world and, in particular, the

Latin American Communist movement. As the conference of the Latin American Communist and Workers' parties pointed out, "all factional activity, whatever its nature and origin, should be emphatically condemned."

6. The conference hails the important achievements of the Cuban people and their revolutionary government in building socialism, reorganizing the economy and improving the living standard of the working people. The successes of the Cuban revolution inspire us in our struggle for national independence, democracy and socialism and show to ever broader sections of our peoples that the sole road to ensuring independent national development and improving the life of the masses is that of Cuba and not of the "Alliance for Progress" advocated by U.S. imperialism.

In the face of the constant threats of the imperialists and their economic and diplomatic maneuvers against Cuba, the conference calls upon our peoples to enhance vigilance so as to be ready to repel new acts of aggression, to fight for the restoration of diplomatic relations and for broader commercial and cultural contacts with socialist Cuba.

7. The conference expresses the solidarity of the Communist and Workers' parties of Mexico, Central America and Panama with the heroic struggle of the Guatemalan people against the military dictatorship, for the agrarian and anti-imperialist revolution. It urges making every effort to support the struggle the Guatemalan patriots are waging under the leadership of the Guatemalan Party of Labor and the Rebel Armed Forces.

8. The conference stresses that the maneuvers of the U.S. imperialists to preserve their stranglehold and control over the territories of possible interoceanic routes and convert them into a base of operations for their plans of establishing world supremacy are coming up against the resolute determination of the peoples of Panama to regain the advantages of their geographical position and use it to promote the economic progress and peaceful coexistence of all the peoples, and the resolve of the Nicaraguan people to uphold territorial integrity and national sovereignty. On behalf of the peoples of Mexico and Central America the conference reaffirms unanimous support of this stand.

9. The conference calls upon all democrats and patriots of our countries to step up the fight for the release of the political trade union leaders imprisoned in Mexico, Guatemala, Salvador, Honduras, Nicaragua, Venezuela, Ecuador, Peru, Bolivia, Brazil, Paraguay and other countries, and to go on fighting for the establishment of permanent organs to stand guard over democratic freedoms.

10. The U.S. imperialists and some governments in their service are trying to set up a permanent OAS armed force and thus legal-

ize armed interference against any democratic and anti-imperialist movement. Our parties resolutely protest against these attempts and urge the working people, the democratic and patriotic forces of our countries to foil these imperialist plans.

11. The recent decisions of the World Congress for National Independence, Disarmament and Peace held in Helsinki, oblige us Communists and all the democrats and patriots of our countries to lead the struggle for their realization in order to broaden and intensify the fight for peace and national liberation. The conference stresses the importance of campaigning for and implementing the decisions of the Helsinki Congress.

In view of this, the conference voices its concern over the Indo-Pakistani conflict, which seriously endangers the peace in Asia and which may, if escalated, gravely jeopardize world peace, and declares for peaceful settlement of all possible disputes between the two countries.

12. Using, as the basis, the document prepared by the Party of the People's Vanguard of Costa Rica, the conference examined the question of political unity of Central America. It subscribes to the thesis of the Third Conference of our parties that "U.S. imperialism is trying to impose political unity on Central America in order to facilitate its rule over the peoples of Central America."

With a view to having this problem discussed in detail in the light of the new developments, the conference decided to familiarize all the parties taking part in its work with this document, which is to be examined at one of the future meetings.

Mexican Communist Party,
Guatemalan Party of Labor,
Communist Party of Salvador,
Communist Party of Honduras,
Socialist Party of Nicaragua,
Party of the People's Vanguard of Costa Rica,
People's Party of Panama.

Central America, October 1965.

RESOLUTION OF THE 4th CONFERENCE OF THE COMMUNIST AND WORKERS' PARTIES OF MEXICO, CENTRAL AMERICA AND PANAMA ON CENTRAL AMERICAN ECONOMIC INTEGRATION

1. U.S. imperialism and the ruling bourgeois of the Latin American countries advance different economic-integration plans — which are being realized already — as an alternative to the radical construction of our society to promote economic progress.

The supporters of integration present their alternative as the fight against backwardness.

The Communist and Workers' parties of Mexico, Central America and Panama warn the peoples of their countries against this fresh neo-colonialist strategem on the part of imperialism and its partners. No economic program which ignores the need for a resolute struggle against imperialism and the remnants of feudalism — these two chief obstacles to the development of Latin America — can serve as a firm basis for the solution of the vital economic and social problems facing the peoples of our countries.

2. Economic integration of Central America will neither change the structure of our society, which is dependent in character, nor eliminate the survivals of feudalism. On the contrary, the chief aim of the economic integration plan is to preserve this structure and to retard and obstruct the independent development of our countries.

3. The idea of the political, social and economic unity of the peoples of Central America enjoys justifiable popularity. The community of language and history, the joint struggle against the common enemy tend to unite our peoples. But the proposed plan for economic integration has nothing in common with this trend. Integration under the aegis for the imperialists, who dominate our economy, and of anti-popular governments, their props, will basically serve their own interests.

As for the general purport of the plan, it is doomed to failure by the economic essence of the forces initiating it—imperialism, which is an international factor responsible for economic stability, uneven development, exploitation and crises, and the reactionary governments which have failed to organize the functioning of the national economies. These forces cannot coordinate the development of the Central American countries.

4. U.S. capital has in advance secured control over the process of economic integration through the international finance institutions dominated by it; through domination in the foreign trade of the countries of this region; through the monopolies operating in our countries; through loans granted on enslaving political and economic terms; through growing control over the Central American Integration Bank.

5. The Central American Common Market has led to a certain increase in trade between the countries of this region, greater industrial output by some enterprises, and bigger capital investments. But it is the imperialists and their local partners who have benefited most from these changes, for the lack of control over foreign capital investments results in rapidly increasing direct and indirect imperialist control over the Central American economy.

Since "the Industrial Charter of Central America" contains

clauses favoring monopoly, a growing market will intensify competition and ruin many medium and small companies to the benefit of the strongest concerns which, naturally, are associated with foreign capital. As a result, the grip of the U.S. monopolies on the Central American economy will be further strengthened. All this will harm the national bourgeoisie and benefit the big bourgeoisie associated with imperialism.

In this way "The Industrial Charter of Central America" will achieve one of its aims, which is to make it easier for the U.S. monopolies to manufacture in Central America those goods which were formerly produced in other regions and which we had to import.

The Central American Common Market leaves untouched the principal problem of the foreign trade of the Central American countries, one which derives from the non-equivalent exchange of agricultural products for manufactured goods. Between 1955 and 1961, the Latin American countries sustained a loss of 10,000 million dollars as a result of declining prices of their goods. U.S. imperialism, which compels the Central American countries to sell their goods at low prices and pay high prices for imported goods, will surely preserve and even consolidate this privilege.

6. Economic integration will affect the living standard of the masses, for it presupposes evening-up the wages at a level lowest in Central America.

By expanding the market through customs agreements and not through deep-going economic reforms, the agrarian reform in the first place, integration is besetting objective impediments to its own realization.

This "expansion" will accentuate the imbalances in the development of different regions and accelerate the pauperization of the peasants and other sections of the population who will be practically excluded from the sphere of commodity circulation.

7. The industrialization program set forth in the "Charter" envisages development of Central America's nascent industry in the interests of imperialism.

The ideologists of integration maintain that industrial development should be based on "replacing import." This means, in effect, development of the light-industry auxiliaries of the big imperialist monopolies; the latter will thus be able to retain their grip on the economy of our countries even after the onset of industrialization.

To justify their position, the imperialists expound the false theory that Central America is poor in natural resources. That is not true. Central America does possess considerable resources, but the big monopolies deliberately keep silent about them and retard their exploitation, wishing to keep them as a strategic reserve.

Industrialization will be conducive to the independent develop-

ment of our countries only if it is extensive and diversified and based on the fullest possible utilization of our own resources.

8. The Communist and Workers' parties of Mexico, the Central American countries and Panama are not opposed to the rapprochement and economic cooperation of our peoples. The struggle for the agrarian reform, for liberation from imperialist domination and the establishment of popular and democratic regimes is paving the way for genuine cooperation, economic assistance and international division of labor between the Central American countries in the interests of their peoples.

The reactionary, neo-colonialist "Central American economic integration" plan will fail just as the "Alliance for Progress" did. It will merely aggravate the fundamental social and economic problems of our peoples.

9. In reply to the demagogy of "Central American economic integration," the Communist and Workers' parties of Mexico, Central America and Panama urge stepping up the struggles for:

a) expansion of the market through vigorous actions for higher wages and better conditions for the working people; a radical agrarian reform capable of increasing the purchasing capacity of the peasants;

b) industrialization based on the fullest utilization of the existing resources and aimed at building an independent economy;

c) elimination of imperialist control over foreign trade; equal and mutually advantageous trade with all countries of the world;

d) measures to slow down and regulate the influx of foreign imperialist capital, so that the steps to set up a Central American Common Market should chiefly proceed from the interests of the peoples of this region;

e) consolidation of friendly ties between our peoples, and active solidarity of the forces fighting for the liberation of our countries.

10. In keeping with the foregoing analysis, the conference of the Communist and Workers' parties of Mexico, Central America and Panama supports the stand of the People's Party of Panama against including the country into the Central American economic integration plan, a stand conforming to the views of broad sections of the population and the patriotic national bourgeoisie of Panama.

Mexican Communist Party,
Guatemalan Party of Labor,
Communist Party of Salvador,
Communist Party of Honduras,
Socialist Party of Nicaragua,
Party of the People's Vanguard of Costa Rica,
People's Party of Panama.

Central America, October 1965.

REVOLUTIONARY VANGUARD OF THE WORKING CLASS*

Since the inception of the Communist movement more than a hundred years ago, communism has become the most influential political force transforming the social outlook of our planet. Much has changed in the world. Capitalism, its former stability gone, is in the grip of a deepening general crisis. A socialist world system has emerged and is developing, becoming the decisive factor in history. The colonial system of imperialism has collapsed under the impact of the national-liberation movement, and the newly-free peoples are choosing new paths of social progress. Mankind is irresistibly advancing towards socialism and communism.

Of great importance for the development of the world liberation movement is the struggle of the revolutionary forces in the developed capitalist countries. It is in these countries that the chief industrial potential of the capitalist system—the economic mainstay of monopoly rule—is concentrated. There, too, lie the vital centers of world capitalism.

The Communist parties of the developed capitalist countries—the revolutionary parties of the working class—play an important role in the international working-class and liberation movements. Guided by the principles of revolutionary theory and policy carried forward in the policy documents of the world Communist movement—the Declaration and Statement of the Moscow meetings of 1957 and 1960—these parties constitute by right the revolutionary vanguard of the 200-million-strong working class of Western Europe and North America.

GLORIOUS TRADITIONS

The Communist parties of most of the developed capitalist countries came into existence during the revolutionary upsurge that followed the victory of the October Socialist Revolution. They made the finest traditions of Marxism and the experience of Bolshevism their own and upheld the honor of the working-class movement in the West degraded by the opportunists of the Second International. They staunchly defend the revolutionary aims of Marxism-Leninism and the fundamental and everyday interests of the proletariat.

In the thirties, when fascism launched a fierce onslaught on the

*Pravda, October 13, 1965.

working-class and democratic movement in the heart of Europe, and when the clouds of a second world war thickened over the world, the Marxist-Leninist parties of the developed capitalist countries took an active part in working out the Communists' new strategy and tactics in the struggle for the interests of the working people, for peace, democracy and socialism. This new line was laid down in the decisions of the Seventh Congress of the Comintern.

It would require volumes to describe the courageous deeds of the Communists of France, Italy, Germany, Greece, Belgium, Spain and other countries in the fight against fascism, the strike force of world reaction. Seventy-five thousand French Communists died the death of the brave as members of the Resistance. Communists were the spearhead of the Resistance in Italy.

The staunchness and courage of the German Communists, who were subjected to savage repressions after Hitler came to power, are worthy of deep admiration. More than 145,000 members of the Communist Party of Germany were thrown into prisons or concentration camps; 35,000, among them 11 members of the CC, were shot or tortured to death. But the Communists never stopped fighting against fascism.

Grim trials fell to the lot of the Communist Party of Spain. It had more than 300,000 members in the mid-thirties. Most of them were killed during the Civil War in Spain or murdered by the fascist regime of Franco.

Prior to the Second World War the Communist parties of the developed capitalist countries had 600,000 members. They suffered tremendous losses in the battles against fascism. But new fighters took the place of the fallen. At present the total membership of these parties is close on 3,000,000. Having travelled a glorious path of struggle and accumulated vast experience, these parties have made an inestimable contribution to the struggle for peace, national liberation, democracy and socialism.

Many Communist parties of this region have become an important national political force. Some four million Frenchmen vote for the French Communist Party, which has over 420,000 members. The Italian Communist Party has 1,640,000 members, and together with the Communist Federation it unites about 1,800,000 people. In the last provincial and municipal elections in Italy, one in four voters cast his ballot for the Communists. Many other Communist parties have a mass following among the working people.

Even those Communist parties of developed capitalist countries which are as yet small carry great political weight. Lenin pointed out that "the party is the politically conscious, advanced section of the class, it is its vanguard. The strength of that vanguard is ten times, a hundred times, more than a hundred times greater than its numbers" (*Complete Works*, Vol. 24, p. 34). By steadfastly

pursuing the revolutionary policy of the working class, Communists exert increasing influence on the positions of all classes and parties, and hence on the alignment of political forces, which they often change substantially in favor of the Left.

Signal successes have been achieved by the Communists of the developed capitalist countries in the twenty post-war years:

—they have invariably acted as parties of the socialist revolution; they have been waging an unremitting ideological and political struggle against the power of capital, against all the political forces and parties trying to perpetuate the capitalist system. Thanks to their activities, the ideas of socialism have spread far and wide among the masses;

—they have initiated or actively joined in battles for the economic interests of the working people, resulting in a number of important concessions wrested from the monopolies;

—they have always exposed the aggressive actions and designs of the imperialists and have selflessly fought for peace; their efforts, added to the struggle waged by the socialist countries and all the peoples of the world, have helped in foiling the plans of the instigators of a new world war;

—the unrelenting struggle against colonialism waged by the Communists of the metropolitan countries has facilitated the national liberation of oppressed peoples;

—Communists initiated the mass protest movement against U.S. imperialist expansion in other countries;

—many attacks of the monopolies on the democratic rights of the working people have been repelled in a number of countries by the Communists in alliance with other democrats.

Today not only the politically conscious workers but other sections of the population see that the Communists are staunch defenders of democracy, freedom and progress.

THE NEW SITUATION AND THE CLASS STRUGGLE OF THE PROLETARIAT

Communists in Western Europe and North America have to operate in difficult conditions. The working class is confronted with a politically experienced monopoly bourgeoisie possessing an immense military, political and propaganda apparatus and using every means to safeguard and consolidate the citadel of world capitalism.

Nevertheless, historical development is making cardinal socialist changes in these regions as well more and more imperative. The scientific and technological revolution and the resulting vast socialization of production demand public ownership of the means of production and public control over the productive forces. The world revolutionary movement and, above all, the successes of

the socialist countries and the national-liberation movement have a powerful impact on the main centers of the capitalist system, accelerating the growth of the revolutionary struggle there also.

The contradictions between labor and capital are growing, as is evident from the increasing bitterness of strikes. The number of strikers in the developed capitalist countries increased from 75 million in 1958-60 to 128 million in the next three years. The militancy of the strike movement continues unabated.

In a situation characterized by a far-reaching shift in the balance of world forces in favor of socialism, the working class of the developed capitalist countries has wrested substantial concessions from the ruling class and won new battle positions. In some countries wages have been increased and social security improved.

Will not improvements in the living standard of the working class result in the workers losing their revolutionary spirit? This idea is peddled, in particular, by bourgeois ideologists, who link it with their hope of perpetuating the capitalist system. But it is a vain hope.

The revolutionary spirit of the working class is objectively determined by the position of this class in the system of capitalist relations of production, by the extent to which the working people are aware of their historical tasks. The monopoly bourgeoisie, which appropriates the achievements of science and technology, is steadily widening the gulf between the working class and the capitalists, the people and the monopolies. It is these antagonisms that inspire the working class of the developed capitalist countries for revolutionary action again and again.

Each success won by the working class in the fight for a better life makes it more confident of its forces, promotes the growth of its revolutionary sentiment and increases the scope of the class battles.

Under state-monopoly capitalism the economic struggle of the working class assumes an increasingly political character. Today the demand for a better life for the working people inevitably affects state policy and develops into working-class action against the monopolies, for political influence in the country. During the French miners' strike in 1963 the trade unions put forward a program of reorganizing the state-owned coal industry. In 1962 the Asturian miners in Spain went on strike to secure higher wages. But very soon the demand for the right to organize genuine trade unions (instead of the puppet "vertical" ones) and to strike came to the fore. To quote the General Secretary of the Communist Party of Spain, the striking miners "came out, in fact, against everything that forms the political and ideological facade of the Franco regime."

The working class of the capitalist countries, which is coming to

realize that it is the mainspring of production, insists on rights commensurate to its role in society.

The workers demand control over the economy, curbs on the monopolies, democratic nationalization of vital branches of the economy, extension of the powers of the trade unions and of the production councils, committees and commissions elected by factory personnel, and utilization of the achievements of science and technology for the benefit of society as a whole.

The working class is becoming increasingly active also in the political struggle against militarism and reaction, in defense of democracy, for a foreign policy of peace. Its action prevented a fascist coup by the OAS in France. In Greece, the working class was the soul of the successful mass movement against the reactionary Karamanlis regime, and now it is battling with the opponents of the country's democratic development. In Japan, the resistance of the working class prevents a revision of the Constitution. The working class of West Germany resolutely opposes the "emergency laws" aimed at suppressing the democratic forces and preparing war.

The growth of the revolutionary energy of the working class is promoted by objective changes in the social structure of capitalist society. An intensive polarization of the class forces is under way in the developed capitalist countries, with a handful of big monopolists rallying together at one pole and the bulk of the nation—workers, peasants, urban petty bourgeoisie, office employees, intellectuals—who are oppressed by the monopolies, at the other. This means that the social base of the revolutionary movement of the working class is expanding and that it is becoming objectively possible to forge a broad anti-monopoly coalition of the democratic forces.

REVOLUTIONARY STRATEGY AND TACTICS

The Communist parties stand for the overthrow of capitalism and for the transition to socialism.

Lenin demanded uncompromising struggle against reformism and revisionism, which renounce the struggle for the ultimate objectives of the working class, and betray the cause of socialism.

Loyal to Lenin's advice, the Communist parties of the capitalist countries rebuff all attempts to revise the fundamental principles of Marxism-Leninism. Since the war they have made a great contribution to the defeat of the revisionists, who in the new conditions tried to revise the basic principles of revolutionary theory and policy, to supplant the doctrine of the socialist revolution with the theory of "transformation of capitalism" into socialism, and proletarian internationalism with bourgeois nationalism,

and to turn the militant parties of the working class into debating societies. The Communists of these countries continue to resist the revisionist danger as they carry on their revolutionary struggle for socialism.

A revolutionary party has to do more than merely proclaim its ultimate goals. It must find ways of winning mass support for these goals. Even the finest revolutionary appeals will be useless if they bring no response from the masses. Unless the revolutionary vanguard secures the support of the masses, Lenin pointed out on many occasions, it will lose the battle before starting it.

Speaking at Comintern congresses, Lenin emphasized the need to work out flexible forms of approach and transition to the socialist revolution in the developed capitalist countries. It will be recalled that at that time "Left" elements in the newly-founded Communist parties of the West advocated "direct revolutionary action" and spurned the policy of rallying the majority of the working class to fight for socialism. Replying to them, Lenin stressed: "Anyone who cannot understand that in Europe where nearly all the proletarians are organized, we must win over the majority of the working class is lost for the Communist movement" (*Complete Works*, Vol. 44, pp. 25-26 [in Russian]).

It is clear to all that monopoly rule contradicts the interests of more than 90 per cent of the population of the capitailst countries. But this fact alone will not automatically bring about a socialist revolution. It is necessary that the masses should come to realize their interests and be ready to fight for them. Their own political experience should awaken them to the need for socialist change and weld them into an organized revolutionary force. To this end, the Communists shape their policy according to the conditions created by modern capitalism. The essence of this policy is to establish broad anti-monopoly alliances and use flexible, dynamic tactics in the class struggle.

The political program of the Communist parties of Western Europe and North America are focussed on the struggle for democracy, which Communists regard as a component of the struggle for socialism. Communist documents put forward a broad program for democratic reforms, such as nationalization of the key industries, democratic control over production, a greater role for the working class in the life of society, economic co-management by the workers, democratization of the entire social system, abolition of the rule of the monopolies, those proponents of the policy of militarism and war, and so on. The time for these measures, which are in the interests of the majority of the nation, is ripe in the countries of developed capitalism. While not abolishing capitalist exploitation, they undermine the foundation of

monopoly rule and therefore are steps towards socialism, as Lenin put it.

The struggle for democracy is aimed at upholding the interests of the working people. It also helps to achieve the ultimate goal of the working class—the abolition of capitalist rule. As this struggle goes on the proletariat forms broad class alliances with other section of the working people, and the political forces of the socialist revolution rally together as the masses awaken to the need for the revolutionary transition to socialism.

In championing deep-going democratic change, the Communist parties combat reformism, which wants to substitute reforms within the framework of the capitalist system for the socialist revolution. The program for radical democratic reforms is intended to gain the working people new positions in the class struggle that will help them crush capitalism.

The implementation of these changes calls for a vigorous revolutionary movement of the working class and other working people. They are certainly no substitute for the struggle for socialism as the reformists maintain, but are part of it, serving as "a bridge to the socialist revolution" to use the phrase of Waldeck Rochet, General Secretary of the French Communist Party. Palmiro Togliatti noted, at the Tenth Congress of the Italian Communist Party, that the policy of deep-going democratic changes must "advance the people's struggle against the monopolies, against reaction, for democratic renovation and socialism."

The program for profound democratic changes can serve as a solid basis for Communist-Socialist unity of action. Joint struggle by all the working-class parties for this program can pave the way for the unity of the entire working-class movement. After the First World War Lenin said that the split in the working class was the chief cause of the failures of the socialist revolution in the West. Had there been unity, victory would have been achieved.

In our time, when the forces of socialism have multiplied, working-class unity is a powerful motor of the socialist revolution.

PROMOTE CONSISTENT INTERNATIONALISM

Proletarian internationalism is one of the main criteria of revolutionary spirit. Only through the combined efforts of the working class, the national-liberation movement and the revolutionary forces of all countries can the resistance of world imperialism be overcome and the worldwide victory of socialism achieved.

Lenin pointed out that the victory of the socialist revolution in Russia would have been impossible without the support of the European proletariat. We were right in staking on this support,

he said, in the sense that the working class of the developed capitalist countries did not let its bourgeoisie strangle the young Soviet republic. The revolutionary movement of the proletariat of these countries greatly facilitated the triumph of the Chinese revolution and the successful development of national-liberation revolutions in Asia, Africa and Latin America.

The Communist and Workers' parties of the developed capitalist countries are loyal allies of the national-liberation movement. The French Communists displayed genuine internationalism during the "dirty wars" waged by the French colonialists in Indochina and Algeria. The British Communist Party consistently opposed British colonial rule in India, Burma, Africa and elsewhere. Despite the trying conditions of illegality, the Portuguese Communists support the liberation struggle in Angola, "Portuguese" Guinea and Mozambique. Other Communist parties have also shown profound class solidarity with the struggle of the oppressed peoples.

The Communists of the developed capitalist countries are giving forceful proof of their internationalism in the movement of solidarity with the courageous Vietnamese people fighting against aggressive U.S. imperialism. Communists are active in the mass movement of protest against U.S. aggression. They raise funds to help the people of Vietnam. The Communist parties of a number of countries have called for a campaign to enlist volunteers wishing to help the Vietnamese people in their struggle. Support for the Vietnamese people was prominent on the agenda of the conference held by the European Communist parties in Brussels on June 1-3. An appeal adopted by the conference condemned U.S. aggression and urged more active solidarity with the Vietnamese people.

Throughout the capitalist West, it is only Communist parties and organizations that will always and under all circumstances stand by the national-liberation movement.

The Communist parties of the capitalist countries regard the fight for peace, against the threat of a new world as their prime internationalist duty. They vigorously oppose plans for a NATO multilateral nuclear force and for the atomic armament of the Bundeswehr and combat imperialist military provocations in various parts of the world. In fighting for peace, the Communists defend not only the national interests of their own countries, but the interests of the working people of every country, of mankind, and above all the interests of the peoples suffering from imperialist aggression.

The trend of world political development imperatively calls for unity of action of the Communists of all countries. The warlike "Johnson doctrine" has been put into effect; bombs are falling on Vietnam; U.S. army divisions are being used to suppress the libera-

tion movement of the peoples; the sparks of war fly again and again at various points of international tension. Imperialism is launching a new round of acts of direct aggression against the forces of peace and socialism. The war danger is growing.

Current developments show the unbreakable link between internationalism and proletarian revolutionism. Those who cherish the interests of the world liberation movement cannot but strive for the internationalist unity of all the revolutionary forces, primarily of the Communist parties.

The world Communist movement has grown into a large and complex organism. The parties work in different conditions and have different experience. It is not surprising that their views on particular issues should differ at times. The important thing is to work, despite the differences, for unity in the fight for common interests, against the common imperialist enemy. Work is under way to devise forms of internationalist unity of the Communist parties with due regard to present-day conditions, and it is natural that differences should arise over the approach to the problem. This is true also for the Communist parties of the developed capitalist countries. But all these parties want unity. They supported the call for Communist unity of action issued by the Moscow Consultative Meeting, and approved the motto of the Meeting: what unites the Communists of different countries far outweighs that which disunite them at present.

In the post-war years the national tasks of the Communist parties of the capitalist countries have considerably grown in magnitude, and Communist influence on public affairs has increased. The masses heed the opinion of the Communists, and the ruling circles are compelled to reckon with it. This is a great achievement of these Communist parties.

Communists justly hold that the political influence of each party is gauged, not only by its standing at home, but also by the state of the world Communist movement, by the degree to which the world socialist system influences historical development.

"The example of victorious socialism," the CPSU Program points out, "is revolutionizing the minds of the working people of the capitalist world; it inspires them to fight against imperialism and greatly facilitates their struggle." That is why the Marxist-Leninist parties of the developed capitalist countries make a special point of promoting their international contacts, of strengthening fraternal friendship with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries.

The Soviet Communists think highly of the stand of the Communist parties, which consider it their internationalist duty to defend the socialist countries and expose anti-communist lies about socialism. The Communist parties of the capitalist world regard effective solidarity with the countries of the socialist community,

a creation of the international working class, as the chief criterion of proletarian internationalism.

★ ★ ★

The struggle of the working class of the developed capitalist countries against monopoly capital, for democracy and socialism is undermining the foundations of world imperialism. The Communists are the vanguard in this struggle. It is a sacred duty of every genuine internationalist to support the devoted struggle of the Communist parties of the capitalist countries.

The achievements of the Communist parties of the capitalist world are inseparable from the struggle of the other forces of the world liberation movement. United action by the world socialist system, the national-liberation movement and the working class of the capitalist countries is an earnest of the success of the world liberation movement.

ACTIVITIES OF THE COMMUNIST AND WORKERS' PARTIES

October 28-November 11. A delegation of functionaries of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia led by M. Todorovic, member of the CC, LCY Executive, visited the Soviet Union on the invitation of the CC, CPSU.

November 2-11. A delegation of functionaries of the CP of Czechoslovakia headed by A. Faltynek, a CC official, familiarized itself with the work of Soviet printing and publishing industry enterprises.

November 10. *Unen,* central organ of the CC of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party, marked its 45th anniversary.

November 10-20. A group of Czechoslovak CP functionaries led by J. Havlin, head of the Education and Science Department of the CC, CPC, studied the work of the CPSU in the field of education and science.

November 11. A delegation of the Bulgarian CP headed by CC, BCP Secretary P. Papazov arrived in Moscow to familiarize itself with the experience of Party guidance of industry.

November 11-12. A meeting of the CC of the Rumanian CP discussed and unanimously approved the report of RCP General Secretary N. Ceausescu on improving the management and planning of agriculture and adopted a resolution on this question.

November 12. Members of the Political Bureau of the CC, BCP met in Sofia with agricultural experts and executives. The meeting was presided over by T. Zhivkov, First Secretary of the CC BCP and Chairman of the Council of Ministers. A report on the tasks facing Bulgarian agriculture in 1966 was delivered by CC BCP Secretary I. Prymov.

In 1966, I. Prymov said, Bulgaria is to produce 2,700,000 tons of food grain, 3,700,000 tons of fodder grain and 400,000 tons of sunflower seed. This will largely solve the grain problem.

November 15-19. Representatives of the Communist parties of Sweden, Norway, Denmark and Finland took part in the political-economic seminar of the Communist parties of Nordic countries held in the Sirola Party School near the Finnish town of Hameenlinna, *Kansan Uutiset* reports. They heard F. Larger of the CPS speak on the position of the monopolies, H. Kleven of the CPN on changes in the composition of the population and on class structure, and L. Junttila of the CPF on problems of unity of the working-class movement.

November 15. Luigi Longo, General Secretary of the Italian CP, paid a short visit to Czechoslovakia as a guest of CC, CPC. Following his visit a communique was published on his talks with A. Novotny, First Secretary of the CC, CPC

November 15-17. The CC of the Korean Party of Labor held a meeting to discuss problems of further improving the work of district Party committees and Party guidance of all branches of the national economy. The report was delivered by Pak Kim Cher, Vice-Chairman of the CC, KPL.

November 15-19. A Party and government delegation of the Polish People's Republic headed by W. Gomulka, First Secretary of the CC of the Polish United Workers' Party, and J. Cyrankiewicz, Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Polish People's Republic, visited Yugoslavia on the invitation of J. Broz Tito, General Secretary of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia. A joint statement was issued following the visit.

November 16. N. Ceausescu, General Secretary of the CC of the Rumanian CP, received Alvaro Cunhal, General Secretary of the Portuguese Communist Party.

November 16. N. Ceausescu, G. Apostol and M. Dala received in the CC, RCP offices a delegation of the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam headed by Chan Hoai Nam, member of the CC, NLF. The delegation was visiting Rumania on the invitation of the Rumanian League of Friendship with the Peoples of Asia and the National Peace Committee.

November 17-19. During his visit to Bulgaria Alvaro Cunhal, General Secretary of the Portuguese CP, met with members of the CC, BCP Political Bureau.

November 18. The CC of the CP of Greece addressed an appeal to the Greek people on the occasion of the 47th anniversary of the CPG.

November 18-20. An enlarged meeting of the CC of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party discussed the reports of CC, HSWP Secretary Z. Komocsin on topical problems of the political life to the country and CC, HSWP Secretary R. Nyers on a thorough revision of the system of economic management.

J. Kadar, First Secretary of the CC, HSWP, took part in the discussion.

November 20. A mammoth public meeting in honor of a visiting delegation of heroes of the Liberation Army of South Vietnam took place in Hanoi. The meeting was attended by Le Duan, First Secretary of the CC of the Party of Working People of Vietnam, Truong Chinh, Chairman of the Permanent Committee of the National Assembly, Minister of Defense Vo Nguyen Giap, and other leaders of the Party and the DRV government.

November 20. L. I. Brezhnev, First Secretary of the CC, CPSU,

and CC secretaries M. A. Suslov and B. N. Ponomaryov had a talk with K. Koliannis, First Secretary of the Communist Party of Greece, and D. Partsalidis, member of the Political Bureau and Secretary of the CC, CPG.

In **mid-November** A. Cunhal, General Secretary of the Portuguese CP, visited Czechoslovakia as a guest of the CC CPC.

In **November** the German Democratic Republic was visited, on the invitation of the CC of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany, by a delegation of the CP of Argentina headed by CC Secretary V. Marischi.

In **November** the progressive public of West Berlin marked the 10th anniversary of *Die Waarheit*, central organ of the SUPG of West Berlin.

In **November** talks were held in the CC CPSU with delegations of the CP of Israel. The participants included M. A. Suslov, member of the Presidium and Secretary of the CC, CPSU, B. N. Ponomaryov, Secretary of the CC, CPSU, V. G. Korionov, Deputy Chief of the International Department of the CC, CPSU, and, from the CPI sides, Mikunis, Sneh, M. Wilner and T. Tubi.

★ ★ ★

A resolution of the Executive Committee of the CC of the CP of Colombia on convening, in accordance with Article 30 of the Party Rules and the decisions of the 21st Plenary Meeting of the CC, the Tenth National Congress of the CPC, was published in Bogota. The agenda: 1. The report on policy and changes in the program. 2. Organizational problems of the Party. 3. Elections to the CC. A *Bulletin of the Tenth Congress* will be issued during the preparations for the congress.

★ ★ ★

A booklet with materials of the September Plenary Meeting of the CC, CPSU has appeared in Colombo in the Singhalese language. It will satisfy, in large measure, the Ceylonese public's interest in that meeting.

★ ★ ★

A second edition of Lenin's biography has been printed in Ulan Bator. The translation into Mongolian was done by the Institute of Party History of the CC of the Monogolian People's Revolutionary Party.

★ ★ ★

A two-day scientific conference devoted to the Seventh Congress of the Communist International and the Brussels Conference of

the Communist International and the Brussels Conference of the Communist Party of Germany took place in Berlin. The conference was organized by the Institute of Marxism-Leninism of the CC, SUPG jointly with the Karl Marx Higher Party School and the Institute of Social Sciences of the CC, SUPG.

★ ★ ★

Cuba's Publishing House of Political Literature has put out *Problems of the National Policy and Proletarian Internationalism*, a collection of theoretical works on the national problem and the right of nations to self-determination written by Lenin between 1913 and 1916. It also contains an extract from the well-known *Letter to the Congress* which Lenin dictated at the end of 1922.

★ ★ ★

A book of articles, speeches and reports by Wladislaw Gomulka, related to the period 1961-1964, has appeared in the Russian language. The book contains a short biography of the author, who is First Secretary of the CC of the Polish United Workers' Party and a prominent leader of the world Communist and Working-class movement.

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CHINA AND THE SOVIET UNION

SPEECH BY
L. I. BREZHNEV

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TO FIGHT IMPERIALISM
—Ferenc Varnai

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THE FIGHT AGAINST THE RETROGRESSIVE POLICY OF THE GOVERNMENT AND EMPLOYERS

Ernest Burnelle

CHAIRMAN, COMMUNIST PARTY OF BELGIUM*

OUTLOOK FOR POPULAR UNITY TO BRING ABOUT DECISIVE CHANGES

Political events continue to develop at an extremely swift pace. The 15th Congress of our Party met barely a year ago, after the communal elections which resulted in a resounding defeat of the Social Christian and the Socialist parties and in the success of the first joint lists put forward by our Party, the Left-wing Socialists and the Christian Democrats. Of course, that success was modest in view of the number of the lists presented, but still it was an important even of the election battle.

The elections of October 11, 1964, were preceded by a strong aggravation of the crisis inside the Socialist Party of Belgium (SPB) and by growing tension between the Social Christian Party (SCP) and certain Christian Democratic elements. After the elections the political situation continued to deteriorate. Relations between the mass of the people and their organizations, on the one hand, and the government and Parliament, on the other, went from bad to worse.

It was in those conditions that the general election took place, on May 23. The ruling parties sustained a further defeat of unprecedented proportions, which benefited primarily the Party of Freedom and Progress (PFP). As for the Communist lists and the joint lists, put forward for the first time in a general election, they scored appreciable gains. The May 23 election upset the traditional electoral balance.

Since then the political crisis in the SPB has grown, and was particularly marked during the formation of the Harmel government, which brought back into the saddle, alongside the Socialist Ministers, the most conservative Social Christians, those most directly linked with big capital. One-third of the delegates to the

---

*Central Committee report to the Sixteenth Congress of the CPB. Abridged from **Drapeau Rouge**, November 12, 1965.

SPB Congress and almost all the Socialist organizations of the Walloon provinces opposed the re-establishment of the SCP-SPB government alliance.

THE SPB, PROP OF REACTION

After two months of strenuous parley the Harmel government submitted to the two chambers a program which constitutes a fighting platform inspired by the capitalist monopolies in terms of NATO militarism and the Europe of trusts. This program is particularly precise where it deals with the military outlook—it speaks of more spending, an increase in the number of professional servicemen and also of the enlistment of volunteers for short and long-term service.

These facts show how very correct our Party was when it said, at the very beginning of the Lefèvre-Spaak government's term in office, that the capitalist monopolies planned to tie the SPB to a government which would make it an instrument of capitalist monopoly intrigue and pressure, and a prop of reactionary policies.

Indeed, in the present situation the big capitalists have a mortal fear of the radical-minded Socialist rank and file inducing their Party to join up with the Communists and other progressives in order to enforce democratic solutions, which would occur more readily were the SPB in opposition. The big capitalists dread a political re-orientation on the part of the SPB, such as would make possible the formation of a democratic government capable of curbing them.

Events have shown, furthermore, that we were right in saying that the tactical aim of the capitalist monopolies was to strike a double blow, by associating the SPB with their unpopular policy so as to carry it out the more easily, on the one hand, and by holding it and the socialist ideal responsible for the unrest and legitimate discontent of the working people, on the other.

I would like to remark in this connection that the PFP is now going to continue playing the role which fell to it in the previous legislature and which consists in combining the functions of a Right-wing opposition helping the most reactionary elements in the government, and the functions of a demagogical opposition charged with neutralizing the effects of popular discontent.

In the months preceding the formation of the Harmel government the Right-wing leaders of the SPB tried to justify their opportunist orientation by trotting out the traditional argument that it is better to be in the government than outside it. From what they say one would think that they fear a SCP-PFP government might carry out progressive measures without their help. But the bitterness with which the two parties attack appro-

priations for social purposes, including education, makes it plain to anyone that this eventuality cannot be real. Those who want to resist these attacks and to wage an effective fight against reactionary intrigue can do so not by making deals with the reactionaries but by taking open and resolute action against them.

THE NEED OF A POPULAR REBUFF

The trade union organizations, like our Party, have sounded the alarm over the excessive demands of the capitalist monopolies* and the suspicious intentions of the Harmel government.† Some of the more powerful of them have taken a stand against any austerity policy.

Of course, the labor organizations are anything but indifferent to public finance. They know that financial dislocation invariably hits them and that the reactionaries always contrive to profit by it to the detriment of the working people. That is why the labor organizations, while resisting the impermissible curtailments proposed by Eyskens§ must by all means reaffirm, with even greater force, their opposition to the abuses and the excessive military expenditures which NATO thrusts on Belgium. If the government needs money let it at last reduce the original defense budget, which in late years has gone up by several thousand million francs, as the MP's have just found out. Let it renounce the purchase of tanks, on which 8,000m. francs is to be spent, and the re-equipment of the transport troops, on which another 15,000m. francs is to be spent. These sums are to be spent over several years. Cancelling the expenditures planned for 1966 would be the first contribution towards putting our public finances on a sound basis.

Is the PFP, which keeps on crying out against abuses, ready to support such proposals? Will it also support a campaign against the abuses and countless irregularities in the sphere of public works, where it has just been revealed that numerous highly expensive projects had been entrusted to private companies without due authorization?

Is the PFP ready to support also our Party's proposal for ending the tax fraud and the privileges enjoyed by mixed companies? We very much doubt it.

---

*The reference is to the demand of making state loans still easier to get, of cutting the taxes levied on the monopolies, of the state taking far-reaching steps to set up an infrastructure, and of extending scientific research at public expense. These demands were stated in "Five Preconditions for Our Prosperity," a memorandum presented by the Federation of Belgian Industry. The capitalist monopolies, which know that meeting their demands would involve the state in serious financial difficulties, are campaigning for the reduction of allocation for social security and public instruction, for a freeze on wages, salaries and pensions, and for more rigid anti-strike legislation.—**Ed.**

†Meaning cuts in the appropriations for social needs including education, the closing of coal mines, and the imposition of new taxes on low-income groups.—**Ed.**

§Minister of Finance in the Harmel government.—**Ed.**

The labor organizations, which want the nation's economy and finance to operate on a sound footing, should insist imperatively on establishing effective public control, not only over the functioning of the retail price index, but over the fixing of cost price and sales prices, whose steady growth is undermining the franc, as well as the budget of the state and the family budget.

There can be no doubt that the policy of the Harmel government will result in aggravating the country's financial position, and certain trade unionists show little vision when they say we just have a social pause, whereas the attitude of the Federation of Belgian Industry and the government suggests that we are going to witness a regular attack on the purchasing capacity of the working people and those receiving social relief, and also on expenditures for social purposes and education.

NEW PHASE OF THE CLASS STRUGGLE

The next few weeks are bound to see a confrontation—possibly a sharp one — between the reactionary plans being made by Eyskens with support from the PFP, and the resolve of the labor organizations to resist.

At a time when the trade unions are drawing up their demands for the end of this year and for 1966, the Minister of Finance is taking the offensive as usual, in an attempt to counteract the labor organizations' plans for putting forward demands and to force them into giving up certain objectives because the employers and the government are in straits.

The General Federation of Labor of Belgium (GFLB) and the Confederation of Christian Trade Unions (CCTU) have come out, each in its own way, against this bid of the Minister, and several major trade union centers have already proved the legitimacy of their demands regarding wages. However, its very moderate nature notwithstanding, the program for immediate social demands drawn up by the GFLB and CCTU and backed by the liberal trade unions, has already met with frank opposition in capitalist quarters. This means that despite its imperfections the program will have to be imposed on the employers and the government. Action will be needed, and the Communists must lead the fight.

Consequently, the class struggle will enter a new phase in a few days. The object of this struggle is of considerable importance as regards both resistance to the offensive of the government and the immediate demands. Unless the working people succeed, now that the economic situation is still favorable and employment high, in resisting capitalist pressure, the way for a general anti-labor offensive will lie open in the event of a reversal of the situation.

ORGANIZE ACTION AGAINST GOVERNMENT PLANS

To promote action, to give people the confidence they need to go into action, it is essential for the working people of all convictions to show unity of opinion and the determination to fight. Hence the importance of the agendas of meetings at enterprises and in GFLB and CCTU unions, and of the working people deciding on the means of action and the time limits. Hence the importance of resolutions by labor parties, democratic organizations, and communal and provincial councils.

To promote action, to inspire people with confidence in struggle, it is useful to carry on action also in Parliament. The task is to prevent as many Socialist and Christrian-Democratic MP's as possible from backing the disastrous Eyskens offensive and to foil it.

Hence the importance of the constituencies sending messages and delegates to MP's, stating the opinion of the working people and insisting that opinion be conveyed to Parliament.

We propose, therefore, carrying on the fight at all levels.

Sometimes we hear Leftist talk to the effect that our proposals for action in Parliament are meant as a substitute for action by the working people themselves. This is out of the question. What we do propose is action in every field, one type of action furthering another.

IMMEDIATE FIGHT FOR PEACE

Peace is in danger in various parts of the globe, above all in Southeast Asia. The United States is waging a brutal war in Vietnam. It uses the scorched earth tactics there, carrying on methodical destruction and stepping up air raids. It does not hesitate to use napalm and even poison gas on a massive scale. More and more troops are increasing the strength of those already operating against Vietnamese patriots, and new acts of provocation are steadily aggravating this criminal aggression.

We all realize the immense danger that the criminal U.S. aggression in Vietnam represents. At any moment this conflict may spread to neighboring countries and generate a third world war. Never before has a U.S. imperialist venture been so disgraceful for the United States or so perilous to world peace at the present.

Voices of angry protest are being raised everywhere, including the United States, where courageous citizens—students, intellectuals, workers, both black and white—condemn the monstrous deeds of the government. I would like to pay a special homage to these people, who, facing President Johnson and the Pentagon generals in the heart of the citadel of imperialism, demand an end to the U.S. aggression.

SOLIDARITY WITH VIETNAM'S PATRIOTS

A movement of condemnation is taking shape in our country, and American prestige has greatly declined in the eyes of public opinion, which, however, is more than we can say of official quarters. At the beginning of the U.S. aggression in Vietnam our Foreign Minister did not hesitate to support the aggression, in a speech he made before the Rotary Club members of the big bourgeoisie. A Belgian diplomat has just been sent to the Saigon puppets. Needless to say this stance meets the wishes of the moneybags. On September 20 the Federation of Belgian Industry bulletin made the cynical comment that the increased "military effort in Vietnam," as the American capitalists word it, would lead to bigger industrial contracts designed to replenish the arms stockpile. This comment, typical of capitalist thinking, shows the connection between the so-called "defense of the free world against communism" and the material self-seeking interests of U.S. trusts.

That is where allegiance to NATO and Atlantic politics is leading —from a panegyric about the virtues of the "free world" to the most servile complicity in the most infamous imperialist plots.

We will therefore press forward unrelentingly our fight against U.S. aggression in Vietnam, for withdrawal of the U.S. troops, for the restoration of peace on the basis of respect for the Vietnamese people's right to freedom, and will fully support the proposals which their representatives have already put forward in this sense.

We will continue our effort to ensure that more Belgians condemn U.S. aggression and oppose our rulers' complicity with Washington. The aim is to have numerous workers, democrats, and peace partisans insist with growing unanimity and force that Parliament and the government comply with the wishes of the nation by dissociating themselves from America's aggression in Vietnam. Besides, we will do our best to ensure the success of the campaign for material aid to the Vietnamese people, for the collection of funds, medicines and blood.

It is in this direction that the most resolute and effective action should be taken. And it is with this object in view that we send our greetings and express our solidarity to the Vietnamese people and to Comrade Ho Chi Minh, the symbol of the people who have for years held the admiration of the world by resisting Japanese, French and U.S. imperialist aggression with courage and selfless devotion, and who this time also will find in themselves and in international solidarity the energy to beat off the invaders and throw out the oppressors.

UNITE THE LEFT

We have repeatedly said that there is in Belgium a Left-wing

majority capable of ensuring the triumph of new perspectives. Among the Left-wing forces we wish to name, first of all, the working people associated in trade unions, trade unionists and trade union organizations. They are destined to play a growing role in resisting the plans of reaction, in turning labor organizations to the left, and in fighting for the realization of new perspectives.

The Lefts include Socialist working people and organizations. On the occasion of the communal, provincial and general elections we took several actions in collaboration with Left-wing elements which belonged to the SPB until recently and had to withdraw from it because of the Rights' intolerable attitude toward them. We wish to go on cooperating with these Left-wing organizations through everyday actions and to fight together with our allies of May 23 in the many battles ahead.

We want to go further. Indeed, we feel that Socialist organizations are beginning to join the Left-wing forces or to look for a proper place for themselves among them. Many such organizations have already been formed and have declared against the Harmel government, against their party's cooperation with SCP. We think they will inevitably be led to assume a more radical character, to unite with others in order to hold their own against Eyskens' claims and to act together with the Communists and the trade union organizations, against the policy of aggravation wanted by the government. We think there will be room for every Socialist organization in a broad front uniting all the Left-wing forces. No error could be worse than to rule them out because of past wrongs, failing to see the deep changes which are taking place and in which Socialist workers will take part, carrying with them functionaries of their party or even MP's.

The Left-wing forces which we would like to have in the proposed association would include the Christian Democrats, primarily the Christian organizations that had broken away from the SCP. During the general and provincial elections we cooperated a good deal with the Christian trade unionists. The experience revealed that considerable changes had occurred, and continued to occur, among the Christian Democrats. It may well be that religion is dissociating itself from those social forces which have long been an obstacle to the moral concepts preached by the Church being applied in the fight for a more just, more honest, more fraternal and happy world. Apparently, the impetuous evolution of the world, and the growing influence of the labor movement and of its militant ideology prompt a large section of the believers, not only to dream of a paradise in the hereafter, but to take part in the fight for a life worth living on earth, a life compatible with human dignity.

Many Christian-Democratic activists long for justice and honesty, and this makes them speak out, not only against the ruling bourgeoisie, but, naturally, against its strongest prop in Belgium, the SCP.

BEGIN A FAIR DIALOG

I say it again that we should not let political labels deter us if we want to suceed in bringing about the broad alliance we advocate. This alliance should be open to every organization or person who have for some reason come to realize the harmful nature of the policy Belgium has been following for fifteen years. We know scientists, technicians and researchers who have come to realize this, prompted by the obstacles which official policy has been putting in their way.

We stand for a fair, broad and permanent dialog with all labor spokesmen, with all activists who have been led to take a Left-wing stand, with all who, like us, are breaking the ground for a democratic alternative. We stand for a dialog that will be new in content, because the situation in Belgium is no longer what it was before May 23. It is complicated and more grave, and calls even more imperatively for solutions favorable to the working people. We are nearer to fundamental changes.

Why cannot we exchange views at various meetings and forums — from modest neighborhood meetings, discussions between factory activists or local activisits and labor organization to the broadest informative meetings?

Such dialog does not necessarily have to begin in front of the general public. It could begin with an exchange of views between activists, without publicity, each comparing his ideas with those of his interlocutors and thus coming to appreciate still more the difficulties involved and the possibilities of establishing closer links.

To begin a new dialog with trade unionists, Socialists and Christian Democrats is the key to finding the way to a democratic alternative.

This dialog may be even more urgent than is generally believed, for the reactionaries, who are in a predicament, are certainly looking for ways of staving off the political crisis of the bourgeoisie. This search might end in a political gamble. This danger is always present when the political, economic and financial position of a capitalist country is deteriorating. In these circumstances, the progressive forces are in the end opposed by movements advocating the use of undemocratic methods and greater recourse to unparliamentary practices. In our country, the reactionaries have so far discovered no de Gaulle of their own, nor will history re-

peat itself. But they may find something else — something just as dangerous for the working-class and democratic movement. This is yet another reason why democrats should make haste about starting the dialog and take every step necessary for popularizing their solutions of the problems facing our country. I need hardly say that in view of the present dangerous division of the working-class forces we favor an effort toward re-establishing a labor Left, and this is a point meriting public discussion.

FIRST PROVISION OF A COMMON PROGRAM: WITHDRAWAL FROM NATO

In proposing a new dialog between the Left-wing forces, we do not plan to put forward a complete program as a basis for discussion. We will confine ourselves to presenting the two provisions which we think essential in a program specifying the terms of a democratic alternative.

The first provision is withdrawal from NATO.

In our view, it is impossible to enforce a policy of social and structural reforms, a progressive policy, so long as our country remains in NATO.

Nor can Belgium pursue a genuine policy for peace so long as it remains in a military political bloc which prevents that. There is no compromising on matters of peace, social progress and democracy. There is ample evidence that NATO is harmful in every respect. We stand for withdrawal from NATO.

We insist on this point, above all, because in the next few years, particularly in 1968, the Belgian Parliament could announce that we would withdraw from NATO in 1969. Hence this watchword becomes a watchword of action and will become more so as the year 1968 draws near. We believe it would be useful to launch a campaign of propaganda and action against Belgium renewing its membership of NATO. Action could take the form of, say, the Left or the government polling the population in 1968 and revealing that the nation wanted to throw off the shackles of NATO.

We do not think this prospect illusory in view of the general trend of evolution of public opinion in recent years and the rapid maturing of certain ideas. The faster the democratic forces of Europe step up their efforts toward laying down guidelines for the plan of European security, the sooner this prospect will take concrete shape. All indications are that the next few years will see a European security pact which Belgium could join.

SECOND PROVISION: DEMOCRACY AND CONTROL

The second important provision of the program we advocate is democracy and control. Incidentally, it is a permanent feature of

our labor movement that throughout its history it has fought for greater democratic rights and for a more democratic functioning of institutions, witness the battle for universal suffrage carried on under its banner.

In proposing that the Left start a new dialog to prepare fundamental changes in our country, we say plainly that what we mean by change is an upswing of democracy, to be brought about and kept up through active cooperation of all the working people, of all democrats, through every means likely to promote direct participation of the people in the settlement of the problems of society.

The democratic front will have promising prospects for the near and the more distant future to the extent that the program and activity of the forces it can rally will be the result of the extension of democracy as regards both the aims and the forms of the movement.

If the labor movement has a clear understanding of action for and through democracy it will gain considerable strength and its class struggle will be crowned with success. For the greater the number of the working people who think and analyze, and express their views, the more they are prompted to demand measures extending the rights of the people and the more effectively the democratic front carries on its activity.

Did not Karl Marx say that the emancipation of the working classes must be conquered by the working classes themselves? The working-class movement is democratic by its very nature. To be sure, as it advances toward winning peace, new rights and material well-being, it encounters certain difficulties and the reactionaries score certain gains. But it is in attacking the movement in the sphere of democracy that the reactionaries create those difficulties and try to check its onward march, to lead it astray and to provoke it into making mistakes.

THE FIGHT FOR DEMOCRACY IS A REVOLUTIONARY FIGHT

Certain of our comrades believe that to scorn parliamentary institutions means taking a revolutionary stand.

Of course, Parliament has never been so badly discredited as today, but this is not because Parliament is functioning in a less democratic fashion than twenty or forty years ago, or because the capitalists have a bigger say in it now. It is because the working people have become more politically alert, and put forward considerably greater demands, and because the need of democracy has been growing too fast for parliamentary institutions to keep pace with it.

The Communist movement has always combated concepts assailing democracy and Parliament.

In 1935, at the Seventh Congress of the Communist International, which has left an indelible stamp on our movement and was a supreme achievement in analysis and action by the Communist parties, Georgi Dimitrov had to argue against Leftist concepts questioning the validity of watchwords concerning democracy and parliamentary institutions. On that occasion Dimitrov quoted Lenin:

"It would be a grave error," Lenin said, "to think that the fight for democracy can divert the proletariat from the socialist revolution or to eclipse, to overshadow this revolution, and so on. Indeed, just as socialism cannot triumph unless it exercises complete democracy, so the proletariat cannot prepare for victory over the bourgeoisie unless it carries on an all-round, consistent and revolutionary fight for democracy."

And Dimitrov added: "All our comrades should mark these words well, for throughout history it is from small movements upholding elementary rights of the working class that great revolutions have developed."

REVOLUTIONARY ROLE OF THE FIGHT FOR CONTROL

With a view to developing democracy, the common program to be drawn up by the Left front should provide for the elaboration of appropriate control measures.

The possibility to exercise control has become a profound and general aspiration of the working people, who no longer trust information furnished by the government and the employers. They want to verify everything themselves. This distrust is understandable and logical. The working people resent the fact that they have no real powers of control over the doings of the employers. And I would go as far as to say that to demand real powers of control today means putting forward a demand which is revolutionary in content. This aspiration is particularly strong in the factory councils. Workers' delegates legitimately want to have inspectors appointed by the trade unions who would help the workers to verify the assertions of the employers. The Party groups at enterprises should urge action and contribute to its being launched with determination, so that workers' delegates to the factory councils can really win this new right.

IS THIS PROSPECT REAL?

Imagine, comrades, that the Belgian working people succeed, through a new dialog between the Left forces and through the development of working-class and democratic action, in resisting the Harmel government's policy of aggravation and inflict a series of reverses on the reactionaries. Imagine that Left-wing alliances

are formed with a view to enforcing a common program envisaging a democratic alternative. Don't you think that in that case Belgium's working people could arrive at the 1969 elections in infinitely more favorable conditions than those we had a few months ago, and that in the circumsances we might well expect an anti-monopoly government to come to power?

Some of us may say to ourselves: "That's a beautiful dream." But in the course of our activity we have often outlined prospects that materialized sooner than we had thought they would.

The point is not to indulge in prophesying. We do not predict victory for a policy of renovation. We merely trust that it is really possible, and activists should therefore, outline prospects accordingly, so as to work the more fruitfully.

We will encounter tremendous difficulties, of course. The bourgeoisie will certainly do all in its power to hang on to NATO, which is a key component of its political machinery.

The bourgeoisie resists all the more strongly because it realizes that the series of actions that are in the making, and the winning of new democratic rights, above all the right of control and the right to hold a referendum on the people's initiative, will put Belgium in a situation very close to socialism. The reactionaries know this and will, therefore, try hard to prevent a Left-wing alliance and to block the elaboration of any program offering a democratic alternative.

Are the prospects we have outlined realistic? Is this the direction in which the whole Party should advanceé This is the crucial question the 16th Congress will discuss, and answer.

KEEP ABREAST OF DEVELOPMENTS

If we want to take a greater part in the political life of the nation and to contribute more effectively to developments the Party cadre must get rid of certain moods inherited from the bad years of the cold war.

It is generally admitted that the Communists have lived through one of the most difficult periods in their history during which our enemies hoped to eliminate us by launching an offensive along the lines of Atlantic and European policy. Our enemies did not conceal that this was their intention. But events took a turn which the cold warriors had not expected, and today no one questions the fact that we are back in the political life of the nation and represent in it a trend rooted in the Belgian labor movement. Nevertheless, many functionaries still think as they did ten years ago. They still reason in terms of an isolated opposition, whereas many of our political ideas have won recognition among the mass of the people and our immediate aims are becoming the aspirations of

a majority. Many comrades imagined that our Party would remain for a very long time in the position of an "unrecognized" vanguard, holding views that would be unable to win popular support. They have not grasped the meaning of the tremendous changes that have occurred around them in a few years. Today it is the reactionaries and Right-wing Socialists who are beginning to find themselves in isolation and are compelled more and more often to swim against the stream.

Thus the situation demands that we should not only express the opinion, or what may become the opinion, of a majority, but act as spokesmen of this majority.

That is the mission of our Party. We must therefore proceed in such a way as to enable our Party to fulfil its mission. This Congress is not expected to concentrate on organizational matters, for all their importance. I would merely like to call your attention to three points.

The electoral success we have achieved, and still more the prospects we have in mind, oblige us to step up the recruitment of new members. The point is not only that we need many people to help us carry out the decisions we take, but that the elaboration of a mass policy and mass action requires that our meetings should have a mass scale.

Secondly, we should appreciate such a weapon of our Party as the *Drapeau Rouge* better in order to spread our ideas and facilitate the new dialog we plan to begin with all the Left-wing forces.

IMPROVE THE FUNCTIONING OF OUR PARTY ON A "FEDERAL" BASIS

Lastly, we should improve our organizational methods, so that the Flemish, Walloon and Brussels comrades can implement the general line of our Party by the methods best suited to the particular conditions.

Our Party realized this need long ago and it has become customary for the Flemish and Walloon members to meet separately.

It has also become a current practice for the Flemings to hold conferences of their own and for the Flemish wing of the Central Committee to meet by itself. To promote this, the Central Committee before the May 23 elections appointed a commission of CC members entrusted with looking into certain organizational methods likely to improve the functioning of the Party on a "federal" basis and to make it a regular practice.

Of course, we think it necessary to work out a line valid for the whole country, for the whole labor movement, a line suited for the entire action against the monopolies, whose centralization has patently gone very far in Belgium. The more Flemings, Wal-

loons and Brussels people are aware of their responsibility for the policy decided on in common, the more this policy will be determined on the strength of a correct analysis of realities and the more our line of action will become the living synthesis of a policy destined to serve the cause of Belgium's working people.

OUR PRIDE

We call on every comrade to think of the greatness of the epoch in which we live.

This is an epoch when many things that for a long time were considered fundamental have been called into question. It is an epoch when the political degradation of the ruling classes, their lies, their practices of corruption and provocation, and their crimes are coming out more and more. It is an epoch when it is increasingly becoming the mission of the popular forces to replace the discredited ruling classes, when the great ideas of peace and social justice, of democracy and fraternity are no longer so many lofty aspirations but realistic and rallying demands. Indeed, people proclaimed these great ideas for centuries, often without any hope, till the time when the labor movement gave them a specific content and opened up real prospects. Since the formation of the labor movement human solidarity has ceased to be merely a moral category and become a militant world-wide practice.

At the stage of its decline capitalism has sullied many beautiful ideas and causes. Specifically, it has sullied and degraded the art of politics.

Let us take pride in being engaged in politics, in carrying out the policy of the working class. Working-class policy plays an emancipating role in every sphere of human activity. It is the ultimate fight which progressive mankind is waging for socialist society. It is the supreme and most complete expression of human solidarity.

RESOLUTION

OF THE 16th CONGRESS OF THE CP OF BELGIUM

The 16th Congress of the Communist Party of Belgium met in Brussels on October 23 and 24, 1965.

Congress applied itself to specify the objectives and ways of struggle against the retrogressive policy being pursued in common

by the big manufacturers and the government. It examined the possibilities of forming a broad front of workers and other popular elements capable of counterposing a democratic alternative to the aggravation plans of the Harmel-Eyskens-Spinoy team.

Congress notes:

—that the government's support of U.S. and West German imperialist policies, and its subservience to NATO run counter to the will of the overwhelming majority of the population of our country for peace;

—that the evolution of the country's economic life essentially benefits the financial magnates and injures the interests of the population, which is evident from the economic decline of the Walloon and certain of the Flemish regions, the unsteady and disorderly development of Flanders—a result of subservience to foreign capital and of the use of public credits without democratic control;

—that budgetary policy is adapted to the will of the Federation of Belgian Industry and implies an increase in the burden to be borne by the industrial, office and professional workers, handicraftsmen and peasants, cuts in appropriations for social needs, including public education, and the establishment of the infrastructure and other conditions favorable for industrial and financial complaints;

—that reactionary plans for a revision of the Constitution and a reform of institutions are aimed at freeing the functioning of the latter still more from control by the people and by Parliament and at maintaining the unitary form of the state.

Congress stresses that in view of reactionary threats and the deterioration of the international situation, concern and discontent express themselves:

—in the peace movement—primarily through opposition to the U.S. policy of escalating the war in Vietnam, as well as to the revenge-seeking policy of Bonn;

—in the trade unions—through the formation of a social front against the plans for retrogression made by the employers and the government;

—in the communal and provincial councils — through protest against their financial decline;

—in the democratic movements and organizations of Flanders, the Walloon regions, and Brussels—through the resolve to fight for equal rights for the large communities, through the fight for a federal system, structural reforms, and the inclusion in the Constitution of the right to hold referendums on popular initiative;

—through growing difficulties in the so-called traditional parties.

However, these forces are up against certain difficulties.

To begin with, the Right-wing leaders of the labor movement

are doubling their pressure in an attempt to integrate the organizations led by them in the neo-capitalist system which the big manufacturers and the government want.

Secondly, under the pressure of these Right-wing leaders, Socialist and Christian-Democratic activists and functionaries still hesitate to insist that their organizations should respect the demands of the people.

Congress considers that maintenance of this state of affairs could only put more fetters on the development of the democratic movement, the trade unions and trade union democracy and accentuate political differences between labor organizations, discrediting parliamentary institutions still more in their eyes and increasing political confusion.

Congress expresses confidence that the labor movement is strong enough to defeat the Right-wing splitters, forge its fighting unity at factory level and in the communes, and thus arrive at an alliance of the democratic forces capable of bringing about the triumph of a new policy, one in keeping with the interests and the will of the nation.

Progress in science, technology, and industry necessarily leads to enhancement of the role of public agencies in economic life.

The Belgian and foreign monopolies are in a position through European organizations to make government and Parliament yield to their demands and pursue a policy running counter to the interests of the population.

The tightening grip of big capital on all economic activity through the state involves a decline in the role of democratic institutions.

Congress considers that if the interests of the population are to be upheld properly it is necessary:

—to strengthen democratic control over state institutions;

—to establish people's control over the activities of the monopolies, banks and the state;

—to encourage measures for polling the people on decisive issues in order effectively to hasten the exercise of this control.

The division of Europe into hostile economic and military blocs, which U.S. and West German trusts want and keep up, is a threat to world peace and an obstacle to the organization of peaceful coexistence. At the same time it leads to the supremacy of German-American capital in the Common Market countries, with all the disastrous consequences which this entails for the working people.

Accordingly, Congress:

—stresses that ending the cold war is one of the essential conditions for starting on a democratic alternative;

—notes that three years from now Parliament will have to express itself about Belgium's membership of NATO;

—instructs the Central Committee to plan a powerful campaign

for withdrawal from NATO and for the dissolution of this organization. This campaign should result in a popular poll on this issue.

With these proposals in view, Congress calls on all the labor organizations, all democratic elements, and all the activists and functionaries concerned about the future of our country and our communities to press forward the actions that are under way, begin a broad dialog in order to elaborate a common platform uniting the mass of the people against big capital, and prepare the advent of a democratic government.

The 16th Congress of the Communist Party of Belgium,

—being aware of the need to strengthen the front of the Flemish, Walloon and Brussels working people against big capital,

—taking into account the economic and political development typical of the various regions of the country,

—and being convinced of the need to bring the aspirations of the national communities as close together as possible,

—expresses the wish that the Central Committee should hasten and specify the implementation of the decisions adopted last February with a view to organizing the Party in the spirit of a federal orientation, as demanded by the national communities.

Congress considers that these measures will provide the best conditions for the effective development of the general political line of the Party defined in common by the national bodies.

RESOLUTION*

ON TRANSFORMING ORGANS OF PARTY AND STATE CONTROL

CC, CPSU MEETING, DECEMBER 6, 1965

The plenary meeting of the CC, CPSU notes that the Party and state control organs have carried out important work in checking upon the fulfilment of Party and government decisions, promoting the development of the socialist economy, strengthening state discipline and securing the participation of broad masses of Communists and non-Party people in control activities.

With a view to drawing still more working people into verification and control activities and enhancing the role played by them in the work of the control organs, the plenary meeting of the CC, CPSU resolves: to transform the organs of Party and state control into organs of People's Control, which should constitute an effective means to be used by Party and the government in drawing the masses on a still bigger scale into the management of state affairs, ensuring systematic check-up on the implementation of Party and government directives by government, economic and other organizations, and strengthening state discipline and socialist law.

In accordance with the present resolution, the USSR Council of Ministers shall approve Rules of People's Control Organs.

*Pravda, December 7, 1965.

SPEECH* BY L. I. BREZHNEV

FIRST SECRETARY OF THE CC, CPSU

Comrades, allow me to state our viewpoint regarding the further improvement of the existing control system, which is directly and most closely connected with our economic development.

You know that three years ago a decision was adopted on the establishment of the Party and State Control Committee and local control organs.

In these three years the Party and state control organs have done a good job and helped the Party and the government in improving the operation of our economy and our government and economic apparatus, enlisting the cooperation of the masses into the management of all the affairs of society and in securing the participating of broader masses of Communists and non-Party people in control activities.

The members of the CC are familiar with the work of the Party and state control organs, and I shall not cite concrete examples of it. Surely this does not mean, comrades, that the work of control organs is free from shortcomings.

Our system of control is the most democratic, genuinely people's system. In our socialist state the people, the sole master of the country, enjoy all rights, including the right of control.

First and foremost the working people exercise control over the most essential thing — the economic life, the sphere of production and distribution, the operation of the government bodies. This is one of the greatest advantages socialism gives to the working people.

The Soviet state is vitally interested in public control. The more people take part in control activities and, consequently, in governing the state, the better our state system will operate.

For our control organs, which work under the guidance of the Party, present, in a way, an instrument of education. They help instil in every citizen the sense of being the master of the country, a high sense of responsibility for the state of things in the entire society.

As enhancement of the role of control as a public function will greatly promote development of socialist democracy, the CPSU Presidium thinks it expedient to take steps further to improve the existing system of control.

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*Pravda, December 7, 1965.

What we have in mind is turning the system of Party and state control into a system of people's control. This will conform to Lenin's counsel that such a system has "the function of having the entire mass of the working people, men and especially women, sharing in the activities of workers' and peasants' inspection."

As you know, the CPSU Program also provides for the establishment of a people's control system in which state control should be combined with local public inspection.

There arises, in this connection, the question of designating the control organs. At present they are called organs of Party and state control. This name is not quite adequate. It does not reflect fully enough the fact that control in our country is exercised by the people. Therefore it would be more correct to transform these organs and call them organs of people's control.

This will correctly reflect the essence of the activities of the control organs in our country. At the same time it will be of great political significance, for the control organs will be drawn still closer to the people.

People's control organs work under the guidance of the Party and the government. The central committees of the Communist parties of the Union republics and the territorial, regional, city and district Party committees should daily concern themselves with the activities of people's control organs and actively support their initiative, regarding them as their direct assistants in the struggle for our common cause.

As to the rights and duties of the people's control organs, it will be proper for them, evidently, to concentrate on helping the Party and the state in checking up systematically the implementation of Party and government directives, further improving the guidance of communist construction, ensuring the utmost development of the socialist economy, and enforcing observance of state discipline and socialist law. They should actively support, encourage and promote everything that is new and progressive in the life of our society, reveal and remove shortcomings, work for improving the general state of things, fight irreconcilably against bureaucratism and red tape, eyewash and mismanagement.

It stands to reason, comrades, that improvement of control activities in the country, the establishment of people's control organs by no means relieve all Party committees and Party organizations of the responsibility for control over the implementation of Party and government directives. It should also be borne in mind that the people's control organs do not control the work of Party organs. This is done by a system of inter-Party control in accordance with the Party Rules. Hence the need for more active work also by the Party commission whom the Rules charge with checking upon the observance by Party members and candidate members of Party

discipline and calling to account Communists who violate the Party program and Rules, those guilty of violating Party and state discipline and Party ethics.

Proceeding from the above-stated, the Presidium of the CC CPSU submits for consideration by the CC, CPSU meeting a draft resolution on this question.

PLENUM OF THE CC, KPL

The Central Committee of the Korean Party of Labor held its 12th Plenum from November 15-17 last, with Kim Il Sung in the chair. The Plenum was attended by members and alternate members of the CC, KPL, members of the Central Auditing Commission, staff members of the CC, ministries and other central bodies, representatives of working people's organizations, and local Party functionaries.

The Plenum discussed measures to improve the functioning of district Party committees and Party guidance in various economic fields.

The Plenum was preceded by a consultative meeting of the chairmen of provincial, town and district Party committees, provincial, town and district people's committees, and factory Party committees. It was led by Kim Il Sung and lasted ten days.

The consultative meeting was attended, among others, by key officials of ministries and other central bodies.

The meeting carefully discussed measures to improve Party guidance to accord with the progress made in socialist construction, and, in particular, to raise the standard of work of the district Party committee, the lowest leading and executive component of the Party.

The consultative meeting heard an important speech by Kim Il Sung on ways and means of improving the functioning of district Party committees, enhancing the role of the district bodies, and improving Party guidance in various economic fields.

On the basis of the questions discussed at the meeting, Pak Kim Cher, Vice-Chairman of the CC, presented a report to the Plenum. Many comrades took the floor in the debate.

The Plenum stressed the importance and role of the district bodies in implementing the theses on socialist changes in our country, and in hastening socialist development in general. It called attention to the need to improve the functioning of district Party committees, which are the political general staffs of the districts, and Party guidance in various economic fields.

The Plenum expressed firm confidence that district Party committees, as well as Party committees at other levels and their leaderships, will by effectively organizing and carrying on their activities in line with the tasks set by the Plenum, will live up to the expectations of the CC, which is striving to improve the functioning of district Party committees and Party guidance of economic activity.

The Plenum passed an appropriate resolution.

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*Nodon Shinmun, November 18, 1

RESOLUTION*

OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF CZECHOSLOVAKIA ON THE WORK OF CENTRAL ADMINISTRATIVE BODIES

Endeavors to improve the system of economic planning and management in conjunctions with the elaboration of perspectives for economic development have become a fundamental element in our Party's work in the spirit of the resolution adopted by the 12th Congress. At its meeting in January this year, the Central Committee adopted measures aimed at improving the system of economic management. The new system requires in particular a more profound consideration of long-term prospects with regard to national economic planning, application and skilful use of economic instruments of management and of personal material incentives, application of the principle of amortization of investments, more efficient application of science and technology, development of international economic cooperation and a substantial enhancement of the role of foreign and internal trade and the introduction of higher forms of organization of production and technology in industry, building and commerce.

On July 1 this year, a number of necessary changes were made in the organization of industrial production and technology, the guiding principle of the new arrangements being concentration in industrial associations is now nearing completion and the principles of internal management and of a more flexible system of custom-supplier relationships are being drawn up. New methods of planning have been introduced, a system of basic economic instruments, particularly with regard to payments to the State Treasury from gross income has been approved and basic directives establishing norms have been published. Among other important measures applied in accordance with the Central Committee resolution is the testing in practice of the new principles of management in the course of this year—in the form of experiments in selected enterprises. The results achieved by most of the experimenting enterprises are, on the whole satisfactory, though it should not be overlooked that they were achieved primarily by making use of short-term and easily mobilized reserves. Experience shows that the new principles of management stimulate initiative and effort and

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improve production efficiency and economy. The new system of management has been accepted and approved by the workers because it makes it possible to judge the results of good work by individuals, groups of workers and enterprises more accurately.

The resolution adopted at the January meeting was based on the fact that implementation of the new system of management is an objective process in which the principles adopted will be applied, developed and extended gradually.

The resolution adopted at the January meeting was based on the fact that implementation of the new system of management is an objective process in which the principles adopted will be applied, developed and extended gradually.

The main problems which need to be dealt with quickly when introducing the new system relate particularly to reorganization of the system of wholesale prices so that prices may as soon as possible become an effective, objective instrument of purposeful economic management. It is also essential to intensify pressure in order to attain the maximum possible effectiveness of capital investment by making fuller use of capital construction credits. We have to increase the influence of prices on production with regard to foreign trade as well and to achieve a more efficient relationship between production and foreign trade. The new system of management must be worked out more objectively and intensively and progress in theoretical work must be improved side by side with the clarification of management problems, in close conjunction with the needs of economic practice.

Implementation of the improved system of economic planning and management, approved by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, requires that changes be made in the functions, methods, forms of work and structure of the central administrative bodies.

The functions, methods, structure and style of work of the main central bodies no longer meet present requirements. They do not adequately ensure progress in long-term planning and use of value relationhips in management and economic planning. They do not ensure satisfactory distribution of a administrative responsibilities either at enterprise level or centraly. They fail to ensure effective coordination and unified guidance in the planning process or in central administration as a whole and make insufficient use of industrial bodies in dealing with economic matters of nationwide relevance.

Application of the principles of the new system of management requires that central bodies should shift the emphasis in their work from taking decisions on routine matters as is generally the case at prešent, to dealing with problems of a long-term and more fundamental nature. Responsibility for coping with specific production

and economic problems will rest squarely on the shoulders of enterprise and industrial association managements. The work of the central administrative bodies must be focused, in the new system of management, on resolving fundamental economic and industrial problems which cannot be handled at the enterprise and industrial association levels.

The fundamental conditions for bringing these changes in the functions and methods of central administration about depend primarily

—on emphasizing long-term planning as the major instrument of administration and on making fundamental changes as regards national economic planning. In essence, this entails basing the planning-process on scientific knowledge and on objective assessment of value relation and categories. In this way putting planning onto a scientific footing and preventing subjectivism in economic management;

—on controlling those sectors of administration vital in creating the conditions for objective utilization of value categories and relations and of the economic instruments associated with them;

—on effective coordination of both spheres by the Government, to ensure that all central administrative bodies carry out the plan and make use of economic instruments of management in conformity with the aims of a unified economic policy.

EXTENDING GOVERNMENT ACTIVITY IN SOLVING FUNDAMENTAL PROBLEMS OF ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT

For the purpose of carrying out basic changes in the functions, methods and forms of work of central bodies, the Central Committee has resolved to make the following adjustments in the work and composition of the Government and its bodies:

The Government, proceeding from the general line of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia and the resolution of its Central Committee and in keeping with its Constitutional responsibility as the supreme executive organof State power, ensures, in broad economic and social outline, the planned development of the national economy and of socialist society.

With regard to administration of the national economy, Government activity will be concentrated primarily on:

—preparing Five-Year and long-term economic development plans, based on more extensive and better long-range planning;

—elaborating and ensuring the use of economic instruments of management is a balanced and harmonious manner so that they may be an effective means of increasing profits and efficiency;

—making capital construction more effective and making greater

use of progressive scientific and technical development methods;

—developing external economic relations in order to make our economy more efficient within the international socialist division of labor and to make foreign trade development more effective;

—dealing generally with fundamental and important problems of the national economy, matters connected with the general work of industrial association managements, and reports and draft plans submitted by regional national committees;

—ensuring implementation of the plan and greater control over the manner in which the interests and needs of society as a whole are respected both in central administration and within *chozrascot* accounting system. Special attention will have to be given to supervision of prices, wages, maintenance of quality and economical use of the resources of society;

—implementing and developing in the best possible way the approved principles of the new system of management and improving management in a systematic manner.

In order to improve both the diversity and the collective character of Government work, Government plenary meetings will be given a greater role; the attention of the Presidium of the Government will be directed towards the administrative and organizational functions of the Government and towards coordinating the work of its bodies.

NEW ORGANIZATION OF THE WORK OF SPECIALIZED GOVERNMENT AGENCIES

Consistent work in specified fields will be ensured by the Government with the assistance of its specialized agencies—the State Planning Commission, the State Commission for Finance, Prices and Wages, the Ministry of Finance, the Czechoslovak State Bank, the State Commission for Technology, the State Commission for Economic, Scientific and Technical Cooperation, the State Commission for Management and Organization and the Central Commission of Inspection and Statistics, whose main function is to work out and submit to the Government detailed solutions of the basic problems of economic and social development.

The Government's chief advisory body with regard to basic scientific matters is the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences.

The organization, range of activities and mutual relationship of the Government's specialized agencies are to be extended, supplemented and modified, particularly along the following lines:

Application of the basic principles of the new system of management in the field of planning calls for the main emphasis to be shifted to work on the Five-Year Plans and on long-term economic development prospects, while ensuring continuity of work within the system of national economic planning as a whole.

In order that the directive role of the Government should be applied to the full extent at all stages of planning, the State Planning Commission, as the specialized agency of the Government responsible for all-round national economic planning, will assist the Government in the coordination and administration of the work of individual bodies throughout the planning process. The State Planning Commission will incorporate proposed solutions in the final versions of economic development plans with due regard for coherence and compatibility and the promotion of economic efficiency on a national scale.

The other specialized and industrial agencies of central administration will assist in the whole planning process to an extent consistent with their role and sphere of activity. They will contribute proposals and ideas for draft planning and for selecting the most effective and optimum solution. This will also provide pre-conditions for preparing several alternative versions of the draft plans and will enable the Government exercise its leading role more purposefully through the process as well as in assessing and resolving national economic problems of a complex type.

It is consequently necessary to strengthen and improve the long-term planning arrangements within the State Planning Commission. The role played by the plenum of the State Planning Commission will be given the greatest importance and its full influence on the work of the State Planning Commission and the consistency of its activity will be ensured.

The structure and composition of the State Planning Commission will be adjusted to its new responsibilities in such a way as to improve its work with regard to accumulative and inter-branch relations and so that the conditions are created for applying scientific methods of economic policy.

The enhanced role and importance of economic instruments such as finance, credit, prices and wages, require that new adjustments be made within the central administration of these fields. The Central Committee considers it appropriate to set up a State Commission for Finance, Prices and Wages as a specialized agency of the Government to deal with all matters relating to finance, credit, price and wages policy and social security.

The State Commission for Finance, Prices and Wages will, after the State Planning Commission, be the second most important Government agency upon which the Government will depend in promoting economic development.

It will be the job of this Commission to ensure coordination and unified application of financial, credit, prices and wages policy and social security measures to ensure stable relationships and operation in these spheres, together with the necessary uniformity in systematic utilization of economic instruments. With this in view, the

State Commission for Finance, Prices and Wages will consider internal and external credit policy, supervise the application of prices and wages policy with a view to improving the standards of living and the balance between the income and expenditure of the population, watch the relationship of prices and wages and propose to the Government measures needed to ensure development in proportion.

The State Commission for Finance, Prices and Wages will play an important role in creating the conditions for the full use of economic instruments and their long-term stability, and in striving for profitability in all sectors.

In conjunction with the Ministry of Finance and the Czechoslovak State Bank it will submit its own proposals for changes with regard to prices and wages, the implementation of credit policy, the system of payments to the State Treasury, and economic regulations.

The establishment of the State Commission for Finance, Prices and Wages will not lessen the scope and responsibility of the Ministry of Finance, nor the responsibility of the Czechoslovak State Bank and the State Social Security Board.

ALL-ROUND USE OF SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY IN DEVELOPMENT OF THE NATIONAL ECONOMY AND MORE EFFECTIVE USE OF CAPITAL INVESTMENT

The new economic system requires strengthening of the role of central administration with regard to the main lines of a uniform technological policy, ensuring harmony of technical development with the fundamental political, economic and cultural aims of society. At the same time, it must be borne in mind, that the achievements of scientific and technical progress are, to a great extent, applied through capital investment and influence the creation of a socialist environment.

After due consideration of these matters and in the interest of simplifying central administration in these spheres and achieving tighter organization throughout those sectors in which central administration of technical development and capital investment is directly connected, the Central Committee considers it appropriate ment and the State Commission for the Development and Co- to amalgamate the present State Commission for Capital Investordination of Science and Technology and to set up a single specialized Government agency—the State Commission for Technology. —to deal with these matters.

With regard to the application of science and the training of scientific personnel, the State Commission will collaborate with the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences, which, as the supreme scientific institution in the CSSR, is responsible for the systematic development of science in Czechoslovakia.

EXTENDING THE ADMINISTRATIVE RESPONSIBILITY OF CENTRAL BODIES WITH REGARD TO ECONOMIC, SCIENTIFIC AND TECHNICAL COOPERATION

The functions of the State Commission for Economic, Scientific and Technical Cooperation are to be extended in accordance with the importance of external economic relations and the need to improve administrative control over them. As a specialized Government agency it will concentrate on basic problems of economic relations, directing its attention primarily to relations with the socialist states. The State Commission for Economic, Scientific and Technical Cooperation will deal with problems relating to economic cooperation and external relations, will coordinate the work of bodies involved in economic, scientific and technical cooperation, and will supervise progress in this regard.

In this, however, it shall not encroach upon the authority of ministries and other agencies responsible for cooperation and trade with other countries.

DEVELOPING AND IMPROVING THE ADMINISTRATIVE SYSTEM

Concern for steady improvement of administration of the national economy is one of the Government's major responsibilities. In order to carry out this responsibility properly, the Government will make full use of its specialized agency—the State Commission for Management and Organization. The main purpose of this Commission and the core of its work is to prepare, examine and recommend to the Government measures designed to promote consistent and all-round improvement and economy in the system of management, and to submit proposals for the introduction of up-to-date methods in administrative and managerial work. The State Commission for Management and Organization also deals with the training of key economic personnel.

EXTENSION OF ECONOMIC SUPERVISION

An integral part of the improved system of management is effective supervision particularly as regards the economic aspect of the management process and the effective safeguarding of the interests of society as a whole. The supervisory function of the Central Commission of Inspection and Statistics, as an agency of the Government, must be applied more directly to the exercise of supreme economic supervision, to supervision of management in organizations and enterprises, to implementation of key Party and Government resolutions, to unifying and simplifying supervision in the

realm of State administration. Regional and district Commissions of Inspection and Statistics will concern themselves primarily with supervision of the work of undertakings run by national committees.

IMPROVEMENT OF STATISTICS AND RECORDS

As a consequence of the markedly increased demands as regards the extent, accuracy and up-to-dateness of the economic information required by central administrative bodies, the need arises to ensure efficiency in preparing data and analysis on economic progress and data on which decisions can be based. This major task calls for organizational changes in the statistical services so that they operate as an independent section of the Central Commission of Inspection and Statistics.

GREATER INVOLVEMENT OF THE SLOVAK NATIONAL COUNCIL IN THE WHOLE PROCESS OF ECONOMIC PLANNING

The Government will develop its relations with the Slovak National Council in applying the principles of the national policy of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia in Slovakia, in accordance with the resolution adopted by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia on the Slovak National Council, and in accordance with the principle of uniform administration of the economy of the CSSR.

As part of the general reorganization of central administration, the Slovak National Council must be involved to a greater extent in the whole process of economic planning on a State-wide basis. The Slovak National Council and its constituent bodies must play a greater part especially in preparing long-term, Five-Year and routine plans and in studying and making use of economic instruments, particularly with regard to the deployment of manpower.

NEW DELIMITATION OF THE ROLE OF MINISTRIES AS THE SOLE INDUSTRIAL AGENCIES OF CENTRAL ADMINISTRATION

The new status of the industrial associations, exercising independent socialist initiative within the general framework of national needs and objectives, makes it necessary to make changes in the functions and structure of ministries. In accordance with the principles of the new system of management, the ministries must fully respect the fact that industrial association managements are a complex type of management of complete productive and technological sectors and the highest organizational link in the industrial

structure and, in keeping with this responsibility, have the requisite broad authority.

The role of the ministries as the sole industrial agencies of central administration is substantially extended in the light of the new status of the industrial associations. The ministries must direct their work as a whole to ensuring the long-term progress of the sectors entrusted to them, to efficient administration of capital investment and technical development, to preparing and applying economic regulations and incentives to training and educating key personnel, to supervising management in the subordinate productive concerns.

In their relations with the industrial associations, the ministries are, in future, to be responsible for seeing that the national economic plan becomes a means of discovering the most rational lines of developing and the optimum structure of the sectors administered by them. Decisions reached in the ministries must be based on objective value relations and categories and must provide a basis for comparison of the effectiveness of individual solutions proposed and worked out by lower levels of management.

Together with changes in the methods and style of work of the Government itself in the functions and structure of the specialized Government agencies, the new relationship between ministries and specialized agencies and the organizational changes involved, it is appropriate to make adjustments in the industrial structure to simplify producer-consumer relationships and to make it possible to exert a more effective influence on the development of the key sectors of production.

With these points in mind it is recommended that the following changes should be carried out in the structure of ministries:

1) the establishment of a Ministry of Mines, to comprise the present Ministry of Fuels, the uranium industry, ore mines and the mining and processing of non-ore raw materials (including magnesite). This will create a grouping with overall responsibility for utilizing the raw material resources of the CSSR, for the extension of mining and processing capacity and for efficient technical and economic development. The present Central Mining Authority, Central Geological Authority and the Central Administration of the Uranium Industry will be subordinated to the Ministry of Mines;

2) the establishment of a Central Water Conservancy Board. Hydrometeorological Institute are to be incorporated in this Central Board, which will delimit the authority and responsibility of national committees at all levels with regard to water conservancy;

3) the establishment of a Ministry of Heavy Industry, comprising all forms of industrial production based on metals, from metallurgy to engineering (i.e. the Sectors covered by the present Ministries

of Heavy Engineering, General Engineering, and Metallurgy, minus or mining and magnesite plants;)

4) water conservancy will be transferred from authority of the Ministry of Agriculture, Forestry and Water Conservancy, as an independent body directly subordinate to the Government. The administration of agriculture and the purchase of agricultural produce is to be dealt with by means of seperate measures to be taken later;

5) abolition of the Central Board for Local Economic Development. Its functions will be taken over by the Ministry of Interior, by regional national committees and by cooperative bodies to an extent to be defined in detail by the Government later on;

6) the Ministries of Construction, Chemical, Consumer Goods Industry and Food Industry, Internal Trade, Foreign Trade, Transport, Health, Education and Culture, the Central Power Board and the Central Communications Board will be retained in their present forms (with the exception of certain transfers of authority with regard to non-ore raw materials).

IMPROVEMENT OF THE WORK OF CENTRAL ADMINISTRATIVE BODIES

An essental factor in improving the standard of central administration, in addition to the basic changes outlined, is to effect qualitative changes in the training and placement of staff. The new system will require the personnel of central bodies to have the following qualities: political maturity, a greater degree of expert knowledge, adequate practical experience, organizational talent and ability, readiness to take decisions, business sense and a feeling for technical development. This goes hand in hand with the demand for greater responsibility and better discipline in work. Leading officials of central bodies will have to be thoroughly conversant with complicated economic matters, they must not shy away from taking reasonable risks, they must know how to handle people. To achieve this, it will be essential,

—to raise administrative standards in terms of skill and political knowledge, to work out a system of staff selection and training for central administrative bodies, and to apply objective scientific techniques in selecting and engaging staff;

—to provide for systematic improvement of the knowledge, qualifications and efficiency of workers in key positions in our State and economic administration and to ensure replacement of those executives who cannot meet their responsibilities;

—to enhance the authority and responsibility of State and industrial bodies with regard to the selection, training and deployment of staff;

—to regard the systematic use of qualified external workers and specialized advisers as a basic element in administrative work.

Changes in the functions, methods, forms of work and structure of central administrative bodies do not mean mere "reorganization" but are a logical part of the whole complex of organizational and material steps which the party is to take to ensure the further progress of the national economy.

The measures adopted are in no way intended to weaken central administration but, on the contrary are meant to strengthen and improve it so that the Government and its agencies under the direction of the Party, may—more effectively and resolutely than hitherto—pursue their endeavors to ensure intensive economic development, may more resolutely overcome negative developmental tendencies, and may rapidly and effectively promote long-term measures aimed at achieving dynamic, economic development and a substantial increase in economic efficiency, which is an essential condition for a sound system of economic planning and management. To achieve this, the central administration must play a greater economic and social role, with enhanced authority in safeguarding the interests of society as a whole and in giving those interests priority over sectional and local interest, as well as mobilizing national economic reserves.

AGAINST THE MILITARY DICTATORSHIP: GENUINE AND EFFECTIVE DEMOCRACY

STATEMENT* BY THE CC, CP OF BOLIVIA

A year after the November coup,† the edifice erected by the counter-revolutionaries who are bent on stemming our people's revolutionary advance, is crumbling up.

The CPB pointed out at its Seventh National Conference in May 1965: "The November coup brought about no change in the political regime, power having gone from the traitorous groups to the traditional counter-revolutionary forces adhering to the same political positions." The offensive of the reactionaries is gaining momentum, but at the same time "the struggle of the masses is surely entering a new stage. The military junta is incapable of solving any problem. It will pursue a pro-imperialist and counter-revolutionary policy; it will resort to violence to stifle the struggle of the masses. It will employ methods even more ruthless than those the previous governments used. . . .

"Exploitation by U.S. imperialism will be intensified. Attempts will be made to liquidate the April gains.§ The plunder of the national wealth, the mineral resources and agriculture will be stepped up. The prices of consumer goods will soar. Unemployment will grow, while the real wages will go down. Hunger and misery will play havoc with both town and country. The danger of being forced into a fascist or corporative framework hangs over the trade unions. . . .

"A clash between the forces of revolution and counter-revolution will become inevitable."

In the second half of last May, right after the Seventh Conference, the Bolivian people and the world public witnessed with admiration the heroic struggle of the working class against the provocative actions of the junta, above all its armed counter-revolutionary offensive.

Seeking to gain time for strengthening its repressive apparatus, the junta simulated respect for democratic freedoms. In reality, however, it hastened to triple the size of the army which today in numerical and military strength exceeds the punitive forces of

*Slightly abridged from **Jornada,** November 3, 1965.

†The coup of November 1964 that resulted in the military junta headed by General Barrientos taking over. Later the junta was joined by General Ovando.—**Ed.**

§The National Revolutionary Movement Party that came to power after the bourgeois-democratic revolution of April 1952 effected some democratic reforms.—**Ed.**

any of the previous regimes. Feeling strong now, the dictatorship launched a fierce attack against the working class, this most militant and consistently revolutionary class, and openly set about realizing the aims of U.S. imperialism and the domestic reactionaries.

The army's offensive against the mining towns of Catavi and Siglo XX was carried out by criminal methods. The entire power of the army was hurled against them. More than two hundred workers killed, 600 wounded, scores who vanished without trace, hunger and devastation—such is the aftermath of the junta's bloody march. The tragedy of our history, apparently, is that bad governments are replaced by still worse ones.

CONTRADICTIONS IN THE REACTIONARY CAMP—A CONSEQUENCE OF THE STRUGGLE OF THE PEOPLE. THEIR AGGRAVATION WILL FACILITATE ADVANCE OF THE POPULAR MOVEMENT

The contradictions in the reactionary camp are the result of the struggle of the people. Contradictions exist within the junta, between the junta and the army, within the army, and within the reactionary parties, which feel pressure on the part of the people. The reactionary camp is rent by squabbling. Voices denouncing the junta are heard even in the army itself.

Solution of the problems of the nation or the people will not be facilitated if these contradictions are overcome in any way. On the contrary, the advance of the people will be made easier if these contradictions are aggravated.

The dictatorship intends to "legalize" itself through elections. But do the people want this? It wants, to be sure, to convene the constituent assembly. But all the "constituent assemblies" that have ever been convened in our country have served the interests of their sponsors—generals or dictators. There is talk about direct elections, but since the dictatorship knows that in any more or less free democratic elections the people will defeat it, it is steering a different course.

It is futile to hope for elections. The dictatorship will be constantly postponing them until "proper conditions" present themselves, as the generals say.

To facilitate the realization of its objectives, the junta united reactionary opportunist groups and breakaways from the Nationalist Revolutionary Movement and other parties into a Popular Christian and Agrarian Movement party. To be on the safe side, quite recently it has set up a Revolutionary Socialist Party. The junta is also rendering financial assistance to the Authentic Revolutionary Party.

Annoyed at having to share power, the Bolivian Socialist Falange, this shock force of counter-revolution, of agents of U.S. imperialism and former owners of mines and latifundia, aspires to undivided rule. It has its people in the junta, in the top military command and in key administrative posts. In May and November 1964 the Falange unreservedly supported the dictatorship. The aim of this shock force of counter-revolution is to establish a fascist regime. In the pursuit of this aim it changes its tactics and camouflages its policy. It pretends to support the people and even raised the question of setting up a civil front or a nationwide organization to fight the dictatorship.

There are other parties, among them the Christian Democratic Party, which relies for support on industrialists and bankers and whose sole objective is to protect the interests of the bourgeoisie and save capitalism, acting on instructions from the Vatican. Not strong enough yet, it endeavors to pursue an independent policy waiting for better times.

The reactionary camp also incorporates the NRM leadership, temporarily isolated from the other forces; these people do not want to have dealings with the NRM as it has lost its authority, and still charge it with the weakness it showed in the past.

The sole aim of these forces is to save the existing regime, the U.S. imperialist rule and domestic reaction, whether through elections or a coup. They even threaten "guerrilla warfare" or simulate insurrections designed to mislead the people.

THE PEOPLE DEMAND GENUINE EFFECTIVE DEMOCRACY AND REJECT CONSTITUTIONAL ASSEMBLY

Bolivia's progress and the prosperity of her people are unthinkable without deep-going economic and political changes which imply overthrow of the current regime and replacement of the present or any future reactionary government with an anti-imperialist government of the people. The path to these changes lies through democratization of the country, which means complete restoration of democratic freedoms and of the gains of the working class and the people which have been tapered or nullified by the junta and by the NRM governments. Elections are one of the aspects of democracy presupposing the right of all citizens to take part in political life and freely elect their representatives without discrimination or any restrictions, without interference by the government or the armed forces. Restoration of democratic freedoms means abolition of the state of seige, an end to the campaign of terror and repressions, a general amnesty, repeal of the state security decree and the May 1954 decrees which disbanded the trade unions and abolished trade union freedoms, unhindered ac-

tivity of all popular political parties, withdrawal of troops from the mining centers, and abolition of the fraudulent "Electoral Rules." Restoration of the gains means return to the wage level that existed before the May cuts, guarantees against dismissal, observance of the social laws, steps to consolidate the state-owned enterprises, strengthening of the state oil company (YPFB), realization of the agrarian reform, abolition of the oil and ore-mine code and the "law" on capital investments and customs duties, and restoration of relations with the socialist countries.

DEMOCRATIZATION IS PART OF THE STRUGGLE FOR A POPULAR GOVERNMENT WHICH WILL ACCELERATE THE REVOLUTION

Democratization, which is needed by the country and fought for by the Communists, inevitably implies the establishment of a popular regime and the formation of a government representing the workers, peasants and groups of the petty and middle and even big bourgeoisie, a truly popular government which would rely on the democratic will of the majority and accelerate the Bolivian revolution, a government which would lead the country along the road of progress, prosperity and socialism.

Democratization and the changes for which the struggle is being waged are only possible given popular unity and action. Just as the rule of imperialism and domestic reaction is based on the unity of and equilibrium between the reactionary forces, so successful defense of the interests of the people depends on popular unity.

To bring about this unity, the Communist Party comes out for the establishment of an anti-imperialist popular front.

This front will differ from the front advocated by the reactionaries in its aims, political positions, leadership and composition.

The program of the popular anti-imperialist front provides for cardinal political and economic reforms designed to defend the interests of the nation, change the existing regime and replace the present government. The program of the front contemplated by the reactionaries envisages preservation of the main aspects of the current pro-U.S. policy and salvation and consolidation of the present regime.

The people's anti-imperialist front has, as its basis, a worker-peasant alliance headed by the working class and supported by the other sections of the people. Reactionary fronts are based on the unity of the bourgeoisie headed by out-and-out reactionaries and seeking to win the support of some strata of the people.

Other bourgeois or petty-bourgeois parties advocate a front based on conciliation of the antagonistic interests of imperialism

and the people, reaction and democracy. Influenced by the anti-communist hysteria, rarely do they advance any progressive aims.

The people need a front which would serve them—a popular anti-imperialist front which would fight for and defend their interests and which would not only be closed to the reactionaries, but, in effect, directed against them.

UNITY OF THE PEOPLE IS BASED ON UNITY OF THE WORKING CLASS

Working-class unity is the cornerstone of the unity of the people. It is no accident that, as part of imperialism's continent-wide offensive, the dictatorship attacked the trade union movement. Therefore the Communist Party, striving to unite the people for the salvation of the country, is working hard to restore and consolidate working-class unity.

The unity of the working class can be achieved through defense of correct positions with the help of proper forms of organization and struggle and timely and mobilizing slogans, i.e., through struggle for the immediate demands, for the consolidation of trade union organizations through actions for concrete, if partial, objectives in conditions of growing solidarity. It should be borne in mind that the struggle of the masses has a profound political content, no matter how limited its present scope.

It is quite easy to organize underground groups. But it is difficult to win legality for the trade union movement; to compel the enemy to respect the workers' right to organize and freely elect their leaders; it is possible, without exposing oneself to any great danger, to carry on a campaign of whispers and "secrets" and endless pronouncements, but you cannot develop to the full the mass struggle in conditions of illegality.

We must not renounce our gains, we must not allow the enemy to impose its terms on us. Hence the need to defend the main organizations attacked by the dictatorship. We must not tolerate attempts to replace them openly or covertly, to usurp their functions. These organizations — the Bolivian Workers' Center, the Trade Union Federation of Bolivian Miners and others — must again occupy command posts with the support of the masses. They must start performing their functions now, without waiting till they gain strength in conditions of democracy. It should be constantly remembered that the military dictatorship is openly and secretly trying to liquidate these organizations.

WORKER-PEASANT ALLIANCE—BASIS OF POPULAR UNITY

If the working class fails to secure an alliance with the support of the peasantry and other sections of the people, alone it will be

unable to bring about the changes needed by the country. The peasants, deceived by the bourgeoisie whom they credit with the agrarian reform and disillusioned about the Paz Estensoro and Siles Zuazo* governments, are victims of the dictatorship's blackmail. But their own experience helps them overcome the influence of the bourgeoisie. Formerly an active reserve of the latter, they are becoming a revolutionary force, an ally of the workers.

In the course of the struggle for the peasants' demands it is necessary to strengthen the trade union organizations, strengthen to their structure, democratize them, clear them from the venal rich serving the dictatorship, and lead them to the struggle, waged in different forms, for their demands.

Acting jointly with the trade union organizations, the Communist Party has been and will be doing everything to accelerate this transition of the peasantry to independent positions and to secure its unity. Alliance of the working class and the peasantry is the basis of the unity of the people.

TO UNITE THE PEOPLE IS A TASK NOT ONLY FOR COMMUNISTS

The Communist Party of Bolivia considers that to unite the people is a task not only for the Communists, but also for the other groups and political parties concerned with the interests of the people. If these parties firmly adhere to their positions, they should make their contribution to the realization of this task. Therefore the Communists propose to these parties that inter-party committees be set up both in and outside the mass organizations to develop and coordinate the struggle. They can have different names — autonomous fronts, unitary committees in universities and colleges, defense leagues, centers, etc. They should be established on the basis of concrete platforms worked out by representatives of different public circles and parties, independent leaders, and so on.

That is why the CPB hailed the National Liberation Front, which came into being in Siglo XX last year. The Party considered that if this Front succeeded in uniting the other forces it would help rally the popular and progressive political forces and play an important role.

We Communists shall propose to the other political parties concerned with the interests of the people to conclude agreements, exchange experience, establish permanent contacts, set up — publicly or otherwise — inter-party committees, and so on. The CPB seriously hopes to develop joint actions with the Left National Revolutionary Party. The trade union leaders from among the CPB and LNRP members maintain, as a rule, good relations and often

*Leaders of the Nationalist Revolutionary Movement Party.—**Ed.**

coordinate their actions. But the enthusiasm and fraternal attitude which the Communists encounter in some circles come up against the sectarian, divisive and reactionary policy of many leaders who, out of fear of U.S. imperialism, pin their hopes on the promises of the traditional Right forces. The Communists will continue doing everything to strengthen these bonds of unity, exposing, whenever necessary, the leaders opposing the unity of the people.

The Communists also intend to act against the reactionary forces in alliance with the sincere activists, rank-and-file members and progressive circles of the Nationalist Revolutionary Movement. Large sections of this party are not responsible for the policy of the Estensoro and Zuazo governments. On the contrary, they have been deceived and betrayed.

There are progressive-minded independent groups and individuals who should be drawn into the struggle jointly with the other patriotic, democratic, popular and progressive forces.

Seeking to maintain their class domination, the reactionary political parties, agents of imperialism, are trying to outdo each other in the effort to isolate, split and crush the Communist Party. Aiming their blows against the Communists, they seek to disunite the people. This is natural, for they know that the strength of the Communist Party is decisive for the victory of the revolution. There are also opportunist political groups which, following closely the changes in the correlation of forces and ignoring the class interests that clash in the struggle, behave like political prostitutes and side with the strongest "to reap the fruits." History has exposed these politicians, and the masses are beginning to see through them.

Only two camps exist in the Bolivian political arena today: the camp of reaction and the camp of the people, and the alternative is: military dictatorship or democracy.

FIGHT FOR A GOVERNMENT IN WHICH THE WORKING CLASS AND ITS PARTY WOULD BE REPRESENTED

The ruling military camarilla is trying to placate the people by either convening the constituent assembly or holding fraudulent elections. The people reject this choice and demand genuine and effective democracy and the economic, political and social reforms which are needed and which the masses alone can effect.

The CPB will fight to overthrow the dictatorship and prevent the reactionaries from seizing power. It urges the people to reject the proposed fraudulent elections and fight for the democratization of the country, for the establishment of a popular anti-imperialist government in which the working class and its party

would be represented. The entire people and above all the workers and peasants should master and be ready to apply all methods of struggle, both peaceful and non-peaceful, to a victorious end. They should demand free democratic elections and strengthen the remaining armed militia detachments. They should learn how to use all means of struggle which will enable them to frustrate all moves by the reactionaries and imperialists.

The Communists will firmly adhere to the line of struggle laid down by their Second Congress. They will do everything to unite the people and lead them on to the conquest of power through mass actions.

The Communist Party has no illusions as to the possibility of the dictatorship or the reactionary parties doing anything in the interests of the people. Neither the present military junta nor the junta which may come to power as a result of fraudulent elections will solve any problem, even the least important one, in favor of the country.

The policy of Generals Barrientos and Ovando is bound to heighten the intensity of the struggle. Blood will soon be shed in Bolivia again. As long as the dictatorship remains in the saddle, the Bolivians will live under the threat of bloodshed. But the people will be fighting on with increasing vigor until the present regime is destroyed.

Unity of the people is essential for democratization and reforms. Power can be conquered only through the struggle of the masses. History will not forgive those who, guided by their own self-seeking, sectarian and opportunist interests, forget about the supreme interests of he country and hamper or reject the establishment of popular unity. The country calls on its sons, and they must all respond to its appeal to crush the enemies of Bolivia and clear the way to a better world.

On behalf of the CC CPB:

Mario Monje
Jorge Kolle
Humberto Ramirez

La Paz, November 1965.

UNITY, JOINT STRUGGLE — A PLEDGE OF OUR SUCCESS*

The problem of the unity and solidarity of the world Communist and working-class movement, which has always occupied an exceptionally important place in the activities of the fraternal Marxist-Leninist parties, has assumed special topicality today, when its correct solution is indispensable for success in the struggle against capitalism and reaction, against imperialism and colonialism. Hence the great concern of the Communist and Workers' parties over this problem.

The recent international forum in Prague in which about forty fraternal parties took part to celebrate the 30th anniversary of the Seventh Congress of the Comintern stressed the importance of the struggle for the unity of the Communists, the international working class and the masses in general, against imperialism and war, and called attention to the conclusions to be drawn from this struggle. Currently the parties are also marking the fifth anniversary of the publication of the Statement of the 1960 Moscow Meeting which, just as the 1957 Declaration, is a basic program document of the world Communist movement determining the general line of unity of action of the Communists of all countries. Likewise, warm response has been evoked among the fraternal parties by the call of the Moscow Consultative Meeting to strengthen international Communist unity.

The entire history of the world Communist movement shows convincingly that without close solidarity and unity of action it is impossible to wage a resolute offensive against imperialism, to combat its increasingly aggressive actions and the danger they present, to fight for peace and social progress.

Communists regard it as their prime internationalist duty to wage an irreconcilable struggle against impeirialism and its aggressive policies, to prevent it from unleashing a third world war, to develop the revolutionary working-class and national-liberation movements. It is for the sake of these goals that they are rallying their ranks and uniting and directing the efforts of the working class and the popular masses.

The Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the vast majority of the fraternal parties undeviatingly follow the jointly elaborated general line of the world Communist movement and spare no efforts to consolidate this movement, to achieve unity of action

*Slightly abridged from **Rabotnichesko Delo, December 5, 1965.**

in the common struggle against imperialism and aggression. Regrettably, however, these efforts do not meet with a positive response and understanding on the part of the leadership of the Communist Party of China. The article printed in *Jenminjihpao* and *Hunchi* on November 11 last is evidence of this.

The unity of the international Communist and working-class movement, the unity of the revolutionary forces has always played a tremendous role in historical development. This unity has its objective basis in the community of interests of the international working class, in the class struggle of the proletariat against the common enemy, for a common goal—to defeat capitalism and build socialism and communism. It was repeatedly stressed by Lenin that without the unity of the proletariat and, consequently, of the working people of all countries victory over capitalism cannot be achieved. This counsel outlines fundamental principles of unity and points to their essence. "We are proud to say," Lenin noted, "that in deciding the great questions of the proletariat's struggle for its emancipation we submit to the international discipline of the revolutionary proletariat" (*Works*, Vol. 31, p. 224.)

The victory of the October Socialist Revolution was a great common victory for the international working class. This victory and the emergence of the first socialist power and, later, of the socialist world system greatly broadened the objective basis for strengthening the unity of the Communist movement and all revolutionary forces. The socialist countries rallied in a socio-economic and political community provide this unity with an economic and political basis and with new forms for development which are necessitated by the need to uphold the historic gains of the revolution, to build a socialist society and make common headway while promoting to the utmost the development of the world liberation movement. The experience of revolutionary struggle shows that what unites the fraternal Communist and Workers' parties far outweighs that which at present disunites them.

It stands to reason, however, that the presence of objective conditions and prerequisites does not in itself lead to stronger unity. What is also needed is persistent and conscientious work by all the fraternal parties and all the contingents of the Communist movement, a high internationalist consciousness and a profound sense of historical responsibility. As the 1960 Statement points out, "The interests of the struggle for the working-class cause demand of each Communist Party and of the great army of Communists of all countries ever-closer unity of will and action. It is the supreme internationalist duty of every Marxist-Leninist Party to work continuously for greater unity in the world Communist movement."

All the contingents of the revolutionary movement should inten-

sify their efforts in the struggle against the common enemy—imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism. Events of recent years are clear proof that unity of action alone stood in the way of imperialist aggression, brought the aggressor to his senses and saved mankind from a terrible disaster. Behind this unity stood the real power of the socialist world system, the cohesion of the peace-loving democratic forces.

Capitalism and imperialism cannot be destroyed by mere incantations, high-sounding phrases and rallies. It is necessary to make a concrete struggle against them, to strengthen the economic and defense potential of each socialist country, to mobilize the anti-imperialist forces. A most effective contribution is being made by those who are carrying forward the building of a new society in the socialist countries, who are consolidating and developing the gains of the national-liberation movement, who are promoting the growth of the class and revolutionary movement in the capitalist countries and pooling efforts in the common struggle.

In the present complicated situation fraught with grave dangers the Soviet Union, the socialist countries and all the peace-loving forces are waging an active and consistent struggle against imperialism and colonialism in all their forms. The Soviet Union and other socialist countries, the CPSU and other fraternal parties are working consistently to secure general and complete disarmament, prevention of the proliferation of nuclear weapons and a total ban on their tests; they resolutely oppose the imperialists' schemes in the Congo, the Dominican Republic and other parts of the world and combat the U.S. aggression in Vietnam. In the course of this struggle they arrive to rally the revolutionary and progressive forces and coordinate their efforts in the pursuit of their goals.

The interests of unity demand that the international democratic organizations, too, work to rally the progressive forces, isolate the advocates of reaction and imperialism and take mass actions for peace, in defense of the democratic rights and freedoms of the working people, for the independence and social progress of the fighting peoples. This line is actively pursued by the vast majority of the fraternal parties.

More than a year ago the CPSU and other fraternal parties, our Party included, acting in the interests of unity, discontinued open polemic and concentrated on that which unites Communists.

Ignoring the historical necessity of and objective conditions for joint action by the fraternal parties, the leaders of the Communist Party of China stubbornly follow an entirely different road, rejecting all constructive proposals for unity and concerted action. The firm Marxist-Leninist policy of rallying forces is countered with a course aimed at political and organizational dissociation, at

disuniting and splitting the Communist movement. The advocacy of this course is accompanied by vehement attacks and slander against the CPSU and the Soviet Union. No reasonable proposals or concrete steps are made with a view to overcoming the differences and coordinating actions. Instead, factionalism is being encouraged and unity undermined.

The policy of political and organizational division counterposed to the fraternal parties' calls to rally efforts and forces against imperialism, has nothing in common with Marxism-Leninism. With whom do the Chinese leaders demand dissociation? Is it with the CPSU and other Communist parties which possess a rich revolutionary experience, stand on the positions of class struggle and selflessly fight for socialism and communism? Whom do such calls benefit, whose interests do they serve?

It has been proved convincingly by world developments that the policy of split and disunity benefits only our enemies, that disagreements can only help imperialism and its aggressive policy.

The line of intensifying attacks on the Marxist-Leninist parties has become a systematic policy expressed in concrete actions greatly harming our movement. The Bulgarian Communist Party cannot ignore these alarming facts, and it expresses its profound concern over this course. It must be borne in mind that all this weakens our common effort, complicates the activities of the fraternal parties in the capitalist countries, hampers the national-liberation struggle of the peoples and creates great difficulties in the work of international democratic organizations.

Led by their Leninist party, the Soviet people built socialism, upheld its historic gains and the cause of the international working class in the war against fascism, scored a great victory over the forces of reaction and played the decisive role in the liberation of a number of countries and in building the socialist world system. Today their successes in communist construction inspire not only the peoples of the socialist countries, but the broad masses the world over. The Soviet Union is the bulwark of universal peace and of the international revolutionary and liberation movement. It is rendering all-round moral, political and material assistance to the socialist countries and to all fighters for the freedom and independence of the peoples.

The Statement of the Moscow Meeting of the fraternal Marxist-Leninist parties, which recognizes the tremendous role played by the Soviet Union and its Communist party in the fight for social progress in the world, contains a unanimous appraisal of the activities of the CPSU as a model of genuine revolutionarism and proletarian internationalism. "The example of the CPSU and its fraternal solidarity inspire all the Communist parties in their struggle for

peace and socialism and represent the revolutionary principles of proletarian internationalism applied in practice."

The Soviet Union and other socialist countries strive, to promote the rapid development of their economy, which will ensure victory in the economic competition with capitalism. They are implementing the behests of Lenin, who stressed that the great economic successes of socialism would add to the appeal of the communist ideas. By improving management of the national economy, increasing the effectiveness of economic activity and raising the well being of the peoples the socialist countries strengthen the international positions of socialism and further enhance its prestige. The successes in socialist and communist construction change the international correlation of forces in favor of socialism and thus create still more favorable conditions for the activities of all the revolutionary contingents. The defense capacity of the socialist camp—the chief guarantee of peace—is constantly growing.

That is why the fraternal Marxist-Leninist parties and all the working people of the world hail the new successes of the Soviet Union and the measures it takes to raise still higher the efficiency of economic management and planning. However, these measures have been used as a pretext for attacks and slander against the Soviet Union not only by the propagandists of imperialism, but also by those who are steering a course towards splitting the Communist movement. Behind these attacks and slander are definite unseemly purposes which cannot but arouse the profound indignation of all Communists and progressives.

The Bulgarian Communists remember well Georgi Dimitrov's statements about unity, proletarian internationalism and attitude to the Soviet Union, by which they undeviatingly guide themselves in their activities. Today as before, friendship and unity with the Soviet Union and the CPSU are the hallmark of the internationalism of all the fraternal parties, of every Communist.

At present imperialism aims its main blow at the Soviet Union, the strongest socialist power which is the chief barrier to its aggressive designs.

The Soviet Union and the CPSU honestly fulfil their internationalist duties by fighting against imperialism and selflessly defending the interests of the socialist countries and all progressive mankind. This determines the place of the Soviet Union and the CPSU, their vanguard role in the Communist movement and in the world revolutionary process. The *Pravda* editorial* is a new example of the power of conviction and the dignity with which the CPSU upholds the international cause of Communists. In this article the CPSU re-emphasizes its readiness to contribute to the consolidation of the Communist ranks. The fraternal Marxist-Leninist parties,

*Pravda, November 28, 1965, Ed.

our Party included, highly appreciate the courageous struggle of the CPSU and the Soviet Union for the common cause; they cherish and strengthen their inviolable unity and friendship with the Soviet Union under the banner of Marxism-Leninism.

At present the international Communist and working-class movement is faced with the pressing task of curbing the instigators of a new war and above all stopping the U.S. imperialist aggression in Vietnam and safeguarding the freedom and independence of the Vietnamese people. The attitude to the aggression in Vietnam and help to the fighting Vietnamese people show most graphically how each Marxist-Leninist party fulfils its internationalist duty, how it fights against imperialism.

Those who follow closely the heroic struggle of the vietnamese people against the U.S. imperialist aggression know well that the Soviet Union fully supports fraternal Vietnam in the political field and gives it the necessary economic and military assistance. The Vietnamese people receive assistance from other socialist countries as well. The movement of solidarity with fighting Vietnam is growing the world over. Funds are being collected, demonstrations and mass actions are growing in scope, ever stronger pressure is being brought to bear on the reactionary governments which send troops to Vietnam. All this inspires the Vietnamese people with fresh strength and fortifies their confidence that they will become the master of their country and secure its unification. Unity of forces, joint actions by the Communist movement and the socialist countries are certainly the strongest means for curbing the aggressor. And any one opposed to unity of action against the U.S. aggression in Vietnam actually helps the aggressor and tremendously harms the cause of the liberation of the Vietnamese people.

Loyal to their internationalist duty, our Party and the Bulgarian people warmly sympathize with the Vietnamese people and help them in their just struggle.

The Central Committee of the BCP and the government have fully granted the requests the Vietnamese comrades made in connection with the struggle against U.S. imperialism, and the Vietnamese government and people express heartfelt gratitude for this fraternal assistance.

What is demanded by the interests of the international struggle of Communists and all working people is not a return to the past and an exacerbation of the polemic, but movement forward, overcoming of the differences and rallying of the forces. Such is the instructive lesson the Communist movement has learned in the course of its selfless struggle; such is the command of our revolutionary teaching. The need for this is particularly imperative today, in the present international situation. Only if the Communist parties strengthen their unity and solidarity and advance forward under

the banner of Marxism-Leninism will they be able to wage a successful struggle for stronger world peace, against imperialist aggression, for the victory of socialism and communism.

Our Party is convinced that the joint struggle of the socialist countries, the Communist movement and all progressive forces will bring new successes to the cause of the liberation of the peoples and open up still broader vistas of mankind's social progress and happiness.

AID TO VIETNAM: CHINA AND THE SOVIET UNION

The Chinese Communists have repeatedly rejected proposals for joint action against U.S. aggression in Vietnam, saying that unity in any form with Communist parties which do not share their views is impossible.

The documents published recently set out these views. One of them appeared in Peking on November 11 last, under the headline "Rebuttal of the Verbiage of the New CPSU Leadership About Unity of Action," and the other—a letter from the CC, CPC (mid-July—was carried by the *Observer*.

The Peking article declares that there is no basis for unity of action.

"Recantation of revisionism by the Soviet leaders," it says, is a condition for eventual talks about any form of joint action. True, the article suggests that this attitude may arouse certain doubts in the reader. It therefore argues that whereas the leaders of Gaullist France or of Pakistan resist U.S. imperialism, the Soviet government "has entered into collusion" with it and "cooperates with the Americans with an eye to gaining joint world dominion."

The refusal to cooperate with the Soviet Union concerns primarily assistance to Vietnam. Both the Peking article and the London letter hold forth on this.

The London publication reveals certain details of Sino-Soviet negotiations on aid to Vietnam. These details indicate that it is for the above reasons that Peking has so far rejected the Soviet proposal for a summit meeting of socialist countries, first and foremost of the Soviet Union, China and Vietnam.

The letter denies that the Chinese side has blocked Soviet military assistance to Vietnam but admits in so many words that Peking has rejected two Moscow proposals. The first proposal was for opening an air corridor over China to be used by Soviet aircraft, that is, for establishing an aerial bridge between the Soviet Union and Vietnam across China. The second proposal was aimed at sending a "troop unit" 4,000 strong to Vietnam "before the Vietnamese had given their consent," according to the Chinese. The letter gives no particulars regarding this force of 4,000 men. The allusion is presumably to the experts who were to install modern weapons and who were subsequently sent to Vietnam with that country's consent.

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*Abridged from **Vorwarts**, November 25, 1965.

The rejection of the two proposals is explained by one sentence: "We don't trust you." As the Chinese see it—and as both publications suggest—the Soviet Union's commitments toward Vietnam are no more than a means of "using the Vietnamese issue as a trump card in bargaining with the United States." The idea of a meeting of socialist countries is said to have been rejected on the ground that "the Soviet leaders can only aim at misleading the world and harnessing fraternal parties to the bandwagon of Soviet-American cooperation in the name of joint world dominion." It is not clear how this argument squares with the charge, contained in the same texts, that the Soviet Union helps Vietnam less than it could. Yet the ideas upheld in the Chinese texts invite the inference that as Soviet aid to Vietnam increases Peking is stepping up its criticism of the effects of this aid. It was for considerations of this kind that Peking devised a policy which led to the rejection of various Soviet proposals.

The article published in Peking attacks primarily the CPSU leadership. Simultaneosuly it insists on a split throughout the Communist and working-class movement. It claims that " a new process of division in revolutionary ranks" is inevitable, just as it is inevitable that "Marxist-Leninists" should be severing all ties with revisionist cliques as they "restore Marxist-Leninist parties or found new ones."

The Peking article calls for division instead of unity and joint action. The imperialists can pin their hopes, not on a miracle resulting from success in the war against the Vietnamese people, but on differences in the anti-imperialist movement. Insistence on a public examination of ideological differences implicit in these Chinese declarations, and a scornful attitude, with this aim in view, toward the task of establishing the necessary unity of action against imperialism mean that differences are being put before the fight against imperialism.

ENCOURAGEMENT OF AGGRESSORS OR JOINT STRUGGLE AGAINST U.S. AGGRESSION IN VIETNAM*

The U.S. aggressors can aggravate more and more the suffering of the Vietnamese people and kill on a still greater scale, but they will never be able to win, especially since on the side of the Vietnamese people are the socialist countries, the Soviet Union in the first place, and peace-loving men and women the world over. Owing to Soviet help, the defense capacity of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam is growing.

It is clear to all, however, that at present the U.S. imperialists find encouragement for their hopeless effort of stepping up the aggression against the people of Vietnam. Referring to Chinese documents, the Western press asserts that the People's Republic of China obstructs or even denies permission for the transit of Soviet assistance shipments to the DRV. The People's Republic of China is reported in the West to have declared that it will never assist in expanding the Soviet Union's influence in Southeast Asia. Western commentators point out also that the People's Republic of China has repeatedly stated its intention to stay out of the hostilities in Vietnam unless Chinese territory is attacked. At the same time the Chinese newspapers are slanderously accusing the Soviet Union of collusion with the United States. Vicious attacks are constantly made on the leadership of the Soviet Union and other socialist states. The conclusion Western observers draw from all this is that the Chinese side is clearly intent on drawing the Soviet Union into an armed conflict with the United States while remaining on the roadside and warming its hands on the conflict.

It is an undeniable fact that cerebrations of this kind are invariably bred by Chinese statements themselves. The stepping up of the public discussion of ideological differences in disregard of the need for unity of action against imperialism results in differences being put above the interests of the anti-imperialist struggle.

The Soviet Union and other socialist countries consider that concrete joint actions of solidarity are needed to stop the U.S. imperialists' barbaric aggression. The Soviet Union is rendering fraternal assistance and support to the Vietnamese people. Comrade Ho Chi Minh, Chairman of the CC of the Party of Working People of Vietnam and President of the DRV, declared to a *Pravda*† observ-

*Abridged from **Zeitung vum Letzeburger Vollek,** November 24, 1965.
†**Pravda,** June 19, 1965.

er: "The Party, government and people of Vietnam express their heartfelt gratitude to the Party, government and people of the Soviet Union for solidarity, support and assistance in our struggle against aggressive U.S. imperialism."

Conferences of the Communist and Workers' parties are an imperative necessity. There is need, in particular, for a meeting of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the Party of Working People of Vietnam and the Communist Party of China to discuss joint measures against the U.S. aggressors and the coordination of assistance to Vietnam. It is all the more necessary since the shortest route for delivering this assistance lies, as is known, through Chinese territory. If the leaders of People's China evince the readiness to have such discussions and undertake concrete actions jointly with the Soviet Union, there will be full reason to say that the U.S. imperialists' intervention will soon suffer a complete fiasco.

The just cause of the Vietnamese people will triumph, the American aggressors will meet with an inescapable defeat. The imperialists cannot expect any miracle to bring them success. They can only hope for disagreements in the anti-imperialist movement. But they will have to abandon these hopes as well, and the broader and closer the unity of action of all the socialist states and the world Communist movement, the sooner this is going to happen.

UNITY FOR PEACE AND PEOPLE'S FREEDOM*

In our country as elsewhere in the world, public opinion, outraged by the brutal U.S. aggression in Vietnam, wants a clear and precise answer to the following questions:

Why is it that a great imperialist power can with impunity devastate a small country and destroy its population by means of up-to-date weapons, flouting the sovereign rights of a nation which wants to be the master of its own country?

Why is it that the socialist countries and other peace-loving, anti-imperialist forces do not effectively protect the Democratic Republic of Vietnam against the aggressor?

Vietnam is defending itself with the greatest bravery. Nor is it alone in its fight. It receives substantial military and economic assistance from fraternal socialist countries, primarily from the Soviet Union, as well as from our country. The Soviet Union, Poland and other socialist countries fully identify themselves with the Vietnamese people and uphold Vietnam's rights in the world arena.

The movement of solidarity with Vietnam and of protest against the U.S. intervention has spread to millions of people in the capitalist countries. In the United States, it takes the form of youth demonstrations and of self-immolation by opponents of the war.

However, putting an end to the U.S. imperialist aggression and making the United States respect the sovereignty of Vietnam requires something more than political solidarity with the Vietnamese and the delivery of means of defense to them. The paramount need is for cooperation of all the socialist countries, above all concerted action by the Soviet Union, the mightiest socialist power, and the Chinese People's Republic, a state bordering on Vietnam.

The Soviet Union has repeatedly proposed to China and the DRV coordinating efforts for the defense of the DRV against attack and for the development of a common policy in face of the imperialist aggression in Vietnam. But all these proposals of the CPSU and the Soviet government have been rejected out of hand by the CPC and the Chinese government.

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On November 11 last *Jemminjihpao* carried an article headed "Rebuttal of the Verbiage of the New CPSU Leadership About

*Abridged from **Trybuna Ludu**, December 3, 1965.

'Unity of Action'." In this article the CPC emphatically and explicitly turned down cooperation with the Soviet Union once again and, moreover, made uprecedentedly violent attacks and groundless accusations.

"Had we accepted joint action with the new leadership of the CPSU on the Vietnamese issue," said *Jenminjihpao*, "would it not have meant helping it to mislead the peoples of the world? . . . Would we not have joined up with it in playing the role of menials and helpers of U.S. imperialism? The answer is obvious: we rule out this possibility."

One cannot help wondering at these absurd charges which conflicts so glaringly with political reality. But then this big talk cannot sway anyone, for in politics it is facts that count, not words.

Now the facts show that the CPR, without whose cooperation no real aid can be rendered to Vietnam, rejects all cooperation and joint efforts with the Soviet Union that would lead to a common line of action in the matter of aid to Vietnam. More, it rules out the possibility of a summit meeting of Party and government leaders of the socialist countries to discuss problems of the utmost importance to the entire socialist community.

Jenminjihpao describes Soviet aid to Vietnam as inadequate. On the other hand, it alleges that the CPSU leadership's interest in the Vietnamese problem and assistance to a people under attack "benefit the U.S. imperialists," and that "the American aggressor is happy about it." This is a disarming argument, of course, except that no one would believe it that the U.S. aggressor is happy about the losses which Soviet arms wielded by the defenders of Vietnam inflict on the American pirates' aircraft.

The DRV leaders' assessment of Soviet aid is much more trustworthy than that of *Jemminjihpao*. They have stressed on more than one occasion that the Soviet Union "is taking a definite and active part in the struggle of the Vietnamese people" in addition to "tremendous assistance in strengthening the defenses of the DRV and promoting its economy."

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To re-emphasize its plainly disruptive stand the *Jemminjihpao* article stoops to the absurd charge that "the meaning of CPSU policy is to preserve imperialist rule in the capitalist world and to restore capitalism in the socialist world."

Whatever nonsensical statements the CPC leaders may make, they cannot invent arguments justifying in our eyes, in the eyes of the socialist community and of progressive world opinion, their refusal to cooperate and to coordinate policies in face of imperialist aggression, for the defense of a people being bombed to death and fighting for their independence.

This state of affairs in no way accords with the fundamental principles of internationalism, emphatically reaffirmed in the world Communist documents of 1957 and 1960.

Jenminjihpao rules out all cooperation with the Soviet Union in the defense of Vietnam. But its lengthy article, which is full of anti-Soviet sallies, does not say a word of how the CPC plans to help the Vietnamese people in their grim fight.

The Vietnamese have taken up arms to defend their sacred rights against the U.S. invader. Theirs is a just war in which every advocate of people's freedom and every peace champion should help them. All the socialist countries are in duty bound to participate jointly in the defense of the DRV, a member of the socialist community. Our common goal and aspiration should be to create a situation making it impossible for the imperialists to commit aggression with impunity, and defeating the U.S. tactic of escalating the war, so that attempts to force a military solution of the problem, which are doomed to failure, might give way to a search for political solutions respecting the sovereignty of the Vietnamese people and meeting their legitimate demands.

The CPC stand presented by *Jenminjihpao* by no means helps to attain that goal. It undermines the very foundations of Communist unity and the unity of the socialist commonwealth on the maintenance of peace and people's freedom, an issue which the Communists of every country have recognized as the decisive issue of our time.

At a time when unity of all the forces of socialism and peace is more necessary than ever to resist the aggressive aspirations of imperialism, the CPC sees the main task in "stepping up the fight against Khrushchovian revisionism" and in "drawing a clear-cut demarcation line, both political and organizational, between us and the revisionists." It calls for more violent open polemics and for a split in the international working-class movement and the anti-imperialist front.

None of the ideological and political differences existing between Communist and Workers' parties and between socialist countries warrant an attitude completely precluding cooperation and international solidarity and advocating struggle and division as the main task.

This attitude can draw a sympathetic echo only from the imperialists, the enemies of socialism, who promptly appraised the CPC leaders' statement as a new gain for them. By the same token, this unprecedented statement will bring no favorable response from any Communist or Worker's party which is aware of its responsibility for the destinies of its class, its people, and world peace.

The splitting activity of the CPC will be defeated because the working people of all countries have common interests and aspira-

tions and because the working-class parties and the socialist countries are linked by bonds of international solidarity formed over long years of struggle and historical experience.

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Our Party has always championed unity of the world Communist and working-class movement. It has always worked for this unity and contributed to the promotion of the great alliance of the socialist countries on Leninist principles, to the maintenance of peace and people's freedom.

In the name of these principles we will continue to uphold unity and to support every initiative aimed at consolidating the socialist world and at rallying the revolutionary and liberation movement for the attainment of its great historical objectives.

THE PRIME TASK IS TO FIGHT IMPERIALISM*

Ferenc Varnai

Many people are concerned about the fact that, from Vietnam to the Dominican Republic and from Brazil to the Congo, the U.S. imperialists carry on aggression and that Right-wing groups instigated by them have launched a witch-hunt against the Communist parties and the progressive forces generally in other areas of the globe.

What the monopolists are alarmed by particularly is the historical changes injuring their interests that have occurred on the political map of the world in recent decades. For we must not forget that, for all our present problems, historical development in the last two decades has revealed that imperialists' inability to stop, either through political maneuver or through economic "aid," the dynamic process of liberation of the peoples or, still more dangerous to them, the growth of these peoples' sympathy for socialism.

That is why the imperialists have gone over to wanton, entirely undisguised interference, to the big stick policy. In the past, too, they tried on more than one occasion to retain their shaky positions by starting a war, and by resorting to intervention and the use of armed force against advancing socialism and the newly-free peoples. But that never brought them lasting success, nor did it solve their problems. If the imperialists have now become considerably more aggressive and resisting them has become more difficult, one of the reasons for this is that unity is lacking in our ranks today and that, for the first time in the history of the world Communist movement, our joint political actions are handicapped by serious differences and inner disputes. This circumstance has no doubt heartened the American imperialists, given them new hope and provided them with new opportunities, while causing concern and anxiety in our midst.

Many people find it hard to grasp the present situation—which is more complicated than before—also because for a long time we often interpreted developments in an oversimplified manner, seeing them as continuous and unrelenting progress. Today we really feel the harmful effects of the decline in Marxist theoretical research and of what was virtually a long period of stagnation in it.

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*Abridged from **Nepszabadsag**, Dec. 4, 1965.

We must admit that we were influenced by something more than certain elements of a naive optimism linked with socialist economic construction. Whereas in the early fifties we considered a world wide armed conflict inevitable, afterwards we tended, apparently as a reaction to this, to regard the fight against imperialism as a simpler and easier task than it actually was. There arose false notions dismissing this fight as no longer valid. They almost implied that the ruling imperialist groups realized the absurdity of armed action. We did not always combat these harmful illusions consistently. Even though we occasionally said, referring to classics, that imperialism still has immense reserves and is ready to fight to the bitter end to maintain its rule, we often regarded it—and not merely represented it—as a dying lion. True, we did not agree that imperialism was a "paper tiger," but then our line of reasoning was roughly this: imperialism had lost a great deal of its military, political and economic power.

The outlook for peaceful coexistence often appeared to us to be more favorable than it was in reality. But surely we could not expect the imperialists to accept unresistingly this form of relations, which was foreign to them. It will take tenacious effort to make it clear to them that they have to choose between renouncing war and perishing.

It is a tremendous achievement that socialism has already triumphed in 14 countries. But it was wrong to imagine that the victory of socialism in itself would remove contradictions and that from then on everything would come about in one and the same way, in uniform fashion, that development could go on without encountering major difficulties.

Also, it is an important gain that 76 new independent states have come into being in the last two decades. But we should not idealize the third world. Its fight against imperialism is marked by great variety, and reveals vastly different points of view. In those countries there are consistent opponents of imperialism as well as advocates of extremist views and people who cherish ingenuous dreams with regard to imperialism. Besides, there exist numerous shadings of the concept of social development. Their proponents range from adherents of scientific socialism to visionaries, to leaders abusing the slogan of socialism.

We rightly stressed the rapid and powerful growth of our numbers, of the world Communist movement, during the two postwar decades. But in this case, too, we seldom went beyond registering favorable developments, beyond the essentially correct conclusion that our forces already extended to all the five continents. We paid less heed to the fact that development, on the whole encouraging, and the steep uptrend of the Communist movement were accompanied by many difficulties: not every Communist had had proper

revolutionary training, and many of them knew only the taste of victory and advance, the taste of success, but had not been adequately steeled in battle. In crucial periods this may occasionally give rise to confusion and even vacillation in our ranks. Our movement has become worldwide and the various Communist parties often operate in entirely different social conditions, and this, naturally, is apt to prompt different interpretations of identical problems. We seem to have forgotten, or perhaps are not yet used to it, that while divergent views on particulars, or even on important issues untested by practice, are possible, they need not antagonize us.

All this should be taken into account realistically. We should give adequate attention to the overcoming of the difficulties that go with growth and progress, and to consolidation of the progress made.

Communists and those who sympathize with their cause wonder whether we are determined enough in the face of the aggressive, extremist policies of the imperialists, and whether our attitude toward the process of undermining our unity is not too passive.

1. Those who think that Communists take a passive stand on events are wrong. Anyone who follows developments and so has noticed the almost unprecedented increase in the number of bilateral and multilateral consultations between Communist Party leaders should recognize that this is a sustained effort. We want actively to prevent further adverse effects of disunity and in this way to get agreement on a meeting of all the Communist parties even before the conditions are fully ripe for calling it.

This process bears fruit. It is becoming increasingly clear to the vast majority of the fraternal parties that particular issues should be subordinated to the cardinal task of taking joint action against imperialism, and of achieving the absolutely indispensable unity of action in defense of Vietnam. But we are linked by internationalism and a sense of responsibility also with those fraternal parties with which we argue. And when any one of them is under pressure from the enemy, as is the fraternal Communist Party of Indonesia today, defense of our comrades should be our only option.

Thanks to this position, a growing number of Communist parties —those with which we have in past years differed over fundamental issues and ideological matters, and those which were not certain who was right or wrong in the argument—are satisfying themselves that the CPSU and the fraternal parties which hold the same views on decisive issues as the CPSU and pursue the same policy are right. They are satisfying themselves that there can and even should be arguments over ideological matters but that they must be tested and resolved in practice. The settlement

of many issues should be left to the future. But we cannot stand on the sidelines in the fight against imperialism or confine ourselves to a battle of words. As far as defending Vietnam is concerned, we must take a definite stand, but we should not scatter our forces. Mounting pressure and terrorism on the part of the imperialists and the Right in many countries remind us of the old axiom that we must fight our common enemy, imperialism, in common.

Active talks help fraternal parties to a better understanding of the particular position of one another and of the differences over particular or tactical questions arising from different conditions. In view of all this, we should build up a unity more in keeping with the increased forces of world progress, doing this perseveringly, patiently, without show, purposefully and step by step.

2. In recent months those who are undermining Communist unity have become increasingly isolated. This process has been taking place not only inside but outside the Communist movement, and even at state level. A short time ago there was evidence of it at the Warsaw Congress of the WFTU, where the opponents of unity found themselves almost alone.

A similar process is taking place among the governments of most Afro-Asian countries. In the middle of this year many of them were not certain whether the Soviet Union, the mightiest bulwark of the anti-imperialist fight, should be invited to the planned conference. But in the second half of the year they were already in favor of Soviet attendance. The growing aggressiveness of U.S. imperialism, and the bravado and reckless conduct, in the face of danger, of those who are undermining unity, on the one hand, and the real and persevering fight of the Soviet Union, above all its vast military and economic assistance to Vietnam, which is fighting for its very existence, on the other, showed them that they would weaken themselves in the anti-imperialist fight if they were to give in to the demand that the USSR be left out.

3. There are other facts indicating that we do not merely look on developments. When reactionaries in collusion with the imperialists succeeded, on the instigation of the latter, in provoking the Indo-Pakistani border conflict, the Soviet Union took a stand that was far from passive. It was the Soviet Union's resolute action, and its appeal for patience and sober thinking, that helped, if not to end the conflict definitively, then at least to avert a new war, to prevent the hotbed of war on the Asian mainland from expanding. U.S. imperialism was given no chance to fish in troubled waters and was unable to divert attention from the main issue, the U.S. aggression against Vietnam.

4. The stance is not passive above all where the imperialists have to be taught — "in the language they understand best" — to

take the balance of military forces into realistic consideration. The Soviet Union makes enormous sacrifices to preserve and carry forward — in the interests of peace and the security of the socialist and newly-free countries — its superiority in various nuclear weapons and missiles unmatched in the world of power, effectiveness and precision. Maintaining and promoting military superiority will continue to play the decisive role in cooling and sobering U.S. imperialism, which threatens to touch off a world war.

Thus the position and policy of the socialist countries, of the Soviet Union, have lost nothing of their strength or their impact on the peoples. But the situation has become more complicated, and our policy is being shaped accordingly. The object of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries is unchanged — they aim to render Vietnam, which is battling with imperialism, and the forces upholding their independence throughout the world, full assistance. They invariably consider that their main task is to prevent the expansion of international conflicts, to rule out the possibility of a third world war. The policy of the Soviet Union, the main force of the socialist world, is circumspect according to the tense situation, but this does not detract from its resolute and purposeful character. It is principled and flexible. It shows but does not flaunt strength, nor does it compromise with imperialism. It explicitly makes better Soviet-American relations conditional on discontinuance of the U.S. aggression in Vietnam. As the final result of strenuous effort over a long period, this policy will isolate the concept of division, overcome inner contradictions and thereby create decisive conditions for defeating the aggressive plots of the U.S. imperialists.

World imperialism has been, and remains, our enemy. No amount of talk or enticement can induce us to reconcile ourselves to it. Although U.S. imperialism would like to pose as an angel, we realize that it is the aggressor in Vietnam, just as earlier it was in the Congo, the Dominican Republic and elsewhere. But we should not fall for provocation, and should not put the argument going on inside the working-class movement either above our anti-imperialist fight or on a par with it.

It will probably take a long time and patient effort by many to achieve unity. This implies deep-going analysis to reveal the historical, theoretical, gnosiological and class origins of the differences. But first of all we need unremitting initiative in studying ways and means that will enable the anti-imperialist forces to take common action, and will also create a propitious atmosphere and conditions for overcoming the differences.

Solidarity with the Soviet Union is the basis for success in the fight for unity. More than ever before, we regard closer bonds of

fraternal friendship with the USSR as the touchstone of internationalism. The experience gained by us at the time of liberation, in the days of counter-revolution and in the course of socialist construction, and all our vital interests suggest that our place is beside the Soviet Union. There is no surer guarantee or more important force in the fight against imperialism than the Soviet Union, just as there is no champion of restoring Communist unity more consistent, principled and staunch than the Soviet Union.

ACTIVITIES OF THE COMMUNIST AND WORKERS' PARTIES

End of September. The CP of Ecuador held a plenary meeting, the first since the establishment of a reactionary military dictatorship in the country.

The two major resolutions passed by the plenum — "Against the Dictatorship and Imperialism, For a Democratic and Patriotic Government" and "Let Us Remove the Weaknesses of the Communist Party of Ecuador! Let Us Improve Our Work!" — appeared in *El Pueblo*, published underground.

November 15. A delegation of the CC, CP of Belgium, led by Clément Tollet, member of the CC, arrived in Berlin at the invitation of the CC, SUPG.

November 18. A delegation of the Bulgarian CP, led by Nikolai Tonev, Deputy Chief of the Agitation and Propaganda Department, member of the CC BCP, arrived in the Mongolian People's Republic.

November 19. A meeting of the PB, CP of Belgium summed up the results of the parliamentary debate on the government's financial plans. A PB statement published in *Le Drapeau Rouge* says that the announcement made by the government is an indication primarily of the latter's confusion over difficulties resulting from "the antiquated and ineffective policy of big capital."

November 19-December 3. A delegation of the Bulgarian CP, led by Stoyan Stoyanov, member of the CC, BCP, Chief of the Organizational Department of the CC, stayed in Moscow at the invitation of the CC, CPSU.

November 20-22. The CC of the People's Vanguard Party of Costa Rica held its Sixth Plenum. The Plenum analyzed the political situation in the country before elections and the political situation in Latin America.

November 22. L. Brezhnev, First Secretary of the CC, CPSU, received Raul Castro Ruz, member of the PB and Secretary of the CC, CP of Cuba, Deputy Prime Minister of the Revolutionary Government, Minister of the Revolutionary Armed Forces.

The interview, which took place in an atmosphere of fraternal friendship and cordiality, was concerned with the further development of relations between the CPSU and CP of Cuba, cooperation between the Soviet Union and the Republic of Cuba, and certain other matters of mutual interest.

November 24-December 3. A delegation of the CC of the Ru-

manian CP, led by Ion Circea, member of the CC, RCP, stayed in Berlin at the invitation of the CC SUPG. It acquainted itself with the experience of the SUPG in leading Party work in the engineering industry.

November 25. A delegation of the Rumanian CP, led by Gheorghe Calin, member of the CC RCP, First Secretary of the Hunedoara Regional Committee of the Party, arrived in Hungary at the invitation of the CC HSWP to study experience in Party work in the iron and steel and engineering industries.

November 26. Janos Kadar, First Secretary of the CC HSWP, received members of the delegation of the CP of Greece, led by Kostas Koliÿannis, First Secretary of the CC, CPG, during his stay in Hungary. Participants in the interview included Zoltan Komocsin, member of the PB and Secretary of the CC, HSWP.

November 26. A delegation of the CP of Canada, led by Tim Buck, Chairman of the CPC, arrived in the DRV at the invitation of the CC of the Party of Working People of Vietnam.

November 26. Paul Niculescu-Mizil and Mihai Dalea, secretaries of the CC of the Rumanian CP, received Samuil Mikunis, General Secretary of the CP of Israel, at the CC RCP.

November 27-29. L. Brezhnev, First Secretary of the CC, CPSU, visited the GDR at the invitation of Walter Ulbricht, First Secretary of the CC SUPG, Chairman of the State Council of the GDR.

The interviews that took place, with members of the PB, CC SUPG Willi Stoph, Erich Honecker and others participating, proceeded in an atmosphere of cordiality, fraternity and complete unity of views. The two sides informed each other of the progress of socialist and communist construction in their respective countries, and discussed questions of the further development of relations between the CPSU and the SUPG. They also exchanged views on major problems of the present situation in Europe and other parts of the world, and of the world Communist and working-class movement. They expressed their deep satisfaction with the successful progress of all-round links between the two countries and parties and discussed, in a spirit of complete agreement, possible meaures to expand them, since closer fraternal relations between the Soviet Union and the GDR and between the CPSU and the SUPG are in the interest of the Soviet and German peoples, of the socialist commonwealth as a whole, and of peace and socialism.

November 27-30. The British CP held its 29th National Congress. John Gollan, General Secretary of the BCP, presented the Executive Committee report.

November 28. The CP of Denmark held a plenary meeting. The meeting discussed preparations for the next communal elections and adopted a declaration calling for the discontinuance of atomic

armament and of the proliferation of nuclear weapons. It elected a new Executive Committee of the CC CPD.

November 28. A delegation of the Italian CP, led by Abdon Alinovi, member of the CC ICP, Chief of the Local Authorities Department of the CC, returned to Italy from a trip to Yugoslavia.

November 30. A delegation of the Rumanian CP, led by Gheorghe Pana, Deputy Chief of the Propaganda and Agitation Department of the CC RCP, arrived in Prague at the invitation of the CC CP of Czechoslovakia to familiarize itself with the experience of Czechoslovak Party bodies and organizations.

November 30. A delegation of the Rumanian CP, led by Ion Teoreanu, alternate member of the CC RCP, arrived in Berlin at the invitation of the CC SUPG to study the experience of SUPG committees and organizations.

Second half of November. The CC, CP of Germany held its Sixth Plenum.

Max Reimann, First Secretary of the CC, CPG, made a report on the situation in West Germany after the elections and Chancellor Erhard's officials statement, and on the current tasks of the Party.

The Plenum unanimously passed the statement "For a New Policy of Peace and German Mutual Understanding, for Democracy and the Rights of the Working People."

December 3. A delegation of the CC, CPSU, led by A. Dmitryuk, Deputy chief of the Propaganda and Agitation Department of the CC CPSU, arrived in the Mongolian People's Republic.

December 3. Josip Broz Tito, General Secretary of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia, received Max Reimann, First Secretary of the CC, CP of Germany.

December 3-5. The United Socialist Party of Iceland held a plenary meeting. The meeting, attended by members and alternate members of the CC USPI and by thirty representatives of the Country's electoral districts, discussed the political situation and the Party's current tasks.

December 4. L. Brezhnev, First Secretary of the CPSU, M. Suslov, member of the Presidium and Secretary of the CC, CPSU, and Y. Andropov, Secretary of the CC, CPSU, received Zenon Kliszko, member of the PB, CC and Secretary of the CC, Polish United Workers' Party.

December 6. The CC CPSU held a plenary meeting. The meeting passed resolutions on the economic development plan of the USSR and the State Budget for 1966, and on the reorganization of the Party and state control bodies.

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A LINE TESTED BY REALITY

FIFTH ANNIVERSARY OF THE 1960 MEETING OF COMMUNIST AND WORKERS' PARTIES*

The Communists throughout the world are observing a memorable event—the fifth anniversary of the Moscow Meeting of 1960.

The Meeting was attended by representatives of eighty-one Communist and Workers' parties. They analyzed the international situation and the balance of world forces, generalized the new experience gained by the international working-class and liberation movements, and specified their urgent tasks.

The Meeting continued the work begun by the Communist Meeting in 1957. As a result of broad and free discussions taking into account the point of view of every party, the meetings formulated the general line pursued by the Communist movement today. This was a splendid victory for creative Marxism-Leninism and the principles of proletarian internationalism, which unite the fraternal parties.

The experience of the past five years of the revolutionary movement in general and of each of its contingents in particular has proved the adopted political line correct. It is due to this line that notable progress has been made in the struggle for socialism, social emancipation and national liberation of the peoples, and the preservation and consolidation of peace.

The trend of world development is that foreseen by the Marxist-Leninists. Each day brings further proof that the analysis of the basic trends of contemporary social development, and the strategic and tactical guidelines laid down by the Moscow Meeting are both correct and effective. Our Party, like the vast majority of the fraternal parties, firmly supports the general line of the world Communist movement stated in the Declaration and Statement. This is the only correct line, a line leading to new victories in the struggle against imperialism and reaction, for national independence, democracy, peace and socialism.

★ ★ ★

The Meeting of the 81 parties accomplished a historic task by creatively applying the fundamental principles of Marxism-Leninism to the specific conditions of the contemporary period, revealed the main trends of social development, and provided scien-

*Pravda, December 12, 1965. This article arrived too late for publication in our previous Information Bulletin, No. 63.

tific evidence in support of the strategy and tactics of the revolutionary movement in our day.

"Our time," the Statement says, "whose main content is the transition from capitalism to socialism initiated by the Great October Socialist Revolution, is a time of struggle between the two opposing social systems, a time of socialist revolutions and national liberation revolutions, a time of the breakdown of imperialism, of the abolition of the colonial system, a time of transition of more peoples to the socialist path, of the triumph of socialism and communism on a worldwide ccale."

The Meeting showed that the growth of the might and international influence of the socialist world system, and of the national liberation and working-class movements is the main trend of historical development. At the same time it served warning against underestimating the strength of world imperialist reaction. The aggressive nature of imperialism has not changed. In striving to preserve its domination at all costs, imperialism is prepared to resort to extreme measures against socialism and the liberation movement of the peoples.

Developments during the past five years have confirmed that the Meeting's general estimation of the balance of class forces in the world arena was correct. The socialist countries, and the working-class and national liberation movements are pressing forward their historical offensive. Their influence on the course of social development is becoming more and more decisive. Despite the fact that imperialism, above all U.S. imperialism, the main stronghold of world reaction, has lately stepped up its aggressive activity, it cannot stop the onward march of history.

The 1960 Meeting established that the *socialist world system* is the main factor in social progress and the mainstay of the anti-imperialist front. Communist construction in the USSR and the creation of a developed socialist society in other countries of the socialist community are a major component of the world revolutionary process.

The Moscow Meeting proceeded from the Leninist thesis that the growth of the world liberation movement is inseparable from the extent to which the parties in power succeed in fulfilling their tasks as they build the new social system.

The strength and might of world socialism has continued to grow since the Meeting. The USSR has made substantial headway in building up the material and technical base of communist society. Several other socialist countries are completing the construction of socialism. The economic potential of the socialist countries has grown appreciably, their international prestige and their influence on world developments have increased.

The Soviet people are making an important contribution to the

power of the socialist system. Their economic, scientific and cultural achievements are a product of the consistent realization of our Party's Leninist line. The implementation of the decisions taken by the CC, CPSU in October 1964 and later makes it possible to increase industrial and agricultural production, raise the people's material and cultural standards and strengthen the country's defenses. The Soviet people wholeheartedly approve the policy of the Party, and are closely united around the Central Committee of the Party and the Soviet Government.

The aim of the economic reforms being carried out in a number of socialist countries is to radically improve the methods and forms of socialist economic development and management, hasten scientific and technical progress, and improve planning. The CPSU and other fraternal parties are concentrating on using the economic laws of socialism to the best advantage, and on steadfastly applying the Leninist principle of providing the working people with both material and moral incentives to work.

Lenin repeatedly emphasized that the people judge the revolution first of all by the fruits it actually yields in improving their position. That is why every new advance in science, technology and culture, in raising the standard of living and extending socialist democracy in the USSR and other socialist countries represents effective support for the revolutionary forces in countries where capitalism is still in power. Through these advances socialism gains new ground in the economic competition and political struggle between the two world social systems.

The experience of the past years has shown again that the line of consolidating the economic might of the socialist countries, of ensuring the superiority of socialism over capitalism is a genuinely revolutionary line. Communist construction in the USSR and the strengthening and development of socialist society in other socialist countries remain the principal method by which these countries influence world developments revealing the decisive advantages of socialism over capitalism.

The socialist countries regard it as part of their internationalist duty to give every kind of help and support to the national liberation and working-class movements in other countries. They use their growing power to curb the more aggressive groups of imperialists. The economic advancement of the socialist countries and the solution of their domestic problems are tasks closely linked with that of rendering material and every other kind of assistance to the working-class and national liberation movements. The more successfully the socialist countries build socialism and communism, the more opportunities they have of assisting the entire liberation movement. By the same token, their close links and growing cooperation with all the revolutionary forces make

it easier for the socialist countries to make progress.

The greater the unity of action of the socialist countries, the more successfully they will build socialism and communism and the more important will be the part that the socialist system as a whole plays on the international scene. The Moscow Meeting pointed out that mutual assistance and support, utilization of the advantages to be gained through unity and cohesion in the socialist system are a cardinal international requisite for the achievements of the socialist countries. Accordingly the CPSU, together with other fraternal parties, took important steps to unite the socialist countries on the basis of Marxist-Leninist principle, of proletarian internationalism, and to promote comprehensive and fruitful relations between them. Collective effort in this field has produced useful results: the alliance of the Warsaw Treaty countries has grown stronger, cooperation within the framework of the Council for Mutual Economic Aid is expanding, and broader contacts between parties and states have developed at all levels. All this serves to strengthen the world positions of socialism.

Marxist-Leninists have always attached great importance to the *national liberation struggles* of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America. The 1960 Meeting hailed the heroic fight of the peoples against colonialist oppression. It emphasized the historic importance of newly free states as a new major factor in world politics.

The past five years have confirmed the Meeting's analysis of the prospects of the national liberation movement. Revolutions have triumphed in Algeria, the Yemen and Zanzibar. Uganda, Kenya and other African countries have won their national independence. The liberation war of the South Vietnamese people is dealing serious blows at the U.S. imperialists and their henchmen. The peoples of Angola, "Portuguese" Guinea and Southern Arabia, and the patriots of the Congo (Leopoldville) are waging a heroic fight against the colonialists. The fight for freedom in South Africa is on the upgrade. The people of Southern Rhodesia are rising to fight against the racial regime. The patriots of Mozambique are delivering more and more blows to the enslavers.

The people of South Korea are stepping up their struggle against American imperialism. The anti-imperialist liberation struggle of the peoples of Latin America is gaining in scope and sharpness. Large social groups are joining in it. The example of the Cuban revolution lights up the road of the peoples of Latin America to complete liberation from the tyranny of imperialism and the domination of the home reactionaries. The first solidarity conference of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America, to be held in Havana on January 3, 1966, will be an important step toward strengthening the fighting unity of the people of the three con-

tinents against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism.

The national liberation movement has entered a new stage in recent years. The overwhelming majority of the Afro-Asian peoples have won political independence and have begun to fight for economic emancipation from imperialism. The social content of the national liberation revolution, and the struggle for the interests of the working people are increasingly coming to the fore.

The countries that have gained political independence want to free themselves completely from imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism. That is why they strive to set up a solid economy of their own, so as not to depend on foreign monopolies. And that is why an effective fight against imperialism is unfolding both in the political and the economic sphere.

It goes without saying that we mean the countries that have already shed colonial independence. As for the countries still under colonialist rule, they justly see their prime task in breaking the chains of imperialism by all means and in achieving state independence. At their 1960 Meeting the fraternal parties declared that the national liberation wars were just wars and that they fully supported them. This position of the Marxist-Leninists is unchanged.

The 1960 Statement pointed to an important trend making steady headway in the newly-free countries—the non-capitalist trend of development. In the years that have passed since then this trend has begun to assume real substance. Such countries as the UAR, Algeria, Burma, Mali, Ghana and Guinea have effected deep-going changes in this sense—in various forms and to varying extents. More and more countries are officially proclaiming socialism their aim.

Non-capitalist development is an internal affair of the peoples concerned. Much depends here on the policy of the leading political forces of the young national states. The greatest successes are possible where there is alliance and fruitful cooperation of all the revolutionary and democratic forces of the people. The Communists are staunch and consistent fighters against imperialism, for national independence, for the cause of socialism. They actively support every progressive step by national governments and revolutionary parties. And it should be perfectly clear that one cannot build socialism and yet fight against the Communists.

The Communist Party of the Soviet Union sees it as its sacred duty to actively support the national liberation movement. It regards fraternal alliance with the peoples who have cast off colonial and semi-colonial tyranny and with the peoples still fighting for their liberation as a cornerstone of their foreign policy.

The USSR renders effective economic assistance to newly-free countries. It helps them train national qualified personnel, shares

its practical experience with them, gives them diplomatic support, and helps the young nations build up their defense forces. The peoples of Algeria, the UAR, the Yemen, Mali, Indonesia, Ghana, Guinea and other countries know of the scale and importance of the Soviet people's fraternal assistance. And they know well that our country attaches no political or other strings to this assistance, such as would infringe the sovereignty of the countries in question. Nothing could be more alien to the CPSU than the idea of imposing its recipes of how to develop their revolution and consolidate its gains in this or that country. Other socialist countries are also making their contributions to the national liberation movement.

The working-class movement in the countries of monopoly capitalism plays an important role in the general front of the anti-imperialist struggle.

In those countries the proletariat and other working people are carrying on a daily fight in the very citadel of imperialism, making a major contribution to the common revolutionary cause. The experience in class struggle accumulated by the oldest contingents of the proletariat enriches the international working-class movement. In the countries of developed capitalism, the working class is well organized and constitutes the most numerous segment of the population.

The general and municipal elections in recent years in Belgium, Britain, the Netherlands, Greece, Italy, Luxembourg, Finland, Sweden and other countries have revealed serious signs of a leftward shift of the people. In France, the alliance of workers and democrats achieved an impressive success at the presidential elections on December 5.

The Communist parties of the capitalist countries are tackling new problems arising from the peculiar tactics of the class enemy, who makes the most of state-monopoly levers to combat the working-class movement. The Communist parties are steadfastly improving their methods. in particular their anti-monopoly tactics. They are persistently fighting against Right and "Left"-wing opportunists, against revisionists, dogmatists and sectarians, against the subversive activities of factionalists.

The tactics of broad anti-monopoly alliances, the use by the working class of new means of struggle prompted by the development of state-monopoly capitalism, the principle of unity of action of all the contingents of the working-class movement are by no means manifestations of "revisionism" or a drift to "reformism," but real struggle against the class enemy.

Every class-conscious proletarian realizes that at the present stage the main task of the Marxist-Leninist vanguard in the countries of developed capitalism is to enhance the fighting capacity

and organization of the working class, to ensure that all those oppressed and exploited by monopoly capital rally to the working class, and to form the political army of the revolution. Today's tactics, which were worked out by the Moscow meetings and are being carried forward through the theoretical and practical activities of fraternal parties, is, at this stage, the most reliable way to create conditions for radical social change.

The Communist parties of France, Italy, Spain, the USA, Portugal, West Germany, Greece, Brazil, Argentina, Uruguay and other capitalist countries have to wage their struggles in the face of powerful and refined ideological and political methods being used by the class enemy. The freedom of the foremost champions of the working class and their very lives are often endangered. Simultaneously they have to carry on a stubborn ideological fight against the Right-wing Social Democrats and to counteract the splitting practices of reformist leaders.

Internationalism demands that the Communist parties in power should support their brothers-in-arms in the capitalist countries, morally as well as politically. The totally groundless charges of "degeneration," of fraternal parties turning into "new Social-Democratic parties," into "tools of the bourgeoisie," are nothing short of direct aid to the enemies of the working class.

The 1957 and 1960 meetings made it clear that the conditions and forms of struggle for working-class power are not the same in every country, nor can they be. It would be wrong to treat any form of struggle—whether armed or peaceful—as something absolute. It would mean contradicting Leninism. Lenin stressed that the revolutionary class "must be able to master all forms, or aspects, of social activity, without any exception . . . must be ready to pass from one form to another in the quickest and most unexpected manner (*"Left-wing" Communism, an Infantile Disorder*).

The Statement says that the working class and its vanguard, the Marxist-Leninist parties, "are striving to accomplish the socialist revolution by peaceful means," which meets the interests of the working class as well as the general national interests of the country concerned.

The Marxist-Leninists maintain that—whatever the method of the class struggle of the proletariat, the peasants and the middle urban strata against monopoly capital, unity of all the anti-monopoly forces, intensification of the fight for democracy, mass action, widespread extra-parliamentary struggles, and firm resistance to the opportunist elements pursuing a policy of conciliation with the capitalists and landowners are all indispensable for the victory of the revolution. Unlike reformists and revisionists of all shades, they advocate the winning of state power by the working class, and the transfer of the basic means of production to the people.

At all events, this leads to radical changes, to the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat in one form or another, to the socialist revolution.

Historical experience shows that the ruling classes never relinquish power of their own free will and that the degree of bitterness of the class struggle depends not so much on the proletariat as on the resistance of the reactionary classes. This is why, the Statement stresses, "in the event of the exploiting classes resorting to violence, against the people the possibility of non-peaceful transition to socialism should be borne in mind."

Choosing the forms of revolutionary struggle is a matter for the Communist Party, the working class and the people of the country in question. No one has the right to impose his recipes, his forms and methods of revolutionary action, upon the working class and its vanguard in any country.

Thus, the results of the five years which have passed since the Meeting of the 81 parties speak of considerable progress in all the major sectors of revolutionary struggle. The Communist and Workers' parties which have steadfastly guided themselves by the general line of the world Communist movement have won convincing victories.

The revolutionary processes taking place in the world arena were discussed by the 1960 Meeting as inseparable from the vital task of preventing a world thermonuclear war. Only by linking its practical struggles for the social reorganization of society with the fight against the aggressive designs of imperialism and for peace can the world revolutionary movement develop succesfully today. Combining these great tasks enables the working class and other front-rank fighters against imperialism to mobilize and lead the mass of the people all the more successfully. The struggle to preserve peace and safeguard the security of the peoples—a struggle spearheaded against imperialism, the main source of war—does not put off solution of the class tasks of the proletariat and its allies. On the contrary, it brings their solution nearer and creates favorable opportunities for the expansion of the national-liberation movement of the peoples of colonial and dependent countries.

So long as imperialism survives there is a danger of world war, the Statement stresses. The more aggressive groups of the imperialist bourgeoisie still hope to resolve the contradiction between the two social systems by military means. They constantly threaten to use armed force against the socialist countries and the world working-class and national liberation movements. The imperialists are stepping up their economic, political and, in a number of cases, military struggle against the peoples.

In 1960 the Communist movement called on the peoples to be on guard against the intrigues of the enemies of peace. It exposed

the militarist practices of imperialism which threatens the peoples with a nuclear conflagration. By now the situation has become even more complicated. The imperialists are using their war machine on an even larger scale. The arms race continues. Nuclear weapons and other arms of mass annihilation are being stockpiled in unprecedented quantities and are being steadily perfected.

Recent events have once again confirmed the validity of the conclusions of the Declaration and Statement saying that the main danger for the peoples comes from U.S. imperialism, the leading force of the imperialist camp. During this period the U.S. government has committed a series of acts of armed aggression. For years it has been waging a barbarous war against the people of South Vietnam, and it is more than a year since it began to bomb the territory of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, to annihilate the civilian population, destroy villages, burn up crops and raze factories and communications. More than 160,000 American troops are ravaging Vietnamese soil. The U.S. imperialists have committed aggression against the Dominican Republic, and are striving to crush the liberation movement in other countries of Latin America, and also Asia and Africa.

Developments have shown how very timely was another warning given by the 1960 Meeting—that against the danger of the revival of aggressive forces in the center of Europe, in West Germany. Heartened by support from the U.S. militarists, West Germany's revenge-seekers are trying hard to gain access to nuclear weapons. They insist that Germany's pre-war frontiers be restored. They are fomenting chauvinist sentiments in the country, and are setting the population, in the first place the youth, on other peoples. The Bundeswehr has become the dominating force on NATO's European flank. All this cannot but endanger peace in Europe still more.

In these circumstances, the task is by no means to ease but to intensify action against all the imperialist forces while stepping up the fight against American imperialism.

Communists draw proper conclusions from world events. The acts of aggression on the part of world imperialism must be firmly and resolutely rebuffed. The anti-imperialist forces—the socialist countries, the national liberation and working-class movements, and the mass of the people in every country—can defeat the aggressive policy of imperialism and uphold peace provided they fight in common.

The Soviet Union consistently pursues a Leninist foreign policy. This policy is aimed at providing peaceful conditions for the building of socialism and communism, at promoting the unity and cohesion of the socialist countries, their friendship and fraternity, at supporting the revolutionary liberation movements, at furthering solidarity and cooperation with the independent countries of Asia,

Africa and Latin America, at establishing the principles of peaceful coexistence with the capitalist countries, at protecting mankind against a world war.

The USSR and other socialist countries are waging an unremitting fight against every imperialist venture threatening the security of the peoples. They expose the intrigues and plots of the warmongers, and resolutely and consistently call for an end to the cold war, for the disbandment of military blocs and the abolition of military bases. They oppose interference by the imperialists and colonialists in the internal affairs of peoples, and advocate respect for the equality, territorial integrity, independence and sovereignty of every country.

By fighting against the more aggressive and reactionary groups of imperialists which are threatening mankind with a new world war, against imperialist interference in the internal affairs of states and for the complete elimination of colonialism, the socialist countries want to reduce international tension. They are striving to bring about the discontinuance of the arms race, are taking steps toward the development of economic, cultural and scientific relations between nations on a broad basis.

The present international situation necessitates still greater effort by the Communist parties and other democratic and peace-loving forces to curb the imperialist aggressors and avert a new world war. Concerted action by the peoples is especially important in the fight against U.S. aggression in Vietnam, which is expanding steadily, directly endangering world peace.

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The general line worked out by the 1957 and 1960 meetings lays down the basic principles for world Communist unity. The most important aim the meetings set themselves was to unite all the Communist parties, that is, all the contingents of a single internationalist movement on this ideological basis, on the principles of Marxism-Leninism.

The two meetings did something more than work out a platform for uniting the Communist and Workers' parties. They also formulated the basic principles of cooperation between Communist parties in the fight for common aims, and indicated ways and means of promoting international Communist unity.

Strict observance of the standards of relationships between fraternal parties is essential for achieving this aim. The Communist movement has already spread to virtually every country of the world. Apart from the specific conditions in which the Communist parties of the socialist countries, the capitalist countries and the young developing states operate, there is much that is distinctive inside these basic groups—in practically every country. Of special importance in these conditions is strict observance of the principle

of autonomy of each national contingent of the working-class movement, and of non-interference in each other's internal affairs.

The principle of equality of the fraternal parties is inseparable from the principle of autonomy. The Communist movement comprises parties big and small, parties whose course of development and experience are not alike. Nevertheless, each party has a following of organized workers and other working people, and is backed by the masses. Each party makes its contribution to the common revolutionary cause and participates in the Communist movement on an equal footing with the others.

However, the Communist movement is not merely the sum total of the Communist parties of various countries. It is a single movement having a common ideology—Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, common political and organizational principles and common ultimate goals—socialism and communism. This is what has made the world Communist movement the most influential political force of our times and a major factor in social progress.

It is a law for every fraternal party to combine national and international tasks. Success of the working-class cause in each particular country, the Statement stresses, hinges on the internationalist solidarity of all the Marxist-Leninist parties. Each party is responsible to the working class and other working people of its country, as well as to the international working-class and Communist movement as a whole.

The Statement of the 81 parties indicates ways and means of coordinating the actions of the Communist parties. The 1960 Meeting itself offered an example of how agreement on a common line can be reached on the basis of complete equality and autonomy of all the fraternal parties.

Differences of opinion are perfectly possible between cooperating fraternal parties. Profoundly democratic by nature, the Communist movement has never ruled out different points of view, which it regards as evidence of its strength and not weakness, as a means of searching for optimum solutions. But it is necessary to observe certain rules if discussion is to be really fruitful, if it is to promote Communist unity and not to disrupt it. This implies, first of all, loyalty to the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, and to the general line worked out jointly, and secondly, settlement of differences on a comradely basis, with everyone sincerely desiring to understand everyone else.

Hence the impermissibility of unilateral revision by one or another party of the general line of the entire Communist movement. The Moscow Meeting stressed the necessity for waging a persistent fight against departures from the common course of the Communist movement, against revisionism, dogmatism and sectarianism. It far-

sightedly pointed out that even with the establishment of a socialist system manifestations of nationalism and national narrow-mindedness do not disappear automatically, and called for struggle "to overcome the survivals of bourgeois nationalism and chauvinism." Our Party, like other Marxist-Leninist parties, has always fought unrelentingly against every form of Right or Left-wing opportunism. The CPSU firmly opposes hegemonism in the Communist movement.

In the five years since the 1960 Meeting the Communist movement as a whole has made progress. New national contingents have joined its ranks, many parties have grown stronger ideologically and organizationally, and have increased their influence over the masses. Particularly heartening is the growth of the Communist parties in the newly-free countries, and the fact that they are entering into cooperation with other democratic forces of the national-liberation movement.

On the other hand, the past five years have been a complicated period in Communist history. They have seen the rise of serious difficulties in its ranks because the CPC leaders, having departed from the general line of the Communist movement worked out by the 1957 and 1960 meetings, have embarked on a special policy of their own radically differing from the common platform of the Communist movement.

We cannot close our eyes to the fact that divergences in the Communist movement weaken its unity and prejudice the world liberation movement and the Communist cause. The increased activity of the imperialist forces in the recent period is a direct result of the more bellicose groups of international imperialism trying to cash in on the differences within the world Communist movement. The reason why the imperialists have become more active is not that the balance of world forces has changed in their favor, for it has not. But a certain weakening of unity has occurred among the socialist countries, in the ranks of the international Communist movement, and this has encouraged the imperialists to launch their ventures. It is necessary to draw proper lessons from recent events. Anyone who is today hampering the effort to strengthen the unity of the Communist ranks and other revolutionary forces of our time is assuming a very great responsibility before the working class, before the masses, and is adding grist to the mill of imperialism.

In all these years our Party, like the vast majority of the Marxist-Leninist parties, has firmly and consistently pursued a policy of gradually surmounting difficulties in the world Communist movement. Without accentuating ideological differences, fraternal parties have declared for shifting the emphasis to efforts to achieve practical unity of action against imperialism, in defense of the

peoples attacked by aggressors.

The principled approach to resolving the existing differences is to base oneself on what unites all the Marxist-Leninist parties, despite their differences, and leave it to time to help this or that party to overcome its erroneous views and positions through its own experience. This is the approach taught by Lenin, who pointed out that "differences within or between political parties are usually resolved not only by polemics over principles, but also by the course of political development . . . (*Coll. Works,* Fifth Edition, Vol. 11, p. 133.)

These ideas were carried forward by the Moscow Consultative Meeting on March 1-5, 1965. The communique of the Meeting expressed the conviction that even in the presence of differences over the political line and many important problems of theory and tactics it is perfectly possible, and necessary, to work for unity of action against imperialism, in support of the liberation movement of the peoples, in the struggle for world peace, for the vital interests and historical goals of the working class. Concerted action in the fight for these common goals, the Meeting stressed, is the surest way of surmounting the existing differences. It is well known that more than 60 fraternal parties approved the results of the Consultative Meeting.

In line with this approach, our Party took a number of important steps after the October Plenary Meeting of the Central Committee with a view to strengthening the unity of the world socialist system and the international Communist movement. The past year alone has seen meetings with representatives of over 60 fraternal parties at the CC,CPSU in the course of which cardinal issues of the present-day situation, and the ways and means of joint action for common goals came up for discussion.

In this period a number of important international Communist meetings took place which helped organize joint action by parties. These were the Brussels conference of the Communist parties of the West European countries, the Havana meeting of Latin American parties, the conference of the Communist parties of Central America, and the meeting of the Communist parties of the Arab countries. These meetings of fraternal parties analyzed the situation in the respective groups of countries, compared notes, and reached agreement on cordination of their action.

Thus reality has proved the line for united action elaborated by our Party and other Marxist-Leninist parties to be correct. This is the only way to achieve greater unity of the international Communist movement in the present complicated situation.

The CC, CPSU has done everything in its power to normalize the relations between the CPSU and the CPC, between the USSR and the PRC.

Unfortunately, and this should be said frankly, the Chinese leaders ignored the opinion of the Marxist-Leninist parties and turned down all the initiatives aimed at achieving unity of action against imperialism and at normalizing the situation in the world socialist system and Communist movement. The CPC leadership showed no desire to coordinate its actions with those of other parties to combat imperialism and, moreover, stepped up its splitting activities in the Communist movement and among the revolutionary forces generally.

Of special importance in the present situation is concerted action by all the socialist countries and fraternal parties in supporting the Vietnamese people's fight against the predatory aggression of the USA. The CPSU and the Soviet Union are giving the Vietnamese people great political, economic and military aid in their just struggle for the freedom and independence of their country. Considerable assistance is being given by other socialist countries and Marxist-Leninist parties. We do not need to prove how very important coordinated effort by the Soviet Union, the People's Republic of China and the other socialist countries in this matter is. The renunciation of cooperation and unity of action in the sacred cause of helping the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and the whole Vietnamese people is unjustifiable.

In spite of the present serious difficulties, our Party is deeply convinced that it is necessary to work—by joint effort, on the basis of the general line formulated in the Declaration and Statement—for closer unity of the world Communist movement, for the consolidation of the anti-imperialist forces. This is required by the interests of our common struggle for socialism, national freedom, democracy and peace. This is required by the present international situation, which is fraught with serious danger for the entire world liberation movement and for peace.

The renunciation of unity of action, the demand of political and organizational dissociation, the continuation of factional activities in the Communist movement, and the exacerbation of open polemics and political struggle against fraternal parties cannot but draw condemnation and protest from every Marxist-Leninist. When the unity of the international Communist movement—the holy of holies for every genuine revolutionary—is under attack, Marxist-Leninists must stand firm on principle.

The CPSU has been, and will continue to be, loyal to the general line of the world Communist movement. It sees its internationalist duty in making further progress in Communist construction on the basis of the Party Programme, of the resolutions of Party congresses and the recent plenary meetings of the Party Central Committee. In keeping with the advice of the great Lenin, our Party will continue to work vigorously for the unity of the Communists of all countries on the principles of Marxism-Leninism, the Declara-

tion and the Statement, for the further advance of all the revolutionary forces, in the interests of the final victory of the cause of peace, democracy, national independence, socialism and communism.

THE SOUTH AFRICAN PEOPLE WILL WIN THEIR FREEDOM!

A STATEMENT* BY THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN COMMUNIST PARTY

Although the key to the liberation of South Africa is in reorganization and intensification of revolutionary struggle inside the country, the freedom-loving people of South Africa deeply value and set great store on supporting solidarity actions, especially those which can cut off the Verwoerd regime from its economic and military bases in the imperialist countries.

We are keenly aware of the international implications of our struggle. South Africa is a crucial area in the world-wide struggle between the forces of imperialism and the forces of national liberation and progress. Every victory for the progressive anti-colonialist movements in Africa and the rest of the world favors and encourages the movements for resistance and revolution in South Africa; every setback for the progressive forces hampers our struggle and strengthens the fascist Verwoerd regime. In the same way, our own struggle at home are an important contribution to the victory of all peoples.

WORLD COUNTER-REVOLUTIONARY OFFENSIVE

We are going through a period of a world-wide, major offensive of imperialism. Open military aggression in Vietnam, the Dominican Republic and the Congo, is accompanied by intensified economic and military intervention and penetration by U.S. and other imperialists and their agents, especially in Africa and other developing areas.

The imperialist powers have reduced the United Nations to its lowest level of effectiveness and authority since its foundation 20 years ago. At this time when aggression against Vietnam poses a major threat to world peace, the UN has been reduced to almost total impotence. This weakening of the UN cannot but dampen hopes that—with the proceedings on South-West Africa reaching their climax at the World Court — more effective international action would be taken against the apartheid regime.

In the ranks of the newly-independent countries, some divisions have been brought about by the intrigues of the imperialists.

*The African Communist, No. 22, 1966.

Some African states are challenging the basis and the integrity of the Organization of African Unity and are even supporting the Tshombe regime. In some other African countries we may also observe rightward trends resulting from imperialist pressures, or reactionary internal groups. For example in Kenya, the assassination of the noted fighter against imperialism, Pio Pinto, has been followed by several governmental moves against the radical and progressive elements. Fighters for African unity, independence and socialism have also been seriously disturbed by the military coup in Algeria resulting in the removal of President Ben Bella.

This international imperialist offensive calls for the greatest unity and solidarity among the forces that stand for peace, socialism and national freedom — the socialist countries, the countries newly-liberated from colonialism and those still fighting for independence, and the worldwide working class and progressive movement. Regrettably such unity is still far from achievement, even in the ranks of the world Communist movement, the vanguard of the liberation front.

No doubt, all these negative developments hamper our struggle and that of all fighters against imperialism. They lead to difficulties which must be faced and overcome.

But they do not mean that the imperialists can for long succeed in stemming the African revolution and the worldwide struggle for national independence, democracy and socialism.

Nor do they mean that the past efforts of our national liberation movements to mobilize world support for our struggle have been vain or misdirected. On the contrary, international campaigns to arouse understanding and condemnation of apartheid, to press for sanctions and boycotts of all kinds, have been and continue to be of the greatest importance and value. These campaigns have made the fight against apartheid a crucial world issue, isolating and exposing the imperialists, uniting all progressive forces, and sustaining the spirit of resistance among our people.

OUR OWN STRENGTH

We must never forget, however, that as we have always said, the main factor on which we rely for the liberation of South Africa is not the sympathy and assistance of our well-wishers and brothers on the African continent and all over the world; but on the mass, revolutionary action of the South Africans themselves.

What are the present perspectives of this struggle?

Some, even among the supporters and fighters for South African freedom have become pessimistic, even defeatist, on this question. We should consider the basis of such tendencies.

Undoubtedly the liberation movement has suffered some serious

reverses and disappointments. To some extent these arose out of errors of underestimation of the enemy; to some extent from objective developments in South Africa and abroad. We have confidence in our people and our cause; it is unthinkable that white domination can survive for many years in this era of the African revolution and the world upsurge against colonialism. This revolutionary optimism is historically justified; it is this that gives the people's forces the will to rally from reverses and go on fighting until victory. But over-confidence and optimism based on illusions do not help us; they can only cause disappointments which can, in some cases, lead to demoralization and despair. It is therefore important at this stage to make a realistic and sober assessment of the situation, so that we can methodically rebuild our forces and prepare for the new round of hard struggles ahead.

PESSIMISTIC ASSESSMENTS

Those who are pessimistic about the prospects of our struggle point to:

—the 'flourishing' condition of the South African economy;

—the thoroughgoing security machinery of the regime, militarization, armaments purchases and manufacture, etc.,

—strong fascist tendencies among the white population, students, workers and others, reflected in more support for the National Party by English-speaking voters, the continuing rightward swing of the U.P., and other developments,

—the apparent failure or slowness of the liberation movement to find ways of demonstrating and counter-attacking, or even reaching the masses with propaganda, in the prevailing condtions of fascist repression, loss of leading personnel, and other difficulties.

These are real factors which cannot be overlooked in a current assessment of the present South African situation. They are emphasized by the government which continuously makes propaganda claiming that the structure of the country is stable, peaceful and prosperous. But such claims are based merely on temporary features of the position in the country.. They do not alter the radical contradictions and imbalances in the structure of white supremacy; the fundamental instability and insecurity of a regime which depends on more and more militaristic and dictatorial methods to keep power.

FLOURISHING ECONOMY?

Those who speak glibly of "boom" conditions in the country fail to see the significance of the contradiction between talk of a

flourishing economy, on the one hand, and of the recurrent famines which have again swept Transkei and Transvaal areas, with the efforts of charitable organizations desperately trrying to avert mass starvation, on the other.

Restrictions on the export of capital, influx of foreign capital, eager to take advantage of the high profit rates prevailing in the Republic, and expanded arms production have indeed led to high employment rates and increased wages for whites. But this has also led to an acute shortage of white labor for skilled jobs; attempts by employers in the mines and elsewhere — even by the state on the S.A.R. and the postal services—to modify the rigid color bars to meet this problem are meeting with bitter resistance from white workers determined to preserve their racial monopoly of highly-paid skilled jobs.

Inflationary tendencies are steadily forcing up prices of consumer goods. But non-white workers, especially Africans, with all industrial action illegal and their trade unions vigorously forced underground by repression, cannot secure wage-increases in any way commensurate with the rise in prices. So the "wave of prosperity" in South Africa in fact serves to increase the gap between white and non-white wage-earners, and to impose fresh hardships on the Africans.

MORE FASCIST LAWS

Vorster's boast that his police have smashed the liberation movements is believed by his demanding, and obtaining, yet further fascist laws from Parliament, especially the replacing of the universally-condemned 90-day clause with the almost identical new "180-day" clause. Instead of calling a political detainee a person suspected of having information, they now insult him by calling him a state witness; the object of the detention is to try to force him to become exactly that, by torture, solitary confinement and every other means the police have learnt from the "ninety-day" detentions.

If the government really believed, as they keep saying, that the revolutionary movements have all been crushed, that the non-whites now accept apartheid, that peace and security reign in the country, they would have no need to keep bringing in still more drastic laws to quell resistance, and allocating further huge amounts for "security and defense." They are fully aware that the spirit of the people, the spirit of resistance, is by no means crushed.

FIGHTING BACK

The Rivonia trial, the Fischer trial and many other trials, big

and small, of the past year have seen many of the finest leaders of the resistance movement sentenced to long years of brutal imprisonment. Some even, like Mini, Mkaba, Khayinga, Bongco, Salcojee and Kooksmart Solwandle, were sent to their death. No doubt, these were heavy losses, causes for grief and anger among the people. But our leaders have not suffered a political defeat. Apart from a few miserable traitors, the Beylevelds and the Mtolos, who sold their comrades to save their own skins, our leaders conducted themselves with courage and defiance. They have given the people cause to be proud of them, cause for confidence in the Congress movement and the Communist Party.

The very conditions of life of the people, the hardships and degradation of the colonialist society, inevitably arouse the revolutionary determination and resistance of the people, in spite of the loss of thousands of their most experienced leaders, in spite of the prevailing fascist terror, recent events show that the people and the liberation forces have the will and the ability to fight back. Though they may not have been on the scale of similar events in past years, the recent Steeldale bus boycott, the holding of a public conference by SACTU, and the issuing of a June 28th leaflet by the liberation movements represent truly heroic efforts in Vorster's present-day police state. It is significant too that official figures of political detentions in the Transkei show a steady rise.

There is no doubt that in the end, however long it may take and in spite of all the wealth,thearmaments and barbarous repressions of the white minority dictatorship, the will and the patriotic spirit of the majority will prevail.

ALL MEANS OF STRUGGLE

It is no secret that, as the Rivonia trial revealed, the liberation movements abandoned the reliance on exclusively non-violent means of struggle which served their role in the past, and were actively preparing for the armed overthrow of the white supremacy state.

The correctness and feasibility of this general policy decision were not and are not dependent on the success or failure of any particular scheme or operation. Looked at in broad perspective it remains true that the freedom of our country will have to be wrested in armed struggle; and that preparation for such struggle is essential to victory.

It would therefore be an error to harbor illusions that non-violent means of struggle alone will suffice. But it would also be an error to reason that because of this, or because the innumerable laws and police measures of the state have made mass activities of any kind so difficult and hazardous, we should therefore

abandon all efforts at propaganda and organization, at mobilizing the masses of workers, peasants, youth, women and other sections to take mass action for their immediate demands. Indeed, it should rather be said that without constant efforts to arouse the resistance and patriotic spirit of the people activities of a purely military character will become isolated from the people and are bound therefore to fail. The real advantage of the liberation forces over all the planes, armoured cars and other superior equipment of the enemy, is the support of the masses. That is our decisive weapon, without which we cannot win.

It follows that the liberation organizations of South Africa must find the organizational and political resources to rally from the severe blows they have suffered, draw all the necessary lessons from past setbacks, and recognize their forces to become stronger and more effective than ever before.

NEW ORGANIZATIONAL METHODS

To do this, new organizational methods are required. With the struggle itself approaching a new peak of intensity, with the government employing all-out Nazi methods to terrorize the liberation movement, destroy its personnel physically and psychologically, infiltrate its organization with agents and spies, it is clear that new approaches are needed, and that there is no room for amateurish security and reliance and personnel who are sitting targets for surveillance, arrest and torture.

This does not mean that the organizations which have developed historically and proved the most suitable for conditions in our country are no longer of value. On the contrary, these organizations which have earned the trust and confidence of the people are all essential now as never before; it is of the greatest importance that they should be rebuilt and grow stronger than ever.

South Africa needs the African National Congress and its partners in the tested Congress alliance, the Indian and Colored People's Congresses and the Congress of Democrats. The workers need the Congress of Trade Unions, the only principled, non-racial trade union federation. The country needs the Communist Party. It needs the fighting organization, Umkonto we Sizwe. It needs the liberationist movements of women and of the youth. And present-day conditions demand that all these militant organizations of liberation should be re-established more firmly than ever before; that they should renew their vital roots among the masses; that they should work in the closest harmony and unity of purpose with one another, and in cooperation with all organizations and sections of the people who are sincerely determined to end the curse of apartheid.

All our liberation organizations have proved that their members have the qualities necessary for victory: courage, determination and readiness for any sacrifice. But to survive and grow stronger in today's tough conditions they will have to devise new skills. Personnel should be preserved from useless casualties and sacrifices. Those who are unable or unwilling to adapt themselves to the new and taxing demands and conditions should be restricted to activities in which they cannot endanger others. From the best elements among the working people of town and country and the patriotic youth, new people must be recruited, trained and drawn into the movement.

WORK TO BE DONE

We must get down to these tasks now, seriously, thoughtfully and methodically, and fight hard against all tendencies to defeatism and pessimism in our ranks or among the people. We must maintain and build stronger than ever before the unity of the progressive movement in our country, especially the solidarity of the Congress alliance and the Communist Party, upon which the future depends. We must do everything in our power to strengthen and extend the international movement for solidarity with our people in the struggle against apartheid, and for the exposure and curbing of those imperialist forces abroad who profit from and who sustain white supremacy in southern Africa.

We call on all South African Communists, whether at home or in exile, to give practical leadership in the fulfilment of these tasks by setting an example of devotion, seriousness of purpose and confidence in the people's victory.

We call on all upholders of South African freedom everywhere to redouble their efforts to hasten the overthrow of the Nazi, racist Verwoerd dictatorship.

We warmly greet the oppressed and exploited people of South Africa striving for freedom in our own country and in our lifetime. Courage, brothers and sisters; the struggle is hard, but we, the people, shall win. The blood and sacrifices of our heroes, Mini, Mandela, Sisulu, Goldberg, Kathrada, Fischer and thousands of others shall not be for nothing! Africa shall come back!

Down with apartheid!

Amandla Ngawethu!

Victory shall be ours!

THE GUERRILLA MOVEMENT AND ITS PROSPECTS IN THE LIGHT OF THE PRESENT POLITICAL SITUATION

RESOLUTION* OF THE 21ST MEETING OF THE CC, THE PERUVIAN CP

Organized and led by the Left Revolutionary Movement, a guerrilla movement started in Andamarca on June 9, 1964.

Its emergence confronts the popular movement in general and the revolutionary movement in particular with problems which have to be analyzed and solved before the attitude towards the guerrilla movement can be correctly determined.

THE CAUSES OF THE GUERRILLA MOVEMENT IN PERU

It is a common belief that a guerrilla movement can develop only in a country where no legal struggle is possible. Guerrilla war has invariably broken out in a political situation characterized by a gradual or sudden establishment of a military dictatorship. This was the case with Fidel Castro's legendary guerrilla movement in Cuba. Such is the case with Venezuela and Guatemala.

But the situation in Peru is obviously different. The guerrillas, who unquestionably enjoy the support of the local peasants and have representatives of the latter in their ranks, act as a force which continues, at a higher level, the struggle of the peasants for the land.

The peasants hoped that Belaunde's "democratic" government would solve the age-old agrarian problem. But this government, acting like the bloodiest of tyrannies, organized the massacre of peasants in Ayacucho and Cuzco. More than that. Yielding to the pressure of the ultra-reactionary oligarchy, it betrayed the citizens who had voted for it and promulgated the pharisaical "agrarian reform" law, thus barring all roads to transforming the countryside by peaceful means. That was what was responsible for the outbreak of the guerrilla movement as development of the peasants' struggle into a violent stage resulting from the policy of the present and all previous governments. That is why the guerrillas have the peasants' support in their zones of operations. That is why their struggle has the sympathy of broad sections of the proletariat

*Slightly abridged from **Unidad**, October 7, 1965.

and the middle strata. That is why they will exist and fight on until the agrarian problem is effectively solved through a genuine agrarian reform.

It is clear from this that the guerrilla movement in Peru is part of the struggle of the peasants plundered and exploited by the latifundists, by-passed by the Constitution and subjected to national discrimination. The guerrilla movement is a new form of the peasants' unceasing struggle for the land. It was not the guerrillas who initiated violence. The oligarchy and its governments have long since been taking recourse to it. The peasant masses have never been able to secure the satisfaction of their demands by peaceful means, their demands having been invariably countered with bullets. Today, the guerrillas are merely replying in kind.

CAN THE GUERRILLA MOVEMENT DEVELOP AND ACHIEVE ITS AIMS WHEN THERE IS NO REVOLUTIONARY SITUATION

The guerrilla movement emerged from the struggle for the land, for an agrarian reform in favor of the peasants, i.e., one of the cardinal changes that constitute the content of the agrarian anti-imperialist revolution the country needs to do away with backwardness, dependence and misery.

It is common knowledge, however, that there can be no revolution without a revolutionary situation preceding it. Does it follow that the guerrilla movement started outside of a revolutionary situation is doomed to failure no matter how just its cause?

To reply to this question, the following should be borne in mind:

a) The guerrilla, popular war is not an insurrection. Insurrection is the ultimate stage of the popular war.

b) A revolutionary situation is needed for an insurrection.

c) The guerrilla movement alone cannot generate a revolutionary situation.

d) The guerrilla movement can grow in strength and scope only if it emerges when the objective elements of a revolutionary situation have reached a definite stage of development, i.e., when a revolutionary situation is ripening.

What is the state of things in Peru? It is stated in numerous documents of the Political Commission fully approved by the 21st Meeting of the CC that there is no revolutionary situation in the country as yet, but there is every reason to say that a revolutionary situation is rapidly ripening.

The ripening of a revolutionary situation is thus the second objective factor which enables us to affirm that the guerrilla movement has prospects of growth and that it will strongly influence political development in the country.

OBJECTIVE CONDITIONS ALONE NOT SUFFICIENT FOR REVOLUTION. REVOLUTION IS ACCOMPLISHED BY THE MASSES.

Consequently, we should see whether the comrades from the Left Revolutionary Movement have correctly assessed the degree of development of the popular movement.

The peasants' struggle for the land cannot succeed unless it is part of the struggle of the people for a democratic and nationalist transformation of the country. That is precisely why the comrades from the LRM point, in their program, to the need to fight not only for the land, but also for the nationalization of oil and for other demands of a nationalist and democratic character.

To be able to develop, the guerrilla movement needs not only the sympathy but also the solidarity and support of the movement of the urban masses.

Appraising the degree of development of the popular movement, one can see that broad sections of the proletariat and the middle strata are not yet taking part in the struggle for deep-going nationalist and democratic changes; that, moreover, large groups are either influenced by the reactionary bloc of the Popular Party and the National Odrist Union or follow in the wage of its policy. In addition, the people who voted for Belaunde and for a program of profound reforms have not yet fully awakened to the debility and the conciliatory and defeatist nature of the policy of the leadership of the Popular Action-Christian Democratic alliance. These people are beginning to see from their own experience the bankruptcy of the conciliatory bourgeoisie, its increasing treacherousness, its capitulation before the oligarchy evidenced by the "agrarian reform" law and the use of traditional ruthless methods of suppressing the popular movement.

Since the entire country was keenly waiting solution of the Brea and Parinas* problem (even before the outbreak of the guerrilla movement one could foresee an "agreement" with International Petroleum Co., which had already seized these regions, and an aggravation of the political crisis no matter what kind of solution was found), we consider that the internal political situation had been appraised not quite correctly. As a result, it became impossible to secure from the very beginning the support of the broad strata of the population still influenced by the Belaunde party but fighting for oil nationalization, in defense of democratic freedoms, against the oligarchy.

It is indisputable that before launching armed struggle it is necessary objectively and soberly to appraise the general political situation and the degree of development of the working-class and popular movement and thus rule out hasty and ill-advised actions

that might spell doom for the incipient movement. Likewise, it is impermissible to ignore the other revolutionary organizations and parties and refuse to coordinate actions with them in the revolutionary struggle.

To sum up, we consider that although certain objective factors favor the guerrilla movement at present, it could have been developed much more successfully from the very outset had it leaders borne in mind the importance of: a) choosing a political situation most suitable for launching it, and b) ensuring, in good time, maximum coordination of actions with all the revolutionary forces pursuing the same objectives.

The former would have secured broader mass support and the latter, more effective leadership, for the vanguard must not only be up in the forefront, but also carry out its tasks in the most effective manner.

THE OLIGARCHY IS TRYING TO ISOLATE THE REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENT, WEAKEN AND NEUTRALIZE THE RULING BOURGEOISIE AND THEN TO REMOVE IT FROM POWER ALTOGETHER THROUGH A "GORILLA" COUP

Despite the sincere revolutionary intentions of the LRM leadership, it is indisputable that imperialism and the domestic ultra-reactionaries have tried to take full advantage of the very fact of the existence of the guerrilla movement in order to achieve first of all the following four objectives:

a) to launch violent repressions against all the forces of the Left;

b) to separate these forces from the non-revolutionary nationalist and democratic masses;

c) to draw the ruling conciliatory bourgeoisie into their camp, the camp of overt reaction;

d) to regroup the ultra-reactionary front, smoothing over some of the contradictions existing in it.

As to the first objective, it should be noted that the anti-democratic offensive had no disastrous consequences for our Party, for we had foreseen the trend of political development and taken precautionary measures. But we did not know when the LRM would launch armed struggle. In addition, there were shortcomings in Party work, especially in the provinces. As a result, many Communists, together with members of other revolutionary and mass organizations, were imprisoned and court-martialed. Imperialism and the treasonous oligarchy achieved a certain measure of success in their effort to isolate the revolutionary forces. As to their

*The oil-rich regions whose seizure the International Petroleum Co. seeks to legalize.—Ed.

other objectives, they compelled the ruling bourgeoisie to adopt the monstrous law on capital punishment for so-called political crimes, approve the issue of "national defense bonds" at 7 per cent interest, highly profitable for the oligarchy, and appoint a parliamentary commission "to investigate communist infiltration" — an ugly offspring of the McCarthyite inquisition. More than that, inspired by their successes they are already preparing to recapture full political power through a "gorilla" coup, to follow a series of government crises designed to neutralize Belaunde and further discredit him. The coup is to force him to form ever more obedient and reactionary cabinets. If this does not work, a political deadlock is to be created which the military could use to put its foot down, depose Belaunde and establish a dictatorship as sinister and repugnant as in Brazil — a crossbreed of Franco fascism and U.S.-made "representative democracy."

DIRECT INDIGNATION AT THE PP-NOU COALITION

The situation, then, is very complicated. There are numerous contradictions in the ruling camp. But, as is known, we Marxists consider that political problems are not solved in the quiet of the study-room or in quarrels between military camarillas. We hold that history is made by the masses, who write it with their blood and with their struggle under the guidance of their revolutionary vanguard in defense of their interests for economic and social progress.

In the present conditions, the duty of our Party and of the entire people is to use every means to prevent an ultra-reactionary coup. Therefore the broadest strata of the people — and not only those of the Left — should be urged to unite and act.

Our Party considers that a democratic and nationalist platform alone can ensure this unity and enable it to prevent a coup and mobilize the masses. The people will not defend Belaunde against a coup as a person. They will fight for a regime which will restore constitutional guarantee, stop the slaughter of the peasants in the central part of the country, repeal the law on capital punishment, promptly and fully nationalize oil, and amend the "agrarian reform" law. The putschists are the chief obstacle to the establishment of such a regime, and the efforts should be concentrated on combating them.

The struggle will be more effective if we propose solutions that would conform to the sentiments of the masses and appear feasible to them. In this sense one cannot deny the fact that there exists indignation at the policy of the People's Party-National Odrist Union parliamentary majority, actually a fictitious majority as it represents two political groups defeated in the 1963 gene-

ral and municipal elections. Hence the need to demand the dissolution of this parliament — not for the purpose of delegating all power to Belaunde, who in this case would rely chiefly on the armed forces, with the resulting establishment of a real military dictatorship, but to expedite the convening of a genuinely democratic constituent assembly. Therefore the Communist Party supports the proposal on holding a referendum in which our people will be free to speak out on the present parliament, on the expediency of renovating it, and on a constitutional reform to guarantee to illiterate persons an effective right to take part in presidential and parliamentary elections.

We consider, consequently, that if the few remaining possibilities of ending the current political crisis in a democratic and nonviolent way are to be fully utilized, the masses can achieve positive results only in the way indicated above. The masses themselves and not the army or the police should demand and get a referendum and the franchise for the illiterates.

MAKE CORRECT USE OF ALL FORMS OF STRUGGLE

This slogan does not at all mean that those who are waging an armed struggle should lay down arms to preserve the constitutional regime and prevent an ultra-reactionary coup. We hold that the Peruvian people have risen to fight and that this process is irreversible. The Rubicon has been crossed.

Moreover, we consider that a coup can be averted only if all forms of struggle are combined correctly, and that armed struggle is not the main form of struggle for the Peruvian people at present. But it is quite possible that the rapidly developing complex process will lead to a revolutionary crisis and armed struggle will become the main form of struggle of our people throughout the country and not only in socially explosive peasant areas.

Thus, we do not reject the possibility of the near future bearing out the prediction of our Fourth Congress that the revolution in Peru is most likely to take the form of armed struggle.

THE FIGHT FOR DEMOCRATIC FREEDOM IS THE CHIEF TASK

The Party considers that at present the revolutionary forces live through a period of accumulation of forces which should be accelerated to the utmost. At this crucial juncture the struggle for freedom and for the Constitution merges with the struggle for the immediate objectives of the revolution.

As to the tasks of the revolutionary vanguard, the Communist Party sees it as its duty to coordinate, rejecting sectarianism, the

efforts of all the Left forces for the achievement of such general objectives as solidarity with the political prisoners and with the ruthlesly persecuted peasants and guerrillas.

But it would be pernicious sectarianism to consider that the current revolutionary process demands the realization of these tasks alone. It is the Party's belief that the Left forces should coordinate their efforts also in the struggle for democratic freedoms. We Communists regard this as a top-priority task of our struggle.

IN THE COURSE OF THE STRUGGLE, WAGED IN ALL FORMS, FORGE A BROAD DEMOCRATIC FRONT OF NATIONAL LIBERATION

We Communists are convinced that in the future this broad united front can and must include groups of officers and men who are not connected with imperialism and the oligarchy and who strive to restore peace among the Peruvians, undermined by the obstinacy and ruthlessness with which the imperialists, latifundists and big bourgeoisie are defending their interests.

In the course of the struggle, using all its forms, our people will forge a democratic front of national liberation uniting all champions of establishing an anti-imperialist and anti-oligarchy system in our country.

DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES BY THE DOMINICAN CP

The Dominican Communist Party is the organized vanguard of the Dominican working class, its political organization. It carries on its struggles on the scientific principles of Marxism-Leninism applied to the present-day conditions in our country. The Party, Lenin said, is a result of the fusion of the spontaneous working-class movement with scientific socialism.

The DCP came into being and began to develop under the Trujillo tyranny. It has set itself the great task of revealing to the workers the irreconcilable opposition of their interests to those of the home and foreign capitalists, of helping them realize their historical mission which is to free the whole of society from all oppression, and of organizing and guiding every form of the class struggle of the proletariat.

The struggle of the working class is political struggle against every class living by the labor of others, against all exploitation. It is struggle against the entire capitalist system, for definitive emancipation from the intolerable tyranny of capital. But to emancipate itself and all the exploited classes of Dominican society, the working class must in close alliance with the peasants accomplish the socialist revolution which will abolish private ownership of the means of production—the land, sugar plantations, factories, banks, mines, etc.—and establish collective (socialist) ownership of these means of production by the working people, so that the working people themselves can benefit by all the fruits of their labor. The proletarian revolution is aimed at building a new society free from all exploitation and want.

This historical mission falls to the working class because the workers are not associated with any form of property and suffer most directly from capitalist exploitation. It falls to the working class because its numbers and its unity grow and its fight gathers momentum in step with the development of capitalist relations of production. The working class is the most revolutionary class because "the proletarians have nothing lose but their chains," as Karl Marx, the founder of scientific socialism, put it.

To accomplish this revolution, the working class must destroy the capitalist state machinery and win political power, which will enable it to become master of the situation and to sweep away all obstacles to socialist construction. In other words, this calls for the dictatorship of the proletariat, under which there exists the greatest freedom for the overwhelming majority wielding power

against the exploiting minority.

As far as the fight for political power and the establishment of socialism is concerned, our Party accepts every form and every method. The only reservation our doctrine makes in this respect is that every method of struggle used in practice should be a mass method. Consequently, the opportuneness and utilization of the methods concerned will have to be determined by the support they get from the masses at the given moment, and not by arbitrary criteria.

This position on fighting methods applies both to the methods misnamed "peaceful"—strikes, public demonstrations, and so on—and to those envisaging every form of armed struggle, including civil war. In any case, the assumption of political power by the working class can never be a result of improvisation or hazard. The Marxist-Leninist doctrine is an inexhaustible treasury of experience and of method proved effective by history. It is to the application of this doctrine that the DCP owes its existence.

However, the immediate objectives of the working class and our Party are considerably modified by the lack of political freedom, the existence of survivals of the feudal system and, above all, the decisive role of U.S. imperialism in our historical development.

Before establishing socialism in our country, it is necessary to bring into being a democratic regime eliminating imperialist domination and all survivals of feudalism. The goal of the working class and other democratic and revolutionary forces at this stage in history is, therefore to overthrow the power of the more reactionary classes—the latifundists and the defeatist bougeoisie—allied with the imperialists, establish people's rule, and carry out a democratic, anti-imperialist and anti-feudal revolution. This revolution should guarantee civil liberties to the people, abolish the latifundium and other survivals of the feudal system through a deep-going agrarian reform, retrieve the riches seized by the imperialists, and ensure the development of a national economy serving the interests of the people.

Therefore, to achieve its socialist objectives, the Dominican revolutionary movement must attain its democratic and anti-imperialist objectives and free our country from all dependence on U.S. imperialism, which oppresses our nation.

The depth and scope of the revolutionary fight of our people, and active participation in its guidance by the working class and its party can considerably shorten the period separating one stage from the other, as has been the case in other countries, by establishing a regime whose democratic gains will be so far-reaching as to break the shackles of dependence on imperialism and subsequently to lead off socialist construction. There is no deep division between the democratic, anti-imperialist and anti-feudal revolution

and the socialist revolution. They are unmistakable stages of one and the same national revolution. One stage succeeds the other, and the two are inseparable in the revolutionary process.

The Dominican working class is destined to be the main and leading factor for the democratic and national-liberation movement in our country. It takes guidance from the invincible Marxist-Leninist doctrines, which has already helped a large proportion of mankind free itself from capitalist tyranny. Furthermore, it has all that it needs to rally the peasants and other segments of the population interested in winning democracy and complete political and economic independence for our country.

The Dominican working class and people can defeat their enemies. But to succeed in this, they must realize their strength and learn to use it in numerous joint actions aimed at achieving their immediate objectives. At the same time they must forge their unity through the Democratic and Anti-imperialist Front.

The DCP takes up and bears on high the glorious patriotic and democratic traditions of the founders of our republic—Gregorio Luperon, the great restorer of our independence, and those who fought against U.S. military occupation in 1916.

Although different in content and launched in different conditions, these actions against U.S. imperialism are part of our people's general struggle against all foreign oppression.

In this popular and democratic fight, we enjoy the support and solidarity of the working-class movement and other revolutionary forces of the world, but above all the support of the socialist countries, where the working class is in power. The Soviet Union, the Chinese People's Republic, the people's democracies of Europe and Asia, and socialist Cuba in Latin America constitute the chief barrier to imperialist plans for war, colonial exploitation and world domination. The totality of the forces fighting all over the world for peace, national liberation, and socialism are vastly superior to the forces which the imperialists and their flunkeys command. This is why there cannot for a moment be the slightest doubt that the democratic and revolutionary working-class movement will triumph in all the countries of the world.

The DCP educates the working class in the spirit of proletarian internationalism, which is based on the community of interests and aspirations of the working people of the whole world and reinforces the action of the peoples through the international unity and solidarity of the revolutionary working-class movement.

The working class and other working people should not forget the heroic fight carried on by the DCP in 1946 and 1957, when the Party came out openly against the Trujillo tyranny, in defense of the rights and liberties of the people. They should not forget the Dominican Communists' valiant participation in the heroic cam-

paign of June 1959. They should not forget the fight of our Party against the despotic Triumvirate and the Party's resolute action during the April rising. They should not forget the heroism of our comrades—Freddy Valdez, César Augusto Batista, Cuco Pena, Ercilio Garcia, Julio Raul Duran and many others—who died the death of the brave fighting the Trujillo tyranny. This is why the Dominican working people's confidence in their Communist Party is growing steadily.

Every revolutionary who is aware of the need to abolish capitalist society and willing to work for this great goal should join the DCP, the party of the working class. Lenin said "There are no Communists outside the Party."

The doors of the Party are open to every revolutionary who is fighting for the workers' cause in our country and accepts this declaration of principles and the Rules.

Santo Domingo, September 25, 1963

STATEMENT* BY THE PARTY OF THE PEOPLE'S VANGUARD OF COSTA RICA

The House of Representatives of the U.S. Congress has declared that U.S. armed forces may invade any Latin American country whose government finds that this country is in danger of falling under Communist domination. Moreover, the resolution of the House of Representatives grants the same right to the armies of other states. This is an official avowal and legislation of the policy of unilateral or multilateral armed intervention, with "Communist menace" as the pretext, which was carried through in the Dominican Republic recently.

The U.S. government and the monopolies behind it are well known to consider that any actions by governments or the masses which bear upon or infringe the interests of the United States, are a "Communist menace." That is why the U.S. House of Representatives has rendered an official and legal character to a policy envisaging armed intervention against any country if U.S. interests are found to be prejudiced. This means enlivening, in a still more impudent and aggressive form, the "Monroe Doctrine" and the big-stick policy.

Our Party considers that this resolution, which has roused the indignation of the whole continent, is not only fraught with danger to peace and to the national independence and sovereignty of the Latin American peoples, but is also calculated to intimidate the democratic and anti-imperialist forces which are fighting in the Western hemisphere for the realization of the demands of the democratic revolution of national liberation. But this revolution will go on developing, for neither threats nor armed intervention will stop the advance of history, which commands the peoples to rise and fight for national liberation. The events in the Dominican Republic are a most dramatic confirmation of this.

Modern imperialism, of which the United States is the citadel today, will meet with the fate of all empires. The peoples of all the world and above all the peoples of Latin America will win complete national freedom and secure democratization of the political regimes existing in their countries. No matter what resolutions the House of Representatives of the U.S. Congress may adopt, the struggle of the Latin American peoples for the restoration of national independence will sooner or later be crowned with triumph.

We declare again that no state or group of states has the right to impede free choice by our peoples. The United States has no

*Liberatad, September 2, 1965.

right to interfere in the internal affairs of the countries of the Western hemisphere—either less individually or under the cover of collective action. Still less is it entitled to interfere with arms.

The resolution of the U.S. House of Representatives leaves the door open for "legalizing" military intervention by the South American "gorillas" against such democratic countries as Uruguay and Chile and creates the danger of Costa Rica being invaded by the so-called Central American Army.

We call upon all patriots, irrespective of party affiliation or ideology, to expose this danger and fight it resolutely. No election considerations should obscure the Costa Ricans' mind when the matter concerns the struggle against the plans endangering national independence.

Political Commission, Central Committee,
Party of the People's Vanguard of Costa Rica

RESOLUTION* OF THE CC, HUNGARIAN SOCIALIST WORKERS' PARTY

On November 18-20, 1965, the Central Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party held an enlarged meeting.

The meeting was attended, in addition to members and alternate members of the CC, by members of the Central Auditing Commission, the Central Control Commission and the Council of Ministers, secretaries of the regional Party committees, secretaries of the Budapest Party Committee, CC department heads, economists, and the editors-in-chief of central press organs.

The meeting heard reports by CC secretaries Zoltan Komocsin on international problems, Bela Biszku on home policy and Rezso Nyers on a comprehensive revision of the economic management system.

The CC unanimously acknowledged the reports on foreign and home policy problems, approved, after a thorough discussion, the report by Rezso Nyers, and adopted a decision on the further elaboration of the reform on the basis of the draft it had discussed. Janos Kadar, First Secretary of the CC, HSWP, took part in the debate.

The CC adopted the following resolution on the problems dealt with in the reports:

INTERNATIONAL PROBLEMS

1. The CC approves the visit of the Party and government delegation led by Janos Kadar to Mongolia, the report on the visit and the Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation it signed. The CC puts on record that the visit to Mongolia and the talks with the Mongolian Party and government leaders have strengthened the relations between the two parties and countries.

The CC notes with satisfaction that relations between our parties and countries are developing successfully, that our parties are agreed on all the essential problems and hold identical views on questions of the international political situation and the world Communist movement.

2. The CC approves Jeno Fock's report on the visit of the delegation led by him to the Democratic Republic of Vietnam. The delegation was accorded a warm, friendly reception. During the visit frank comradely talks took place which will promote cooperation between the two parties and strengthen the fraternal friendship of the two peoples.

*Nepszabadsag, November 21, 1965.

In this connection the CC reaffirms that, in keeping with earlier decisions adopted by the Party and government, we shall render, together with the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries, full support to the heroic Vietnamese people in their struggle for independence and freedom.

It is a matter of record that the Hungarian people condemn the U.S. aggression against South Vietnam and the DRV. Discontinuance of the imperialist aggression in Southeast Asia would have a beneficial effect on all international life. It is known to world opinion that the government of our republic, acting in conformity with our foreign policy, has undertaken a series of diplomatic steps aimed at stopping the imperialist aggression, restoring peace in Southeast Asia and ensuring universal peace.

3. The CC approves Jeno Fock's report on the visit of the Party delegation led by him to the Korean People's Democratic Republic. The talks, which proceeded in an atmosphere of friendship and frankness, have strengthened the union of our parties, peoples and governments.

The CC is convinced that our striving to extend contacts between our parties, peoples and governments helps consolidate the unity of the international working-class movement and strengthen cooperation between the socialist countries.

4. Progressive forces the world over, the Hungarian people included, are deeply alarmed to see reaction in Indonesia undermining the unity of the progressive national forces fighting against colonialism and imperialism. Our Party and our people are profoundly concerned over the fact that extreme Rightists, supported by international reaction, persecute progressives, Communists included, trying to counterpose Indonesia to the socialist countries, which are fighting for mankind's progress and peace.

It is our sincere hope that the forces instigating witch-hunts against progressives will be defeated by sober-minded leaders capable of ensuring that Indonesia continues to play an important part in the struggle against imperialism, for the peaceful cooperation of the peoples.

The HSWP has of late intensified its foreign-policy activity, being convinced that bilateral talks between parties effectively serve the interests of the world Communist movement. The CC is convinced of the need to go on extending our foreign contacts, to continue inter-party talks, to step up the effort to achieve unity of the socialist countries and the fraternal parties.

The CC approves and supports the extensive diplomatic activity representatives of the Hungarian People's Republic have been carrying on with a view to thwarting imperialist aggression, securing peaceful settlement of international disputes, ensuring peaceful coexistence of countries with different social systems, and safeguarding peace.

HOME-POLICY PROBLEMS

The CC puts on record successful progress in the implementation of the decisions on improving economic activity adopted on December 10, 1964. The workers, specialists and executives have made the tasks set in these decisions their own and achieved successes in strengthening labor discipline, raising efficiency and ensuring proper utilization of the personnel and the wage fund. Compared with last year, labor productivity has grown considerably and the profitableness of production has increased somewhat.

Along with the generally correct implementation of the December decisions, there have been distortions and shortcomings. It remains one of the serious weaknesses of economic activity that better organization of labor is not ensured alongside the normalization of quotas, continuous supply of materials has not been properly organized, and measures to exercise strict economy are often nominal. The number of workers engaged in production corresponds to the planned targets today, but the administrative apparatus has not been substantially reduced. Whereas real incomes have grown, real wages have not increased. The CC has taken account of the experience gained in implementing the December decisions, and has outlined appropriate measures.

The CC calls attention to the need to continue efforts for increasing profitableness, improving quality and stopping the manufacture of unmarketable products. In the remaining six weeks of this year it is necessary, working still more efficiently, to complete the annual plan as successfully as possible and to make proper preparations for the fulfilment of next year's plan.

The CC notes that the propaganda of ideological guidelines proceeds successfully. Discussion of these guidelines has enlivened Party activity and helped clear up many theoretical and political problems of interest to Party members. It is necessary to continue the discussion of political and theoretical problems, paying them, as well as the growing economic tasks, constant attention.

The CC sees it as its duty regularly to inform the Party membership and the public at large. At the same time it considers it necessary to enhance the political activity of Party members and to combat more resolutely erroneous and hostile views. The CC calls on the Party members holding key technical and administrative posts to take a more active part in political, educational and propaganda work.

PROBLEMS OF ECONOMIC MANAGEMENT

The CC approves the report on the work to draft the reform. It considers that the system of managing the national economy should be revised. The purpose of the reform is to raise the ef-

ficiency of socialist economic management and to create conditions for a more rapid and consistent implementation of our plans.

The CC approves the directives for better substantiation of planning, extension of the autonomy and responsibilities of the enterprises, and provision of higher material incentives to the working people as the starting point of the reform.

The CC will submit guidelines for the economic reform for discussion by a definite range of Party, public and scientific bodies and economic forums. In the first quarter of 1966 it will again examine the draft of an extensive economic management reform with a view to adopting a final decision.

RESOLUTION* OF THE PLENARY MEETING OF CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF RUMANIAN COMMUNIST PARTY, NOVEMBER 11-12

ON THE IMPROVEMENT OF THE MANAGEMENT AND PLANNING OF AGRICULTURE

I

The Plenary Meeting of the Central Committee of the Rumanian Communist Party met on November 11-12, 1965, and discussed and approved the measures included in the Report presented by Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Rumanian Communist Party, on the improvement of the management and planning of agriculture.

The organizational measures taken by the Plenary Meeting are meant to create the necessary framework for the continuous progress of our socialist agriculture, for the flourishing of the villages, the raising of the material standard and cultural level of the peasantry, the increasing of its contribution to the upsurge of the national economy, of the entire society, to the growing welfare of the people.

The Plenary Meeting stressed that the only road of raising output and labor productivity is the large-scale application of advanced science and technology, the use of modern labor means — mechanization, chemicalization, irrigation — which are to influence to a growing extent the natural factors on which the agricultural production process depends.

To this end it is necessary to make sustained efforts for the integral implementation of the investments plan established by Congress for agriculture, to produce and to supply on time the socialist agricultural units with all the technical means envisaged for the modernization of the production process. Exerting increased energy and a high organizational spirit, the leading agricultural bodies, all socialist agricultural units must tirelessly militate for the use with the best possible results of the funds allocated for the technical endowment of the production process, for the good administration of the available means, for improving their economic activity.

*Reprinted from **Age Press**, Rumanian News Agency.

II

The Plenary Meeting emphasizes as a highly important factor in successfully solving the great tasks traced by Congress for the development of agriculture the continuous improvement of the management and planning of agriculture. To this end the Plenary Meeting decides:

1. To improve the organizational form and the working methods of the Higher Council of Agriculture and the regional and district agriculture councils as state bodies of agricultural management, so as to ensure greater efficiency and expeditiousness in their work, and secure their increased responsibility in solving the complex problems of agricultural output. The Higher Council of Agriculture will be made up of a smaller number of members and in the place of the present specialized sections, departments will be organized staffed with a corresponding number of specialists. The organizational structure of the regional and district agricultural councils will be improved by the creation within their framework of a specialized apparatus capable of exercising direct, competent and permanent guidance of the socialist agricultural units. The Higher Council of Agriculture, its Executive Committee, the regional and district councils will carry on their activity on the basis of the principles of collective work, acting as deliberative bodies.

2. The Higher Council of Agriculture and its regional and district bodies have the following main tasks:

(a) the planning of production, of the means of production, the labor force, the investments, and of the profitableness of the agricultural branches. The Higher Council of Agriculture establishes the proportions between the agricultural branches according to socio-economic sectors with a view to the rational and balanced development of the whole of agriculture. It is answerable for the implementation of the state plan targets with regard to agricultural output;

(b) technical and specialized guidance of the whole of agriculture, the judicious selection of crops according to zones and within each unit. The Higher Council will elaborate for all agricultural zones differentiated agro-zootechnical measures based on the latest scientific and technical data and on the advanced experience of agricultural front-rankers, ensuring their practical application in all agricultural units;

(c) planning, administration and guidance of exploitation of irrigated lands in the best way. To this end the Council will take over part of the present attributions of the State Water Committee.

(d) continuous improvement of the activity of the machine-and-tractor stations so as to ensure permanent and multilateral technical support in the economic and organizational consolidation of the

agricultural cooperatives;

(e) improvement of the central management of the state farms, expeditious solving of problems arising in their current activity. To this end, the State Farm Department will be set up under the Higher Council of Agriculture. The State Farm Department will ensure the streamlining of state farms, the concentration of production in specialized units, the improvement of organization of work on state farms, the encouragement of the spirit of scientific farming, the continuous growth of the economic efficiency in their entire activity;

(f) the advancement of scientific research in close link with the practical requirements of agriculture, the organization of introducing and generalizing in production of the best results obtained;

(g) training, in cooperation with the Ministry of Education, of agronomists, livestock experts and veterinary surgeons, of all agricultural personnel with secondary and higher education;

(h) improvement of the activity of raising the level of the peasantry's agro-technical knowledge, of organizing mass agro-technical education and agricultural propaganda.

In their activity, the Higher Council of Agriculture, and the regional and district agricultural councils must draw, in a systematic and organized way, a broad active of specialists, scientists and front-rank working peasants possessing rich knowledge and practical experience in the study and solution of problems raised by agricultural production.

III

For solving the particularly complex problems of development of cooperative agriculture and with a view to implementing the recommendations of the Ninth Congress concerning the creation of their own management and guiding bodies of the agricultural producer cooperatives, the Plenary meeting resolves:

1. The proposal for setting up district and regional cooperative unions and the National Union of Agricultural Cooperatives should be submitted to the agricultural producer cooperatives. The cooperative unions, public economic organizations, should be created on the basis of the free adhesion of the agricultural cooperatives and on the principle of democratic centralism, having as supreme leading body the National Union Congress and the conferences of regional and district unions respectively.

2. The principal task of the cooperative unions will be to guide the activity of the agricultural cooperatives along the line of the demands of the development of our national economy, the harmonious intertwining of the interests of the cooperative peasantry with the general interests of the country. They will help the agricul-

tural cooperatives in the organization of work, in setting the work rates and in the remuneration of work, in the rational utilization of the investment funds and the material means at their disposal.

3. The basic link of the public management system of cooperative agriculture will be the district union, set up by the association of cooperatives within the respective district. The district union will have the following main attributions:

(a) to coordinate and guide the activity of the agricultural cooperatives with a view to the judicious working out of the economic plans, the good organization of the production process, the strict observance of the Agricultural Rules provisions and cooperative democracy;

(b) to organize actions of common interest to the agricultural cooperatives within the radius of their activity concerning land melioration, ensuring the judicious use of the labor force, of cash funds and the cooperatives' means of work as well as of the assistance granted by the state;

(c) to supply the cooperatives according to the requirements of the production process, with chemical fertilizers, pest killers, equipment, high-quality seed varieties, pomiviticultural material, medicaments for veterinary purposes and others, gradually creating, for some of them their own supply centers; organizing the repair of agricultural implements and transport means of the cooperatives; facilitating exchanges and mutual assistance of the cooperatives with seeds, fodder and other means necessary for production;

(d) to organize the processing and marketing of agricultural produce of the production cooperatives. The district unions will actively collaborate with the state bodies in guiding agricultural production in step with the necessities of setting up a central fund, ensuring the implementation of all provisions of the contracts concluded with the state;

(e) to organize the guidance, control and keeping of accounts of the production cooperatives; to grant them legal assistance.

In step with the economic strengthening of the cooperatives and the enriching of their own experience, the district unions will extend their activity, undertaking new actions designed to contribute towards the fullest use of the possibilities and reserves available to our cooperative agriculture.

4. The regional unions will guide and control the activity of the district unions according to the instructions and provisions of the National Union of Agricultural Cooperatives. They will have to solve problems arising in the relations of the district unions and the agricultural producer cooperatives within their radius of activity, with the regional economic and state bodies.

5. The National Union is the central body of coordination and guidance in the activity of the cooperative unions. It will elaborate

general recommendations of a standard character, which will serve as a guide to the agricultural cooperatives in orientating production, making investments, in the organizing, rate-fixing and remuneration of work, in the rational distribution and utilization of material means and cash funds; it will follow up the implementation of the investment plan in cooperative agriculture; will exercise the economic and financial guidance of the cooperatives; will take part in the drawing up, on a central plane, of all the normative acts concerning cooperative agriculture, representing the economic, legal and social interests of the agricultural cooperatives.

6. The National Union will organize its own Pensions Fund, will elaborate the pensioning system for cooperative peasants.

7. The leading bodies of the National Union and of the regional and district unions will unfold their activity on the basis of collective work as deliberative bodies and will be answerable for their activity to the cooperative peasants.

8. The National Union, the regional and district unions will carry on their activity in close cooperation with the Higher Council of Agriculture and the regional and district agricultural councils and will be constantly assisted by these bodies.

IV

1. The Plenary Meeting establishes that the main responsibility for agricultural planning rests with the Higher Council of Agriculture. In collaboration with the State Planning Committee, the National Union of Agricultural Cooperatives and with other central economic bodies, the Higher Council must continuously improve the planning of agriculture, establishing the proportions of a unitary and balanced development of all the social-economic branches and sectors of agriculture in line with the requirements of the whole of economy and of raising the living standards of the people.

2. The Plenary Meeting considers that the economic relations of the state economic organizations with the cooperative peasantry must be developed and the material incentives offered to the producers increased. The bodies entrusted with the conclusion of contracts for the procurement of agricultural produce will orientate themselves in the future towards concentrating the marketable output of every crop at those farms that have the most favorable natural and socio-economic conditions. The long-term contract system will be extended as this ensures prospects for planning production in each agricultural unit, and offers greater guarantees for realizing the cash income of the cooperatives.

3. In order to offer a still safer foundation to the contracts concluded between the state bodies and agricultural cooperatives on

the basis of respect for the principle of mutual agreement, the Plenary Meeting resolves that in future these contracts should stipulate both output as well as the areas under crops and the number of cattle necessary to obtain the output for which contracts have been concluded.

V

The Plenary Meeting indicated that in the elaboration of the new Rules of the agricultural cooperatives the new problems that have arisen in their life should be regulated, taking into account the necessity of extending cooperative democracy and unswervingly apply the principle of collective leadership, of the broad and active participation of the mass of cooperative members in establishing and solving joint tasks.

1. To this end, the role of the General Meeting of the cooperators will have to be strengthened, as the one and only body authorized to take a decision on the entire economic, financial and organizational activity of the cooperative.

2. It is also necessary to enhance the responsibility of the leadership councils of the cooperatives in managing the commonly-owned property. They are obliged to report periodically to the General Meeting on their activity for the implementation of the decisions adopted.

3. With a view to improving the organization of work the role of the brigades in the production process will be strengthened, generalizing the practice of setting up brigades enjoying stability and consisting of a smaller number of members, and whose composition and working assignments should be fixed for a prolonged period of time.

4. So as to ensure the growing well-being of the peasantry it is necessary that in every unit a most reasonable ratio be established between the accumulation fund and the consumption fund rendering possible an extended reproduction and continuous increase in joint property. In conformity with the degree of development of each agricultural cooperative, the Plenary Meeting considers it advisable that the accumulation fund be etablished at between 18 and 25 per cent of the value of the net output, and the consumption fund at between 75 and 82 per cent.

5. The Plenary Meeting considers that for offering better material incentives to the cooperators for the results in their work it is necessary to introduce everywhere, besides the basic remuneration according to work-day, the system of supplementary remuneration as well as regular payment of cash advance and especially of monthly advance. Remuneration of the chairmen and other management and administrative personnel of the cooperative

is to be made by taking into account their tasks and responsibility, the activity they carry on for solving the joint tasks as well as some indicators characterizing as a whole the production activity of the cooperative. It is suitable that the basic remuneration of the chairman—and in relation to this, of the other management cadres—be made in accordance with the average number of work-days calculated for each cooperator who regularly takes part in the activity of the cooperative, so that the number of work-days allotted to the chairman should not exceed two and a half times this average. To this there is added a plus of work-days established in accordance with the value of the gross output and the size of the cooperative's land area and head of cattle.

6. Proceeding from the importance the plots in personal use have for raising the cooperators' incomes and noting that their distribution per cooperator's family is not regulated in a unitary way at present, the Plenary Meeting considers it necessary that the distribution of these should be based on the criterion of the cooperators' participation in the cooperative's work.

The allotment of new plots must not be carried out through diminishing the agricultural area in the joint use of the cooperatives, but only through a redistribution of the lands at present personally used by the cooperators, exclusively for agricultural purposes.

7. The new Rules must envisage solutions to the problem of plots for the houses and courtyards of cooperators. The Plenary Meeting indicates that young cooperators be given all care and assistance for setting up their homes.

The allotting of plots for houses, courtyards and annex buildings must be made in such a way so as not to affect the production perimeter used at present by the agricultural cooperatives.

8. With a view to organizing and systematizing the socialist development of the villages so as to ensure the raising of the general standard of life of our cooperative peasantry, the best possible use of public utility and socio-cultural institutions—schools, dispensaries, cultural clubs, trading units, bakeries, electrification and water supply—the Plenary Meeting decides to set up the Central Commission of Village Development.

9. The Plenary Meeting considers that on the basis of the experience gained by the producer cooperatives a unitary system be established throughout the country for granting old-age pensions or pensions in case of sickness to the cooperative peasants.

The most suitable pensioning scheme is the mixed one, in kind and in cash. Assistance in kind is granted out of the fund of minimum two per cent of the output, on the basis of the decisions of the General Meeting of each cooperative. To secure the sums necessary for paying cash pensions, every cooperative must allo-

cate some 3.5 per cent of the value of its gross output and every cooperator make a monthly contribution in cash.

VI

1. The Plenary Meeting calls upon the Party bodies and organizations to improve their political-organizational activity of mobilizing the Communists and all working people in the villages in the struggle for raising plant and animal output, centering their entire work on the economic and organizational consolidation of the cooperatives.

2. The Party organizations must support the leadership councils of the cooperatives in applying the decisions adopted by the General Meeting, seeing to the observance of cooperative democracy, of the provisions of the Rules.

3. The regional and district party bodies are called upon to back the cooperative unions, creating for them all the conditions that should enable them from the very outset of their activity to successfully fulfil the highly responsible tasks entrusted to them.

4. The Party organizations at state farms and machine-and-tractor stations have to mobilize the workers, technicians and engineers with a view to using modern technology with a maximum productivity, to raising the economic efficiency of the activity of these units.

5. The regional, district and city Party committees must improve their work style and methods in managing and guiding agriculture, give many-sided support to the agricultural councils in the concrete and prompt solution of the tasks incumbent on them.

6. The people's councils have to ensure the guidance of the agricultural councils and the production cooperatives with a view to fulfilling the tasks of continuously raising agricultural plant and animal output.

★ ★ ★

The Plenary Meeting establishes that for the preparation of the Foundation Congress of the National Union of Agricultural Cooperatives to be held in February 1966, an organizing commission is to be created. Up to the time the Congress takes place, conferences will be held for the setting up of district and regional unions of agricultural producer cooperatives.

The draft of the new Rules of the agricultural cooperatives as well as the draft Rules of the National Union of Agricultural Cooperatives and for the draft for the setting up of the Pensions Fund of the National Union will be discussed by the cooperative peasantry and submitted to the Congress of the cooperative unions for approval.

The Plenary Meeting assesses that the new measures will ensure

a still broader drawing in of the peasantry to agricultural management activity, to solving the increasingly complex problems raised by the progress of this important branch of our national economy; they will contribute to a still stronger cementing of the alliance of the working-class and the peasantry—the unshakeable foundation of our socialist system—to the continuous flourishing of our homeland, the Socialist Republic of Rumania!

UNITE AGAINST THE MONOPOLIES

PROGRAM* OF ACTION OF THE CP OF THE NETHERLANDS

The biggest industrial monopolies and banks have in recent years been gaining further strength and exerting ever greater influence on the entire economic and political life of the country. Ignoring the vital interests of the Dutch people, they pursue the sole aim of getting the maximum of profits. The wage, price and tax policy of the monopolies and their representatives in the administration harms not only the workers, but also the non-monopoly groups in agriculture, trade and industry and binds the small and medium enterprises hand and foot. Many owners of such enterprises are compelled either to surrender to the big concerns or go out of business altogether.

The continuing depreciation of money is an important means employed by the monopolies to increase their might.

Inflation hits all people, excepting only those who can invest in the construction of ultra-modern industrial establishments and expensive flats or purchase land and other property. Closely linked with foreign capital, the Dutch monopolies are not concerned with the national interests of the country. They utilize the European Economic Community to jack up prices and increase their profits. In order to suppress the resistance surging in all strata of the Dutch people, the monopolists strive to restrict still more parliamentary democracy and local-government autonomy.

The Communist Party of the Netherlands stresses that the working class and other sections of the population attacked by the industrial and finance monopolies have common interests around which they can unite.

The workers' strength can be multiplied through enlarging and consolidating the Trade Union Federation. At the same time the workers should establish contacts with the other non-monopoly strata.

The monopolies are out to prevent this. Although it is their own domination that is responsible for the squeezing out of small and medium enterprises, they accuse the Communist Party of insisting on the liquidation of these enterprises. In doing so they refer to the negative attitude to the people representing such enterprises in the East European socialist countries. Although the conditions obtaining in these countries and in the Netherlands differ, this attitude has been found to have hampered economic development.

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*De Waarheid, October 29, 1965.

The CPN considers that the skill, energy and experience of these groups should not be ignored either in the conditions of the present society or during socialist construction.

The CPN considers that the banks, big enterprises and the natural riches should be made the property of the whole society, but that other types of property should not be infringed upon.

Already now the non-monopoly democratic forces acting in common can press the monopolies back and win concessions.

The country needs:

in the interests of the entire people—

—nationalization of the gas and oil industry; low gas tariffs for the population and the power plants; utilization of gas to promote economic development;

—nationalization of the banks and big monopolies;

—effective measures against inflation and the price growth;

—higher taxes on profits and large property;

—lower taxes on the workers, the middle strata, the farmers and the owners of small and medium enterprises;

—greater state allocations for local self-government bodies; reduction in the interest rate on loans;

in the interests of the workers—

—as the minimum guarantee, a free policy on wages based on collective agreements; the right of the trade unions and factory councils to conclude agreements on active participation in the management of enterprises;

in the interests of the middle classes—

—defense of small and medium enterprises through reducing the taxes on them; liquidation of the entrepreneurs' associations; assistance in re-tooling, specifically through interest-free loans;

in the interests of the peasants—

—help in modernizing production; lower prices of the raw materials and other goods needed for agricultural production; liquidation of the associations of rural magnates;

in the interests of defending and renovating democracy—

—establishment, on a broad progressive basis, of a government of the working-class movement;

—removal of representatives of the monopolies and banks from the government and its organs;

—defense of the constitutional right to proportionate representation.

GREAT VICTORIES OF THE SOVIET PEOPLE IN BUILDING SOCIALISM AND COMMUNISM*

Nguyen Binh

In the past 48 years the Soviet people led by their Communist Party have built socialism and embarked on communist construction.

The victory in the building of socialism in the USSR is a victory for the principle of planned economic development, a graphic manifestation of the superiority of the socialist economic system over the capitalist one. It was only under socialism, after the working class had taken power into its own hands and turned the chief means of production, formerly privately-owned, into public property, that planned and proportionate development of the national economy became possible.

Immediately after the victorious October Revolution in Russia in 1917 the socialist state led by the wise Lenin acquired the possibility of outlining, for the first time in the world, ways of planning economic development, with public ownership of the means of production as the basis.

Economically, old Russia lagged far behind the other capitalist states. Therefore, when the civil war was nearing its victorious end, Lenin proposed a plan for the electrification of the whole country, based on the famous formula; "Communism means Soviet power plus electrification." In Lenin's opinion, nation-wide electrification was the only means of rehabilitating the national economy and establishing large-scale modern socialist production in conditions of old Russia whose economy, backward as it was, lay in ruins after almost ten years of the imperialist and civil wars.

In 1928, following the restoration of the economy and the first successes of the electrification, the Soviet people set about fulfilling the first five-year economic development plan. As a result of the implementation, under the leadership of the CPSU, of two five-year plans (1928-32 and 1933-37), the Soviet people completed in the main, the building of socialism in the economic field, and the Soviet Union became a mighty industrial socialist state.

Now the Soviet people could tackle the task of overtaking and outstripping the developed capitalist countries and accomplishing the transition from socialism to communism. Therefore the third

*Slightly abridged from **Hoc Tap**, No. 11, 1965.

five-year plan (1938-42), along with ambitious economic targets, provided for a vigorous effort to carry forward the revolution in the cultural and ideological fields, to educate the new man, the man of socialist society.

However, the sudden attack of the Nazis in 1941 compelled the Soviet people to switch over from fulfilling the third five-year plan to gearing the national economy to defense needs. At that time the Soviet union was faced not only with the huge and well-prepared military-economic machine of Germany, but also with the industrial potential of almost the whole of capitalist Europe. It can be stated, therefore, that if the Soviet people had not embarked on a determined effort to industrialize the country along socialist lines under the first five-year plans, they would have been unable to organize an effective strategic defense against the powerful "Blitz" and then swiftly to proceed to a general counter-offensive, drive the invaders out and destroy them in their own den.

The advantages of the socialist system in the Soviet Union were also manifested in the fact that the Soviet people quickly healed the war wounds and resumed economic development at a pace unequalled in any capitalist country.

The successful implementation of the fourth five-year plan* made possible the setting of increasingly stupendous tasks in the fifth (1951-55) and sixth (1956-60) five-year plans, whose chief objective was to ensure further progress of all branches and above all heavy industry, the groundwork of the socialist economy, and continuous improvement of the material and cultural standards of the working people.

In 1959, the targets of the first three years of the sixth five-year plan having been exceeded by a large margin, the Communist Party and the Soviet government worked out and launched the seven-year plan, designed to build the material and technical foundations of communism. At present this plan is nearing completion. According to the Central Statistical Board of the USSR, in these seven years industrial production in the USSR has increased by 84 per cent, growing at an average annual rate of 9.3 per cent, and the output of some basic industrial items is to grow as follows: electric power—from 235,000 million kwh to 509,000 million kwh; steel—from 55 million tons to 91 million tons; oil—from 113 million tons to 242 million tons; natural gas—from 30,000 million cubic meters to 130,000 million cubic meters. The past seven years have seen the building and putting into operation 5,500 new big industrial projects.

Industrial output in the USSR is growing much faster than in the United States. Equalling only 47 per cent of output in the U.S. in 1957, in 1964 it reached 65 per cent.

*1946-50.—**Ed.**

The Communist Party of the Soviet Union has drafted an economic development plan for the next five years. It provides for the fastest rates in three key branches vital for technological progress in the entire national economy—power, chemicals and engineering. Serious attention is also paid to the production of consumer goods so as to further raise the material and cultural standards of the population.

The colossal economic successes the Soviet Union has achieved in forty-eight years testify to the great creative abilities of the Soviet working people which were fully revealed and given full scope under socialism. These successes are inseparable from the gigantic leap in the development of the productive forces which was made possible by socialism.

The growth of the share of industry in the national economy and the mechanization of agriculture have been accomplanied by a continuous increase in the number of factory and office workers, which in recent years has exceeded 70 million. The average annual increase is 2,000,000

Along with ensuring correct distribution of the productive forces, the Communist Party and the Soviet state have invariably concerned themselves with scientific and technological progress and practical utilization of its achievements in order constantly to increase the productivity of social labor.

Engineering has always been made an important item of all Soviet economic plans in order to supply all enterprises with the latest machinery.

Ever wider use is being made of automation. The Soviet Union has firmly established itself as a leader in science and technology. It was the first to test hydrogen weapons, build an atom power station and launch satellites, automatic space stations and manned spaceships.

The Soviet Union pays close attention to promoting education in order to ensure a high cultural level of the people and equip them with a good knowledge of technology. The number of cultural and educational establishments, including schools functioning in the evening, is constantly growing. At present one out of every three Soviet citizens is studying, although more than half of all working people already have a secondary or higher education. This is true for 92 per cent of the technical specialists and office employees, 44 per cent of the industrial workers and 25 per cent of the state-farm workers and collective farmers. Women make up 57 per cent of the specialists with a higher education and 63 per cent of the specialists who have finished specialized secondary schools.

It is perfectly obvious that the persistent effort to educate a large contingent of working people (industrial workers, collective

farmers, the new intelligentsia), which not only makes them good patriots and enthusiastic builders of socialism and communism, but also ensures their high cultural level and gives them a sound knowledge of technology, has been vastly instrumental in advancing the socialist economy in the past forty-eight years.

The Vietnamese and Soviet people have long since united closely on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism.

The Vietnamese people, who are taking part in the common struggle against international imperialism headed by the U.S. mperialists, for world peace, national independence, democracy and socialism, highly value their fraternal friendship and cooperation with the Soviet people, the peoples of all the countries of the socialist camp and the progressive peoples of the whole world. The Vietnamese people have profound faith in the firm revolutionary spirit of the Soviet people, the people of the first socialist state founded by Lenin and headed by the party of Lenin. They express deep-felt gratitude to the Soviet people for their sympathy with and support of the national-liberation struggle of our people in the past an dof the current struggle against U.S. imperialism, for saving our country and building socialism. Fighting on the front-line of the battle against U.S. imperialism, the Vietnamese people, inspired by the heroic labor and struggles of the Soviet people in the past 48 years, are enthusiastically promoting production and stepping up their struggle. They are firmly determined to defeat the U.S. aggressors in order to defend North Vietnam, liberate South Vietnam, reunify their country and make their contribution to the common struggle of the peoples of all the world against world imperialism headed by the United States.

AID FROM SOCIALIST COUNTRIES*

The Soviet Union and other socialist countries are rendering Mongolia great assistance in fulfilling her stupendous five-year economic development plan.

In 1960-1965 the Soviet Union has helped Mongolia build fuel, power, light and dairy industry enterprises, flour mills, important transport and communication projects, many new houses, virgin-land state farms and technical facilities for live stock-breeding farms.

Built with Soviet help in April 1960, the powerful Lenin Broadcasting Station in Khenkhor (near Ulan-Bator) ensures stable reception of broadcasts in any part of the country.

Prefabricated parts for houses with a total floor space of 70,000 square meters are turned out annually by the large-panel manufacturing plant which was built in Ulan-Bator in 1961 with Soviet assistance.

The Soviet Union has helped to enlarge considerably the Nalaikha colliery and to build flour mills in Muren and Undurkhan, facilities for the industrial-power complex under construction in Darkhan, the Sharingol open-cast coalmine, the alabaster plant in Central Goby Region, and other projects.

Many Soviet specialists work in different branches of the economy and culture of the Mongolian People's Republic, taking a direct part in socialist construction here.

Socialist Czechoslovakia helps the MPR in the construction and reconstruction of tanneries and shoe-making factories, a power station in Bainulgi Region and the reconstruction of the Sukhe-Bator heat and power plant. The powerful broadcasting station that went into operation in Western Mongolia this year was also built with the help of Czechoslovakia.

The German Democratic Republic is rendering assistance in the development of the printing industry, the construction of a meat-packing plant in Ulan-Bator and the organization of rug manufacture.

The People's Republic of Bulgaria takes part in developing agriculture. It will also help build a meat-packing plant in Choibalsan and a hydraulic power station in Khatgal.

The Hungarian People's Republic cooperated in the construction of the flour mill which went into operation in Khar-Khorin at the end of 1960. At present Hungary is taking part in building a garment-making factory and in irrigation works.

*Supplied by **Montsame**, the MPR News Agency.

Several enterprises, including plants to manufacture silicate bricks, light concrete parts, roofing slate and carpentry articles, are being built with the help of the Polish People's Republic.

Considerable assistance has been and is being given by the USSR, Poland, Czechoslovakia and the GDR in geological prospecting.

The People's Republic of China has helped build a worsted mill and a heat and power plant in Ulan-Bator, a chicken factory in Central Region, houses and other projects.

Some of these projects commissioned recently include the Ulan-Bator-Nalaikh motor highway and a ferro-concrete bridge across the Selenga.

The PRC also assists in erecting a second residential district with a total floor space of 120,000 square meters and a distillery in Zunkhara.

The fraternal assistance of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries is an important factor in completing the building of socialist in the Mongolian People's Republic.

CANADIANS "DEPLORE" POSITION OF CHINESE*

The Communist Party, in a statement issued by its national executive on Nov. 26, said it "deplores" the position taken by the Chinese publications *Hunchi* and *Jenminjihpao* in a recent editorial entitled "The CPSU new leadership's harangue on 'unity of action' rebuffed."

"This editorial rejected the need for united action of all Communist and Workers' parties against the common enemy—imperialism in general and U.S. imperialism in particular and instead undertook a bitter attack on the Communist Party of the Soviet Union," said the Canadian statement.

"Such a position can only weaken the anti-imperialist front at a time when it needs decisive strengthening to ensure all-out solidarity in support of the heroic peoples of Vietnam and all peoples striving for national liberation and the curbing of U.S. aggression.

"Our Party is firmly convinced that what unites all Communist and Workers' parties is greater than what divides them at the present time. This should be the starting point for united action against imperialism by all parties.

"It is our hope that the Communist Party of China will reconsider the position taken by the above publications and together with all parties strengthen the common front against imperialism and for peace and social progress."

*Canadian Tribune, December 6, 1965.

UNITY OF ACTION IN ANTI-IMPERIALIST STRUGGLE*

The most important question today confronting the world revolutionary forces and the Communists in the first place is how to continue the struggle against imperialism, how to oppose its aggressive aspiration and actions. The successes won have strengthened the positions of socialism in the world, accelerated the break-up of the colonial system and contributed to a series of victories for the national-liberation struggle. Prerequisites have been created for the further development of the struggle against imperialism. On the other hand, the imperialists, refusing to put up with loss of their positions, are stepping up their activity in the hope of checking this historical process, and the struggle between the revolutionary forces and the forces of imperialism and reaction is growing in acuteness.

The experience already gained shows what the revolutionary forces have to do to win new victories. This experience testifies that unity of action of the revolutionary forces and above all of the Communist and Workers' parties facilitated successful socialist development of a whole number of European and Asian countries and of the first Latin American socialist state—Cuba—and that it compelled the aggressive forces to give up many of their plans and prevented them from unleashing a world war. This experience also proves that unity of action of the Communist and Workers' parties is essential for new victories of socialism and peace over the forces of imperialism.

The escalation of the war in Vietnam is the most graphic illustration of the U.S. imperialists' desperate efforts to check the world revolutionary process. Their attempts to break the Vietnamese people's will for freedom and suppress the national-liberation struggle in South Vietnam having failed, they are sending there new contingents of soldiers, intensifying the barbaric raids on the regions of South Vietnam controlled by the South Vietnamese National Liberation Front and on cities and villages in the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, and trying to spread their war of aggression to Laotian and Cambodian territory as well. Statements have already appeared in the U.S. press to the effect that the U.S. will wage this war for another ten or twenty years and involve in it more and more troops.

Simultaneously an offensive has been launched against the revolutionary forces in other parts of the world. The U.S. imperia-

*Rude Pravo, December 2, 1965.

lists are increasing pressure on the Latin American governments to force a more outspoken anti-communist policy on them. For several weeks now Communists have been persecuted and even physically destroyed in Indonesia. A ban has been put on the Communist Party in the Sudan. And although all these events are not directly connected, their general—anti-communist—trend is obvious. Hence the imperative need for the Communists of all the world, for all the Communists parties to strengthen their solidarity and unity of action in the fight against imperialism and reaction.

The Communist Party of Czechoslovakia has on more than one occasion declared in no uncertain terms that the duty of all the Communist parties is to vigorously step up joint actions against imperialism. During their talks in Moscow in September 1965, representatives of the CPC and the CPSU expressed the firm conviction of their parties that the main road to strengthening the unity of the world Communist movement lies through every party displaying a higher sense of internationalist responsibility and taking part in joint actions, in the common fight against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism, through support of the liberation struggle of the peoples, through struggle against the rule of monopoly capital, for peace and international security, for socialism and communism. This opinion of our parties is identical to the opinion of the absolute majority of the Communist parties.

Our Party, just as the CPSU and other Communist parties, not only declares for the unity of the world Communist movement but is working actively to strengthen it. It has been using its extenstive international contacts and the prestige it has won among the Communists of all the world thanks to its consistent stand when discussing problems of unity with representatives of many fraternal parties of all continents. The fact alone that in all these talks we agreed on the need for joint action by the Communist and Workers' parties demonstrates the intensity of the striving for the unity of the world Communist movement.

In view of this the Czechoslovak Communists cannot agree with the directly opposite stand adopted by the representatives of some parties at a time when vigorous joint struggle against world imperialism is needed. An expression of this stand can be found, for instance, in a recent article in the Peking newspaper *Jenminjihpao.*

The majority of the Communist parties hold that the present differences in the world Communist movement should not be an obstacle to joint actions against the common imperialist enemy. For it is self-evident that refusal to act in common unties the imperialists' hands and hampers the liberation struggle of the peoples and the consolidation of the anti-imperialist front. It is still less comprehensible that this refusal should be substantiated with fantastic arguments to the effect that there exists between some Com-

munist parties and the leadership of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union "irreconcilable antagonism" which allegedly is "class antagonism between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie," "antagonism between socialist society and capitalist society."

The Soviet Union has proved by its almost fifty years history that it is carrying out consistently its historical internationalist mission as the first socialist state. It was only thanks to the Soviet people, who, at the cost of many sacrifices, had built an industrially and militarily powerful socialist state and routed the most reactionary forces of imperialism in World War II, that the peoples of a number of other countries, China included, were able to enter upon socialist development. The Soviet Union has for years been helping the peoples of these countries to overcome economic difficulties created by world imperialism. Our country, just as faraway Cuba, could cite concrete examples of this assistance. The Soviet Union's modern defenses protect the peoples against imperialist aggression. The military assistance which the Soviet Union is rendering to the Democratic Republic of Vietnam by delivering the most up-to-date weapons is not "merely verbal attacks on U.S. imperialism," but most effective help. Comrade Ho Chi Minh declared in a recent interview to the Soviet newspaper *Pravda* that "the Party, government and people of Vietnam express deep-felt gratitude to the Party, government and people of the Soviet Union for the solidarity, support and valuable assistance in the struggle against aggressive U.S. imperialism."

It has always been our Party's view that the attitude to the Soviet Union, the chief anti-imperialist force of the world, is the touchstone of the anti-imperialist position. It is no accident that all the reactionary forces have for decades been attacking the Soviet Union and carrying on a venomous campaign of slander against it. True, anti-Soviet slander has served not only reaction but also those who have been continuously but unsuccessfully trying to split the world Communist movement. The entire world Communist movement has invariably rebuffed them. That is why those who, while calling themselves Marxists and Leninists, direct the fire of propaganda against the Soviet Union and its Leninist Communist Party and put disagreements above the interests of joint struggle against imperialism, find no support in the ranks of the world Communist movement. And if they set their sights on a political and organizational split of the movement, they would do well to bear in mind that they remain in isolation and find no followers among those for whom anti-imperialist struggle is not a phrase but real struggle for the freedom of the peoples, of all mankind.

We salute the CPSU's terse and fitting reply to the campaign of

slander given in the article in Sunday's *Pravda** reaffirming the striving to promote the consolidation of the Communist ranks.

The entire history of the world Communist movement, which is almost half a century old, shows that Communists have always been able to preserve their unity. And all recent international Communist meetings—the conferences of the fraternal parties of Latin America and Western Europe, the Prague meeting of representatives of almost 40 parties to celebrate the 30th anniversary of the Seventh Congress of the Comintern—have reaffirmed the firm will of the fraternal parties to strengthen the unity of the world Communist movement.

Our Party is convinced that the unity of the world Communist movement will be fortified in joint actions against the common enemy, imperialism. Our Party will make its contribution to the consolidation of this unity.

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*Pravda, November 28, 1965.—Ed.

THE CPSU IN FIGURES*

The Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the leading and guiding force of Soviet society, has a more important role to play now that our country is engaged in full-scale communist construction. It steadfastly implements the general line charted by its 20th, 21st and 22nd congresses, which implies, first and foremost, providing the material and technical base for communism, improving the people's standard of living, educating them in a communist spirit and promoting communist social relations. It applies Leninist principles and standards in Party and government activity, and encourages the creative effort of the masses.

The following statistical data on quantitative and qualitative changes in the Party since its 22nd Congress show that the links between the Party and the people are becoming closer and that the Party enjoys tremendous prestige in every segment of Soviet society.

NUMERICAL STRENGTH OF THE PARTY

The CPSU has grown by 2,042,164 since the 22nd Congress. The rate of growth will be seen from the following table.

	Full members	Candidate members	Total
Jan. 1, 1961	8,472,396	803,430	9,275,826
Oct. 1, 1961 (on eve of 22nd Congress)	8,872,516	843,489	9,716,005
Jan. 1, 1962	9,051,934	839,134	9,891,068
Jan. 1, 1963	9,581,149	806,047	10,387,196
Jan. 1, 1964	10,182,916	839,453	11,022,369
Jan. 1, 1965	10,811,443	946,726	11,758,169

The membership of the Communist parties of the Union republics during the same period increased as follows:

	Jan. 1, 1961	Jan. 1, 1965
Ukraine	1,370,997	1,829,638
Belorussia	225,541	319,196
Uzbekistan	224,519	314,279
Kazakhstan	345,115	450,486
Georgia	216,866	248,375
Azerbaijan	153,221	198,539
Lithuania	60,551	86,366
Moldavia	59,908	85,379
Latvia	72,519	95,742
Kirghizia	65,866	84,721
Tajikistan	52,014	67,624
Armenia	85,062	104,305
Turkmenistan	47,950	57,206
Estonia	37,848	54,836

*Partiinaya Zhizn, No. 10, 1965.

ADMISSION OF NEW MEMBERS

To maintain the purity of the Party, the 20th and 22nd congresses of the CPSU ruled that Party organizations strictly adhere to the principle of individual selection for membership of the foremost Soviet men and women worthy of the name of Communist. The Party proceeds from Lenin's idea that the important thing is the qualitative and not the quantitative growth of the Party membership.

The great programme for communist construction adopted by the 22nd Party Congress spurred the production effort and political activity of the Soviet people. After the Congress many factory workers, collective farmers and intellectuals—men and women distinguished by a high degree of social consciousness and activity and thoroughly devoted to the communist cause—joined the Party. From October 1, 1961, to January 1, 1965, the Party admitted 2,498,000 people as candidate members and another 2,282,000 as full members.

The membership grew as follows:

	ADMITTED	
	as candidate members	as full members
1960	672,879	545,155
1961	712,981	658,806
1962	660,239	651,301
1963	771,439	705,027
1964	879,428	740,829

These figures show that in 1964 the Party admitted 879,400 candidate members, the largest recruitment since the war.

Most of the newly-admitted members are people engaged in material production, in key sectors of communist construction. In terms of occupation new admissions in 1964 accounted for the following percentages:

Wage-earners	45.3
Collective farmers	15.1
Engineers, technicians, agronomists, doctors and other specialists	27.7
Other professional and office workers	10.9
Students and other categories	1
TOTAL	100

Thus wage-earners and collective farmers added up to 60.4 percent of the new membership. In 1964 the number of candidate members recruited among wage-earners exceeded the 1961 figure by 50,300. In forty regional and territorial Party organizations, including the Moscow, Leningrad, Sverdlovsk, Chelyabinsk, Khaba-

rovsk, Murmansk, Novosibirsk, Ivanovo, Omsk, Donetsk, Zaporozhye, Lugansk, East Kazakhstan and Karaganda organizations, 50 to 69 per cent of those who joined the Party were wage-earners. Among the wage-earners admitted in 1964, as many as 52.5 per cent held jobs in industry, 9.9 per cent in construction, 13 in transport and communications, 16.1 on state farms and 8.5 per cent in other economic fields.

With the drop in the overall number of people engaged in agriculture, and also due to the reorganization of part of the collective farms into state farms, the proportion of collective farmers among those admitted to the CPSU shows a certain decrease compared with the 1961 figure. In absolute terms, however, the number of collective farmers joining the Party is on the rise: it was 99,603 in 1961 and 101,553 in 1964. In twenty-five regional and republic Party organizations, including the Moldavian, Kursk, Vinnitsa, Volhynian, Zhitomir, Khmelnitsky, Ternopol, Chernigov, Andizhan, Bokharan, Surkhan Darya, Khorezmian, Ajar, and Nagorny Karabagh organizations, the proportion of collective farmers among those who joined the Party in 1964 ranged from 30 to 52 per cent.

The overwhelming majority of the collective farmers admitted to the Party work right on the land.

	ABSOLUTE DATA	PER CENT
Total number of collective farmers admitted as candidate members	101,553	100
tractor-drivers, combine operators and other mechanics	40,731	40.1
those engaged in land cultivation and in vegetable- or fruit-growing	22,729	22.4
livestock-breeders	19,514	19.2
agronomists, technicians and other experts	6,491	6.4
others	2,510	2.5

The proportion of engineers, technicians, agronomists, livestock experts, doctors, teachers, economists and other specialists admitted to the Party is growing steadily. In 1964 it was 46,000 or 2.7 per cent greater than in 1961.

The Komsomol (Young Communist League) is an active assistant and reserve of the Party, a major source of new Party members. Between October 1, 1961, and January 1, 1965, the Party admitted 1,254,000 Komsomol members, which is more than 50 per cent of the total number of new admissions during that period. The admission of Komsomol members into the Party grew as follows:

1962	355,174
1963	380,428
1964	418,053

EXPULSION FROM THE PARTY

The Program and Rules of the CPSU expect every Communist and every Party organization to keep the name of Communist untarnished. "We have no use whatever for ornamental Party members," Lenin wrote.

There is no room in the Party for people who do not fulfil their duties. During the last three years 203,387 people have been expelled, or have dropped out of the Party for various reasons.

	1962	1963	1964
Total number of those who were expelled or who dropped out	65,163	69,454	68,770
full members	33,582	36,797	34,525
candidate members	31,581	32,657	34,245
expelled for various offences incompatible with Party membership	31,370	34,045	30,763
struck off the membership list for loss of contact with the Party organizations concerned (Art. 3 of the Rules)	13,614	14,422	15,877
struck off the candidate membership list upon being denied admission to full membership (Art. 16 of the Rules)	20,179	20,987	22,130

THE PARTY MEMBERSHIP IN TERMS OF SOCIAL STATUS AND OCCUPATION

The qualitative composition of the Party is changing as its membership grows in numbers. The following changes in social status have occurred since the Twenty-Second Congress:

	1961	1964
Total (per cent)	100	100
Wage-earners	35,0	37,3
Peasants (collective farmers)	17,3	16,5
Professional and office workers and other categories	47,7	46,2

This means that 53.8 per cent of the Communists are wage-earners or collective farmers. During the last three years the proportion of wage-earners in the Party has increased by 931,800 and

that of collective farmers by 225,700, the share of wage-earners and collective farmers in the total membership growing by 1.5 per cent.

There is an increase in the proportion of engineers, technicians, agronomists, livestock experts, economists, teachers, doctors and other specialists, as shown below.

	Jan. 1, 1962	Jan. 1, 1965
Total number of professional and office workers in the Party (per cent)	100	100
heads of organizations, institutions, enterprises, building projects, state farms, and their subdivisions	10.0	7.8
engineers, technicians and agricultural experts	28.2	32.5
scientists, educators, doctors and other medical workers, writers, artists and other art workers	21.6	23.3
persons engaged in trade, public catering and the supply system	4.9	5.8
supervisors, accountants and clerks	11.8	10.8
others	23.5	19.8

THE PARTY MEMBERSHIP IN TERMS OF EDUCATION

The following table presents the changes that have taken place in the educational level of the Party membership.

	Jan. 1, 1962		Jan. 1, 1965	
	absolute figures	per cent	absolute figures	per cent
Total number of full and candidate members	9,891,068	100	11,758,169	100
members who had received a higher education	1,349,535	13.7	1,763,262	15.0
incomplete higher	282,061	2.9	301,255	2.6
secondary	2,693,457	27.2	3,542,005	30.1
incomplete secondary	2,811,708	28.4	3,277,024	27.9
elementary	2,754,307	27.8	2,874,623	24.4

During the last three years the proportion of Party members who have received a higher or secondary specialized education has increased by 847,900. Today almost half of the specialists in the Party are engineers, technicians or agricultural experts. The trend of growth appears from the following data:

	Total number of specialists in the Party	Per cent of total
January 1, 1961	2,951,230	31.8
January 1, 1962	3,215,623	32.5
January 1, 1963	3,454,810	33.3
January 1, 1964	3,732,733	33.9
January 1, 1965	4,063,530	34.6

The number of scientific workers in the Party is growing. As of January 1, 1965, there were 63,120 members holding the degree of candidate of science and 6,783 who held a doctor's degree—an increase in excess of 13,000 since January 1, 1962.

NATIONAL COMPOSITION

The CPSU invariably adheres to the principles of proletarian internationalism. Today it unites members of more than a hundred nationalities and national groups. In 1964 the proportion of people of indigenous nationality among the candidate members of the Party was 74.4 per cent in Azerbaijan, 91.8 in Armenia, 78.6 in Belorussia, 78.2 in Georgia, 76.1 in Lithuania, 68.5 in Tajikistan, 60.3 in Uzbekistan, 71.7 in the Ukraine, 61 in Estonia, etc.

SITUATION AS OF JAN. 1, 1965

	,000		,000
Total number of Communists	11,758.2	Lithuanians	61.5
Russians	7,335.2	Moldavians	40.3
Ukrainians	1,813.4	Letts	44.3
Belorussians	386.0	Kirghiz	35.0
Uzbeks	193.6	Tajiks	41.9
Kazakhs	181.3	Armenians	187.9
Georgians	194.3	Turkmens	32.4
Azerbaijanians	141.9	Estonians	33.9
		Others	1,035.3

WOMEN IN THE CPSU

The far-reaching changes that have come about in our country would have been unthinkable without the contribution of women to communist construction, to the creation of the material and spiritual wealth of society. As more and more women enter every sphere of economic, political, and cultural activity the proportion of women in the Party is growing.

TOTAL NUMBER OF WOMEN COMMUNISTS

	absolute figures	per cent of the total number of Communists
January 1, 1961	1,809,688	19.5
January 1, 1962	1,942,080	19.6
January 1, 1963	2,050,371	19.7
January 1, 1964	2,195,004	19.9
January 1, 1965	2,372,461	20.2

In some Party organizations women are more numerous than in the Party as a whole. As of January 1, 1965, women made up 37.6 per cent of the Party membership in the Ivanovo, 32.9 in the Vladimir, 32.4 in the Novgorod, 30.6 in the Latvian, 30.6 in the Estonian, 29.6 in the Vologda, 28.8 in the Leningrad, 28 in the Moscow regional, and 26.2 per cent in the Lithuanian organization. About 145,000 women joined the Party in 1961 and 193,000 in 1964, the latter figure equalling 21.9 per cent of the total of new admissions.

THE PARTY IN TERMS OF LENGTH OF MEMBERSHIP AND AGE

The period since the Twenty-Second Congress has seen changes in the Party composition also in terms of length of membership.

	Jan. 1, 1962	Jan. 1, 1965
Total membership (per cent)	100	100
Length of membership:		
below 10 years	39.0	42.8
10 to 30 years	56.2	51.3
over 30 years	4.8	5.9

It follows that the proportion of young Communists and of those who joined the Party many years ago has increased, which enables Party organizations to assign the various Party functions more expediently.

About three million members of the Party, or almost one quarter of the total, were admitted three years ago or later. This makes it a major task of the Party organizations to educate young Communists in the Party spirit and to bring them into active work as members.

Like the rest of the population, by far most of the Communists have grown to maturity under the Soviet system. As of January 1, 1965, those who were twenty-five years old or younger constituted 7.2 per cent of the membership, those between 26 and 40 years of age 46.8 per cent, between 41 and 50 years 24.8 per cent, and over 50 years 21.2 per cent.

COMMUNISTS IN THE NATION

To direct communist construction efficiently and to increase

Party influence, it is important to select and appoint the right Party people. With a view to ensuring fulfilment of the communist construction programme, the Party sees to it that most of the Communists are active where material wealth is created, that is, in the production sphere.

Distribution of Communists in the National Economy Since the Twenty-Second Congress

	July 1, 1961	January 1, 1965
Total (percent	100	100
Material production spheres:	71.4	72.4
industry and construction	33.5	35.9
transport and communications	9.2	9.2
agriculture	23.3	22.6
trade, public catering, material and technical supply	5.4	4.7
Non-production spheres:	28.6	27.6
science, education, public health and culture	15.6	16.5
administration, economic management, the apparatus of Party and other mass organizations	10.8	9.1
other spheres	2.2	2.0

This table shows that the overwhelming majority of the Communists is engaged in material production and that their numbers are growing. In 1964 alone their proportion increased by almost 480,000 and during the past three years it has gone up by more than a million. The Party members engaged in the national economy increased from 71.4 per cent of the total membership in 1961 to 72.4 per cent in 1964.

Whereas in industry as a whole the proportion of Communists during the last three years has grown by one-fourth, in the machine-tool, instrument-making, electrical and radio engineering and certain other industries the increase was 42 to 55 per cent. As the Party has lately been giving a great deal of attention to the chemical industry, the number of Communists in this industry has increased by almost 150 per cent since the May 1958 Plenum of the CC CPSU.

The proportion of wage-earners among the Communists engaged in industry, transport, construction and state farms has been growing also.

	Jan. 1, 1962	Jan. 1, 1965
	per cent	
Industry	53.2	53.5
Transport	60.7	62.6
Construction	51.6	52.5
State farms	70.3	70.9

The total number of Communists working in agriculture shows the following increases:

	Total	State farms	Collective farms
January 1, 1962	1,840,301	578,516	1,154,045
January 1, 1963	1,940,814	622,680	1,193,259
January 1,1964	2,035,573	668,440	1,229,945
January 1, 1965	2,164,255	733,710	1,285,077

Most of the collective farm Communists have jobs in the key branches of agriculture.

Total percentage of collective farm Communists as of January 1, 1965	
field-crop, vegetable and fruit growers	30.7
livestock-breeders	17.9
tractor-drivers, combine operators and other mechanics	25.1
agronomists, livestock experts & other agricultural specialists	5.3
others	3.7

On the state farms also, most Communists work in the key sectors.

The March 1965 Plenum of the CC CPSU pointed out that providing agriculture with competent mechanics, engineers and technicians is a decisive condition if production is to grow. The mechanic plays the central role in the countryside. Today 520,000 Communists, or upwards of one quarter of all the Party members working on the state and collective farms are tractor-drivers, combine operators and other agricultural mechanics. Since January 1, 1962, their proportion has increased by 158,000.

The proportion of Communists engaged in non-production spheres dropped from 28.6 per cent as of July 1, 1961, to 27.6 per cent as of January 1, 1965. Most of them work in the fields of science, education, public health and culture. Their number has grown by almost 307,000 during the past three years. On the other hand, the proportion of Communists engaged in the administrative apparatus is declining.

PRIMARY PARTY ORGANIZATIONS

The primary organization or Party branch is the basic nucleus of the Party. It is formed at factories, state farms and other enterprises, on collective farms, in institutions, educational establishments, etc. At present there are primary Party organizations in every single branch of the economy and culture, in government administration and in the mass organizations.

January 1, 1961	294,873
January 1, 1962	298,849
January 1, 1963	305,407
January 1, 1964	305,631
January 1, 1965	311,907

The number of primary organizations in the economic and cultural fields has been changing as follows:

	January 1, 1962		January 1, 1965	
	Number of primary organizations	Percent of total	Number of primary organizations	Percent of total
Total number of primary Party organizations	298,849	100	311,907	100
in industry, transport, communications and construction	76,002	25.5	77,838	25.0
state farms	9,351	3.1	11,601	3.7
collective farms	41,119	13.8	38,251	12.3
trading and public catering establishments	12,633	4.2	13,513	4.3
educational, scientific, medical and cultural institutions	58,488	19.6	69,086	22.1
government departments, various organizations and economic bodies (at all levels)	53,056	17.7	50,287	16.1
others	48,200	16.1	51,331	16.5

Since the 22nd Congress Party committees have been taking steps to consolidate primary Party organizations and enhance their activity. As a result, these organizations have grown and the number of shop or equivalent Party organizations and groups has increased, as will be seen from the following data:

	January 1, 1962	January 1, 1965
Total number of Party organizations (%)	100	100
organizations of less than 15 members:	42.5	39.9
from 15 to 49 members	44.1	43.5
50 to 100 members	8.5	10.5
over 100 members	4.9	6.1

The proportion of primary organizations led by Party committees grew from 13,975 as of January 1, 1962, to 20,128 as of January 1, 1965. Today Party committees lead the primary organizations of 3,042 state farms, 8,630 collective farms, etc. By way of exception, the Party committees of 424 major enterprises and institutions numbering over 1,000 Communists each have been given the powers of district Party committees on questions affecting Party members personally, resigstration, and the admission of new members.

The following table gives the numbers of shop organizations and Party groups.

	Shop organizations	Those having the powers of primary organizations	Party groups
January 1, 1961	173,961	96,248	164,931
January 1, 1962	198,252	110,082	182,380
January 1, 1963	218,544	128,204	208,635
January 1, 1964	241,206	144,184	268,499
January 1, 1965	267,481	161,904	329,613

Each primary organization had the following average membership:

	January 1, 1962	January 1, 1965
In industry	62	78
In construction	37	42
On state farms	76	78
On collective farms	34	40
In scientific institutions	76	86

The growth of the number of primary Party organizations and the establishment of Party committees, shop organizations and Party groups in them promote the growth of the numbers of Party activists, and the education and promotion of new Party members. As of early 1965, over 2,600,000 Communists had been elected to Party committees or bureaus of primary or shop organizations, or as secretaries, deputy secretaries or group organizers.

NETWORK OF PARTY BODIES

The November 1964 Plenum of the CC CPSU restored the territorial and production pattern of structure of the Party organizations and their leading bodies as envisaged by the Rules.

In line with the Plenum decision, single regional or territorial Party organizations and committees were re-established in eighty Regious and five Territories. The West Kazakhstan and South Kazakhstan territorial committees of the Party and other territorial organizations were abolished and the regions that were components of the two territories were subordinated direct to the republic bodies of the Kazakh SSR. As many as 1,670 Party committees in collective and state-farm production boards and 158 Party committees in Northern, taiga and mountain areas were reorganized into district Party committees, and 440 industrial production (zone) Party committees that had been operating in rural districts and in regional republic centers were abolished. A number of new rural districts have been established to improve the direction of the economy and cultural development of the countriside.

As of April 1, 1965, the network of Party bodies comprised: 14 central committees of Union Republic Communist parties, 7 terri-

torial, 133 regional, 10 area, 738 town (including 208 committees uniting also rural organizations), 396 town-district, 2,434, rural-district Party committees, and 17 Party committees equivalent to district committees (industrial Party committees in Moscow, the Party committees in the sea transport system, distant pastures, etc.).

Almost 328,000 Communists were elected to district, town, area, regional and territorial Party committees, the central committees of the Union Republic Communist parties, and the auditing commissions of the Party organizations concerned. Among the full and candidate members of the town and district committees of the Party elected at Party conferences in January 1965, wage-earners and collective farmers accounted for 36.4 per cent, engineers, technicians and agricultural experts for 9.6, scientific, cultural, educational and health workers for 8.4, heads of enterprises in industry, transport, communications and construction and of state farms for 12.9, staff members of Party and government bodies for 24.2, and other categories for 8.5 per cent. Women members of the district and town committees of the Party constituted 21 per cent.

IN THE COMMUNIST AND WORKERS' PARTIES

December 6-10. A delegation of the CC of the Polish United Workers' Party visited the Soviet Union on the invitation of the CC CPSU and had talks on questions of party work in departments of the CC CPSU and CC of the CP of the Ukraine. The delegation consisted of CC department chiefs Edward Babiuch and Leon Stasiak, deputy department chief Jozef Kowalczyk, and G. Zebrowski, a high official of the CC apparatus.

December 8. An enlarged plenary meeting of the CC of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party discussed the report of Miklos Ajtai, alternate member of the Political Bureau of the CC, on the national economic plan for 1966 and unanimously approved guidelines for the plan.

December 8-10. Addressing a plenary meeting of the CC of the Rumanian CP, CC General Secretary Nicholae Ceausescu outlined measures for improving the organization and orientation of research work in the country, and Chairman of the Council of Ministers Ion Gheorghe Maurer submitted the draft national economic plan for 1966.

The CC adopted corresponding decisions.

December 9. A delegation of the Progressive Party of the Working People of Cyprus (AKEL) led by Deputy General Secretary Andress Fantis arrived in Belgrade on the invitation of the CC of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia.

December 9-10. A group of ideological workers of the CC of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany headed by Kurt Hager, alternate member of the Presidium and Secretary of the CC, visited Moscow and had talks with P.N. Demichev, alternate member of the Presidium and Secretary of the CC CPSU, and chiefs of CC CPSU departments on the further development of cooperation in ideological work between the CPSU and the SUPG.

December 11-12. Reidar Larsen, Chairman of the CP of Norway, reported to a CC meeting on the immediate tasks of the party.

December 11-14. Janos Kadar, First Secretary of the CC of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, and Bela Biszku, member of the Political Bureau and Secretary of the CC, paid a friendly visit to the Soviet Union on the invitation of the CC CPSU and had talks with L.I. Brezhnev, First Secretary of the CC CPSU, members of the CC Presidium, Chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers A.N. Kosygin, and President of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet N.V. Podgorny.

The Soviet and Hungarian comrades shared information on the progress of socialist and communist construction in their countries, discussed questions of Soviet-Hungarian relations and exchanged views on problems of the current international situation and the world Communist and working-class movement. They highly appraised the state of relations between the CPSU and the HSWP, their fraternal friendship and complete unanimity of views. Expressing satisfaction between the USSR and Hungary, the participants in the meeting discussed possible measures to promote its further growth.

December 14. Carlos Rafael Rodriguez, member of the Secretariat of the CC of the CP of Cuba and minister of the Revolutionary Government of the Republic of Cuba, arrived in Moscow as a guest of the CC CPSU.

December 14. A delegation of the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam led by Nguyen Thi Binh, member of the CC NLF, arrived in Berlin to attend the celebrations of the fifth anniversary of the establishment of the NLF, which falls on December 20.

December 15. A plenary meeting of the CC of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party discussed the report of General Secretary J. Tsedenbal—"Some Measures to Provide Greater Material Incentives to Livestock-Breeders" and adopted a corresponding decision.

The meeting also discussed the question of convening the Fifteenth Congress of the MPRP and decided to convene it on June 7, 1966. The Congress will hear reports by the CC and the Central Auditing Commission, adopt the new programme of the Party and approve directives for the 4th five-year plan for the development of the economy and culture of the Mongolian People's Republic in 1966-70.

December 15-17. The CC of the Polish United Workers' Party held a plenary meeting devoted to tasks in the field of foreign trade.

It also heard Wladislaw Gomulka, First Secretary of the CC, report on inter-party meetings and adopted the following resolution:

"Having heard the report of Comrade Wladislaw Gomulka, First Secretary of the CC PUWP, on the inter-party meetings that have taken place of late, the plenary meeting of the CC fully approves the position adopted by representatives of our Party at these meetings.

"The plenary meeting expresses support of the efforts of the Political Bureau of the CC to strengthen the unity and solidarity of the international working-class movement and of the socialist camp, and to bring about the unity of all the peace-loving forces of the world for resisting and stopping the imperialist aggression in Vietnam and helping the Vietnamese people in their just struggle for freedom and independence.

"Today the interests of the struggle for the freedom of the peoples and for stronger peace demand full cooperation and unity of all forces in an anti-imperialist front."

December 15-18. The CC of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany held a plenary meeting to hear and discuss a report of the CC Political Bureau and reports on the long-range plan for a period up to 1970 and the draft national economic plan for1966. The report of the Political Bureau was delivered by Erich Honecker, member of the Political Bureau and Secretary of the CC, SUPG. Alfred Neimann, member of the CC Political Bureau and Chairman of the National Economic Council, reported on the draft national economic plan for 1966.

December 16. The Executive Committee of the CC of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia held a meeting in Belgrade to discuss some topical socio-economic problems. The meeting was presided over by Josip Broz Tito, General Secretary of the LCY.

December 16-17. Meeting in Prague, the CC of the CP of Czechoslovakia discussed the draft theses for the Thirteenth Congress of the CPC. The report was delivered by Jiri Hendrych, member of the Presidium and Secretary of the CC. the CC approved the theses and decided to publish them.

The CC also approved guidelines for the economic development plan for 1966 and the chief measures to ensure its fulfilment.

In December M.A. Suslov, member of the Presidium and Secretary of the CC, CPSU, and B.N. Ponomaryov, Secretary of the CC, CPSU, met in the CC, CPSU offices with K. Bagdash, General Secretary of the CC of the Syrian CP, and Y. Feisal, member of the Political Bureau of the CC, SCP.

In December the Party of the Burmese Socialist Programme held its first conference. The party has about 100,000 members and candidate members. The conference was opened by Ne Win, Chairman of the Central Organizing Committee of the party.

In December the CC of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party played host to a delegation of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia led by Otmar Kreacic, member of the CC LYC.

In December the First Congress of the Socialist Workers' and Peasants' Party of Nigeria was held in Lagos.

In December L.I. Brezhnev, First Secretary of the CC CPSU, received Houari Boumedienne, Chairman of the Revolutionary Council and Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Algerian People's Democratic Republic, who was paying an official visit to the Soviet Union. Questions of mutual interest and pertaining to the further development of relations between the two countries were discussed in a frank and friendly talk.

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FIDEL CASTRO

WANTED: UNITED ACTION
AGAINST U.S. WAR
ON VIETNAM

ADAM SCHAFF'S BOOK
'MARXISM AND THE INDIVIDUAL'

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SPEECH BY FIDEL CASTRO

DELIVERED IN HAVANA ON THE OCCASION OF THE SEVENTH ANNIVERSARY OF THE CUBAN REVOLUTION, JANUARY 2, 1966. ABRIDGED.

As in all the preceding years, this anniversary is an opportunity for us to survey what we have done, to ascertain or assess our achievements in general outline.

We are gratified to note that the year which has just ended was without any doubt — and I am sure I am voicing what everyone present here thinks — one of the most useful and fruitful years of the revolution. And if in the coming years we continue to step up our fruitful efforts, if we go on at the same level of political consciousness and efficient organization as we did in the year just past, the future progress of the revolution will certainly be even more rapid.

The first years are over. We have never concealed the truth, which no revolutionary should ever conceal. I mean the fact that by far most of us lacked experience in many things and had to tackle an absolutely new and really difficult task. Nobody is born a sage, a leader or what is called a statesman, though this word has a somewhat old, a bourgeois flavor, for in the past it was applied to gentlemen who by way of exercising their statesmanship, tried to fool the whole world. We have never concealed the truth, either about our inexperience or about our mistakes, and have always striven to learn and understand things and to do them better.

We realize that this is the only way both for the leaders and the revolutionary people, for all of us without exception, and we have learned much in this process. We have been learning as fast as one does during a revolution, when the masses and the cadres come to understand things that otherwise take years to learn or are perhaps never learned. For there is a tremendous difference between theory and practice when the time comes to translate the people's aspirations and political ideas into concrete deeds.

In the past years we have been doing this to the best of our ability, trying to carry on our revolution as correctly as possible and to solve the various big or even enormous problems of an underdeveloped country.

We do not hesitate to say "underdeveloped," because it is no insult to us, since imperialism did not leave us an industrial, econ-

omically developed country, a country without illiteracy, a country dotted with every type of school. Nothing of the kind. Of course, when somebody comes to the capital of our republic from abroad for the first time, he wonders whether ours is an underdeveloped country. This is because our capital does not generally make an unfavorable impression in this respect, because it certainly is developed as the capital of what was a tremendously underdeveloped country.

Of course, this outer aspect of the capital helps in substantial measure to conceal the realities of an underdeveloped country. The fact is that the bourgeoisie, the rich and the ruling classes invested in the capital by far the greater part of the nation's resources, produced through the back-breaking toil of our working people using inferior implements of labor. They often invested those resources in the construction of huge residential houses, of palaces and fine avenues while in thousands upon thousands of communities in the inland regions not a single wretched road was built that could have saved the life of a sick person at a critical moment. They invested most of the nation's resources in a life of luxury. That is how they created this facade, covering up the appalling realities of the rest of the nation and, in particular, those of the countryside.

All that was done to conceal the absence of heavy industry, of the elementary industrial facilities that are indispensable for the development of a country. When the time comes, or when the opportunity presents itself for a country lacking these facilities to set up its own economy, it discovers that it lacks everything from cement to put up the simplest structures to electricity. It discovers that, being a farming country, it has no industry producing fertilizers or manufacturing farm machines, that it lacks all that is essential to progress.

It was this formidable task that confronted our people, who found themselves in a state of poverty and want, having a poor economy plundered by the monopolies and the corrupt cliques linked with them, an economy plundered by the landowners, who took all the money of the country for themselves and put it in foreign banks.

That is what the exploiters left to the people when they went. They left us poverty, ignorance and a lack of experience, for with their system there went many of their civil servants and their technicians.

Some people abroad cannot understand — I do not mean people here, because here everyone understands quite well — why we make it easy for those who want to leave our country to do so. It would be sufficient, by way of illustration, to ask this vast

audience here whether it agrees with that policy. (Hands go up. Applause.)

I think this shows that the revolutionary leaders and the people understand each other very well. We understand what we are doing and why. It is not as if we were a petty-bourgeois group ruling or leading the revolution, though we do not deny our petty-bourgeois origin. We are proud not of our class origin, but of the development of the revolutionary consciousness in man. Nor was their class origin a disgrace for Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, the founders of scientific socialism, and for Lenin, the great founder of the world's first socialist state, the Soviet Union.

The question is not of anything like conciliation with the imperialists, as some scandalmongers and plotters abroad have suggested.

There is something which should be said here and now with the confidence, honesty and firmness with which we have always spoken. It is that our country will for an infinite variety of historical, geographical, patriotic, revolutionary and moral reasons be the last country on earth to make peace with imperialism. For no other country has ever been insulted, hurt, humiliated, anyone exploited, harassed or threatened by the American imperialists as much as our country. In spite of the atrocities they have been perpetrating elsewhere, there is hardly any other country where they have aroused as much hatred for all that stands for U.S. imperialism as they have in our country.

However, we do not want to be either the first or the only ones to feel this hatred. It is our ardent desire that everyone should have the same hatred of that enemy.

Our policy has not changed. I say this because there are people who echo the assertions of the imperialists, people who pretend to speak from revolutionary positions but apparently read AP and UPI reports every day, because they say the same things as these agencies, including the UPI and AP allegations about "Cuba's new policy" or "Castro's new policy," whereas the revolution has been pursuing one and the same policy from the beginning.

Our country can afford the luxury of allowing all who do not agree with socialism to go, for our revolution and our country have enough people who agree with socialism and have decided to live under socialism.

No one should mistake the magnaminous policy of the revolution for spineless weakness or expect us to show any consideration whatever for those who have renounced their country, who have, in effect, given up Cuban citizenship.

I have told you that last year was one of the most successful years. It was marked by important changes in the administrative

and economic apparatus of the state. It was marked by great achievements in our agriculture, by the harvesting of six million tons of sugar cane. It was a year characterized by great progress in every single field of endeavor. It culminated in the setting up of the Central Committee of our Party, and in our political vanguard attaining a high degree of organization and efficiency in accomplishing its tasks.

Last year saw a drop in the prices of part of our sugar—the part we use for obtaining a certain amount of foreign exchange for the purchase of certain goods which we have great difficulty in obtaining. Nevertheless, by using our resources as thriftily and judiciously as possible, we were able to avoid major difficulties throughout the year. At other times whenever sugar on the so-called world market was priced as low as last year it brought a wave of hunger and poverty for the people. Nothing of the sort happened this time. It should also be said that the economic and planning bodies have considerably improved their work and that today we exercise much better control and provide much more effective guidance than before. It is only fair at this point to stress the fruitful, devoted and intelligent work of Comrade Osvaldo Dorticos, Chairman of the Planning Committee. I must say that he has shouldered enormous administrative tasks and achieved tremendous progress in the Planning Committee, which will enable us to go on along this road, using our resources more and more judiciously and effectively.

The progress of the revolution in every sphere was evident also from this year's military parade, from the precision, discipline and record speed which it showed and which was proof of the growing efficiency of our armed forces.

For many years to come, without any doubts whatsoever, we will have steadfastly and unhesitatingly to continue the policy of strengthening our defenses. For ours is the revolutionary state closest to the heart of the American empire. It lies in a continent where the people's social consciousness is awakening, where the revolutionary spirit is growing, a continent gradually entering into revolution. In the next few years this continent will oppose the direct or indirect domination of the imperialist forces in a revolutionary way, just as the Dominican people are doing with unmatched courage today. There will be great hazards and dangers for our country for many years on this continent which is in a state of revolutionary ferment and will yet be shaken by a revolutionary storm.

This is why, considering the policy the imperialists are following, we must always be on the alert, calmly but firmly. Enthusiasm over the cause of the revolution, the creative enthusiasm of the people, should never lead us to forget the need to be always

on the alert, to be strong, so as to make the enemy pay dearly for any venture, for any criminal act of aggression against our country. In view of this, it gives us the greatest satisfaction to see the extraordinary progress made by our revolutionary armed forces.

The year 1965 was Agriculture Year. The achievements registered in this sphere fully justify the name we gave to that year. For instance, the state sector planted 12,431.9 caballerias of sugar cane as against 11,482 caballerias envisaged. This means that the assignment was fulfilled by 108.3 per cent.

I must say that it was the first time that the plan for planting cane was fulfilled and even exceeded. Besides, the area under sugar cane in the state sector was the largest since the victory of the revolution. Coupled with the plantations in the private sector, the area under cane last year amounted to 15,100 caballerias. This figure is among the largest ever attained in our country.

The area sown to other crops totalled 31,036.6 caballerias against the 28,915.9 caballerias planned, which means that the plan was fulfilled by 107.3 per cent.

In the case of some crops plan assignments were not fulfilled. But for many of the important crops assignments were considerably exceeded. In all, the state sector sowed 43,468.5 caballerias in 1965, as compared with the 40,397.9 caballerias envisaged by the plan. In other words, the plan was fulfilled by 107.6 per cent. To give you a more accurate idea of it, I will tell you that in 1965 the sown area increased by 12,000 caballerias over 1964, or by more than 30 per cent.

In vegetable and fruit production, the estimated increase will be 97 per cent over the previous year.

Now what were climatic conditions like? It may seem incredible but they were the worst in the history of our country since 1900. We cannot say what they were like before 1900, because we lack statistical data on rainfalls in earlier years. Last year it rained less than in any other year since 1900, particularly in the main agricultural regions of the country, that is, Las Villas, Camguey and Oriente. We would have met with a real disaster had we not made an extraordinary effort, used better equipment and given more careful attention to the crops.

Hence the assignments of this year, the need to do a very good job in cutting and cleaning, to ensure prompt delivery to the refineries, and to extract as much sugar from the cane as possible.

Even so, we shall unfortunately fall short of our target—6.5 million tons. Nevertheless, the output will be high, we shall not reach the target but the output will be high enough, particularly if we do the harvesting as we have planned. This means that cane harvesting this year will have to be much more efficient than last year. It is gratifying to point out, however, that last December we

used practically half the amount of cane that went into the production of the same amount of sugar in December 1964.

Last year we told you that we should be unable to make a very big leap in 1966, even if the year had been normal, that we should achieve the greatest increase in 1967, when we should harvest the biggest sugar crop in our country's history. And that is how it will be, provided the rate of rainfall is normal in 1966.

However, there is a product which we shall be short of this year, for reasons beyond our control. That product is rice. I am going to explain these reasons to you on the basis of the report presented by our Ministry of Foreign Trade concerning the exchanges with the People's Republic of China.

The report says: "Our trade policy with China provided for a further increase in the volume of exchange in 1966, which would have meant continuing the trend of late years.

"The exports planned for 1966 were fixed at 110 million and the imports, 140 million.

"Compared with previous years, there was to have been an increase in sugar deliveries on our part and in rice deliveries by the other side.

"In mid-November our delegation arrived in Peking to discuss the trade protocol for 1966. After meetings with the Chinese authorities, the latter, made the following official statement:

"Sugar. The Chinese side will be unable to accept the 800,000 tons of sugar offered — for the following reasons:

"(a) China has had an ample crop this year;

"(b) In 1961 the USSR lent China 500,000 tons of sugar, repayable in kind. This year China has completed the repayment of its sugar debt to the Soviet Union, using part of the sugar purchased from Cuba.

"(c) Sugar rationing has been abolished in China because there is a sufficient supply of it to meet the demand.

"The 250,000 tons of rice delivered to Cuba in 1965 was an exception, being granted in compliance with the request which Prime Minister Fidel Castro had made to the Chinese Ambassador.

"In spite of the fact that the crop was good, China does not see its way to deliver more rice than in 1964, or 135,000 metric tons, for the following reasons:

"(a) It is necessary to create stocks in case of attack on the part of the U.S. imperialists.

"(b) China has to render assistance to Vietnam.

"(c) There is a shortage of other grain crops, which compels China to import grain from capitalist countries, and hence to use certain quantities of rice for obtaining the necessary foreign exchange."

The report of our Ministry goes on to say that "China granted

us two state loans — one in 1960, to the sum of 60 million, for the purchase of complete plants, and the other in 1963, to the sum of 40 million, to make up for trade imbalances.

"Out of the 60-million loan, 30 million have already been used for concluding various contracts for the delivery of plant and 20 million, for covering the remaining deficit for 1965. As for the 40-million loan intended for commercial purposes, it has already been exhausted.

"When our delegation suggested that the remaining 10 million of the 1960 loan be used for covering in part the deficit that would form in 1966, judging by our export and import figures, the Chinese side replied as follows:

"The question of using the economic loan goes beyond their terms of reference and should be settled at government level. As for the types and quantities of goods that they can deliver to us, their offers are the highest possible and, consequently, final.

"The commercial implications of these proposals," the report of our Foreign Trade Ministry says, "will be the following:

"Although the Chinese side says that our trade will be brought to the 1964 level to avoid the imbalances there were in previous years, in actual fact it is only the value of our exports that will be at the 1964 level, while the value of our imports will be lower than in any year between 1961 and 1965.

"Our exports in 1966 will approximate to 85 million pesos.

"If we compare our purchasing capacity of 85 million with the value of our requirements, which is 140 million, the Chinese proposal means a decline in deliveries amounting to some 55 million. This includes the reduction of rice deliveries by 150,000 tons, to 22 million pesos at 145 pesos a ton."

To give you a better idea of what this means, I must mention a precedent which took place at the end of 1964, in connection with a trade offer I personally made to the diplomatic mission of the People's Republic of China in our country. I took into consideration the fact that rice consumption per capita was very high in the People's Republic of China, while sugar consumption was extremely low, and that in China, as distinct from Cuba, the price of sugar was four or five times as high as that of rice, while in Cuba rice costs two or three times more than sugar. Having taken that into account, I thought that it might be to the benefit of both countries to increase the exchange of sugar for rice. Accordingly, I made a proposal which, in my opinion, was very beneficial to either country. I said that we were willing to deliver two tons of sugar for every ton of rice that would be sent us from China.

What did that mean? For the Chinese side it meant that for rice worth approximately 8 centavos, to be drawn from the home market, they would get 60 centavos' worth of sugar at the prices of

their home market. For in view of the prices at which rice and sugar are sold in the People's Republic of China, that would mean that for 8 centavos' worth of rice sent to Cuba they would get 60 centavos' worth of sugar, since we offered them two tons of sugar for each ton of rice. This is what it meant in terms of internal finance.

It was in that spirit of mutual advantage that I made the proposal, which I would otherwise never had made.

I must say that the reply surpassed our expectations. They accepted the proposal and even said that the exchange would not take place in the form we had suggested, that they would continue to pay the same price for sugar and we should continue to pay the same price for rice. That is how the matter stood then.

Frankly speaking, when I suggested that, basing myself on the idea of mutual advantage, I did not think it was accepted for only one year. I thought it was seen as a long-term arrangement. We were therefore not reasoning naively when planning this year's exchange.

It seems that the other side had a different idea of the matter and considered it an exceptional arrangement, valid for one year. As a result, the prospect we found ourselves facing towards the end of 1965 was that this year we shall actually have only half as much rice as we got last year.

We have no resources to purchase this rice on other markets because this would do considerable damage to other vital branches of our economy.

But even if we had had them, it would not be easy to purchase rice. It is well known that under the pressure of American imperialism many countries do not trade with Cuba. Indeed, some countries of Latin America and Asia, which trade with the People's Republic of China do not trade with Cuba.

It must be said here quite clearly that Cuba is one of the socialist countries most blockaded by American imperialism. It is one of the countries with regard to which American imperialism has established the most rigid trade bans.

However, speaking about this, we do not mean to say that the Chinese side should revise its decision. We accept the economic and strategic reasons it has given us. We could never object to that, particularly when reference is made to Vietnam, because we are ready to give the Vietnamese people, not only our sugar, but also our blood, which is worth much more than sugar.

And this is well known to the Vietnamese people and the leadership of the heroic Working People's Party of Vietnam. We would never stop at any sacrifice for the good of those people or any other people in struggle. We therefore accept the quantities offered us. We do not need any more—in fact we don't ask for more.

As regards rice, we used to import it from the United States, and since the blockade began we have been turning elsewhere for our supply, mainly to the Chinese People's Republic. Our country has never been able to meet its demand for rice and has had to import substantial quantities, especially in view of the extraordinary increase in the people's purchasing capacity.

Now to supply ourselves with our own rice, we would have to completely change our agricultural development plans for the next few years.

That would greatly injure our economy. For this reason, the other alternative or alternatives are: either to reduce our rice consumption accordingly until terms of trade which are being shaped by the imperialists and which block our trade have disappeared, however much time this may require, or to replace this foodstuff by another. In the final analysis, we must do what is more beneficial to our economy, to our standard of living and general welfare.

This implies carrying out our current agricultural plans by increasing the output of milk, meat, vegetables and fruit, by stepping up our sugar production which, in turn, will enable us to provide the industrial base for an incomparably more productive agricuture. It implies carrying out our plans for the development of the fishing industry—to which, as you know, 30 new Cuban-built vessels were added not so long ago. It implies fulfilling, and even exceeding, our current plan for the output of eggs. By 1970, thanks to our present effort and to the predominantly agricultural trend of economic development in the next few years, the Cuban people will be among the best-fed peoples as regards both quantity and quality.

Surely a revolutionary people changing age-old institutions, abolishing an old social system and replacing it by a new one, and substituting new ideas for outdated and reactionary ones can change their habit of consuming a product that is not indispensable for their health. Nor will this make our people less revolutionary. It will not weaken our revolution nor lessen the confidence and support which the people give to their Party and its revolutionary leadership.

In connection with this attitude of our people I shall read to you a UPI cable from Washington dated December 27. It reports a statement by the U.S. Secretary of Commerce, saying that in 1965 Cuba's foreign trade will, according to the estimates of the U.S. Department of Commerce, make up a mere 60 to 70 per cent of the corresponding figure for the previous year. This decrease, according to the Department, is due in part to U.S. economic sanctions against Cuba, as well as to this year's drop in world prices of sugar.

The so-called trade embargo directed against Cuba is producing results and will be kept up, a spokesman for the Department said. He said that although Cuba's final figures for 1965 were still un-

known all indications were that the Cuban economy was passing through a difficult period because the non-communist countries refused to send to Cuba strategic materials, and furthermore, Cuba was finding it hard to obtain credits. The spokesman also pointed out that the lack of spare parts for U.S.-made machinery compelled Cuba to scrap it prematurely and to replace it by machines made elsewhere, with the loss thus entailed.

Those are the disgracefully and criminally cynical statements made by the Department of Commerce of the U.S. imperialist metropolis, whose spokesmen have not the slightest scruples about gloating over the alleged successes of their economic blockade aimed at destroying a small country, at ruining it. That is what the American imperialists are striving for. That is how they go into raptures and rub their hands and lick their chops, thinking that they are strangling and destroying us.

How sorely mistaken they are, and how little they know about this revolution and this people! Unfortunately, the facts show that it is not only the American imperialists who know little about this revolution. Little do they know about this people, who are capable of the greatest deeds and sacrifices when circumstances demand it. We shall never follow the anti-revolutionary and reactionary policy of stopping the struggle for the well-being of the people, for the revolution is being effected in behalf of the material, moral and spiritual advancement of the peoples.

In doing our moral duty to other peoples and in meeting our internationalist obligations, we are ready to make all the sacrifices that may be needed. We are ready to do everything necessary for the revolution, to continue to bear aloft with dignity the patriotic, political and revolutionary banners of this country.

We intend to advance calmly and confidently no matter what the cost, because it is not for nothing that this revolution, which is already seven years old, which is not plodding along but advancing with firm step and needs neither leading strings nor a nurse, is supported by the people. And it is not for nothing, not by chance, that this revolution is supported and followed, and understood best of all by the people, who are its main makers and witnesses. For this is a people's revolution. These revolutionary ideas are the revolutionary ideas cherished by the people. These revolutionary accomplishments constitute, as our people rightly believe, realization of the universal ideas in our special and concrete case.

As to the delegates to the tricontinental conference, I wish to tell them only one thing, because this is not the place to discuss the countless topics with which they will have to deal. I wish to tell them what I think is important, namely, that our people welcome them all with open arms and hearts, full solidarity—all of them, and particularly the representatives of the peoples who are carrying

on a heroic fight these days. And if it is appropriate to say anything here, in front of our people, it is that for us and for all those engaged in new revolutionary movements, for all those fighting for their liberation, the essential thing is to find the right road to revolutionary struggle, and furthermore, to find the right road for every people. This can be done—the right road can be found—only by the people concerned.

This conference can be most fruitful. Whatever its results, it will be very useful in itself. Contact between so many people who have come from various parts of the world, contact between revolutionary leaders, the leaders of revolutionary movements throughout the world, will in itself yield fruit, promote solidarity, increase all-inclusive or bilateral assistance and, in the final analysis, signify a very positive development.

For our part, I declare here to our people and on behalf of our people, what we do not conceal: any revolutionary movement in any part of the world may count on Cuba, on its unqualified and determined assistance.

The more each of us is able to display his individuality and so to act in line with his own independent criteria, the more useful and fruitful this conference will be. For this is the only means, the only correct path, the only method by which real solutions can be found.

Speaking to our people, I propose that this year be called "Solidarity Year." Let this be a tribute to this event and a homage to the delegations which have accorded us a great honor by coming here and meeting on our soil, where freedom was won at the cost of its sons' blood, and where this freedom was defended in battle and will be defended in battle, so that the country may be called "Cuba, the first socialist country and the first free territory in America."

Long live Solidarity Year!

Long live solidarity and fraternity among all the peoples!

Long live the liberation struggle of the peoples!

Patria o muerte! Venceremos!

WANTED: UNITED ACTION AGAINST THE U.S. WAR ON VIETNAM

STATEMENT* FROM THE POLITICAL COMMITTEE OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF AUSTRALIA

The most urgent issues before the world Communist movement today are:

Do we need united action against imperialism and particularly against U.S. aggression in Vietnam?

Should all Communist Parties take part in united action even while important theoretical and ideological differences remain unresolved?

Our Party answer both questions with a firm Yes.

We regard Vietnam as the most vital issue facing the whole Australian nation, so deeply and perilously involved by the Menzies Government in the U.S. aggressive war.

We therefore regard very seriously the rejection of united action in a recent policy statement made by the Chinese Communist Party, published in *People's Daily* of November 11, and reprinted in *Peking Review*, No. 46.

The public polemic is sharpened and united action against U.S. imperialism rejected in these words:

"There are things that divide us and nothing that unites us, things that are antagonistic and nothing that is common." (*Peking Review*, No. 46, p. 12.)

An absolute precondition for unity is set—complete acceptance of the Chinese Party's views by all Communist Parties. Pursuing this objective, the article promises increased aid and support to the various splinter groups fostered in a number of countries since 1962.

We see this as damaging to the interests of the people of Vietnam as of Australia and all other countries struggling for an end to the war of intervention, for national liberation, democracy and world peace.

When the U.S. is threatening further to widen the war, when people of goodwill everywhere are speaking out, it is extraordinary that the Chinese leaders should take this position.

The statement is all the more unfortunate because United States moral prestige and international support are at a low ebb, and its political and military difficulties are growing.

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*Tribune, December 15, 1965.

The Moscow meeting of 19 Parties, held in March, called for united action to support the people of Vietnam, fighting to defend themselves against a full-scale imperialist aggressive war, and thus defending world peace and national independence.

Almost all Communist Parties worked for united action, and world-wide broad mass protests have developed, including in the USA and Australia.

The CPSU and Soviet government took several initiatives for joint action with China, the other great socialist power, and has given moral and material support to Vietnam.

The *People's Daily* excuses the Chinese rejection of united action, claiming that:

"Whether in quantity or quality, their aid to Vietnam is far from commensurate with the strength of the Soviet Union. They have ulterior motives in giving a certain amount of aid . . ." (*Peking Review*, No. 46, p. 16.)

VIETNAM SPEAKS OF SOVIET AID

This differs greatly from public statements made by the Vietnamese Party and Government, including these:

"The Vietnamese people sincerely thank the Party, the Government and the people of the Soviet Union for the tremendous assistance and support rendered to them before and now. . . .

"The governments of both countries reached agreement on the measures that would be taken to strengthen the defense potential of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam . . ." (Joint Communique USSR and Democratic Republic of Vietnam, February 10, 1965.)

"In examining measures to increase the defense capacity of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, the delegations noted with satisfaction that the earlier agreements on these matters were being carried out on the envisaged scale and according to agreed procedures . . . have reached understanding on further steps to safeguard the security and sovereignty of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam . . . and have agreed on the appropriate measures to this end." (From Joint Communique of Vietnam-USSR delegations, April 17, 1965.)

". . . the Vietnamese have the support and the generous assistance of fraternal socialist countries . . . I wish once more to convey our feelings of heartfelt gratitude to the fraternal socialist countries, primarily the Soviet Union and China . . ." (President Ho Chi Minh, *New Times*, September 8, 1965).

"The CPSU, the Soviet Government and the Soviet people are providing resolute and active support for the just struggle of the entire Vietnamese people . . . and are rendering assistance to the Democratic Republic of Vietnam in strengthening its defense capacity

and its economy." (Pham Van Dong, November 7, 1965.)

After these statements, how is it possible to speak of U.S.-Soviet "collaboration on Vietnam"? Yet the Chinese statement says that the U.S. imperialists

". . . far from objecting to 'aid' to Vietnam from the new leaders of the CPSU . . . welcome it." (*Peking Review*, No. 46, p. 17.)

Can it seriously be suggested that the U.S. administration welcomes, for example, the sophisticated anti-aircraft defenses which help shoot down so many U.S. planes in Vietnam?

The article alleges that:

"Kosygin . . . stressed the need to help the United States 'find a way out of Vietnam'." (*Peking Review*, No. 46, p. 15.)

Why try to give a sinister meaning to an unexceptionable concept—that the main thing is to end U.S. aggression by getting it out of Vietnam, even with some sort of "face-saver"? This idea is not new. For example, Wilfred Burchett reports on a 1963 conversation with Nguyen Ho Thu, leader of the National Liberation Front, in which a possible "face-saving withdrawal" was discussed (*Vietnam:Inside Story of the Guerrilla War*, p. 235).

Many great changes have occurred since 1963, particularly the dangerous U.S. escalation of the war. The United States refuses to carry out the Geneva Agreements, will not negotiate and refuses to end the war.

U.S. escalation is a desperate and futile effort to win a war which cannot be won. This is bringing terrible suffering to the Vietnamese but their resolute courage and military prowess and the support of the people of the world guarantee that the U.S. can never defeat them. Growing U.S. military losses, isolation and outraged public opinion will ultimately create conditions in which the USA may well seek a way out.

QUESTION OF THE UN

The *People's Daily* article raised an important question of principle. Is it correct for socialist countries to participate in the United Nations and other international agencies to advance the cause of peace and national independence?

Weaknesses in the United Nations are obvious and inevitable in a world organization which includes capitalist, socialist and newly-independent countries.

However, socialist countries have been able to cooperate with many member nations in UN and have achieved many political successes in isolating the imperialist powers. It is sectarian to oppose participation and encourage the idea of withdrawal of a few nations, thus perpetuating the U.S. majority.

When the issue of seating the People's Republic of China in UNO

was first raised, the vote was seven for and 42 against. This year it was 47-all with 20 abstentions, a serious reverse for the U.S. government.

Patient and constructive activity for peace and cooperation by Socialist countries in the United Nations and outside strengthens the forces for peace.

Condemnation of such activity as "collaboration with U.S. imperialism" only gives the enemies of peace a pretext for asserting that some socialist countries are opposed to peaceful coexistence and international cooperation. This influences some newly-independent nations and a section of world opinion.

By participating in the work of the United Nations, the Socialist countries use it as an arena of struggle for peace and national independence and are able to expose the imperialists and colonialists.

POLICY FAILURES

The *People's Daily* article is written in unusually extreme language which may reflect recent major policy reverses for the Chinese Party leadership.

What the article calls "new revolutionary parties" have failed to make any real impression and remain small splinter groups, whether in Australia, Ceylon, Belgium, Peru or anywhere else.

In India, where a real and serious division exists, both rival Communist parties publicly reject Chinese actions and statements in support of Pakistan. Both oppose Chinese actions over the Sino-Indian border; neither supports the Chinese ideological position.

Moreover, Chinese policy is obviously meeting increasing reverses in Asia, Africa and Latin America.

Reverses are inevitable for a policy based on such unreal statements as:

". . . the leading groups in the Communist parties of those countries have forbidden their members to do what the imperialists and reactionaries fear most, and only allowed them to do what is to the liking of the imperialists and reactionaries or is at least tolerable to them." (*Peking Review*, No. 46, p. 18.)

Australian reactionaries certainly make no secret of the fact that they dislike the Communist Party of Australia and all its activities.

Continued support for breakaway splinter groups means continuing efforts to impose the Chinese Party's line on other parties. This line runs contrary to that decided by the Chinese Party's last Congress (held in 1956). This Congress, supreme authority under Party rules, decided the Chinese Party's line on basic issues, including the following:

"The Twentieth Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union . . . was an important political event of world significance.

It . . . decided on many important policies and principles for further development of socialism and repudiated the cult of the individual. . . . It also advocated further promotion of peaceful coexistence and international cooperation, making an outstanding contribution to the easing of international tension." (*Eighth Congress of Communist Party of China*, Vol. 1, p. 86.)

PRACTICE IS THE TEST

The *People's Daily* article implicity admits the widespread second thoughts and doubts raised by Chinese Party actions.

"Some people ask, why is it that the Marxist-Leninists cannot take united action with the new leaders of the CPSU, yet can unite with personages from the upper strata in the nationalist countries . . . and can even exploit the contradictions among the imperialist countries. . . ." (*Peking Review*, No. 46, p. 14.)

The answer, we are told, is ". . . their so-called opposition to U.S. imperialism is only verbal and not genuine." (*Ibid.*)

The immediate test of sincerity is willingness to unite against U.S. intervention in Vietnam. Communist Parties will be judged by their response to this test.

Although the ideological differences in the world Communist movement are still deep and difficult to resolve, it is wrong to place these above the need for united action in support of Vietnam.

This united action, and discussion of experiences in the struggle against imperialism, are the best of all possible steps towards ideological unity and to the new forms of cooperation between Communist Parties that will inevitably arise.

POLITICAL RESOLUTION* OF THE CC, FRENCH COMMUNIST PARTY

Growth of opposition to one-man rule, expressed in the signal success of the democratic and republican candidature of François Mitterrand, was the chief characteristic of the presidential elections.

The actual unity achieved between all the democratic parties and groups around a single candidate of the Left on the basis of a certain number of political principles made it possible, even in the first round, to poll about 8 million votes—more than the total obtained by the Left parties in 1962. In the second round, with 10.5 million votes, the democratic alliance demonstrated its great influence. The striving for change was forcefully manifested in the workers' communities and among a considerable part of the peasantry. A movement of unprecedented proportions took shape among the middle strata of the urban population. The election returns in the Communist-headed municipalities testify to the effectiveness of the campaign conducted by the Communist Party and to the position of all its voters.

The success of the candidate of the Left is commensurate with the progress made in uniting the democratic forces.

De Gaulle's difficult election in the second round showed vividly how shaky and weakened the one-man power regime has become. The vote for de Gaulle dropped from 80 per cent in the 1958 referendum to a mere 44 per cent in the first round of the past elections. He was returned only thanks to the votes of the reactionaries who had voted for other Right candidates in the first round. The economic and social policy of the de Gaulle government, which represents capitalist monopolies, just as its anti-democratic practices and its participation in the atomic armaments race, have been seriously called in question.

However, sustained influence on a definite part of the popular strata contributed to de Gaulle's election. Many patriotic-minded Frenchmen hit by the current policies but anxious to preserve government stability, did not perceive the nature of the one-man rule well enough to deny it their support and join the democratic camp, the only guarantee of France's greatness.

Some sections of the big bourgeoisie had staked on Lecanuet to prepare a reactionary succession to one-man rule. The discomfiture suffered by this avowed supporter of U.S. imperialism and of granting nuclear weapons to the German militarists through the European strike force adds to the success of the democratic forces and

*L'Humanité, January 5, 1966.

further complicates the maneuvers aimed at taking advantage of the opposition to the one-man power regime in the interests of the reactionaries. Nevertheless, it would be dangerous to underestimate the moves of the big bourgeoisie to prevent the triumph of the democratic alternative.

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Following the presidential elections the main problem is one of preparing a democratic replacement of Gaullism. The rapprochement between Socialists and Communists, the success of unity have enabled the democratic forces to make a step forward.

The incipient unification will help win the majority if a reliable and clear prospect is opened up before all democrats, including those who still cherish some illusions about de Gaulle.

Development of the mass movement will pave the way for a solid and durable alliance of democratic organizations based on the commitment to pursue a policy conforming to the aspirations of the French men and women who want to ensure, in conditions of democracy and stability, social progress, national independence, France's world prestige, security and peace. Therefore, agreement between all the Left parties and all democratic organizations should be expressed in a common program to be realized in common. The French Communist Party, for its part, is willing, as before, to comply with this essential condition now that a more favorable situation has presented itself.

The Communist Party has long since submitted to all the democratic parties and organizations proposals for the elaboration of a common program which remain valid now as well. The programs of other democratic parties, organizations and groups, the principles and program stated by François Mitterrand during the election campaign also provide a basis for discussion.

Consequently, it is possible to launch a fruitful discussion among all the democratic forces with a view to shaping, in common, a common policy. The preparation for the presidential elections, the thousands of joint appeals and meetings have already proved the democrats' desire that their organizations come to agreement and demonstrated the existence of a wide range of questions on which the political positions of the democratic organizations are not dissimilar. There also exist disagreements, specifically concerning the role of NATO and the European problems. But the possibility of agreement remains the essential thing.

Agreement is possible as regards the establishment of a democratic regime based on:

—a revision of the Constitution to rescind the clauses consecrating one-man rule;

—accountability of the government to a representative parliament with real legislative powers;

—guaranteed public and individual freedoms, specifically the freedom of local self-government, trade union freedoms and the right to strike, and a democratic status of the radio and television;

—the secular character of the school and the state.

Agreement is possible on shaping a policy of economic and social progress in favor of the national interests and the masses and against monopoly rule; this policy should envisage, in particular:

—democratic elaboration of an economic and social development plan ensuring economic progress, higher wages and pensions, reduction of the working day and improvement of the living standards of the entire population;

—extension of nationalization, and democratic management of the nationalized enterprises;

—lower income taxes on low and medium-size incomes;

—a democratic educational reform and sufficient allocations for education and research;

—a large-scale housing scheme, chiefly for families in modest circumstances;

—support of agricultural cooperation and fair remuneration of peasants' labor.

Agreement is possible on a foreign policy of peace, national independence and disarmament, envisaging:

—abandonment of the strike force and conversion of the atomic industry to serve peaceful needs;

—reduction of the term of military service to one year;

—France's participation in disarmament conferences;

—a non-proliferation plan and signing of the partial test-ban treaty;

—cooperation with all countries regardless of their social systems.

A common program adopted by all Left parties and other democratic organizations in conformity with the aspirations of all the French striving for a democratic renovation of the country would make for a new and powerful surge of the popular movement. If the democratic parties and groups work together in the forthcoming parliamentary elections, it will be possible to consolidate the defeat of the UNR and the other reactionaries and replace the present majority in the National Assembly, already condemned in the general ballot, with a democratic majority.

The obstacles to the victory of democracy can and must be surmounted if all the democrats in our country unite and act for the triumph of their common hopes for progress, peace and national independence.

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The unitary policy pursued by the French Communist Party contributed decisively to the success of the democratic forces in the

presidential elections. François Mitterrand became the candidate of all the democratic forces chiefly due to the decision of the CC, FCP to support his candidature. The Communists mobilized all their forces and were among the most active campaigners.

Millions of French men and women—in addition to those who vote for the Communists—approved the FCP stand at this important stage of the struggle for democracy. They can rest assured that the Communists will go on working untiringly to unite the democratic forces, defeat the one-man power regime and ensure the success of democracy.

The Communists will start acting without delay in alliance with all working people and all democrats against the reactionary Gaullist policy. A broad movement for higher wages and better living conditions of the working people can be launched. The struggle for the building of low-rent flats, for lower taxes, in defense of the school will go on mounting. The struggle for an end to the U.S. imperialists' aggression in Vietnam, against West Germany's access to nuclear weapons, against the strike force and for disarmament must grow in scope.

Alongside everyday actions and in connection with them, it is necessary to prepare a democratic replacement of the existing nefarious system, and there can be no question of patching it up or replacing it with some other form of reactionary power. Of prime importance for this is promotion of joint actions and fraternal contacts and discussions between organizations and militants of the Socialist and Communist parties.

The activity and strength of Communist Party organizations played an important role in the gradual realization of the needed unity. Their consolidation is also a prerequisite for fresh successes. That is why the French Communist Party calls upon all the French men and women who approve its policy to join it to bolster its unitary efforts. The meetings which will be organized by all the Party cells in connection with membership registration for 1966 will give them this opportunity everywhere.

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The past year witnessed greater unity of the working class and of all democrats and the promise of far-reaching changes whose importance was demonstrated in the course of the presidential elections. Progress in unity of action can lead to the downfall of the one-man power regime and the establishment of democracy. Unity of all Left parties and all democratic organizations around a common program determining the immediate future depends on all working people and all democrats irrespective of their political or religious views.

Central Committee,
French Communist Party
Saint-Ouen, January 4, 1966

THE STRUGGLE OF THE VIETNAMESE PEOPLE AND ANTI-IMPERIALIST SOLIDARITY*

The National Liberation Front of South Vietnam (NLFSV), brought into being five years ago, unites members of diverse social groups holding different political views and religious beliefs, and includes numerous mass organizations. It expresses the interests of the people of South Vietnam and is their genuine representative body.

The establishment of the NLFSV was an important stage in the people's fight against their oppressors. It reflected the increased strength of the people and their determination to fight on for the triumph of their just cause.

Through courageous struggles of the years that claimed much sacrifice, the Vietnamese people defeated the Japanese, Chiang Kai-shek and French colonialists and invaders. The rise in September 1945 of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, the first workers' and peasants' state in Southeast Asia, was a historic achievement of the people.

The colonialists went to war in an effort to destroy the republic and rob the people of their gains. But they failed ignominiously—in 1954 the growing liberation movement, backed by the revolutionary forces of the world, compelled them to sign the Geneva agreements, which paved the way for peace in Indochina and held out the prospect of peaceful reunification of Vietnam.

Subsequent developments showed that the U.S. imperialists, who had assumed the function of world policemen, were out to regain the positions of colonialism in that area. America's policy-makers torpedoed the Geneva agreements, specifically the general election set for 1956, which could have led to peaceful reunification. The Pentagon expanded its interference in South Vietnamese affairs step by step. Washington steadily increased its financial and military aid to the Ngo Dinh Diem puppet regime. In defiance of the Geneva agreements and international law, the U.S. militarists first intervened in South Vietnam and then attacked the DRV.

The Vietnamese are courageously resisting U.S. aggression. Despite the use of crack American troops, the invaders and the Saigon regime have in effect been unable to extend the area under their control. The guerrillas and the Liberation Army are operating successfully against the enemy forces, destroying unit after unit.

*Pravda, December 25, 1965.

Since August 1964 the air defense troops and people's militias of the DRV have destroyed over 800 U.S. aircraft.

The losses of the aggressor are mounting from week to week. The invaders, enraged by the indomitable spirit of the people, have set out to destroy non-military objectives and the civilian population by means of napalm, chemical and phosphorus bombs. But they cannot lessen the people's resolve to fight on in defense of their sacred right to shape their destiny without interference on anyone's part.

The population of the DRV continues to work with devotion and to strengthen the nation's defenses in the face of sustained bombing and shelling. In South Vietnam, where the regions controlled by the popular forces account for four-fifths of the area and two-thirds of the population of the country, factories and workshops, educational centers for children and adults, and medical aid stations have been or are being set up in the jungle. The principle being implemented by the NLFSV—"The land for those who till it"—is of tremendous importance.

The bravery of the Vietnamese shows that a people determined to give their all in the fight against aggression cannot be vanquished. The Vietnamese people are waging a national-liberation war against heavy odds, striving to free the whole South from the invaders and to bring about peaceful reunification.

With a view to settling the Vietnamese question, the DRV government and the NLFSV have put forward a program calling for recognition of the people's fundamental national rights—their right to peace, independence, sovereignty, unity, and territorial integrity. In line with the Geneva agreements, they insist that Washington withdraw its troops from South Vietnam, dismantle its military bases and stop its armed fight against the DRV. Pending peaceful reunification of the two zones of Vietnam, the U.S. government should abide by the military stipulations of the Geneva agreements. The internal problems of South Vienam should be dealt with by the people themselves, under the NLFSV program, without foreign interference. This applies also to the problem of peaceful reunification.

The Soviet Union agrees with the NLFSV and the DRV government as regards the ways of solving the Vietnamese problem. This was reaffirmed in the message sent by L. Brezhnev, N. Podgorny and A. Kosygin on the occasion of the fifth anniversary of the NLFSV and in the Statement issued by the Supreme Soviet of the USSR on December 9, 1965.

The U.S. imperialists ignore the legitimate demands of the Vietnamese people. They expect to crush the national-liberation movement in Indochina by expanding their aggression. With this aim in view, they are sending more troops to Vietnam as they continue

their military build-up in that country. Already 180,000 troops are operating there. It is planned to bring their strength up to between 250,000 and 300,000 by mid-1966 and to 400,000 by the end of 1966. Washington says the Pentagon will supply as many troops as necessary, adding that it will take more drastic steps if its present measures prove ineffective.

America's dirty war in Vietnam is a challenge to the national-liberation movement throughout the world. It is a direct attack on this movement, which the U.S. imperialists want to stamp out. Expanding U.S. aggression in Vietnam encourages the colonialists elsewhere. The American imperialists and their whitewashers are at pains to demonstrate the "legitimacy" of waging war against any people upholding their national independence. But national-liberation wars are just wars. A lawful weapon of the oppressed, they express the people's desire to be free from foreign tyrants and their puppets.

The Soviet Union and other socialist countries are helping the DRV and the Vietnamese people to repulse U.S. aggression. They regard this help as their internationalist duty toward a fraternal socialist country under unprovoked attack.

Countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America are showing increasing solidarity with the Vietnamese people. They are stepping up their resistance to U.S. aggression, which has already been condemned by the UAR, Algeria, Ghana, Guinea, Burma, the Congo (Brazzaville), Mali and other Afro-Asian countries.

By supporting the Vietnamese people politically and morally, the newly-independent states are making an important contribution to the fight against the U.S. imperialist plan to give colonialism a new lease of life. This fact adds importance to the Conference of Afro-Asian and Latin American Solidarity to be held in Havana, which will help rally the anti-imperialist forces and to intensify their active resistance to imperialist and colonialist intrigue all over the globe.

Revulsion at U.S. aggression in Vietnam is on the rise in the capitalist countries as well. Protest against the crimes of the U.S. imperialists, and the movement of solidarity with the Vietnamese people take on different forms. Relief funds are raised. Ship's crews refuse to carry U.S. arms to Vietnam. Public protest meetings are growing in scale. In the United States itself, tens of thousands of fair-minded citizens denounce the criminal policy of the White House.

Communists are in the forefront of the world-wide movement of solidarity with Veitnam. The Marxist-Leninist parties, true to their internationalist duty, condemn and expose U.S. aggression against Vietnam. They are rallying the people against this aggression, in defense of the Vietnamese people's cause. The Moscow Consulta-

tive Meeting, the West European Communist Conference, the Conference of the Communist and Workers' Parties of Central America, and the Communist parties of the overwhelming majority of the capitalist countries took a stand for the Vietnamese people. Active support for the Vietnamese is evidence of the sense of internationalist responsibility that inspires the Marxist-Leninist parties, the foremost fighters against imperialism, colonialism and neocolonialism.

The action of the working people of the capitalist countries will bear fruit provided it is massive and united. Such action is a weapon enabling the working class and other democratic forces in those countries to make their governments deny support to the reckless policy of the U.S. imperialists.

U.S. aggression in Vietnam has been condemned by major international and national associations of the working class, such as the World Federation of Trade Unions, General Confederation of Labor of France, the General Italian Confederation of Labor, and workers' associations of Japan, Venezuela, the Sudan and many other countries.

The Vietnamese people are getting considerable assistance from the Women's International Democratic Federation, the World Federation of Democratic Youth, World Peace Council, Afro-Asian Solidarity Organization and other bodies.

Imperialist propaganda is trying to undermine the protest movement by misrepresenting U.S. operations in Vietnam, to whitewash the aggressor and dull the people's vigilance. These attempts should be resisted with the greatest firmness.

The increasing scale of aggression against Vietnam, and growing international tensions fraught with serious danger for every people necessitate greater unity of the peace forces and more energetic action by the peoples in support of Vietnam, against the imperialist policy of the United States.

U.S. aggression in Vietnam is part of the general policy of "rolling back" communism. The American imperialists are trying by force of arms to hold up the socialist development of the DRV. It is an honorable duty of the socialist countries to give effective help to their socialist brothers in Vietnam.

The Soviet Union has rendered fraternal assistance to the DRV and the Vietnamese people as a whole throughout the 20 years of struggle, in both their armed conflicts with the colonialists and their socialist construction.

The position of the CPSU, of its Central Committee and the Soviet government on aid to Vietnam is clear and unchanged. They stand for continuing to help the DRV both materially and politically, so as to enable it to repel U.S. aggression.

Negotiations with an economic delegation of the DRV were suc-

cessfully completed in Moscow a few days ago. They resulted in the signing of new agreements on further Soviet economic and technical aid to the DRV with due regard to the needs that have arisen since the Vietnamese people began to resist U.S. aggression. These agreements will go a considerable way toward promoting the economy and the defense potential of the DRV.

True to proletarian internationalism, the Soviet Union helps the DRV to strengthen its defenses. It is doing all in its power to ensure that war supplies and building equipment are delivered on schedule.

Leaders of the DRV and the NLFSV have repeatedly commended Soviet assistance to Vietnam. This and the effectiveness of Soviet weapons in repulsing U.S. aggression in Vietnam are known to all.

All the socialist countries support Vietnam. But their support could produce greater results if the CPC leadership—which has adopted a policy of splitting the world Communist movement—were not to reject united action for Vietnam. The Chinese press has launched a slander campaign in an attempt to defame Soviet aid to Vietnam. On November 11, *Jenminjihpao* and *Hunchi* went as far as to allege that the CPSU "treats friends like enemies," engages in "close cooperation with the U.S. imperialists," and "plays at assistance to Vietnam." These distortions prejudice the Vietnamese people's fight.

The situation calls for unity of the main anti-imperialist forces to beat off the imperialist aggressor. The Soviet Union is working steadfastly for united democratic and progressive action in support of Vietnam. The stand on aid to a fraternal socialist country, to the whole Vietnamese people, is an important criterion of devotion to the great cause of revolution and people's freedom.

The CPSU and the Soviet people as aw hole will spare no effort to carry out their internationalist duty. The Soviet Union will continue to help the Vietnamese people against U.S. aggression.

SOVIET-VIETNAMESE COOPERATION CONTINUES TO GROW

AGREEMENTS* ON ECONOMIC AND TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE TO THE DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF VIETNAM SIGNED IN MOSCOW

A government economic delegation of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam headed by Le Thanh Nghi, Deputy Prime Minister and member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Party of Working People of Vietnam, stayed in the Soviet Union from December 6 to December 22, 1965.

Comrade Le Thanh Nghi had cordial and friendly talks with L. I. Brezhnev, First Secretary of the CC, CPSU and A. N. Kosygin, member of the CC Presidium and Chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers.

In the course of the talks, which passed in an atmosphere of fraternal friendship and full mutual understanding, questions were discussed of the further development and strengthening of economic cooperation between the Soviet Union and the DRV.

As a result of the talks an agreement was signed on further Soviet economic and technical assistance to the DRV and on reciprocal goods deliveries in 1966.

Loyal to the principles of proletarian internationalism, the Soviet Union is rendering the DRV all-round assistance in economic development, taking into account the requirements which have arisen in the course of the Vietnamese people's struggle against the U.S. imperialist aggression.

The DRV delegation highly appraised this assistance and expressed, on behalf of the Vietnamese people, heartfelt gratitude to the CPSU, to the Soviet Government and to the entire Soviet people for this valuable and effective aid in developing the economy and strengthening the defense capacity of the DRV, and for the active support given to the liberation struggle of the Vietnamese people.

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On December 21, after the signing of the Soviet-Vietnamese documents, V. N. Novikov, Vice-Chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, gave a luncheon in honor of the DRV government delegation headed by Le Thanh Nghi, Deputy Prime Minister and member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Work-

*Abridged from **Pravda**, December 24, 1965.

ing People's Party of Vietnam. During the luncheon V. N. Novikov and Le Thanh Nghi exchanged speeches.

On instructions from the CC, CPSU and the Soviet Government V. N. Novikov congratulated the Vietnamese friends on the successful completion of the talks and the signing of the economic assistance agreements. These agreements, he said, will make a new major contribution to the consolidation of the defense potential and the further economic development of the DRV.

The Soviet people, V. N. Novikov continued, have always been and will continue rendering the DRV the necessary all-round assistance and support in the struggle against the U.S. imperialist aggression, in the strengthening and development of the national economy. The stay of the DRV government economic delegation in the Soviet Union coincided with a significant date in the history of the Vietnamese people's struggle for the freedom and independence of their country—the fifth anniversary of the establishment of the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam. The members of the delegation have been able to see for themselves the profundity of the Soviet people's feelings of friendship and solidarity with the people of heroic Vietnam, their boundless fidelity to the principles of proletarian internationalism.

Soviet people are grateful to the Vietnamese comrades for the high appraisal they have given of the efforts of the CPSU and the Soviet government in rendering all-round unselfish assistance to the Democratic Republic of Vietnam.

In conclusion V. N. Novikov wished the Vietnamese people the earliest victory in their just struggle against the U.S. aggressors.

In his reply speech Comrade Le Thinh Nghi said:

We are very glad to visit the great Soviet land once again, this time with the government economic delegation of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, to meet with you and to conduct negotiations with you on aid and economic assistance. Our talks have been successfully completed. I have the pleasure to note that all of us have exerted maximum effort to strengthen and further develop the unity, eternal friendship and fraternal cooperation between our countries. Today this will help us not only in carrying forward socialist construction in North Vietnam in new conditions, but also in building up the economic and military potential at the most crucial juncture in the struggle of our people against the U.S. imperialists, for the salvation of our country.

As you know, the U.S. imperialists are pressing forward with their plan to step up and expand the aggressive war in Vietnam. Lately they brought to South Vietnam additional army contingents of the U.S. and its satellites have taken new "escalation" steps in bombing and strafing the territory of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam. On the other hand, they continue to talk about "peace

negotiations." They do this in order to deceive the peoples of the world, the American people included. But the Vietnamese people, just as the Soviet people and the peoples of the entire world, know well their perfidious designs, and they will never be deceived.

Our people, Le Thanh Nghi went on to say, continue to wage a resolute struggle, overcoming all difficulties; they are ready to make sacrifices in order to foil the American imperialists' plans of aggression and escalation of the war. The Party of the Working People of Vietnam and the entire Vietnamese people are firmly resolved to win in the struggle against the U.S. aggressors, to save their country, uphold independence, unite the country and actively do their duty to the socialist camp, the national-liberation movement and the cause of world peace.

Le Thanh Nghi declared that the support and assistance given by the peoples of the Soviet Union and the other fraternal countries of the socialist camp as well as the sympathy and support of the world Communist and national-liberation movements and of the peoples of the world, including the American people, inspire the Vietnamese people, giving them much strength in the fight against U.S. imperialism, the worst enemy of the Vietnamese people, and of peoples of the entire world. As our people, both in the North and in the South, wage their struggle, the stronger they become, and every day they score new major victories. We are firmly resolved to fight to the end in the name of complete victory over the American aggressors.

The Deputy Prime Minister of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam expressed the sincere gratitude of the Vietnamese people to the Soviet people for their warm feelings and valuable assistance. Our entire people, he said, note with joy that new nation-wide campaigns are developing in the Soviet Union in support of Vietnam, against the aggressive war of the U.S. imperialists. The recent session of the USSR Supreme Soviet adopted a Statement in connection with the U.S. aggression in Vietnam and called on the parliaments and governments of all countries to protest against the war of aggression unleashed by U.S. imperialism in Vietnam. We are very glad to note that at present in Moscow and in many cities and villages Soviet people are organizing meetings in support of Vietnam, against the aggressive war of the American imperialists. Representatives of the Soviet people delivered to the U.S. Embassy in Moscow a resolution of protest and expressed their sympathy and solidarity with our people to the Embassy of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and the Legation of the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam. This campaign, which continues to grow, will certainly have its impact in many respects.

The assistance rendered by the Soviet Communist Party, Government and people to the struggle of the Vietnamese people is a

source of inspiration to our people and gives them tremendous strength in the struggle against the American aggression, for the salvation of their country. The signing of the present agreements on rendering aid and economic assistance is of great importance for the struggle of our people; it will further promote the fighting unity of the peoples of our countries in the common revolutionary cause.

On behalf of the Central Committee of the Party of Working People of Vietnam, the Government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and the Vietnamese people, Le Thanh Nghi expressed sincere gratitude to the CPSU, the Soviet government and the fraternal Soviet people for their, support and great assistance in the spirit of proletarian internationalism. He expressed the hope that the solidarity, friendship and close cooperation of the Vietnamese and Soviet peoples would be further strengthened and developed, and wished the Soviet people success in building communism.

IN OUR STRUGGLE AGAINST U.S. IMPERIALIST AGGRESSION WE HAVE THE WARM SYMPATHY AND SUPPORT OF THE ENTIRE SOVIET PEOPLE*

Together with the peoples of all fraternal countries of the socialist camp the Soviet people are stepping up the movement in support of our people's struggle against the aggression of the U.S. imperialists.

On December 9, 1965 the Seventh Session of the USSR Supreme Soviet unanimously adopted a Statement in which it "resolutely denounces the armed intervention of the United States of America in South Vietnam and its aggression against the Democratic Republic of Vietnam" and points out that "the heroic fight of the people of Vietnam against the imperialist aggression and for their freedom and independence, which is a model of staunchness and indomitable courage, is meeting with the warm sympathy and full support of all the freedom-loving peoples of the world." It was stressed in the Statement that the USSR Supreme Soviet "fully agrees with the stand of the government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam regarding the settlement of the Vietnamese problem" and that "the Soviet Union, fulfilling its internationalist duty, has been and will go on rendering the Vietnamese people all-round support and assistance in the struggle against the aggression of U.S. imperialism." Earlier, on December 6, 1965 Chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers A. Kosygin, replying to a U.S. journalist, also protested vigorously against the Johnson government's war of aggression in Vietnam.

At the beinning of this year, when the U.S. imperialists embarked on a rapid escalation of their war of aggression in South Vietnam and launched open air raids on the DRV, bombing and strafing its territory, the Party, the Government and the people of the Soviet Union resolutely sided with our people. They are giving assistance and support to our people's struggle against the U.S. aggression. The Soviet Union's unreserved solidarity with the struggle of our people against the U.S. aggression, for saving our country, its assistance and support to this struggle are vividly reflected in two joint Soviet-Vietnamese statements—one signed last February, during the visit of the Soviet delegation headed by A. Kosygin to Vietnam, and the other signed in April, when the Vietnamese Party and Government delegation led by Comrade Le Duan, First

*Abridged from **Nhan Dan** leader, December 11, 1965.

Secretary of the CC of the Party of Working People of Vietnam, visited the Soviet Union. Throughout the outgoing year the entire Soviet people have been voicing warm solidarity with our struggle and rendering active and varied support. Meetings in support of Vietnam were held at all industrial enterprises, on collective farms and in educational establishments. Many Soviet citizens expressed their desire to go to Vietnam to help the Vietnamese people in the war against the U.S. aggressors. In many parts of the Soviet Union a broad movement was launched to collect relief funds and medicines for the Vietnamese people, and Soviet people are taking an active part in this movement. The Soviet press and radio keep their readers and listeners constantly informed about the heroic struggle of the people of both parts of our country and sternly condemn the barbaric crimes of the U.S. aggressors in Vietnam. The mass meetings and manifestations that have taken place in the Soviet Union of late, the USSR Supreme Soviet's Statement in connection with the U.S. aggression in Vietnam have shown once again that the entire Soviet people are closely rallied with the people of Vietnam and actively support our just struggle.

The Vietnamese people are firmly resolved to foil the maniacal plans of the U.S. invaders. No matter how many troops they may send to South Vietnam and what stage they may reach in the "escalation," the entire Vietnamese people will fight resolutely to the end, till the complete defeat of the U.S. aggressors, in order to defend the North, liberate the South and ensure, in the future, the reunification of their country. The army and the people of both parts of the country have already dealt a series of crushing blows at the U.S. aggressors. The longer the U.S. persists in its war of aggression, the more serious defeats it will suffer. A few days ago, replying to questions put by Felix Greene, a British journalist, President Ho Chi Minh declared: "Our people have come to a firm decision to go on fighting whatever the sacrifices and as long as is necessary—ten, twenty years or even longer—till final victory, for nothing is dearer to us than independence and freedom." Our strength in the war against the aggression is based on the iron-hard unity of the more than 30-million strong Vietnamese people, who are determined to rout the U.S. aggressors and defend their country, their homes. We derive our strength also from the justice of our struggle. We are receiving sincere assistance and support from the Soviet Union, China and other fraternal countries of the socialist camp. We are supported by the peace-loving peoples of all the world, the American people included. We shall win. The U.S. imperialists are heading for an unavoidable defeat.

We express heartfelt gratitude to the fraternal Soviet people for their support, which inspires our army and all our people to fight till complete and final victory.

THE INTERESTS OF THE PEOPLES' DEMAND CLOSER UNITY IN THE COMMUNIST AND WORKING-CLASS MOVEMENT*

The present international situation is very complicated; events are occurring in rapid succession which have a strong impact on the destinies of the peoples and the future of mankind. All over the world gigantic social forces are rising ever more resolutely to fight against imperialism, for freedom, national independence, democracy and progress, to transform society along socialist lines, to safeguard and strengthen peace.

The world Communist movement is the most important political force today, a decisive factor for social progress. It is the mission of the Communist and Workers' parties to rally the anti-imperialist forces in defense of the vital interests of the working people, of the peoples of the world. This great mission cannot be accomplished without close unity of the Communist movement under the banner of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism.

The experience of many years shows that reaction is powerless against workers, against Communists, when they are united. The unity of the working class, of the Communist parties has ensured great victories in the struggle to organize the proletariat for the socialist revolution, for the conquest of power in many countries, for the fight to thwart imperialist aggression and save mankind from a thermonuclear world war. Conversely, the reactionaries rejoiced and had better chances of succeeding, whenever there was discord in the working-class and Communist movement, in the world socialist system, the mainstay of the world-wide struggle for socialism and democracy, and the guarantee of peace for the peoples. Taking advantage of the dispute now going on in the working-class movement, the imperialists have again put in action their "brain trusts" and colossal "psychological warfare" apparatus to devise the most suitable means of deriving maximum tactical and strategic gains from the situation. The *New York Times* pointed out in its December 5-6 issue that "the present state of . . . conflict offers the United States the bestpossible opportunity to capitalize on the breach . . ."

Some recent events show that in a number of capitalist countries the imperialists and reactionaries are stepping up their effort to abolish or curtail democratic freedoms. Open economic and politi-

*Scinteia editorial. Translated from an Agerpress release, December 18, 1965.

cal pressure, and even armed intervention and other acts of aggression against certain peoples, are aggravating international tensions.

The developments in Vietnam are highly indicative in this respect. Obviously, the aggressor would not have dared to wage such a large-scale war against the Vietnamese people, and would not have launched such far-reaching escalation plans, had there been no disagreement in the Communist movement and the world socialist system. The socialist countries have been rendering important fraternal help to the Vietnamese people, but this help would certainly have been much more effective had the aggressive imperialist circles come up against the unity of the entire socialist system with its colossal political and material power.

There are other facts commanding attention. Acting under cover of the Organization of American States, U.S. Marines have for more than six months now occupied the capital and other cities of the Dominican Republic to prevent the people from expressing their will and exercising their rights. In Africa, the imperialists have been out to rob the Congolese people of the fruits of their many years' struggle for independence and have moreover, challenged the African peoples and the entire world by setting up a racist state in Rhodesia and thus creating one more hotbed of tension.

The socialist world system's tremendous contribution to the national-liberation struggle of the colonial peoples, to the defense and consolidation of independence won at the cost of great sacrifices, is well known. This is why the peoples of the young independent states and the countries fighting for independence are concerned about the discord between socialist countries. *Al Gumhuria,* the Egyptian daily, commented that any split within the socialist camp "would certainly affect the future of the entire world and of the colonial countries, specifically the newly-free countries."

Of late the ultra-reactionaries have again reared their ugly heads in some countries, terrorizing the democratic forces, particularly the Communists, staging anti-Communist trials, imprisoning Communists and outlawing Communist parties. Witness the events in Indonesia and the Sudan and the anti-Communist witch-hunt in the United States and other countries.

All these events have one feature in common: the growing aggressiveness of the ultra-reactionary imperialists, their increasingly dogged attempts to check social progress and stop revolutionary struggle. These attempts reveal a striving to capitalize on the differences between Communist parties and between socialist countries, so as to pursue a policy hostile to socialism, democracy and world peace, all the more easily.

Regrettably, these disagreements have again been exacerbated at a time when close unity of all the contingents of the Communist movement, of the socialist countries, is needed more than ever

before. This grave situation in the Communist movement causes understandable concern to the peoples of the socialist countries, the working class of the non-socialist countries, and progressives all over the world.

The vital interests of the international working class, and the interests of world socialism and the national-liberation movement demand that the invective around the debated questions be stopped and unity established against the common enemy—imperialism with its aggressive policies. The idea of the 1960 Meeting—to work continuously for greater unity in the Communist movement, in the world socialist system, is the supreme internationalist duty of every party—is now more valid than ever.

The Rumanian Communist Party has always paid great attention to the task of strengthening the cohesion of the Communist and working-class movement and the unity of the world socialist system. It has exerted every effort in the past, and is working indefatigably now, to contribute to the defense and consolidation of this unity in the fundamental interests of our great cause. Our Party's point of view as to problems of the Communist movement and methods of solving them was set forth very clearly in the statement of the CC plenary meeting (April 1964) and in the documents of the Ninth Congress.

The Communist parties work in conditions which differ widely depending on the level of their countries' socio-economic development and on their historical and national peculiarities. No one knows the specific problems of a country or the methods of solving them better than the Communist party of that country. Our Party considers that each party has a sovereign right to shape its policy and devise the forms and methods of its activity as it creatively applies the general tenets of Marxism-Leninism to the conditions prevailing in the country. This is not a subject for debate. Interference in the internal affairs of another party can only weaken the unity of the world Communist movement.

On the other hand, it is natural that there should develop differences of opinion and interpretation concerning the revolutionary movement and interanational affairs. The CC, RCP report presented to the Ninth Congres by Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu said: "Our Party holds that the discussion of these questions must proceed in a principled and comradely manner, starting from our common outlook on the world and life—Marxism-Leninism—and continuing with patient and persevering efforts for rapprochement and mutual understanding, for the achievement of unity in the fundamental problems of the struggle against imperialism, for peace, for the victory of socialism."

Differences of opinion, divergences in the approach to a question should on no acount harm the fraternal cooperation of the socialist

countries, their internationalist solidarity in the struggle for the victory of socialism and peace.

What unites the Communist parties—a common ideology, common interests and goals, joint struggle, and a common mission—is the essential thing which outweighs all differences of views.

The consolidation and development of the unity and solidarity of the world socialist system is guaranteed by strict implementation of the fundamental principles of relations of the new type—independence and national sovereignty, mutual benefit, comradely mutual assistance, non-intereference in internal affairs, and socialist internationalism. It is highly important to promote relations of mutual confidence and respect between parties. Every question of common interest should be discussed directly by the parties and leadership concerned in a sincere and comradely spirit. It is the sacred duty of the Communist and Workers' parties of the socialist countries continuously to foster relations of fraternal friendship and cooperation, and enhance the prestige and appeal of socialism in the world.

Our Party is certain that the difficulties can be overcome and that it is not too late to prevent an exacerbation of differences and a split, that it is not too late to work to restore unity. To this end it is necessary, in the first place, to discontinue invective and refrain from any acts that might further complicate the relations between fraternal parties. It is necessary, furthermore, to exert patient and earnest efforts to remove the elements of tension that have accumulated over the years, to create an atmosphere of mutual understanding.

The working class, the peoples who have won independence or are fighting for it, and the progressives of all the world expect the Communist parties, which bear historical responsibility for mankind's destiny, for ensuring social progress and preventing a new devastating war, to do everything to restore their unity, which would contribute in substantial measure to the pooling of the anti-imperialist forces. This unity is an earnest of success in the struggle for social progress, in defense of the independence and sovereignty of the peoples and of peace throughout the world.

The Rumanian Communist Party is convinced that the Marxist-Leninist parties can uphold and strengthen the unity and solidarity of the socialist countries, of the world Communist and working-class movement—the most valuable asset of the working peoples of the world.

STATEMENT OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF SUDAN

17th NOV., 1958 COUP . . . 17th NOV., 1965 COUP

THE CONSPIRACY EXPOSED

Dear Friends, dear Comrades,

Today the conspiracy which was planned by the reactionary forces is exposed and the Sudanese Communist Party has been expecting this since the first day this government came into power. It began a systematic planned attack on democracy and started governing the country according to their party interests. The Central Committee in its meeting on 27th May 1965 declared that a reactionary front has been formed between the Umma party, the leaders of the National Unionists and the Islamic Charter. They began to declare that elections is the only way to stabilize democracy. They also raised the slogan of fighting the Communist Party, but this should not deflect us from the essence of the struggle. The reactionaries aim originally to destroy all the democratic developments in the country and finally confiscate the democratic rights themselves.

UNCONSTITUTIONAL SYSTEM

The reactionary government started its planned attack by confiscating the democratic rights of the trade unions, the Press and it imposed laws banning the meetings and processions and finally it is trying to ban the opposition in the Constituent Assembly and outside by banning the Communist Party. It is clear now to every one that the banning of the Communist Party is planned out of fear of the government from the popular and constitutional opposition; it means that the present regime which is influenced by the Umma Party leadership and followed by the leader of the National Unionists has decided to stop any opposing voice. It decides to govern the country in an unconstitutional way and by this it becomes itself an unconstitutional regime.

This is a natural line of the reactionary forces. Six years ago it could not face the people with a constitutional government and planned the 17th November 1958 Coup when the Prime Minister then handed the power to the Army Generals. But today it is more helpless than before and it is planning a civilian coup against the Constitution and ban the opposition in the 17th November, 1965.

THE FAILURE OF THE GOVERNMENT

This furious attack by the reactionary forces on the Communist Party and the democratic forces in the country is a trial to evade the problems facing this regime. The government failed to solve the problems of the country. The collapsing economic situation, the Southern problem, the low-standard of living, etc. The government tried to blame the Sudanese Communist Party for all this, but the fact is that these big problems can only be solved by an honest national government believing in democracy, and socialism as the way for the future.

UNSUCCESSFUL PLAN

This government tried to put all blame for its failures on the Sudanese Communist Party by attempting to take advantage of a small incident which was planned by night and in which a student attacked religion. In due time it would be clear that that student was only a dummy pushed to do so in order to brand the Communist Party with heresy.

The Communist Party has always fought and still fights for the honor of our people and for socialism under which our people can work and find time for recreation and development of their talents. But in spite of this propaganda by the reactionary parties and the government press and broadcast and in spite of the use of force and attack on women and children their plans have failed in deceiving the enlightened people. History will always remember the courageous stand of the youth and women of Beit El Mal in defense of their honor and their homes against a barbarian attack instigated by the reactionary forces. They also failed in collecting citizens to demonstrate for the banning of the Communist Party. This reluctance and refusal of our people to follow the government confirm our belief that the social force which believes in democracy is big and strong enough to defeat this dictatorship and on this force the Sudanese Communist Party depends for its struggle for democracy and a constitutional government.

Dear Friends, Dear Comrades,

History never forgets. This student who was used for the criminal act is a member of the clique called "The Revolutionary Leadership." This is a group of people who are ready to sell their independence and become stooges and agents of the Chinese Communist Party whose aim now is to fight Communists everywhere. We were quite right when we expelled this group in mid-1964 because a political party which sells its independence and becomes a follower is not worthy of existence and respect. A political party which

pretends to fight for socialism and spends all its time attacking the Communist Party would surely be a tool used for destruction and conspiracy. We, in the name of the revolutionary forces in our country, brand this agent organization and the intervention of the Chinese Communist Party in our internal affairs.

Dear Friends,

The reactionaries are now playing the funeral tune to their whole system. The leaders of the National Unionists are now part and parcel of the reactionary forces. There is no way out for the masses of this party which believe in the Sudan and democracy but to sever any relation with such leaders and join the honest national groups. Every day a new incident would confirm this analysis. The leaders of the Umma Party have failed in deceiving the people that they would work on renewing the party and abandon the old methods and conceptions of democracy.

FIGHT FOR THE PROTECTION OF THE CONSTITUTION

The Communist Party with all its strength will fight for the protection of the Constitution. The beginning of this struggle and its expansion would actually create the conditions to end this regime and set up a national democratic government. All believers in democracy should unite and start the struggle to protect the Constitution and to fight against new laws confiscating the freedom of the individual. Victory is surely ours and would be achieved by the struggle of the democratic forces for the protection of their rights which were acquired by their sacrifice in the October Revolution. Defeat would surely befall the reactionary forces.

The October Revolutionists and the democrats everywhere will unite to struggle for the protection of the Constitution and democracy.

The Central Committee
of the Sudanese Communist Party.
November 12, 1965.

COMMENTS ON ADAM SCHAFF'S BOOK, MARXISM AND THE INDIVIDUAL

BY ZENON KLISZKO, MEMBER OF THE PB
AND SECRETARY, CC, PUWP*

How is one to assess this discussion?† I would describe it as useful—in view of both the importance of the problems it deals with and the fact that it approaches them from the standpoint of Party principle. Discussions of this kind benefit the ideological growth of the Party and so are necessary. We took this into consideration when organizing this particular discussion. Comrade Schaff's book calls for a discussion such as this both because it raises important problems and because it raises many of them in a manner arousing serious doubts or inviting strong objections.

The importance of the problem of Marxism and the individual is indisputable and no one questions it.

A preliminary remark. Some comrades spoke of two "layers," or parts of the book: scientific and political. Comrade Zolkiewski, for one, said that the book is three-fourths scientific and one-fourth political. I think the two "layers," or parts, are closely interlinked because the book is concerned with ideological problems. I regard the book as a political one and Comrade Schaff as its political author. And this should be the point of departure.

Of course, there is no question here of denying the scientific character of the philosophical problems raised in the book and the discussion. I am not going to analyze this trend of the discussion in detail although I appreciate it. The discussion is important both where it concerns the genesis of Marxism, above all the evolution of Marx's views, and where it attempts a Marxist analysis of the concept of alienation. Both of these philosophical elements are of political significance, for they bear on the genesis of our ideology. The acceptance of this or that solution determines the methodological approach to the interpretation of social phenomena. For the same reason, I would not agree with those comrades who would like to divide Comrade Schaff's book into two functionally independent parts, a philosophical and a political one. I consider the book as a whole to be political, also because its philosophical elements serve as methodological and historico-philosophical premises for topical political conclusions.

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*Abridged from **Nowe Drogi**, No. 12, 1965.

†**Marxism and the Individual** was discussed in the editorial offices of **Nowe Drogi** on October 12.

A word about Comrade Schaff's contribution to the discussion.

He said that throughout the discussion he had not heard a single reasonable argument against his concepts, and dismissed the criticisms in rather general terms, except for one point. I cannot resist the impression that the author of the book we are discussing is quite reluctant to lend an ear to criticism and did not try very hard to look into its true meaning, to view it in an objective light.

That may explain why Comrade Schaff's remarks ignored some very important—perhaps theoretically the most important—aspects of the criticism of his position and made the controversy for himself by "classing" the views of his opponents accordingly. This is true, in particular, of the interpretation of the meaning and applicability of the concept of alienation, as well as of the relationship between the individual and society.

If I understand Comrade Schaff's criticism right, they did not take issue with him for "stressing in his work the humanistic content of Marxism" and hence "specifying the place and standing of the individual." Nor was this the reason why his methodological approach was described as "individualistic," as a peculiar surrender to existentialism. That was not the point. The point was whether the problem of man's ability to dominate the social conditions of his being, that is, to resist what is known as alienation and overcome the spontaneous character of social development, can be solved correctly and fruitfully in terms of the relationship between the individual and society.

Here I agree with those speakers who maintained that it has been and remains a fundamental postulate of Marxism that social conditions are subject to conscious control by the progressive classes, and hence by society as a whole. The spontaneous operation of the social machinery, does not lie in the individual being unable to bring this machinery under his control. It lies in the fact that in pre-socialist formations this machinery eluded the control of society. The individual man can emancipate himself and gain freedom only in step with the emancipation and liberation of his social class and his nation. Comrade Schaff's book poses this problem incorrectly, nor did he deal with it in his remarks here.

The accusation that the author of the book treats the individual in abstract, extra-class and extra-national terms is not refuted by the fact that the introductory part of his book states his view on the nature of the links existing between the individual and society, since, in examining later on the infinitely more important issue of the relation of the individual to society, labor, the nation, and so on, he does not draw proper conclusions, and since he substitutes an abstract relationship—the individual in general and the state—for real relationships, such as that between the bourgeoisie

and the bourgeois state; between the workers and the bourgeois state, between the workers and the socialist state, etc.

Therefore, as far as methodological and historico-philosophical questions are concerned, I agree with those comrades who criticize the author's position. I believe, however, that these questions require a more thorough and, I presume, a longer discussion by philosophers. Incidentally, such a discussion has already begun and is reflected in our periodicals. Needless to say it should be carried on freely and should level no *a priori* accusations at anyone for his particular position.

I would like to touch, first of all, on the political problems raised by Comrade Schaff, for I consider them the essential point of this discussion. It was said here that Comrade Schaff criticizes socialism one-sidedly and presents a long list of exaggerated and often groundless claims on socialism. I think the latter aspect of the matter particularly important.

Our Party's attitude to criticism is clear. We are convinced that socialism has no fear of criticism. The history of our policy is in substantial measure a history of criticism and self-criticism, of critical analysis of reality and our own activity. It is a record of the implementation of measures amending previously accepted premises, a record of the search for new solutions to social and economic problems that could not be solved in the old way.

However, the Party has always insisted on a responsible attitude to criticism, particularly criticism inside the Party. For we do not live in a vacuum but in a world deeply engaged in a grim ideological and political fight between socialism and capitalism. Anyone who believes that the time has come when we can relax our sense of responsibility for what we say, that we can give less thought to whether or not the criticisms we offer are well-founded and appropriate, that we can concern ourselves less about the capital our opponents are likely to make out of rash, flippant and groundless criticism and about the social function of criticism, is very wrong.

The international situation remains complicated and is fraught with serious danger. For several years we have been grappling with differences in the world Communist movement and the community of socialist countries. These differences make our fight against imperialism more difficult. The imperialists are trying to take advantage of them and to fan them to the utmost, so as to promote their offensive against socialism.

Simultaneously the imperialist forces are carrying a great offensive throughout the "third world." I am not speaking only of the Congo or the Dominican Republic, where they have gone as far as to interfere openly in the internal affairs of the nations concerned. That offensive takes different forms ranging from economic pres-

sure to political discrimination to direct military intervention, the blow being aimed, everywhere and always, at unitary trends and at the solidarity of the peoples of the "third world," as well as at their solidarity and cooperation with the socialist countries. Anyone who does not see that a marked differentiation is going on in the "third world" and that the situation there is becoming more complicated is shutting his eyes to facts. The U.S. imperialists, who aggravate this differentiation, are also resorting to the open use of force more and more often in an attempt to check the decline of the imperialist spheres of influence. This policy threatens a whole series of "local conflicts" that would also jeopardize world peace.

This situation in the "third world" confronts us with many new problems. The increasing discrepancy in economic level, and consequently in standard of living, between the developed and the developing countries, which account for two-thirds of the world's population, is an important development fraught with serious consequences for the international situation as a whole, and it also confronts us with various problems, in particular theoretical ones.

At the same time there is evidence that the imperialists are using new tactics toward the socialist world. Faced with the consolidation of the socialist system and with changes in the balance of world forces, they had to renounce their notorious policy of "liberation." But they have not given up the fight against socialism nor attempts to undermine socialism from within, to foster and support retrogressive ideological and political trends in our countries. I think it necessary to stress — within the context of this discussion — that the imperialists' present tactics toward the socialist countries, designed to "loosen" socialism, use primarily the ideological weapon. They profit by every mistake we make, by every difficulty we encounter in economic development.

In late years this ideological offensive of imperialism has greatly intensified. Moreover, this development affects the situation in certain intellectual circles. You are familiar with facts indicating a peculiar crisis in the ideological position of some comrades who have been unable to recover from the shock caused by the exposure of the excesses of the personality cult, or have lost the compass that is provided by close association with the activity of the Party and by participation in its struggles.

Anyone who considers all this is bound to come to the conclusion that in the present situation those who raise such cardinal political problems as that of the socialist state or of the individual's relation to socialist society and to labor should, if prompted by the desire for a critical analysis of existing reality, have a deep sense of political responsibility and make a special point of drawing his conclusions along Marxist lines, of not departing from the fundamental

principles of Marxism-Leninism in his noble striving to carry forward the theory of society.

The book tries to compare the theoretical tenets of socialism with the experience in socialist construction gained so far. This is an important task. Indeed, we may say that we should make such a comparison systematically if we want to further both theory and practice. But Comrade Schaff's comparison deals with them rather one-sidedly and abstractly. He proceeds from only one aspect of the theory of scientific socialism. He takes little account of Lenin's contribution to theory, and all but ignores the contribution of the present-day international labor movement in general and that of our Party in particular. Socialism as a social practice is also treated by him as something abstract and static.

The socialist system is nearing its 50th anniversary. During the past years, history has recorded various stages in socialist construction. Socialism passed through an unprecedentedly difficult period when the solitary Soviet Union waged an intense and heroic fight to maintain the revolution and carry it through to victory. In the years of the great test the Soviet Union, encircled by capitalist countries, carried out industrialization and collectivization. Then came World War II and years of struggle to the finish against fascism. And finally the time arrived when the socialist idea was put into practice by many countries having different socio-economic, historical and cultural backgrounds. Today there exist side by side socialist countries that are at different stages of development and differ from one another in their approach to the solution of the concrete socio-economic problems of socialism.

In many countries of the "third world" as well, we see attempts to effect social and political reforms patterned on the experience of the socialist countries. Socialism has gained ample experience, in both time and space.

The task of carrying forward the theory of socialism in our times makes it imperative that we should refer to that experience and draw conclusions from it. This applies also, and perhaps in the first place, to that branch of theory which may perhaps be called the philosophy of man. Yet Comrade Schaff's book treats socialism as a generality, as socialism outside time and space. As a result, its conclusions are over-simplified and wrong, and are bound to lead to stereotyped and one-sided estimations at variance with reality.

Once Zeromski (and others) said that he who wants to reach the whole of mankind, and hence to become an internationalist, should begin with his own country. I think the most reasonable starting point for Polish Marxists in analyzing the relationship between socialist man and the institutions brought into being by socialist society should be Poland. This is not because our country is a

center focussing the socialist problems of today but because, to Marxists, the truth has always been concrete and the problems of one's own country provide the best material for concrete analysis. The point is also that only this kind of analysis can safeguard an author against serious errors and serve the Party best.

With regard to the social function of Comrade Schaff's book, we can join issue with him, because, in dealing with socialism outside time and concrete space, he formulates his ideas in such a way that the reader is entitled to attribute them to Poland and, moreover, to the Poland of today. Thus he presents to socialism in our country, to our society and state, a bill making socialist Poland answerable for all the difficulties ever encountered by socialism anywhere due to objective or subjective causes.

It is not very important how many languages the book will be translated into or what echo it will bring from this or that capital, from this or that foreign environment. To Polish Communists, the decisive thing should be, speaking objectively, the social and ideological function performed by Comrade Schaff's book in his own country, and the response it will arouse in his own party. And this depends primarily on the extent to which the author's theses correspond to the Polish reality shaped by the policy of our Party.

The fact that the book leaves out the Party is not an accidental omission. It prompts me to look more closely into some problems of theoretical research in our Party.

A great deal was said here about the socialist state, its nature, its connection with society, and its evolution. Comrade Schaff's position on the so-called alienation of the state was criticized.

During the past 25 years our Party has done a vast amount of theoretical and political work on problems of the socialist state. We have been striving to ensure maximum democracy, and the closest possible links between the people's state and society, in Polish conditions. Our experience in this respect is anything but negligible, both theoretically and practically.

The author of the book returns to the problem of the personality cult again and again, and interprets the nature and origin of this phenomenon in his own way. I must admit that I was struck by the superficiality of his interpretation. Comrade Schaff sees the cause of the personality cult and of the distortions resulting from it in people's natural dislike of "critics and opponents." "What leader likes critics and opponents?" he queries. In short, the personality cult is supposed to be rooted in the psychological inclination to command, in "thirst for power." And to immunize ourselves against this danger, we are expected to carry on educational work aimed at making people "acknowledge the unsavoury fact that no one is infallible and that people are not obliged to execute orders blindly" (p. 302). This psychological approach is a far cry from

the scientific tradition of Marxism, and so is the supposition that in Stalin's day there developed a stratum of people which "obeyed the leader unquestioningly and was linked with him also by the bonds of very earthly, and in some conditions particularly valuable, privileges" (p. 290).

I agree with those comrades who argue against the concept of the so-called "privileged power elite," although I think our Party and government cadres, as well as our scientists, art workers and all those who play an important role in the machinery of guidance of social life, are faced with the serious problem of strengthening their links with the masses. We should also see to it that these cadres lead a democratic and modest way of life. But this has nothing in common with advancing the theory of a "privileged elite" under our system.

In presenting the report of the PUWP delegation which attended the 22nd Congress of the CPSU, Comrade Gomulka said:

"We think that to understand the causes of the rise of the personality cult, one has only to recall the conditions in which the Soviet Union had to build socialism, and to take into account Stalin's traits . . .

"The Soviet Union began socialist construction on an exceedingly narrow base left by tsarist Russia. In keeping with that economic base was the social base—a working class which was small compared with the population but militant and aware of its goals, and a peasantry which made up the overwhelming majority of the population of a multi-national country. The tsarist autocracy, the persecution of Russian revolutionaries, long years of civil war against counter-revolutionary generals, and the war against imperialist invaders moulded the austere character of the Russian Communists. The Soviet Union was the first country to transform socialist ideas into material and social realities.

"Through practical struggle and labor, the CPSU searched and paved the way for socialist construction . . . No other socialist country has had to build socialism in such difficult conditions, nor will any other country taking the socialist road have to.

"In those conditions the Soviet state—the dictatorship of the proletariat—had to be ruthless in the fight against the enemies of socialism. The Party could not tolerate anything that was likely to undermine its unity and militancy. It had to remove from its ranks the Trotskyites, who did not believe in the possibility of building socialism in one country, which amounted in practice to surrender of the revolution. It could not tolerate other opposition groups which, hard pressed by difficulties, tried to resolve them in the wrong way . . .

"The Party should have expelled the opposition leaders and let the showdown with them go at that. But Stalin, prompted by his

despotic temper, dealt with them by bloody methods.

"The Soviet Union, which wanted to live and to create prospects for its life, had first of all to build up its industry at a fast rate. The means for industrialization had to be derived from the country's own economy, and since agriculture predominated, most of those means had to be furnished by agriculture. This was impossible with a fragmented, small-commodity agriculture. Apart from other considerations, collectivization, called the second revolution in the USSR, became indispensable also from this standpoint . . .

"We know, however, that collectivization met with strong resistance on the part of the wealthier section of the peasantry. This, along with the adoption of new forms of farming, was bound to entail a temporary drop in agriculture production, with the result that it became more difficult to supply the working class and the urban population with food.

"The kulaks' resistance in the countryside, which assumed a large scale and sharp forms, including subversion, sabotage and assassination, necessarily drew repressive measures from the state . . . But the extent of repression by the dictatorship of the proletariat should be commensurate to the scale of counter-revolution, and should hit the enemy instead of striking out at random. Unfortunately, this measure was exceeded by the agencies supervised and inspired by Stalin, agencies whose function was to fight the enemy and combat counter-revolutionary activities . . .

"We may date back to that time the beginning of growing lawlessness, violations of socialist legality, the creation of an atmosphere of fear, and the growth of the Stalin personality cult on this basis."*

This quotation contains the most profound estimation made thus far of the origins of the Stalin personality cult and its concomitants. It is a contribution to theory by our Party. No Party member writing about these matters should ignore this contribution. As we see, our Party four years ago had much more to say on this matter and more to the point than Comrade Schaff does today. True, we may say that the estimation we made in 1961 is incomplete—years will pass before a more complete estimation can be made.

These questions do not bear on history alone. They are among the focal problems of the socialist state and socialist democracy. We analyzed adverse developments in socialist statehood, not only because we felt it our duty to reveal the nature of these developments to the nation in frank terms, but above all because we wanted to find such forms of the further moulding of this statehood as would safeguard us against the abuse of power and guarantee the development of socialist democracy.

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*Wladyslaw Gomulka, **Speeches**, 1961, pp. 508-510.

We drew far-reaching conclusions, not only restoring socialist legality, but above all investing every collective and elected body of the Party or the state with appropriate powers, and setting up broad systems of public and Party control over the state authorities. Step by step we are making discussion in our Party life a method paving the way for decisions. Major political and economic measures, such as economic plans, are normally discussed throughout the country. We have actually created conditions for constructive discussion and criticism in the Party, the Sejm commissions, the people's councils and the press. The relations between our Party and other parties are based on exchange and coordination of views. No one who approaches this matter from a Marxist standpoint can overlook the fact that these measures, carried out systematically though without high-sounding declarations, have substantially changed the position of the citizen in respect of the state, strengthened the link between the people's state and the nation, and increased the people's participation in government.

The evolution of the political system in many other socialist countries is going on in a similar direction, furnishing evidence of the real and profound difference between the bourgeois and the socialist state. How can anyone disregard the significance of these developments when examining the problem of alienation, the problem of the relations between the individual man and the socialist state and, more important still, of the relations between society and this state?

Take another question—the relations between the peasantry and the working class, between agriculture and industry, between the countryside and the socialist state, during the transition from capitalism and socialism.

The relations between the workers and peasants are based on the economic link between socialist industry and what is predominantly a small-commodity agriculture. This link and the existing system of economic ties do away with the economic isolation and primitive self-sufficiency of agriculture. The peasants' all-round connection with the entire national economy and with the state plan increases the impact of the socialist sector of the economy on the trends of production and development in the countryside. It is particularly important to remember that the state buys up about 90 per cent of the products sold by the countryside. This is a new type of market relations between town and country.

It may be argued that these considerations have no bearing on the subject matter of the book under discussion, which is concerned with the problem of the individual and his position in socialist society. I cannot agree with that. With regard to the alienation of labor and the ways of overcoming it, no one will deny that the profound antithesis between the town and the countryside, which

threatens millions of peasants with the destruction of the foundations of their existence and attaches the peasant and his children to a patch of land that dwindles from generation to generation, was one of the most painful forms of alienation under capitalism.

In our country socialism has in 20 years gone a very long way toward lifting the Polish peasant, and hence the majority of the nation, out of extreme want. It has delivered the peasant from the threat of ruin, provided him with housing, put education as well as other trades within reach of the rural youth, and for the first time in Polish history really abolished the feudal principle of *glebae adscripti.*

One cannot help being surprised that Comrade Schaff, dealing with the problem of alienation, disregards the great process of de-alienation that has taken place in the countryside, that he does not compare his theses with what he could have read in the diaries of the younger generation in the countryside or learned from numerous sociological treatises on the problem.

The problem of de-alienation of labor in general, or the process which I would prefer to call the emancipation of labor, cannot be analyzed correctly without fully considering the experience of our Party and other Communist and Workers' parties in developing various forms of workers' self-government.

The problem of internationalism and nationalism is among the ideologically and theoretically noteworthy problems raised in the book.

Comrade Schaff claims that the world of today is a world of "growing nationalisms," "a world rent by nationalist contradictions." He deplores the fact that these processes do not by-pass even the socialist countries as regards their mutual relations and nationalism, or even racialism, toward their national minorities. He even advanced the supposition that "new" (that is, socialist) conditions contribute in some measure to the survival of "old" (that is, nationalist) prejudices.

The thesis that the modern world is a world of "growing nationalisms" does not in itself explain anything. There are different kinds of nationalism in today's world. Marxists have never treated the nationalism of the oppressed nation and that of the oppressor nation in one and the same way. To identify patriotism with nationalism, as has been done in the history of our movement, means badly misinterpreting internationalism.

Hundreds of millions of people in the colonies have awakened. Dozens of peoples have won national independence and are fighting for the sovereignty of their states, often under nationalist slogans. But this kind of nationalism is progressive—it is, in effect, patriotism arising from ardent love of one's people and of their free striving and aspirations, fostered by hatred for those who for cen-

turies brought the colored peoples destruction and unexampled exploitation. Is this national-liberation movement fraught with nationalism in the negative sense of the term? It certainly is. But is it the decisive thing?

Do nationalist prejudices persist also in the relations between socialist countries? This is an exceedingly complicated matter.

Lenin had no doubt that socialist states would exist long after the victory of the socialist revolution, with the national question playing an important role. Nor is there anything terrible about this. For socialism means also the winning of national freedom and hence the realization of the right of nations to establish their separate, independent states. Rosa Luxemburg did not understand this but Lenin understood it perfectly. The emergence of the system of socialist states put the issue of implementing the principles of internationalism on a new plane. Comrade Schaff vastly oversimplifies the problem by reducing it to the task of internationalist education. To be sure, this aspect of the matter is also of great importance.

Obviously, the process of eliminating nationalist prejudices does not take place automatically as socialist construction goes on. It calls for conscious political effort by the Party and hinges, among other things, on the shaping of new, friendly relations between the socialist countries. The oversimplified, distorted concept of internationalism that was widespread at one time constituted a serious obstacle in this respect. It was due to incomprehension that genuine internationalism grows out of patriotism and that the pursuit by every Communist party of a policy meeting the vital national interests of its own country and people is the main requisite for international unity of action in the struggle for the common cause of the working people of every nation and for the common interests of the socialist system.

It should be clear, therefore, that the struggle to implement the lofty principles of internationalism has been, and is, considerably more complicated than Comrade Schaff imagines.

In conclusion I would like to raise a question which imposes itself when one has read Comrade Schaff's book, and also in connection with this discussion. I mean the question of partisanship and political responsibility in science, specifically in the social sciences.

The 13th Plenum stressed, among other things, that the social sciences are by their very nature linked with politics more closely than any others. After all, they are concerned with the laws of social development, and hence with problems having a direct bearing on the theoretical foundations of the party's political thought, as well as, in large measure, on the political activities of the party.

The special political responsibility resting on those engaged in the social sciences stems from the political, and hence also the partisan, character of these sciences. This responsibility is comparable to the special moral responsibility resting on medical men. You know that there are certain ethical and legal bans on the use or advertising of drugs before they have been tested through clinical experiments. Medical men are aware of the social consequences that an irresponsible approach in this matter may and occasionally does have.

Social scientists bear a special responsibility also when the views they express have or may have definite political repercussions. If they draw overhasty conclusions or express incorrect views, this may have a harmful effect on people's social consciousness and attitude.

That is why the social scientist should have a deep sense of political responsibility and exercise political prudence. He should be well aware of the conditions in which he voices his views, and more particularly of the situation in the ideological sphere and the requirements of ideological work. This means that he should have a clear idea of his place and task in the ideological struggle which socialism is waging against its opponent, imperialism, in the specific conditions of the country in question.

The Party and ts leaders and political workers have a special interest in scientific discussions in the social sciences. They join in such discussions and state their opinions as they uphold the Marxist-Leninist point of view. The Party sees this as its duty and its right arising from its responsibility for the entire life of the nation, including the trend of thought in the social sciences, as well as from the role the Party itself plays in the development of this thought.

It would be wrong to believe that in our socialist conditions scientists doing what is in a sense professional research into social phenomena have a monopoly on creating and carrying forward Marxist theory. In fact, I think that unless they combine their effort with the activity of the Party and work within the framework of the Party, their effort will yield few or no results.

Yet we have had trends isolating scientific centers from the Party and from politics. This isolating was done by dogmatists describing propaganda and apology as the only function of science. Afterwards it was done by revisionists astride on the theory of "contrast" and "antithesis" between Marxist science and the ideology of the Party, between what they called "intellectual" Marxism and "institutional" Marxism.

I am not taking exception to the fact that Comrade Schaff did not engage in self-censorship and failed to cross out this or that. What I do take exception to is rather that he has written rashly,

superficially and lightly about important theoretical and political matters. I think Comrade Schaff, whose scientific contribution, ability and profound knowledge I greatly appreciate, would have avoided mistakes, oversimplification and errors in his last work had he, in concerning himself mostly with political subjects, borne in mind the theoretical and practical achievements of our Party, its point of view, which is surely more important than what various, often anti-Communist, "Marxologists" in the West have to say about Marxism and socialism.

ACTIVITIES OF COMMUNIST AND WORKERS' PARTIES

At the end of **November** the inaugural congress of the Communist Party of Quebec was held in Montreal.

Sam Walsh was unanimously elected National Chairman of the Party.

Dec. 15-18. The CC of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany held its 11th meeting to hear and discuss the report of the Political Bureau, delivered by Erich Honecker, and reports by Walter Ulbricht, Alfred Neumann and Willy Rumpf.

The CC unanimously approved the reports and endorsed, on the whole, the draft laws on the economic plan and State Budget for 1966.

Dec. 20. The Communist and Workers' parties and progressives the world over marked the fifth anniversary of the establishment of the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam.

Dec. 18-23. The Soviet Union played host to a delegation of the CC, SUPG and the GDR Council for Agriculture led by Gerhard Gruenberg, alternate member of the Political Bureau and Secretary of the CC.

On December 23 the. delegation was received by L. I. Brezhnev, First Secretary of the CC, CPSU. D. S. Polyansky, member of the CC Presidium, F. D. Kulakov, Secretary of the CC, and H. Bittner, GDR Ambassador to the USSR, also took part in the talk, which passed in a warm and friendly atmosphere.

Dec. 18-19. The CC of the CP of Finland discussed the internal and international situation and preparations for the 14th Party Congress and the parliamentary elections.

The CC decided to set up a special commission to draft amendments to the Party Rules and Program, to be submitted to the congress.

It also adopted a resolution, "Peace to Vietnam," sternly condemning the U.S. aggressive actions in Vietnam.

Dec. 19. *Volkstimme,* central organ of the CP of Austria, reported, on behalf of the Political Bureau of the CC, CPA, that representatives of Communist parties of European capitalist countries met in Vienna to prepare this year's conference of the Communist parties of these countries.

Dec. 22. L. I. Brezhnev received Le Thanh Nghi, Deputy Prime Minister of the DRV and member of the Political Bureau of the CC of the Party of Working People of Vietnam, and had a talk with him, which proceeded in an atmosphere of fraternal friendship.

The talk was attended by Nghiem Ba Duc, Deputy Minister of Foreign Trade of the DRV, and Nguyuen Van Kinh, DRV Ambassador to the USSR.

Dec. 27. Janos Kadar, First Secretary of the CC of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, and Gyula Kallai, member of the Political Bureau of the CC and Chairman of the HPR Council of Ministers, received Le Thanh Nghi, member of the Political Bureau of the CC of the Party of Working People of Vietnam, who headed a DRV economic delegation.

Dec. 29. L. I. Brezhnev received Carlos Rafael Rodriguez, member of the Secretariat of the CC of the CP of Cuba and Minister of the Revolutionary Government of the Republic of Cuba, and had a cordial friendly talk with him.

Dec. 29. L. I. Brezhnev received and had a friendly talk with Kim Ben Dik, Ambassador of the Korean People's Democratic Republic to the USSR.

Dec. 29. *Pravda* published the message of greetings of the CC, CPSU to the CC of the French Communist Party in connection with the 45th anniversary of the FCP.

Jan. 5. Boris Velchev, Secretary of the CC of the Bulgarian CP, reported to a CC meeting on the work of the BCP and public organizations in preparation for the forthcoming elections to the National Assembly. The CC adopted a corresponding resolution.

Jan. 6. Soviet delegation headed by A. N. Shelepin, member of the Presidium and Secretary of the CC, CPSU, left for Hanoi on the invitation of the CC of the Party of Working People of Vietnam.

The delegation included D. F. Ustinov, alternate member of the Presidium and Secretary of the CC, CPSU, K. V. Rusakov, assistant department chief of the CC, CPSU, A. S. Chistyakov, chief of the Southeast Asia Department of the USSR Foreign Ministry, Colonel-General V. F. Tolubko, and I. S. Shcherbakov, USSR Ambassador to the DRV.

Jan. 7. A Party and Government delegation of the USSR headed by L. I. Brezhnev left Moscow to pay an official visit to the Mongolian People's Republic on the invitation of the CC of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party and the MPR Government.

The delegation included K. T. Mazurov, member of the Presidium of the CC, CPSU and First Vice-Chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, Y. V. Andropov, Secretary of the CC, CPSU, A. A. Gromyko, member of the CC, CPSU and USSR Foreign Minister, Minister of Defense, R. Y. Malinovsky, M. A. Polekhin, alternate member of the CC, CPSU and assistant department chief of the CC, CPSU, B. B. Gorodovnikov, member of the CPSU Central Auditing Commission and First Secretary of the Kalmyk Regional Committee of the CPSU, L. G. Galimzhanove, alternate member of the CC of the CP of Kazakhstan and Minister of Culture of the Kazakh Soviet

Socialist Republic, and L. N. Solovyov, member of the CC, CPSU and Ambassador to the MPR.

Jan. 7-8. The situation in the country was discussed and the program of action for 1966 outlined at a meeting of the CC of the CP of Uruguay.

The CC also decided to convence the next, Nineteenth Congress of the CPU at the end of June, this year.

Jan. 8. A joint communique on the official visit to Czechoslovakia of the DRV Government economic delegation headed by Le Thanh Nghi, member of the Political Bureau of the CC, PWPV and Deputy Prime Minister of the DRV, was published in Prague.

Jan. 8-9. The CC of the CP of Belgium discussed the political situation in the country.

Jan. 8-9. The Executive Committee of the CP of Great Britain held a meeting chiefly devoted to the international situation.

At the end of December the first issue of the journal *Problemas de Marxismo* appeared in Argentina.

At the beginning of January the newspaper *Unita,* central organ of the CC of the Italian Communist Party, reporting on the results of the annual membership registration campaign, announced that already by January 4, 1,114,879 people had been issued the 1966 Party cards. More than 49,000 new members joined the Party in 1965. The exchange of Party cards continues.

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SOVIET-MONGOLIAN FRIENDSHIP FOREVER

On January 15, following the successful conclusion of talks between the Party and Government delegations of the Soviet Union and People's Mongolia, a Mongolian-Soviet friendship meeting was held in Ulan-Bator, at which Y. Tsedenbal, First Secretary of the CC of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party and Chairman of the MPR Council of Ministers, and L. I. Brezhnev, First Secretary of the CC, CPSU, were the main speakers.

SPEECH* BY Y. TSEDENBAL

Dear Comrade Brezhnev,

Dear comrades, members of the Party and Government delegation of the Soviet Union,

Dear comrades,

The working people of our country are very happy to play host to their dear Soviet guests, members of the Party and Government delegation of the Soviet Union. It is with feelings of heartfelt gratitude, love and respect for the Soviet people that we are meeting here with envoys of the great Soviet land, representatives of the glorious Leninist party of the Soviet Communists.

Allow me, on behalf of and on instructions from the Central Committee of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party and on behalf of all our people, to extend warm greetings to the head of the delegation, Comrade Leonid Ilyich Brezhnev, First Secretary of the CC, CPSU, an outstanding Soviet party leader and statesman, a prominent leader of the world Communist and working-class movement and a great friend of our people.

We also warmly greet our esteemed guests, prominent Soviet party functionaries and statesmen — Comrade Mazurov, member of the Presidium of the CC, CPSU and First Vice-Chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, Comrade Andropov, Secretary of the CC, CPSU, Comrade Gromyko, Foreign Minister of the USSR, Marshal Malinovsky, Minister of Defense of the USSR and an honorary citizen of Ulan-Bator, Comrade Polekhin, deputy department chief of the CC, CPSU, Comrade Gorodovikov, First Secretary of the Kalmyk Regional Committee of the CPSU, Comrade Laila Galimzhanova, Minister of Culture of the Kazakh Republic, and

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Pravda, January 16, 1966.

Comrade Solovyov, Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the USSR in the Mongolian People's Republic.

In your person, dear Soviet friends, we hail our most loyal friend, the heroic Soviet people and the great Communist Party of the Soviet Union the tried and tested vanguard of the world Communist and working-class movement, and extend our best wishes to them.

All our Party and the entire Mongolian people attach exceptional importance to the visit of the Soviet Party and Government delegation to the MPR. This visit of a top-level Soviet delegation led by the First Secretary of the CPSU and the extensive exchange of opinions between representatives of our parties and governments will greatly strengthen the friendship and cooperation of the Mongolian and Soviet peoples.

Just as the last year's Moscow talks between the Party and Government delegations of our countries, our present talks and meetings passed in the spirit of traditional Mongolian-Soviet friendship, the spirit of fraternity and full unanimity of views, and yielded highly important positive results. These talks have demonstrated anew the community of views and actions of the MPRP and the CPSU, of the MPR and USSR governments as regards problems of socialist and communist construction in our countries, the development of Mongolian-Soviet relations as well as the present international situation and the world Communist movement. They have reaffirmed the unshakable loyalty of our parties and states to the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, their determination always to march shoulder-to-shoulder towards a great common goal.

The working people of our country regard their eternal friendship with the Soviet people, the fraternal unity and strong internationalist bonds of the MPRP with the CPSU as a greatest gain of the Mongolian people's revolution. Fraternal friendship and all-round cooperation with the Soviet Union have played, and play now, an exceptional role in the life of the Mongolian people, in their effort to build a new society.

The Soviet people's unselfish fraternal assistance enabled our people to win and strengthen their freedom and independence, and do away with age-old backwardness, create a modern economy and culture and accomplish the transition from feudalism to socialism.

In the years of people's power the peoples of our two countries have had to endure many trials in the struggle against the forces of the old world. A mortal danger to the revolutionary gains of our peoples has more than once hung over our countries. But in the face of the danger the Soviet and Mongolian peoples, united as they are by a common goal, have rallied their ranks still closer, acted in common and scored glorious victories over the common enemies.

The struggle for common aims, the hardships endured together have drawn our peoples closer to each other and made them real brothers.

The Mongolian people hold in high esteem the magnanimity of their Soviet friends, who have never hesitated to help us and share all the difficulties and hardships with us. The finest sons and daughters of the Soviet people spared neither their blood nor lives themselves in the struggle for the happiness and bright future of the working people of the MPR. Thousands of them died the death of heroes in grim battles and sleep the eternal sleep in the Mongolian steppes. Our people cherish their memory..

It would be impossible to enumerate the heroic feats of many thousands of Soviet people who have been and are rendering all-round assistance to our people in their peaceful creative endeavors, in developing the various branches of our economy and culture. Truly countless and inestimable are the good deeds performed by representatives of the Soviet Union in rehabilitating our country and promoting its progress. The grateful memory of the Mongolian people will retain forever the greatness of the immortal exploits of Soviet people who helped them build a new society.

Speaking about the labor and heroic deeds of Soviet people for the sake of the happy life of the Mongolian people, I note with pleasure that in the trying years of the struggle against the imperialist aggressors our esteemed guest, Comrade Brezhnev, served as a political officer in the Soviet troops stationed on Mongolian territory in accordance with the 1936 Protocol on Mutual Assistance, and took an active part in securing the revolutionary gains of our people.

I take this opportunity to express our deep-felt gratitude to our great friend and ardent champion of Soviet-Mongolian friendship, Leonid Ilyich Brezhnev and, in his person, to all the Soviet people who helped uphold the freedom and indpendence of our people against imperialist encroachments.

Allow me to extend, on behalf of the CC, MPRP and the MPR Government, warm thanks to all the Soviet specialists and skilled workers who by their selfless work in the MPR are strengthening Mongolian-Soviet friendship and making an invaluable contribution to our country's progress towards the complete triumph of socialism.

Comrades, the working people of our country rejoice over and take pride in the fact that the Mongolian-Soviet relations, founded by Lenin and Sukhe-Bator, have from the very outset been developing on the basis of the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, full equality and mutual understanding, and socialist mutual assistance. Significantly, these principles were promulgated for the first time precisely when Mongolian-Soviet relations were established, and found expression in the November

5, 1921 Agreement on the Establishment of Friendly Relations. Subsequently they were consolidated in the 1936 Protocol and the Treaty of Friendship and Mutual Assistance signed on February 27, 1946.

These historic documents, which have played a tremendous role in promoting unbreakable Mongolian-Soviet friendship and fraternal cooperation, have been vastly instrumental in defending the socialist gains and independence of the MPR and ensuring its development along the socialist road.

In the 20 years that have passed since the signing of the Treaty and the Agreement, cardinal changes have taken place, revolutionary socio-ecoonmic transformations have been accomplished and the productive forces have been developed on a broad scale in our country. And in this again, we have relied on the comprehensive fraternal assistance of the Soviet people. In view of the expiration, at the beginning of this year, of the term of these documents, agreement on the prolongation of the Treaty of Friendship and Mutual Assistance was reached during the visit of the MPR Party and Government delegation to the USSR in April 1965. We are happy to say that the conclusion of the new Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation and Mutual Assistance is one of the main results of the current stay of the Soviet Party and Government delegation in the MPR and of the fruitful Mongolian-Soviet talks.

In keeping with this treaty, the MPR and the USSR will continue to strengthen the traditional unbreakable friendship, promote all-round cooperation and fraternal mutual assistance for the good of the Mongolian and Soviet peoples and of the entire socialist community.

This new history-making document, a vivid expression of the good traditions of Mongolian-Soviet relations, is also of great international significance. The two peace-loving countries, the MPR and the USSR, have reaffirmed their determination to continue efforts to preserve and strengthen international peace and the security of the peoples, achieve general and complete disarmament and ensure complete liquidation of colonialism in all its forms and manifestations, to pursue a consistent policy of maintaining and strengthening friendly relations and cooperation between Asian states, and act in common to prevent and eliminate the threat of imperialist aggression in this part of the world. Under this Treaty, the Sides will help each other in ensuring their defense capacity in keeping with the tasks of constant consolidation of the defense potential of the socialist community.

There is no doubt that the new Treaty will make for continued development of friendly relations and all-round close cooperation between the MPR and the USSR.

Comrades, the working people of our country have successfully

fulfilled the assignments of the Third Five-Year Plan and set about carrying out the tasks of the first year of the Fourth Five-Year Plan. They owe their successes in implementing the Third Five-Year Plan to their selfless labor and the correct policy and many-sided organizational activity of the MPRP. These successes are also a result of the constant consolidation of the relations of friendship, all-round cooperation and unselfish mutual assistance between the MPR and the USSR, a result of our fraternal cooperation with the socialist countries.

The year 1966 will witness significant events and new important achievements of our people and our Party. As you know, not long ago the Eighth Plenary Meeting of the CC, MPRP decided to convene the next, 15th Congress of our Party in June, this year. This important event in the life of our Party and the entire Mongolian people will take place on the eve of the 45th Anniversary of the victory of the Mongolian People's Revolution.

Preparing for the 15th Congress of their Party, which will approve directives for the MPR's Five-Year Plan for 1966-70 and adopt a new Party program, the working people of Mongolia display great enthusiasm as they tackle the tasks of the new Five-Year Plan.

It gives us great joy to note that the arrival of the Soviet Party and Government delegation in our country coincided with the launching of the Fourth Five-Year Plan in whose realization we are immensely helped by our great friend and reliable bulwark, the mighty Soviet Union.

As you know, during the visit of our Party and Government delegation to the USSR in April 1965 talks were held on coordinating measures to extend cooperation between our countries. In the new Five-Year Plan period the Soviet Union will be giving us still greater economic assistance, and cooperation in the production field will also be considerably broadened.

In 1966-70 Soviet assistance will be given in the construction and reconstruction of dozens of industrial enterprises, and important steps will be taken to develop our agriculture and other branches of the economy. Many new houses and cultural and public-service establishments will be built.

The volume of construction conducted by the Soviet Union and with its own means will grow considerably not only in the new industrial center of Darkhan and in our capital, Ulan-Bator, but also in a number of other regions. Many new projects will also be built by the MPR with Soviet financial and technical assistance.

A wide range of questions of our cooperation in the new Five-Year Plan period were specified and concretized in the course of the talks in Ulan-Bator, which demonstrated the desire of our loyal friend, the Soviet people, to increase their unselfish assistance

to us, their anxiety to see the well-being of our people further improved.

The all-round fraternal assistance of the Soviet Union inspires our people to work still harder to quicken economic and cultural progress and raise the living standards of the population.

Dear Comrade Brezhnev, dear Soviet comrades, members of the Soviet Party and Government delegation, we express to you, and in your person to the great Soviet people, the Central Committee of the CPSU and the Soviet Government, our heartfelt gratitude for this tremendous fraternal assistance in our country's socialist development.

Comrades, the Mongolian People's Republic consistently pursues a policy of peace and friendly cooperation between states, a policy of support of the struggle of the peoples for freedom and independence, a policy of strengthening the united front of all the revolutionary, anti-imperialist and peace-loving forces. Our country invariably advocates general and complete disarmament, complete liquidation of colonialism in all its forms and manifestations, relaxation of international tension and consolidation of mutual understanding and confidence between states.

Sincerely concerned with preserving and strengthening peace in Asia and the world over, the Government of the Mongolian People's Republic resolutely opposes the aggressive policies of the United States. The U.S. ruling circles are stepping up their armed aggression against the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and escalating their dirty war in South Vietnam, acting in defiance of the insistent demand of the world public that this barbaric outrage be stopped.

Giving material expression to their fraternal solidarity with the heroic Vietnamese people, the Mongolian people and their Government have been and will go on rendering them every possible assistance and support in their just struggle against the U.S. aggressors. At the same time they resolutely demand that the U.S. Government immediately discontinue its aggression against the DRV and withdraw all the troops and weapons of the U.S. and its allies from South Vietnam. Observance by the United States of the 1954 Geneva Agreements and recognition of the Vietnamese people's exclusive right to decide their domestic affairs are indispensable for settling the Vietnamese problem.

The Government of the MPR, just as the USSR Government, firmly supports the DRV Government's stand on the settlement of the Vietnamese problem and the attitude of the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam, the sole legitimate spokesman of the people of South Vietnam.

We note with satisfaction that, loyally carrying out its internationalist duty, the Soviet Government is rendering massive and effective assistance to the heroic Vietnamese people. These noble

efforts of the Soviet Union are warmly supported and highly appreciated by all the peace-loving peoples.

The peoples of the socialist community and all progressive mankind see in the Soviet Union a staunch champion of world peace, for its foreign policy of peace and its powerful defense potential protect the peoples against imperialist military gambles. The realistic steps taken by the Soviet Union, its concrete proposals permeated with a sincere desire to reach agreement on the most important problems of today are meeting with increasing support and warm approval on the part of the peoples and countries anxious to prevent and eliminate the threat of a thermonuclear catastrophe, strengthen confidence and achieve mutual understanding between states.

In this connection it is necessary to stress the great importance of the Soviet Government's proposals on preventing nuclear proliferation and on the impermissibility of interference in the internal affairs of states, on which the 20th Session of the UN General Assembly adopted positive decisions acclaimed by world public opinion.

The Mongolian people and the MPR Government hail the Soviet Union's exceptionally important initiative and good offices in arranging the recent Tashkent meeting, which was crowned with very good results. We hope that further efforts will lead to the settlement of the issues disputed between India and Pakistan to the benefit of the two fraternal peoples, in the interests of peace and international security.

In keeping with its policy of support of the national-liberation struggle of the peoples and loyal to the spirit of Afro-Asian solidarity, the Mongolian People's Republic attaches great importance to the First Conference of Solidarity of the peoples of three continents—Asia, Africa and Latin America. We are convinced that the decisions of this conference, convened in the capital of revolutionary Cuba, will play an important role in consolidating the unity of the peoples of the three continents, in the struggle against imperialism and colonialism and in the rallying of all the freedom-loving progressive forces.

Comrades, we note with great satisfaction that the fraternal relations between the MPRP and CPSU are growing ever stronger and developing on the basis of the principles of Marxism-Leninism and socialist internationalism. The constant growth of our Party's contacts with the great Party of Lenin, the thorough study and creative application of its rich experience have been of great help to it in guiding socialist construction and solving vitally important problems of our progress towards the complete victory of socialism.

Today, when the reactionary forces are frantically trying to aggravate international tension and stepping up their aggressive in-

trigues against the freedom and independence of the peoples, primary importance attaches to greater unity of action of the countries of the socialist community on the platform of the common fight against imperialism.

The MPRP highly appreciates the tireless efforts and practical actions of the CPSU in the struggle for the consolidation of the unity of the entire socialist community, for greater cohesion of the world Communist and working-class movement on the immutable principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, on the principles of the jointly worked out documents of the Moscow conferences of the fraternal parties.

The MPRP, together with the CPSU and the other fraternal Marxist-Leninist parties, is doing and will go on doing everything to help overcome the differences that have arisen in the world Communist movement, to ensure the triumph of the great ideas of socialism and communist, to promote the cause of peace and international friendship.

The MPRP has always regarded the activity of the CPSU as an inspiring example, as a model of devotion to Marxist-Leninist ideas, to proletarian internationalism. Our parties derive their strength from the community of their goals and actions. Our parties are strong and invincible because they are supplied with the sap of life by a single powerful root, by a single mighty stem—Marxism-Leninism.

The MPRP sees it as its sacred duty to continue thoroughly to study and creatively to apply the immensely valuable experience of the great Party of Lenin. Our people, our Party have always marched along the solely correct road which was indicated by Lenin.

Dear Soviet friends, you may rest assured that the Mongolian people and their vanguard, the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party, will never depart from the road of progress and happiness shown us by the great teacher of the working people of all the world, Vladimir Ilyich Lenin.

Comrades, the heroic Soviet people guided by their glorious Communist Party are scoring remarkable successes in the building of communist society and in developing the national economy, science and culture. The important decisions of the recent CC, CPSU meetings aimed at ensuring further development of agriculture and improvement of economic management, accelerate the pace of communist construction. As they score signal victories in economic and cultural development, the Soviet people are enthusiastically looking forward to the forthcoming 23rd Congress of the CPSU, which will doubtless have vast international significance.

The tremendous achievements of the Soviet people in communist construction are a source of joy to the working people of our country, the peoples of the socialist countries and progressives

the world over. They decisively contribute to the growth of the might of the entire socialist community and towards the victory of socialism in the peaceful economic competition with capitalism.

Some people abroad give currency to laughable assertions that "a return to capitalism" is taking place in the Soviet Union, that a process of the Soviet Union's "embourgeoisement" is under way. These assertions are a pure invention, a direct slander or a distortion of the essence of socialism.

Allow me, dear comrades, on behalf of our people, the MPRP and the MPR Government, to wholeheartedly wish the fraternal Soviet people, the glorious Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Soviet Government new great successes in the implementation of the stupendous Program of communist construction, in their titanic struggle for stronger peace and international friendship.

May the fraternal friendship of the Mongolian and Soviet peoples grow stronger and prosper for ever!

Glory to the great Soviet people, the valiant builder of communism, the courageous fighter for peace and the happiness of all the peoples on earth!

Long live the CPSU, the tried and tested vanguard of the world Communist movement!

Long live the victorious banner of Marxism-Leninism!

May the unity and solidarity of the countries of the great socialist community and of the world Communist movement grow ever stronger!

Long live peace and friendship among the nations!

SPEECH* BY L. I. BREZHNEV

Dear Comrade Tsedenbal,
Dear Comrade Sambu,
Dear Mongolian Comrades, Friends,

On behalf of the Soviet people and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, I convey warm fraternal greetings to the Mongolian people and their militant vanguard, the People's Revolutionary Party. The Party and Government delegation of the Soviet Union expresses its deep gratitude for the invitation to visit your wonderful country, for your cordiality and hospitality, for the hearty welcome given us everywhere in your country. We see this as a manifestation of the good and sincere relations firmly established between our two countries, between our Parties and our peoples.

I would also like to tell you that we appreciate and are grateful

*Pravda, January 16, 1966.

for the friendly words spoken at this meeting about the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the government of our country and the Soviet people as a whole.

Our stay in people's Mongolia was brief, but even during these few days we fully realized how very successfully the Mongolian people, led by their own Party, are fulfilling the great task of socialist construction.

Mongolia's road to socialism was neither simple nor easy. Forty-five years ago your people were confronted — just as many peoples of the world are today — with the question: how to build a new life, how to eliminate economic backwardness in a short time and ensure rapid progress in every economic and social sphere. At that time there were many people who thought that feudal, nomad Mongolia would never be able to become a highly developed, independent country. But the people of Mongolia decided differently. Their finest sons, headed by Sukhe Bator, the leader of the people's revolution, saw the victory of the Great October Revolution as an inspiring example of struggle for a new life. Lenin's doctrine that backward countries can with the support of more developed, socialist countries build socialist society, by-passing capitalism, opened up bright prospects for the Mongolian revolution. The Mongolian people, like a titan, skipped an entire social formation, capitalism. It was a truly historic achievement in which all Soviet people, all your friends the world over, take pride together with you.

In the past 45 years the whole way of life in Mongolia has been radically changed by the efforts of the People's Revolutionary Party and the people. I had occasion to be here about 30 years ago and in judging your successes I can rely to some extent on my personal impressions too. The country has become entirely different. New towns and industrial establishments equipped on modern lines have sprung up where caravan routes lay and solitary felt tents stood amidst the boundless steppes. We were gratified to learn that only in the last five years your country has built about ninety industrial enterprises and large shops. Our delegation visited the industrial complex in Ulan Bator and the open-cut coal pit in Sharyn Gol, and attended the official opening of the electric power station in Darkhan. Those are all perfectly up-to-date enterprises employing arats of yesterday who have become skilled workers or specialists.

Mongolia's agriculture has become transformed. We saw, how very successfully its main branch, livestock-breeding, is developing. The fact that the commonly-owned herd has increased by 2.5 million head in recent years, of course, a big success for the agricultural associations. We would like to congratulate you on yet another achievement — the rapid development of such a new branch of Mongolian agriculture as crop farming. For the first time in

centuries your people provide themselves with grain which they grow on Mongolian fields.

In terms of literacy, organization of public education and the health services, your country now is ahead of most Asian countries. A national intelligentsia has developed and the country now has its own scientists, scientific institutions, and specialists in every field.

The gains of the Mongolian revolution are now recognized throughout the world. More and more frequently, the bourgeois press has to admit that it has overlooked the progress of your country. Last autumn *Le Nouvel Observateur,* a Paris weekly, commented: "Due to rumour and prejudice, we were accustomed to think of Mongolia as a backward country. But this is not so at all. Having made a leap from feudalism straight into socialism, Mongolia eliminated her centuries-old backwardness with the help of the Soviet Union. Her industry is steadily developing and her agriculture meets the needs of the population." That, comrades, is how the West is talking of Mongolia now. It certainly is a new kind of talk.

It goes without saying that the Mongolian people are not going to content themselves with what they have achieved. The Fourth Five-Year Plan affords good prospects for further progress in every field of the country's economy and culture and in the material standards of the people.

Great credit for the historic gains of the Mongolian people goes to the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party. Founded on the eve of the 1921 Revolution, the People's Revolutionary Party is confidently leading the working people of Mongolia along the Marxist-Leninist path. This is the greatest merit.

The achievements of people's Mongolia are of great and fundamental significance for world socialism. Your experience has confirmed in practice Lenin's forecast of the possibility of effecting the transition to socialism, without passing through the capitalist stage of development. It shows that in our day a country which has won independence can, regardless of the level of its economic development, take the socialist road and successfully build a new life with the support of friendly, socialist countries.

To be sure this tremendous task is anything but easy, particularly for countries which have fallen far behind in their development. It is not easy to cast off the tyranny of the home exploiters and the colonialists. But it is no less difficult to carry the revolution through to the end and to lay the economic foundations for the new system. This requires a great deal of sustained effort on the part of the revolutionary vanguard to rally the masses and lead them skilfully and competently. To by-pass capitalism means avoiding the long suffering to which it dooms the working people. But it also implies the necessity for carrying out, in a brief historical

period, all the work of developing the productive forces which capitalism accomplishes in the course of centuries at the price of brutal exploitation of the masses. It is a difficult but feasible task and the Mongolian people are proving this very well by their example and experience.

This is a great red-letter day in the lives of our peoples. On instruction from the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR and the Presidium of the Great People's Khural of the Mongolian People's Republic, we have signed a Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation and Mutual Assistance between the Mongolian People's Republic and the Union of the Soviet Socialist Republic for many years.

This document carries forward the ideas of fraternal friendship and unity between our peoples. It reaffirms our common resolve to march on together for socialism and peace.

It is not the first Soviet-Mongolian treaty. As far back as 1921 an agreement was signed establishing friendly relations between the Russian Federation and Mongolia. The 1936 Protocol and the 1946 Treaty of Friendship and Mutual Assistance were milestones of our friendship.

The treaty we have signed today confirms the progress made in Soviet-Mongolian relations over the past years. It marks the beginning of a new stage in the history of these relations and is a solid basis on which to foster the friendship of the two peoples. We feel certain that this important document will be applauded by the Soviet and Mongolian peoples, as well as by the peoples of other socialist countries. It will effectively promote our common cause.

Comrades, for 45 years now our peoples and parties have been linked by the close bonds of a friendship steeled in the common struggle for socialism. This friendship has a remarkable record. It was initiated by Lenin and Sukhe Bator, two men particularly dear to our peoples. It is a historic gain of our peoples sealed with many outstanding deeds.

Our two peoples will always remember the events of those heroic years when the revolutionary fighters of Russia and Mongolia, operating shoulder to shoulder, expelled Baron Ungern's white-guard bands from Mongolian soil. The Japanese invaders' defeat at Khalkhyn Gol symbolized the fighting brotherhood of our peoples. The Soviet people will never forget the assistance which fraternal Mongolia extended to our country in the difficult years of the Great Patriotic War. In 1945 Soviet and Mongolian troops fought in common against the Japanese militarists' Kwantung Army. Together we upheld people's rule, together we have been building a new life, and every trial has found and will find us standing together.

Our two countries have established fruitful cooperation on a large scale encompassing every sphere of activity. During our tour

of your country Mongolian comrades told us about the Sharyn Gol open-cut coal pit, built with Soviet help, and the new automatic bakery and the flour-mill complex in Ulan Bator, brought into being through the joint efforts of Mongolian and Soviet men. In booming Darkhan we saw thousands of Soviet people, as well as specialists from Czechoslovakia and Poland, working side by side with Mongolian specialists trained in Moscow, Leningrad, Novosibirsk, Irkutsk. Today there are 2,500 young Mongolians, men and women, studying in the Soviet Union. Many of your workers have taken practical training at Soviet enterprises and building projects.

Soviet people regard this aid as their internationalist duty. The Soviet Union, in turn, appreciates Mongolia's contribution to the cooperation of our countries. You supply us with many valuable goods needed for our economic progress.

Comrades, the peoples of the socialist countries have every reason to regard one another as partners in a common cause. We have common ideals, and our tasks and objectives are identical. Hence the keen mutual interest in what is taking place in our countries, in the progress of socialist and communist construction.

It has become a good tradition to exchange party and government delegations in order to inform each other of economic achievement, of plans and intentions, of difficulties and unsolved problems. In line with this tradition, I would like to take this opportunity to tell our Mongolian friends about the recent activity of our Party.

It is fair to say that the past year was noteworthy for us in many respects. After the October 1964 Plenum of the CC, CPSU our Party concentrated on improving economic management to bring the standard of management into harmony with the development of the productive forces and the whole of our society.

You know that the latest plenum of our Central Committee were concerned with the highly important task of raising the efficiency of socialist production. Last March we examined cardinal problems of our agriculture and revealed the cause of the lag in it. The CC decisions provide for a whole set of economic measures designed to create favorable conditions for the profitable operation of every collective or state farm. The CC, CPSU and the Soviet Government have taken steps to raise the incomes of those engaged in agriculture, to offer them greater incentives for work and encourage their initiative. The state is investing large sums in agriculture. Our policy of granting loans, supplying machinery and fertilizer, and purchasing farm produce is meant to bring about a speedy rise in agricultural production and to meet the demand for vegetable and animal products more fully.

You know, of course, that no economic reform can change the situation overnight. We have every reason to believe that the deci-

sion of the March Plenum will in due course yield the results we want.

Last September the CC, CPSU planned measures to improve industrial management and planning. While retaining the leading role of centralized planning of the main indices, which is an important principle, these measures allow for ample initiative on the part of enterprises, economic association and the management agencies of the republics. Our economic executives, engineers and workers now have still greater opportunity of helping to raise the profitability of production, to devise new techniques and build up the material and technical base for communism.

And so, last year we adopted a series of important measures to make maximum use of the vast potentialities of the socialist mode of production.

Comrades, the year 1965 closed our Seven-Year Plan. We have not yet summed up what we have accomplished under the plan, but even so the results are plainly impressive. Over the seven years total industrial output went up by 84 per cent against the 80 per cent planned. The Soviet people did a good job in those years. They built over 5,500 industrial plants. It is as if a new industrial power had come into being on Soviet soil, a power producing almost as much as the Soviet Union did in 1958. Soviet scientists contributed important discoveries to world science. Soviet geologists value the previous notions about the natural resources of our country by discovering veritable subterranean seas of oil and new deposits of coal, copper and other minerals. The storming of outer space is going on steadily.

The economic growth of the country is accompanied by improvements in the standard of living.

It will not be long before our Party holds its 23rd Congress to specify the tasks of the country at the next stage of communist construction and approve the targets of the new five-year plan. The whole country is making preparations for the congress, striving for further progress in production. The congress will be all the more important in that it will meet on the eve of so memorable an event in the history of our state as the 50th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution. The whole world of labor will join the Soviet people in celebrating the anniversary of this revolution, the greatest ever. To this very day the October Revolution is a beacon for the peoples of the globe in their advance to a happy future, to communism.

Comrades, socialist and communist construction in our countries is inseparable from the international climate.

The world is an arena of tense and difficult struggles, with different class forces and interests clashing continuously. The socialist countries are taking an active part in these struggles. They are

carrying forward their revolutionary gains, developing their productive forces on a new social basis, becoming stronger as they build socialism and communism. Thereby they are making an important contribution to the world revolution, to the emancipation and social progress of mankind. That is why providing the most favorable international climate for the construction of socialist and communist society is an important national and, moreover, a thoroughly revolutionary international task. The foreign policy of the Soviet Union, like that of other socialist countries, has been and will be to strengthen the socialist world system, support the people in their fight for freedom and social progress, and work for peace, against the threat of a new world war.

The struggle to consolidate the socialist community and the world Communist movement is the pivot of the foreign policy of the CPSU and the Soviet government. The CPSU, like the other fraternal parties, is doing much to this end. It is gratifying to note the further consolidation of the fighting alliance of the Warsaw Treaty countries, the expanding economic cooperation of the socialist countries both within the framework of the CMEA and on a bilateral basis, and the considerable expansion of bilateral and multilateral contacts between socialist countries and between Communist and Workers' parties.

Last year we had meetings with representatives of almost every socialist country and many non-socialist countries. The major problems dealt with bore on the present situation, measures to promote the unity of the socialist commonwealth of nations and the worldwide family of Communists, and tasks in the common fight against imperialism. We note with deep satisfaction that the meetings and the comradely discussions they led to (in a little over a year we met with representatives of more than 60 Communist and Workers' parties) revealed unity of views on the fundamental issues of today, and complete unanimity on the need for the Communists of the world to close their ranks.

We firmly advocate greater unity of the socialist countries and the Communist movement and will therefore persevere in the only correct policy of working for the unity of all Communists on the basis of Marxism-Leninism, of the Moscow Declaration and Statement. The fight for uniy is something more than an expression of a sincere desire of ours. It is essential to the development of the socialist countries and the Communist movement. We feel certain that the Communists and the socialist countries will in the end achieve unity. As far as our Party is concerned, it will spare no effort to contribute to the success of this worthy cause.

We greatly appreciate the contribution which the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party is making to promote Communist unity by firmly upholding a common line for the world Communist

movement. Close cooperation between our parties and countries is an important factor in the common cause of building up the might and unity of the socialist world system.

The Communist Party and the peoples of the Soviet Union regard it as their internationalist duty to support the liberation struggles of other peoples. These struggles vary in form depending on conditions and objectives. Some peoples are compelled to use arms in their fight for freedom, while with other peoples the important task is to consolidate economic independence and guarantee social progress. Our policy takes this into account. And this explains the many forms of our aid to these peoples, which ranges from political support and arms deliveries to economic agreements, the granting of loans and collaboration in industrial construction.

More than once during the past decade, peoples fighting for their freedom and independence have asked Moscow and the Leninist Party for help and support. And we say with a clear conscience that not once has Moscow refused its support.

The Soviet Union, like the other socialist countries, sees the newly-established states of Asia and Africa pursuing an anti-imperialist policy as its natural friends and associates. We welcome the fact that the peoples of Ghana, Guinea, the UAR, Algeria, Mali, Burma and many other African and Asian countries want to build socialism. The circumstance that more and more young states are striving for socialism is particularly favorable to our friendship and cooperation. It benefits the construction of a new life in the Afro-Asian countries concerned, as well as the cause of peace and progress, for our cooperation is extending the common front against imperialism, steadily weakening the positions of the imperialists.

The Soviet people fully identify themselves with the peoples fighting against colonial oppression, for freedom and independence. We say again that we support the gallant people of Mozambique, Angola and other oppressed countries fighting to free themselves from colonial rule. We say again that we wholeheartedly support the people of Southern Rhodesia, who are staunchly resisting the conspiracy of the racialist Smith. We are convinced that the African peoples who have risen to fight will pull down the walls of colonial prisons, that they will free themselves from foreign tyranny and start on a life of their own choice.

The unity of the socialist countries and the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America is becoming stronger as they fight against imperialism. This was shown once more by the Havana Solidarity Conference of the Peoples of Three Continents. The Conference decisions will no doubt make for further advances in the liberation movement and for closer unity of the anti-imperialist forces.

Ever since it was led by Lenin, the Soviet state has consistently maintained the principles of the peaceful coexistence of countries

with different social systems. The struggle for the triumph of these principles is particularly important today, for to advocate peaceful coexistence in our day means fighting against imperialist interference in the internal affairs of other countries and peoples. It means fighting to deliver the peoples from the threat of a thermonuclear world war. It means working to create as favorable conditions as possible for the triumph of our great cause. The Soviet Union and other socialist countries are following an active foreign policy for peace. They take steps to expose imperialist aggressors and to rally the progressive forces against the war menace. They seek a détente, the elimination of hotbeds of war, and the settlement of international disputes by negotiation.

We steadfastly call for the promotion of economic and other relations between all countries irrespective of differences in their social systems.

For the socialist countries, the struggle for peaceful coexistence is inseparable from economic growth and the strengthening of defenses. Today the economic and military might of the socialist system is the main earnest of peace, the principal means of staying the criminal hand of imperialist warmongers.

There will be no peaceful coexistence unless we fight against those who are trying to undermine it, against all imperialist aggression or interference in the affairs of other states and peoples. This determines the stand of the peace forces on U.S. aggression in Vietnam. The Vietnamese peoples are waging a just and courageous struggle for their vital national interests and are therefore firmly supported by the socialist countries and the whole of progressive mankind.

Despite the absence of a common frontier and the distance separating Vietnam from the Soviet Union, our country is assisting the Democratic Republic of Vietnam on an increasing scale to repel U.S. aggression. This assistance extends to every sphere of our cooperation—military, political and economic. We are in continuous touch with the leadership of the Working People's Party and the Democratic Republic of Vietnam. Recently we discussed the situation again and reached agreement on further practical measures to help the fighting Vietnamese people strengthen their defenses and promote their economy, the economy of a fraternal country.

All over our country, working people hold meetings and demonstrations to protest against U.S. imperialist aggression in Vietnam. Our people's protest merges with the popular anger surging high in other countries of the world. Today few people, even among the allies of the United States, can bring themselves openly to back the invaders, who are becoming more and more isolated, both morally and politically.

The American imperialists, feeling that the outlook for their game is dim, resort to maneuver. While extending their aggression, they claim that they want peace talks. It is easy, however, to test their sincerity. The program for a peaceful settlement of the Vietnamese question—a program put forward by the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam and the National Assembly of the DRV—is well known. If the American leaders really want an end to the war in Vietnam, surely no one keeps them from recognizing the fairness of the Vietnamese people's demands and so paving the way for peace.

U.S. attempts to break by force the Vietnamese people's will for freedom are hopeless. No matter how the imperialists persist in their crimes, they will never succeed in subduing a people who have risen to fight for independence.

What causes concern is not only U.S. aggression in Vietnam but certain other developments in Asia. Imperialist reaction is doggedly trying to turn that continent into a bridgehead of open battle against socialism and the national-liberation movement. As a result, armed conflicts and very serious military clashes occur now and again. Six months ago the world witnessed a serious border conflict between India and Pakistan. Joint efforts by the peace-loving peoples secured a cease-fire and led to the beginning of a peaceful settlement.

You know that a few days ago the Tashkent meeting, held on the proposal of the Soviet Union, came to a close. The talks between the Prime Minister of India and the President of Pakistan culminated in the signing of a declaration under which the two countries commit themselves to a number of important steps toward establishing good-neighborly relations.

The Soviet Union, which has always wanted to see peace and agreement between India and Pakistan, two Asian powers friendly to us, may well express deep satisfaction over the agreement reached.

We consider the Tashkent declaration a major international event and a noteworthy contribution to peace in Asia and in the world. It is also an important achievement of the peace policy of our country, which contributed actively to the positive outcome of the Tashkent talks.

But the situation on the Indian-Pakistan border had hardly eased when new alarming reports came from Asia, this time from Indonesia. It is most disquieting that people in that country go on persecuting the progressives, above all the Communists, who have always been in the forefront of the Indonesian people's fight against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism. Obviously, there is also a real threat of the imperialist invaders extending military operations in Southeast Asia to Laos and Cambodia.

Needless to say the latest events in Asia are due to different causes. But it is easy enough to see the hand of reactionary forces, primarily the U.S. imperialists. Imperialism hopes to split the liberation movement and strengthen the home reactionaries in every country. This is a treacherous tactic. Unless it is firmly opposed, the people's liberation fight and the revolutionary movement as a whole may sustain telling losses.

All this is a fresh reminder of the need to strengthen world Communist unity, the unity of all the revolutionary liberation forces, of all the progressive forces of the world. There is no other way, comrades.

Reality demands that we be vigilant toward yet another source of international tension—the one existing in Europe. We mean West German militarism, which is doing its utmost to gain access to nuclear weapons. Unlike Asia, today's Europe is a war-free area. But the European continent is mined, so to speak, with the revanchist claims of Bonn. These claims have already been elevated to the rank of official FRG policy. Some people across the ocean would apparently like to efface the tragedy of the recent past from people's memory. But history has taught the peoples a great deal and they have no intention of forgetting its lessons.

The peoples remember that the German militarists unleashed two world wars in which millions lost their lives. They are resolved to combat the West German imperialists' revanchist aspirations. The position of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries is clear and firm—they want no nuclear arms in FRG hands. The door to nuclear armament for the West German imperialists should be sealed for good. This must be done in the interests of world peace and the security of all nations.

These are, comrades, some of the important problems of our foreign policy I wanted to deal with. We note with deep satisfaction that we agree on all these issues with the MPRP, the Government of the MPR and the fraternal Mongolian people.

We Soviet people rejoice in the growing international prestige of the MPR. Attempts by the enemies of people's Mongolia to prevent it winning international recognition have failed. Mongolia's links with various countries of the world are becoming closer and more extensive. Today the Mongolian people's voice can be heard on the world scene—in the United Nations, at Afro-Asian forums, at various international meetings and conferences. We greatly appreciate the contribution of the MPR to the fight for peace, against the imperialist policy of aggression.

Comrades, our delegation was very pleased to stay in friendly Mongolia and acquaint itself with the progress made by your people, who are united behind their People's Revolutionary Party and its Central Committee headed by Y. Tsedenbal. We were most favor-

ably impressed by the interviews we had with workers, arats, intellectuals, Party workers and statesmen of socialist Mongolia. The conversations which the Soviet delegation had in these days with the leaders of the Mongolian Party and Government revealed once again that our views fully coincide on every issue relating to the international sitaution, the world Communist movement, socialist construction, and our joint fight against imperialism. This shows that Soviet-Mongolian friendship rests on an unshakable basis.

On behalf of our Communist Party and the millions-strong Soviet people closely united behind the Leninist Party, its Central Committee and the Soviet Government, we members of the Soviet Party and Government delegation wish the Mongolian Communists and all the working people of socialist Mongolia further important progress in all their initiatives and undertakings.

May the brotherhood of the Soviet and Mongolian peoples, of people's Mongolia and the Soviet Union, grow and gain strength!

May the indestructible unity and fighting solidarity of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party be always as solid as steel!

May the fraternal Mongolian people achieve victory upon victory as they work with devotion to build a new, socialist life!

Long live the great, immortal cause of Marx, Engels and Lenin—the struggle for the triumph of socialism and communism!

JOINT COMMUNIQUE*

ON THE VISIT OF THE SOVIET PARTY AND GOVERNMENT DELEGATION TO THE MONGOLIAN PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC

Invited by the CC of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party and the Government of the MPR a Party and Government delegation of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics headed by L. I. Brezhnev, First Secretary of the CC, CPSU, paid an official friendly visit to the Mongolian People's Republic from January 12 to 17, 1966.

The delegation had cordial meetings with residents of Ulan Bator, visited Selenga Region, the new growing socialist city of Darkhan, industrial enterprises, the Mongolian-Soviet friendship Agricultural Cooperative and some cultural establishments, and familiarized itself with the diverse activities and achievements of the industrious Mongolian people in socialist construction. The Soviet delegation was everywhere accorded an exceptionally warm reception and cordial hospitality for which it expressed great gratitude to all the working people of the MPR, the Central Committee of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party and the MPR Government.

The Mongolian people cordially welcomes Comrade L. I. Brezhnev and all other members of the delegation as envoys of their close and loyal friend, the great Soviet people, with whom they have long since been linked by unbreakable bonds of sincere friendship. Public rallies and meetings with members of the delegation were a vivid demonstration of the fraternal friendship and unity of ideals and aspirations of the Soviet and Mongolian peoples, their determination to continue to wage an active struggle for strengthening the unity of the socialist countries, for the triumph of peace and socialism.

The Mongolian side reaffirmed the sincere feelings of deep respect and warm gratitude of its people towards the Soviet people for their devoted service to the great cause of the world Communist and revolutionary movements, as well as for the unselfish allround assistance they have been rendering the Mongolian People's Republic in consolidating its freedom and independence, promoting its economy and culture, and steadily raising the well-being of the working people.

During the Soviet delegation's stay in the Mongolian People's

*Pravda, January 18, 1966.

Republic meetings, friendly talks and negotiations took place between the Party and Government delegations of the two sides in which the USSR was represented by L. I. Brezhnev, First Secretary of the CC, CPSU head of the delegation); K. T. Mazurov, member of the Presidium of the CC, CPSU and First Vice-Chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers; Y. V. Andropov, Secretary of the CC, CPSU; A. A. Gromyko, member of the CC, CPSU and Minister of Foreign Affairs; Marshal of the Soviet Union R. Y. Malinovsky, member of the CC, CPSU and Minister of Defense; M. A. Polekhin, alternate member of the CC CPSU, assistant head of a department of the CC, CPSU; B. B. Gorodovikov, member of the Central Auditing Commission of the CPSU, First Secretary of the Kalmyk Regional Committee of the CPSU; L. G. Galimzhanova, alternate member of the CC of the Communist Party of Kazakhstan, Minister of Culture of the Kazakh Republic; L. N. Soloviev, member of the CC, CPSU, Ambassador of the Soviet Union to the MPR.

The MPR was represented by Y. Tsedenbal, First Secretary of the CC, MPRP, Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the MPR head of the delegation); S. Luvsan, member of the Political Bureau of the CC, MPRP and First Vice-Chairman of the Council of Ministers; D. Molomzhamts, member of the Political Bureau of Secretary of the CC, MPRP; N. Zhagvaral, member of the Political Bureau and Secretary of the CC, MPRP, Vice-Chairman of the Council of Ministers; D. Maidar, member of the Political Bureau of the CC, MPRP, Vice-Chairman of the Council of Ministers; T. Ragcha, member of the CC, MPRP, Vice-Chairman of the Council of Ministers and Chairman of the State Planning Committee of the MPR; D. Gombozhav, member of the CC, MPRP, Vice-Chairman of the Council of Ministers and Chairman of the State Committee for Economic Cooperation; M. Dugersuren, Minister of Foreign Affairs; Colonel-General Z. Lhagvasuren, Member of the Central Committee of the MPRP, Minister for Affairs of the People's Army; N. Luvsanchultem, member of the CC, MPRP, Ambassador of the MPR to the USSR.

Present at the talks were A. M. Alexandrov, Aide of the First Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee; N. G. Sudarnikov and O. N. Khlestov, department heads of the USSR Foreign Ministry; P. G. Pashinin, assistant head of a department of the State Foreign Economic Relations Committee; A. N. Katerinich, official of the CPSU Central Committee; P. Shagdarsuren, member of the CC, MPRP and head of a CC department; S. Sosorbaram, member of the Central Auditing Commission of the MPRP and First Deputy Foreign Minister of the MPR; D. Saldan, Vice-Chairman of the State Planning Committee of the MPR; D. Erdembileg, head of a department of the Foreign Ministry of the MPR.

In the course of the talks, which proceeded in an atmosphere of cordiality, fraternal friendship and complete mutual understanding, a comradely exchange of opinions took place on the most important problems of building communism and socialism in both countries, further development of Soviet-Mongolian relations, the international situation and the situation in the world Communist and working-class movement. The talks confirmed the complete unanimity and community of views of the two sides on all questions under discussion.

I

The two sides informed each other on the progress of communist and socialist construction, on the development of the national economy, culture and science, on the growth of the well-being of the working people in the USSR and the MPR.

The Soviet delegation noted with great satisfaction the splendid successes of the fraternal Mongolian people in all spheres of socialist construction, achieved under the guidance of their vanguard, the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party. The successful fulfilment of the assignments of the Third Five-Year Plan is an important contribution to the establishment of the material and technical basis of socialism in the MPR. The tremendous achievements in state, economic and cultural development promote growth of the international prestige of the Mongolian People's Republic. At the same time, they are a striking confirmation of the correctness of the general line, taken by the MPRP back in 1924, of non-capitalist development towards socialism. This policy has scored a full victory; the MPR has entered the final stage of building a socialist society.

The Soviet delegation informed the Mongolian Side about the preliminary results of the fulfilment of the Soviet Seven-Year Plan, and the measures taken by the CPSU and the Soviet Government to promote the development of industry, agriculture and other sectors of the economy, and further raise the material well-being of the working people.

The Mongolian delegation expressed feelings of great joy and satisfaction with the outstanding achievements of the Soviet people in the construction of communism, which are an invaluable contribution of the USSR to the strengthening of the might of the socialist world system and to the defense and consolidation of peace, security and the national independence of the peoples. It noted with satisfaction that 1965, the concluding year of the Seven-Year Plan period, was marked by successes of the CPSU and the USSR Government in improving the management of the national economy, in solving important problems of communist construction on a strictly scientific basis.

The two sides once again stressed with deep satisfaction that the fraternal friendly Soviet-Mongolian relations, founded on the principles of Marxism-Leninism, socialist internationalism, full equality, non-interference in each other's internal affairs, unselfish fraternal mutual assistance, comradely support and all-round cooperation, continue to develop successfully.

Noting the fruitful results of economic, scientific and technical cooperation, the sides expressed satisfaction with the progress in fulfilling mutual commitments under inter-state treaties and agreements. They reaffirmed their interest in the further development of this cooperation both on a bilateral and multilateral basis, specifically within the framework of the Council for Mutual Economic Aid. The agreement on economic and technical cooperation for the period 1966-1970, signed in Moscow on April 19, 1965, and the new Soviet-Mongolian long-term agreement on reciprocal deliveries in the coming five-year period accord with these aims in full measure.

The sides noted with special satisfaction the outstanding role of the Soviet-Mongolian Treaty of Friendship and Mutual Assistance and the Economic and Cultural Cooperation Agreement concluded on February 27, 1946, in promoting fraternal and friendly relations and all-round cooperation between the two countries.

These historic documents, which carried forward the socialist principles elaborated by V. I. Lenin and D. Sukhe-Bator as the basis for relations between the two countries, fully accorded with the vital interests of the Soviet and Mongolian peoples and facilitated the successful upbuilding of a new society in the USSR and the Mongolian People's Republic.

Taking into consideration that the term of the Treaty and the Agreement expires in 1966, wishing to reaffirm their dedication to the aims and principles proclaimed in these documents, and proceeding from the long-standing experience of all-round cooperation, the sides signed a new Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation and Mutual Assistance for the next 20 years. They expressed confidence that the new Treaty would serve the lofty tasks of building communism and socialism in the USSR and the Mongolian People's Republic and the cause of strengthening peace and the security of peoples in Asia and the world over.

The representatives of the CPSU and the MPRP noted with satisfaction that their Parties maintain extensive contacts and close cooperation and regularly exchange opinions on questions of mutual interest.

The sides expressed readiness to continue the exchange of delegations and groups of Party functionaries to acquaint with the experience of Party work and forms and methods of Party guid-

ance of different aspects of life in the USSR and the Mongolian People's Republic. They highly value friendly meetings and consultations on questions of mutual interest, regular exchange of the experience of Communist and socialist construction, and contacts between public organizations of the USSR and the Mongolian People's Republic.

II

The sides stated that the assessment of world developments, given in the Joint Soviet-Mongolian Communique of April 19, 1965, had been fully confirmed.

The present international situation is characterized by consolidation of the socialist world system, continued rise of the national-liberation movement, growth of the forces which stand for the preservation and strengthening of peace, and the growing role of the newly-independent and developing nations. The sides note at the same time that the imperialist powers and above all the United States are trying ever harder to arrest at any cost the process of social rejuvenation of the world. This has aggravated the international situation and increased the war danger.

The Soviet Union and the Mongolian People's Republic resolutely condemn the increasing aggression of the United States against the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and its expanding armed intervention in South Vietnam. The piratic war waged by the United States against the Vietnamese people is a crude violation of the 1954 Geneva Agreements and a grave threat to peace in Southeast Asia and throughout the world.

The sides reaffirm their readiness to continue rendering every necessary support and assistance to the fraternal socialist country — the Democratic Republic of Vietnam — in the struggle against the imperialist aggression.

The Mongolian delegation notes once again that the Mongolian people and their Government highly appraise the Soviet Union's great effective aid to the DRV in enhancing her defense capacity.

The two sides express fraternal solidarity with the heroic people of South Vietnam waging a just struggle against the imperialist intervention and the anti-popular Saigon regime. The Soviet Union and the Mongolia People's Republic–fully support the position of the DRV Government and the South Vietnam National Liberation Front — the genuinely lawful representative of the people of South Vietnam — on the question of settling the Vietnam problem.

The two sides resolutely denounce the attempts of the United States to enlarge the zone of military operations in Southeast Asia through armed intervention in the affairs of Laos and Cambodia.

The USSR and the MPR express satisfaction over the ceasefire

proclaimed by India and Pakistan, which, in the opinion of the sides, is an important step towards establishing peace in this region of the world. The sides consider that further efforts toward the normalization of Indo-Pakistani relations will accord with the interests of the peoples of these two countries and help strengthen peace.

They note with satisfaction that the talks the Prime Minister of India and the President of Pakistan held in Tashkent a few days ago, and the adoption of the Tashkent Declaration are an exceptionally important international act aimed at normalizing and establishing genuinely good-neighborly relations between those two major states of Asia, which fully accords with the vital interests of both peoples and promotes the maintenance and consolidation of peace on that sub-continent and throughout Asia.

The Government of the Mongolian People's Republic highly appreciates the good offices of the Government of the Soviet Union in the organization of this important meeting on Soviet territory, and considers that in taking this noble initiative it was guided by a sincere desire first of all to prevent further aggravation of the Indo-Pakistani conflict which was fraught with a serious threat to peace in that region and the world over.

The Soviet Union and the MPR express concern in connection with the attempts of the forces of reaction and imperialism to push Indonesia off the position of struggle against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism. They vigorously denounce the repressions being carried on by the reactionaries against the democratic forces, primarily against the Communist Party of Indonesia — a fighter for the freedom, independence and social progress of its people. The sides voice the conviction that the Indonesian people and the democratic forces of the country will be able to foil all the plans of the imperialists and will not allow Indonesia to be diverted from her anti-imperialist course.

The sides reiterate their support of the just struggle of the Chinese people to liberate Taiwan, which is an inalienable part of the territory of the People's Republic of China. They again come out for the expulsion of the Chiang Kai-shek clique from the United Nations and the restoration of the lawful rights of the PRC in this organization.

The two sides once again resolutely demand the immediate withdrawal of U.S. troops from South Korea and express their support of the KPDR Government's program of peaceful reunification of Korea by the Koreans themselves, without any outside interference, along democratic lines and in accordance with their national interests.

The Soviet Union and the Mongolian People's Republic fully

agree with the statement of the KPDR Government of December 21, 1965, which emphatically condemns the Japanese-South-Korean treaty spearheaded against the vital interests of the Korean and Japanese peoples, against the national-liberation movement of the peoples of Asia.

Both sides hold that in the present conditions, when the imperialist powers ever more frequently resort to armed interference in the internal affairs of other states, great impotance attaches to strict observance of the Declaration adopted at the 20th session of the UN General Assembly on the initiative of the Soviet Government, on the impermissibility of interference in the internal affairs of states and on protecting their independence and sovereignty, which is an essential condition of peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems.

The Soviet Union and the Mongolian People's Republic resolutely condemn colonialism and neocolonialism in all their forms and manifestations and express solidarity with all the countries and peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America waging a just struggle for their freedom, for winning and strengthening their economic and political independence and sovereignty.

The sides severely condemn the proclamation of the false independence of Southern Rhodesia by Ian Smith's racialist clique and the gross flouting of the inalienable right of the African population of that country to national and social emancipation. They agree that this unlawful act is part of the criminal plan of the imperialist forces to organize a colonial preserve in South Africa based on an alliance of racialist regimes of the South African Republic type.

Both sides hold that in the present international situation the solidarity of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America, their unity with all the anti-imperialist forces of the world is an important factor of the struggle for the complete liquidation of colonialism and neocolonialism, against imperialist aggression and interference in the affairs of other countries, for peace and progress. They are confident that this solidarity will be growing and gaining in strength.

The Soviet Union and the Mongolian People's Republic consider that the First Conference of Solidarity of the Peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America was an important landmark in carrying out these tasks, and voice their full support of the decisions of this widely representative public forum.

The sides solemnly declare that they will go on working to strengthen the cooperation between the USSR and the MPR, on the one hand, and the Afro-Asian countries and peoples on the anti-imperialist basis.

The Soviet side expressed its gratitude to the Government of the Mongolian People's Republic in connection with the latter's just and consistent position on the problem of the participation of the Soviet Union in the Second Afro-Asian Conference.

The Mongolian side declared that the Soviet Union has a right, indisputable in every respect, to take part in the Second Afro-Asian Conference and that its participation would only benefit the cause of peace, friendship and joint action of the peoples of those continents against imperialism, colonialism and neocolonialism.

The Soviet Union and the Mongolian People's Republic hold that the policy of revanchism and militarism pursued by the ruling circles of West Germany, their incessant attempts to get hold of nuclear weapons and their demand for a revision of the political map of Europe seriously endanger peace and security in Europe. The most reactionary and the most bellicose detachment of imperialism in West Germany, aided by the extremist forces of the United States and some other Western powers, is ever more insistently claiming pride of place in international life. Hence the need to show special vigilance and, if necessary, to take appropriate measures for preventing aggression and guaranteeing the security of the socialist states.

The Soviet Union and the Mongolian People's Republic express fraternal solidarity with the German Democratic Republic, the bulwark of peace and socialism on German soil. The sides stressed the need for effective measures to ensure European security and achieve a German peaceful settlement on the basis of the real state of affairs in Europe.

Both sides agree on the need to continue the efforts aimed at securing agreement on general and complete disarmament, restricting the arms race and achieving a relaxation of international tension. In this connection they stress the importance of the decision of the 20th Session of the UN General Assembly, adopted on the proposal of the Soviet Union, on the need for the speediest conclusion of a treaty on the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons which would leave "no loopholes enabling nuclear or non-nuclear powers to spread, directly or indirectly, nuclear weapons in any form whatsoever." Such a solution of the problem of non-proliferation would accord with the interests of all peoples.

The task of averting the further spread of nuclear weapons assumes added urgency in view of the unceasing attempts of the U.S. imperialist quarters and some of their allies in the aggressive NATO bloc to give the West German revenge-seekers access to nuclear weapons. Countering the policy of disarmament, detente and consolidation of peace with a policy of nuclear arming of the Federal Republic of Germany, these quarters are blocking the road

of the peoples to saving the world from the dangers of nuclear war.

The sides also attach great importance to the UN General Assembly resolution in support of the proposal on convening a world disarmament conference, to which all countries should be invited.

The sides stressed that the growing aggressiveness of the imperialist powers headed by the United States made it more necessary than ever before to strengthen the unity of all anti-imperialist, progressive forces of the world, of all the freedom-loving peoples, of all the socialist countries.

III

Both delegations exchanged opinions on the situation which has taken shape in the world Communist and working-class movement and again noted with satisfaction the complete identity of views of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party on this question.

The sides note that the CPSU and the MPRP, together with other fraternal parties, are working hard to strengthen the unity and solidarity of the world Communist and working-class movement of the countries of the socialist community.

Both sides consider that the road to stronger unity in the world Communist and working-class movement lies through every Communist and Workers' party displaying a higher sense of internationalist responsibility and taking an active part in joint actions, in the common fight against imperialism, colonialism and neocolonialism, for peace and international security, for socialism and communism, in rendering effective assistance to the liberation struggle of the peoples against imperialism and imperialist aggression. What unites the Communist and Workers' parties in their common struggle must be the main thing, the starting point in relations between them. Consistent adherence to the norms of inter-party relations and to the principles of equality and noninterference in the internal affairs of other parties are indispensable for achieving unity. The sides declare for bilateral and multilateral meetings of leaders of fraternal parties to discuss issues of common interests, as well as for convening, in the future, an international conference of all the Communist ad Workers' Parties.

The sides re-emphasized that in their provocative actions, in their attempts to kindle an anti-communist campaign in countries maintaining good relations with the socialist states the imperialist quarters are out to capitalize on the differences between Communist and Workers' parties and between countries of the socialist community. The CPSU and the MPRP consider that in these conditions each party must display the utmost sense of its interna-

tionalist responsibility for the cause of communism, peace and the security of the peoples.

Both delegations expressed their determination to continue their efforts to overcome the difficulties that have arisen in the international Communist movement, to fortify the solidarity and unity of the countries of the socialist community and to attain the aims and targets jointly worked out by the fraternal Communist and Workers' parties and set forth in the 1957 Declaration and the 1960 Statement.

★ ★ ★

Both sides consider that the visit of the Soviet Party and Government delegation to the Mongolian People's Republic and the signing of the Soviet-Mongolian Treaty is a new important contribution to the further development and consolidation of fraternal friendship and all-round cooperation between the USSR and the MPR, between the CPSU and the MPRP, that this will promote the unity of the countries of the socialist community, enhance the international prestige of socialism and strengthen world peace.

L. Brezhnev,
First Secretary, CC, CPSU.
Chairman, Council of Ministers of the Mongolian People's Republic.

Y. Tsedenbal,
First Secretary, CC, MPRP,
Chairman, Council of Ministers of the Mongolian People's Republic.

Ulan-Bator, January 15, 1966.

SPEECH* BY PHAM VAN DONG

PREMIER OF THE DRV, MEMBER OF THE PB, CC, PWPV

Esteemed President Ho Chi Minh,
Dear Comrade Shelepin,
Dear Comrades, Members of the Soviet Delegation,
Dear Comrades and Friends,

On behalf of the Central Committee of the Party of Working People, the Government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and the whole Vietnamese people, I warmly greet the Soviet delegation led by Comrade Shelepin. This visit is of tremendous significance. It is evidence of sympathy and support from the fraternal Soviet people, the Communist Party and the Government of the Soviet Union, of their great assistance to the Vietnamese people, who are now on the front-line of the struggle against the U.S. imperialist aggressor.

The Vietnamese people have always looked with love and gratitude on the Soviet people, who accomplished the Great October Revolution, estabilshed the world's first state of workers and peasants, saved mankind from enslavement by German-Italian-Japanese fascism, created favorable conditions for the success of the revolution in many European and Asian countries, and who invariably supported and helped the cause of the revolution in Vietnam.

Over almost half a century the Soviet people, led by the CPSU, the party of the great Lenin, held its own against severe trials and transformed what had been the backward Russia of the tsars into a great socialist power. Today the Soviet people are bending all their efforts to lay the material and technical foundations for communism.

The Vietnamese people are happy about the impressive achievements of the Soviet people and wholeheartedly wish them still greater progress in building up the material and technical base for communism and in fighting for world peace.

The current developments in Vietnam have seriously alarmed the peoples of the world. The U.S. imperialists are contemplating new, highly dangerous steps in their war of aggression against our country.

After sending an expeditionary corps about 200,000 strong to South Vietnam, the U.S. imperialists vainly hoped for a reversal

*Delivered at the CC PWPV reception for the Soviet delegation, January 8, 1966. **Nhan Dan**, January 9, 1966.

in the trend of events. They talked a great deal about a "miraculous turn in the war" and claimed that they had succeeded in "checking the surge" of the patriotic war in South Vietnam. In reality, however, the U.S. expeditionary corps has been dealt a series of surprise blows that hit it in both the dry and the rainy season, in the plains the mountains, in the very center of Saigon and in many other cities. The tide of the people's war has never stopped and, indeed, has gone on rising. The U.S. expeditionary troops have proved to be poor fighters and large units of these troops have been routed. The "miraculous turn in the war," when it comes, will mean only this, that the 200,000-strong expeditionary force will be crushed even if its strength is increased to 300,000, 400,000, or even more.

Far from daunting the Vietnamese people, the destructive air war the U.S. imperialists are waging in the North has made the population of the North hate the U.S. aggressor more than ever and has prompted them to redouble their efforts on the home and war fronts. It has prompted the people of Vietnam to rally closer together and to inflict heavier losses on the U.S. imperialists. The more the Americans step up and expand the war, the more resounding will their defeat be. The Vietnamese people will win.

Vietnamese history, especially since the establishment of the DRV, shows that our people have always longed to live a free and peaceful life. To achieve this great goal, we have had to fight steadfastly to defeat the imperialist aggressors and regain national independence and peace. The U.S. imperialists' aggressive policy was the chief cause of the war in Vietnam and actually triggered it. Peace in Vietnam will be restored as soon as the U.S. imperialists stop their aggression.

Of late the U.S. government has been carrying on a fraudulent "peace" campaign, making out its "bombing pause" to be a sign of goodwill. President Johnson declared that the United States would keep up its effort for peace, and advanced so-called new peace proposals.

But do the Americans' deeds square with their professed desire for peace?

Not at all. The U.S. rulers persist in their policy of aggression in Vietnam and hang on to South Vietnam, in an attempt to perpetuate the division of our country. This is perfectly clear from Johnson's 14 points and the Americans' recent pronouncements. They show why the U.S. rulers reject the DRV's four-point proposals, especially the very important Point 3, which is inseparable from the other points. They show why the Americans refuse to recognize the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam. True, they speak of the 1954 Geneva Agreements, but what they read into them is intended to perpetuate the division of our country.

Moreover, American "peace" speeches are followed by moves

escalating the war. The United States is pouring more troops into South Vietnam and conducting large-scale punitive operations, using strategic aircraft to bomb densely populated areas and destroying numerous villages. More and more it is using chemicals and poison gas for the massive destruction of civilians and crops. Not long ago a large group of American generals arrived in Saigon to discuss measures for expanding "aid" to the puppets and the war of aggression. In North Vietnam, U.S. aircraft daily carry out training flights along the coast and reconnaissance flights in preparation for new raids. In addition, the U.S. imperialists are stepping up air raids on the liberated regions of Laos and brazenly discuss plans for invading Central and South Laos and Cambodia.

What is the meaning of the U.S. rulers' "peace offensive"?

With regard to the American and other peoples, they need a smokescreen to somehow reassure public opinion, which emphatically condemns their aggressive war in Vietnam.

With regard to the Vietnamese people, they are out to impose their own terms. In other words, they want to push through their plan for negotiations from strength. Our people will never accept that.

The DRV Government considers it necessary to expose before American and world opinion the real nature of the U.S. "peace offensive" and to show that this campaign is merely the prelude to a further, exceedingly dangerous criminal escalation, to an intensification of the aggressive war in the South and in the North.

In reply to the U.S. aggressors' fraud, a spokesman for our Foreign Ministry pointed out on January 4:

"A political settlement of the Vietnamese problem can be considered only when the U.S. Government accepts the four-point proposal of the Government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, proves this by concrete deeds and at the same time discontinues, once and for all and unconditionally, the air raids and all other acts of war against the DRV . . . As long as the U.S. imperialists continue their war of aggression in Vietnam, use U.S. troops and those of their satellites invading South Vietnam, and carry on air raids on the DRV, the people of both zones of Vietnam, undaunted by any sacrifices, will staunchly wage the war of resistance to the finish, will fulfil their sacred duty by upholding the sovereignty and independence of their country and by promoting world peace."

The central Committee of the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam stressed on January 5: "The population of South Vietnam resolutely condemns the brutal conduct of the U.S. authorities, which are stepping up the war and threatening to escalate it still further. The bombing of the North by the U.S. Government is an act of aggression, and it must be stopped once and for all and without any conditions. The U.S. imperialists comport them-

selves in South Vietnam like pirates breaking into a house to kill and plunder. They must leave South Vietnam, and they have no right to advance any demands unless they want to be completely destroyed.

"The population of South Vietnam and the National Liberation Front fully approve the correct and clear position of the patriots of the North set forth in the four-point statement of the DRV Government and in the January 4 statement of the DRV Foreign Ministry regarding the recent 'peace efforts' of the United States. . . . The population of South Vietnam will spare no effort to carry out its sacred duty to the country—to 'liberate the South and protect the North'."

While escalating the war in Vietnam, the U.S. imperialists have brazenly engaged in aggressive maneuvers all over Indochina. They are feverishly preparing to step up their military operations in Laos, and are gravely endangering the neutrality of the Kingdom of Cambodia. The Vietnamese people emphatically condemn the U.S. imperialists' policy of intervention and aggression towards the countries of Indochina. They stand firmly by the Laotian people, who uphold the 1962 Geneva Agreements on Laos, and by the Khmer people, who uphold the independence, neutrality and territorial integrity of Cambodia.

The Vietnamese people firmly support the Chinese people's struggle to retrieve Taiwan, an inalienable part of Chinese territory, and vigorously protest against the incursions of U.S. aircraft and warships into the air space and territorial waters of the People's Republic of China.

The Vietnamese people firmly support the struggle of the government and people of the Korean People's Democratic Republic and the struggle of the Japanese people against the so-called Japanese-Korean treaty, that infamous maneuver the U.S. imperialists and their agents are carrying out in line with the U.S. policy of aggression and intervention in Northeast Asia.

The Vietnamese people firmly support the struggle of the Soviet Union and the other East European socialist countries against the U.S. imperialists' scheme to provide West Germany with nuclear weapons, and against West German revenge-seeking militarism, a grave menace to European peace and security.

The Vietnamese people firmly support the struggle of the heroic Cuban people, who are repelling the U.S. imperialists' subversive and aggressive maneuvers as they bear aloft the banner of revolution in Latin America.

The Vietnamese people firmly support the gallant struggle of the oppressed peoples—a struggle bound to end in victory—against imperialism and colonialism headed by the U.S. imperialists, for liberation and a new life. At present these people champion unity,

struggle and victory at the tricontinental conference in Havana.

The Vietnamese people's increasingly impressive victories in their just struggle against U.S. aggression, for national salvation, are inseparable from the full approval, support and assistance of the fraternal socialist countries and the forces of progress all over the world.

The Communist Party, the Government and the people of the Soviet Union have expressed sincere approval of our fight against U.S. aggression, for national liberation, and have been giving us much valuable assistance in this fight.

The recent session of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR issued a Statement supporting Vietnam and urging the parliaments of all nations to oppose the U.S. war of aggression in Vietnam. The Statement denounces the U.S. imperialists and stresses that "the Soviet Union, in fulfilling its internationalist duty, has been rendering all-round support and assistance to the Vietnamese people fighting against the aggression of U.S. imperialism, and will continue to do so . . . The Supreme Soviet of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics fully shares the attitude of the Government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam towards the settlement of the Vietnamese problem." In a message to Chairman Nguyen Hyu Tho on the fifth anniversary of the founding of the NLFSV, Comrades Brezhnev, Podgorny and Kosygin stated that "the just struggle of the South Vietnamese patriots against the U.S. aggressor will certainly be crowned with success. The U.S. imperialists are heading for inevitable defeat in South Vietnam."

On December 31, 1965, when the U.S. rulers were carrying on their "peace offensive," Comrade Kosygin made the following statement answering some Japanese newspapers and news agencies:

"The Soviet Government and people denounce the U.S. aggression against the Vietnamese people . . . The Soviet Government fully subscribes to and supports the attitude of the DRV and the NLFSV towards the settlement of the Vietnamese problem. The United States should immediately discontinue its acts of aggression against the Democratic Republic of Vietnam. In keeping with the Geneva Agreements, the U.S. Government should withdraw its troops and armaments from South Vietnam and discontinue aggression against it. The affairs of South Vietnam should be settled by the South Vietnamese people without foreign interference. The peaceful unification of Vietnam should be accomplished by the Vietnamese people themselves, on the basis of the Geneva Agreements."

The People's Republic of China, a big neighboring country linked with Vietnam by close ties, has always warmly and sincerely approved of the revolutionary cause of our people and given them

important help in the struggle against U.S. aggression, for national salvation.

The other fraternal parties, acting in the spirit of proletarian internationalism, have also wholeheartedly approved and supported the just struggle of our people.

Today, welcoming the Soviet delegation on its friendly visit to Vietnam, I wish to voice once again the deep gratitude of the Vietnamese people for the important and valuable assistance being given by the people, the Communist Party and the Government of the Soviet Union, and also by China and other fraternal socialist countries.

The Vietnamese people are determined to do all in their power to cement fraternal friendship with the Soviet people.

The Vietnamese people are also determined to do their utmost to promote the unity of the socialist camp and the world working-class movement on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism.

The Vietnamese people feel certain that thanks to their unity and struggle and to the sympathy, support and assistance of the fraternal socialist countries, the working class of the world and progressive mankind, they will defeat U.S. imperialism, successfully defend the North, liberate the South, and advance to the peaceful reunification of their country, thereby furthering peace in Indochina, Southeast Asia and the rest of the world.

Dear comrades, I propose a toast:

—To the success of the friendly visit of the Soviet delegation to Vietnam.

—To still greater achievements of the fraternal Soviet people in laying the material and technical foundations for communism and in fighting for world peace.

—To everlasting friendship between Vietnam and the Soviet Union.

—To the unity of the socialist camp and of the world Communist movement on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism.

—To world peace and friendship among nations.

—To the health of Comrade Brezhnev, Comrade Kosygin, Comrade Podgorny and the other Soviet Party leaders and statesmen.

—To the health of President Ho Chi Minh.

—To the health of Comrade Shelepin and the other members of the Soviet delegation.

To the health of all those present here.

SPEECH* BY A. N. SHELEPIN

MEMBER OF THE PRESIDIUM AND SECRETARY OF THE CC, CPSU, AT A CIVIC RECEPTION IN HANOI IN HONOR OF THE SOVIET PARTY AND GOVERNMENT DELEGATION

Comrade Chairman,
Comrades members of the presiding board,
Dear comrades and friends,

It is a great pleasure for our delegation to address you, representatives of the working people of the glorious city of Hanoi with the name of which the entire history of the rise and development of the new, socialist Vietnam is inseparably connected.

Present at this meeting are intrepid soldiers of the Vietnamese People's Army, representatives of the heroic working class, the peasantry and the people's intelligentsia, Party members and non-Party people, men and women, veterans of the revolution and valiant young people. Represented here are all those who under the guidance of the Party of Working People are performing miracles of courage, endurance and self-sacrifice in labor and in combat operations against the American aggression.

We have come on the invitation of the Central Committee of the Party of Working People and the Government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam. Allow me to warmly thank the Central Committee and the Government for the invitation and to express cordial gratitude for the fraternal reception accorded us here.

On behalf of the Central Committee of the CPSU, the Soviet Government and all our people, we convey warm greetings and the best wishes to the Party of Working People, its Central Committee headed by Comrade Ho Chi Minh, the Government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, all the comrades present here and in your person the entire heroic Vietnamese people. From here, from the magnificent capital of Vietnam, we address words of fraternal greetings and solidarity to the heroic people of South Vietnam who are waging a courageous struggle against the U.S. invaders.

The Communist Party of the Soviet Union and all the 230 million Soviet people are firmly convinced that your just cause will triumph, that the whole of Vietnam will be united, free, independent and democratic.

Dear comrades, ever since the red banner of socialism was raised over North Vietnam, envoys of the Soviet Union have time and

*Pravda, January 10, 1966.

again been your guests. Our people in turn have on many occasions received representatives of the Vietnamese people as dear and welcome guests. Friendship between our Parties and between our peoples is developing and growing stronger from year to year. No one will ever succeed in disuniting our fraternal peoples.

By sending a USSR delegation to fraternal Vietnam, the CPSU Central Committee and the Soviet Government have once again demonstrated the solidarity of the Soviet people with the people of Vietnam, their unbending resolve to continue giving all-round assistance to the Democratic Republic of Vietnam in repelling the U.S. aggression.

The friendship of our two peoples, just as the friendship of the people of all the fraternal socialist countries, has deep roots. It came into being and grew strong in the joint struggle for socialism. It serves the great aims of building a new society, strengthening the socialist community and fighting against imperialism and colonialism. We have been brought together for all time by devotion to the great banner of Marx and Lenin, by loyalty to the ideals of communism. Hence the inviolable friendship of our peoples.

The friendship of the Soviet and Vietnamese peoples has its history and its lofty traditions. It dates back to the Great October Socialist Revolution. The Soviet people enthusiastically hailed the victory of your August Revolution in 1945 and the establishment of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam.

When your people, predatorily attacked by the imperialists, launched the resistance war of 1945-1954, the Soviet Union was invariably on the side of Vietnam, rendering the Vietnamese people support and assistance in the struggle against the enemy. Your victories in that war, unprecedented for courage and heroism, were enthusiastically hailed by the Soviet people.

All-round cooperation between our countries was organized in the post-war years. Our people are proud of having been able to make their fraternal contribution to the restoration and development of industry and agriculture, to the advancement of the science and culture of new, socialist North Vietnam.

We sincerely rejoice over the successes in socialist construction you have attained under the guidance of the Party of Working People. In a comparatively short period you have built a strong foundation of the new social system, achieved considerable results in economic development, set up many branches of modern industry, and rebuilt agriculture along socialist lines. Your achievements in education, culture and science are amazing. Illiteracy has been eliminated; one out of every four citizens is studying; you now have your own specialists. Suffice it to say that today there are over 40 times more students in North Vietnam than the whole of Indochina had in the past. This is known to the entire world.

We highly respect the Vietnamese people, we highly value their industry, their creative energy and enthusiasm in socialist construction, perseverance in achieving their aims and overcoming difficulties and hardships, their courage and valor in the struggle against the U.S. imperialists.

Dear comrades, our friendship and solidarity assume particularly great significance now that we face the noticeably increased activity of the forces of aggression in many parts of the world, as can be seen from the dirty war of U.S. imperialism in Vietnam.

Recent facts and developments show that through the fault of the forces of world reaction headed by the U.S. imperialists, the situation in the world has been seriously complicated, world tensions have grown and the threat of war increased.

Over many years the imperialists have been suffering one defeat after another. The emergence of the socialist world system and its exceptionally fast economic and political consolidation, the tremendous growth of the economic and defense potential of the Soviet Union, the rise of its international prestige, the successes in the development of the world Communist movement, the tremendous scope of the national liberation movement leading to the collapse of age-old colonial empires and to the emergence of scores of newly-free states which have embarked on the road of national independence and progressive social development, the road of anti-imperialism and anti-colonialism—all this has radically changed the outlook of the modern world. The imperialists have reacted to this by a reckless drive to take a revenge by military and other means, to put up barriers in the way of the forces of socialism, national liberation and progress and, wherever possible, to assume a counter-offensive against the socialist states and the independent countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America.

In their far-reaching plans of aggression the imperialists assign an important role to turning West Germany into a shock force spearheaded against the USSR, against the entire socialist camp, against the newly-free states. Instigated by the United States, the FRG ruling circles pursue an ever more open and brazen policy of military revenge. They intend to liquidate the German Democratic Republic and demand a revision of postwar frontiers in Europe. They press for the cancellation of all restrictions in the military field and demand access to atomic weapons. The United States of America stimulates the wolfish appetite of the West German revanchists in every way. With the assistance of U.S. monopolies the FRG has actually restored almost all key branches of the war industry and built up an army almost 450,000 strong. The U.S. is busy looking for loopholes that would give the FRG access to weapons of mass destruction.

Add to this the fact that the United States keeps more than

250,000 officers and men in West Germany and West Berlin, and it will become clear how strained the situation in West Europe is and why the Soviet Union is compelled to be always on the alert in that troubled and extremely dangerous part of the world.

The international situation has also been seriously aggravated by the imperialist intervention in the Congo, the provocations in other African countries, the U.S. aggression in the Dominican Republic, the provocations against Laos and Cambodia, the setting up of what is actually a new American military strategic bridgehead in Southeast Asia, and a number of other conflicts and events which show that the U.S. ruling circles resort ever more frequently to a policy of undisguised aggression, armed interference in the internal affairs of countries, and the forcible imposition of their imperialist order on other peoples.

The bloody aggression of the U.S. imperialists in Vietnam is one of their gravest and most brutal crimes. They are carrying on an armed intervention against the South Vietnamese people, who are waging a just struggle for their freedom and independence. Cynically flouting elementary norms of international law and the 1954 Geneva Agreements, they are carrying on an open aggression against the DRV.

The U.S. invaders and their Saigon henchmen are committing heinous crimes and atrocities in Vietnam. In South Vietnam U.S. troops barbarously bomb defenseless villages, strafe peaceful civilians, including old people, women and children; napalm houses, forests and fields; brutally torture and kill prisoners of war, and widely apply the "scorched earth" tactics.

The American vultures bombed cities and villages on DRV territory, killing thousands of civilians and destroying schools, hospitals, houses, bridges, industrial enterprises and irrigation systems.

The people of Vietnam and all progressive mankind keep strict count of the crimes of the U.S. invaders in Vietnam and other parts of the world. All those guilty of these crimes will be meted out a severe and just punishment. Progressives, sober-minded people in the United States itself voice alarm and rise in a movement of protest against the war in Vietnam. While carrying on a predatory war in Vietnam the U.S. imperialists clamor that they are fighting in the name of freedom and democracy against a mythical "communist aggression." This is a crude lie. The fact is that by attacking Vietnam they want to bring the Vietnamese people to their knees and thereby intimidate all other people who have launched a national liberation struggle against imperialism; they want to discourage them from waging this struggle, and to strengthen the weakened positions of imperialism in the world.

However, besides these political aims the imperialists also have some other goals. Through war and the suffering of the peoples they

want to ensure still bigger profits for the monopolies. The U.S. monopolies wax fat on the war in Vietnam. According to the U.S. press, in 1965 the profits of corporations went up almost 20 per cent compared wth 1964 and reached the fantastic figure of $45,000 million. The orders for armaments continue to grow.

We have every reason to repeat the angry words with which Lenin castigated the U.S. imperialists, and say that every dollar they have made in the war against the Vietnamese people reeks of the dirty dividends from war orders, that every dollar is stained with the blood of the Vietnamese and other peoples.

The aggressors may run amuck, but they will never bring the Vietnamese people to their knees. Now everyone can see the adamant faith in the justice of their cause and victory with which the officers and men of the armed forces, the workers and peasants of your republic live and fight. In the struggle for the honor, freedom and independence of their country the patriots of South Vietnam, Liberation Army troops, the guerrillas and the underground freedom-fighters show great heroism, courage, fortitude and an unbreakable will to drive the U.S. invaders and their satellites from Vietnam and win complete freedom and independence.

This bears out Lenin's words that it is impossible to vanquish a nation whose workers and peasants have come to learn, feel and see that what they are defending is their own power—the power of the working people, that what they are defending is their right to a better life for themselves and for their children.

The U.S. imperialists and their Saigon puppets feel on their own backs the force of the Vietnamese people's resistance. Their "special war" strategy is failing. Their losses in armaments and personnel are growing. The U.S. press admits that in 1965 U.S. casualties increased tenfold compared with 1964. In the past five years of the war against the U.S. invaders the forces of the National Liberation Front, as was recently stated by Dr. Nguyen Hyu Tho, Chairman of the Presidium of the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam, have scored remarkable victories. Expressing their will and aspirations the National Liberation Front is today the only lawful spokesman for all the South Vietnamese people. The Front controls more than four-fifths of the country's territory with 10 million out of South Vietnam's total population of 14 million. A new, people's order and new, people's laws have asserted themselves on this territory.

The war in Vietnam will not bring military victory to the U.S. imperialists; it will merely increase their political isolation in the international arena. It is indicative that even many U.S. allies in the aggressive NATO, CENTO and SEATO blocs do not approve U.S. brigandage against the people of Vietnam. All the attempts of the

U.S. to draw other states into the war against the Vietnamese people have actually failed.

We hold dear and understand the lofty feelings and aspirations which guide your Party and your people in their struggle against the foreign imperialist invaders. The Soviet people know better than anyone else how disastrous war is.

Since the inception of Soviet power the peoples of our country have more than once suffered from devastating and bloody invasions by the imperialists. Last May we marked the 20th anniversary of the defeat of Nazi Germany. You know what a cruel and bloody struggle the Soviet people had to wage against the Nazi hordes. However, the Soviet people and their heroic Armed Forces, inspired by the Leninist Communist Party, routed the powerful and perfidious enemy and saved their homeland and all mankind from Nazi enslavement.

Soviet people fully realize the gravity of the trials and hardships endured by the Vietnamese people today. We highly respect and admire the grandeur of your heroic exploit in defense of your homeland. In this grim period the Soviet people are wholeheartedly with you, our dear Vietnamese brothers! Manifestations, meetings and demonstrations under the watchword "Hands off Vietnam!" are taking place throughout our country.

You know that not long ago the USSR Supreme Soviet issued a Statement in connection with the U.S. aggression in Vietnam. It clearly expressed what Soviet people think on this matter, what their attitude is, and stressed that the Soviet people resolutely condemn the U.S. armed intervention in Vietnam. In no uncertain terms it states that we shall not remain indifferent to the fate of the Vietnamese people. We hold sacred Lenin's behest regarding our internationalist duty. Fulfilling this duty, the Soviet Union is rendering and will continue to render all possible assistance and support to the Vietnamese people in strengthening the defense capacity of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, in the struggle against the aggression of U.S. imperialism.

The actions of the United States in Vietnam do not indicate its readiness to accept as the basis for settlement the four-point program of the DRV government which accords with the major military and political provisions of the 1954 Geneva Agreements.

It is high time the United States realized that a settlement in Vietnam barring the participation of the National Liberation Front, this genuine spokesman of the South Vietnamese people, is unthinkable. Symptomatically while publicizing its so-called peace initiative, the United States continues the military build-up in South Vietnam. Instead of ending—without advancing any conditions and for all time—the bombing raids and other aggressive actions against a sovereign state, the Democratic Republic of Vietnam—actions vio-

lating the elementary standards of international law and condemned throughout the world—the United States threatens further escalation of the war in Vietnam and intensification of the air raids on the Democratic Republic of Vietnam. The January 4, 1966, Statement of the DRV Foreign Ministry justly points out that if the United States really wants to achieve a settlement in Vietnam it should demonstrate by practical deeds its readiness to fulfil the Geneva Agreements and stop the aggression in Vietnam.

We know that the Vietnamese people ardently desire peace for their long-suffering country. The heroic people of Vietnam demand a genuinely just peace, a peace under which their soil would not be trampled upon by the jackboots of the imperialist invaders, a peace under which U.S. weapons would be removed from Vietnam, a peace under which they themselves, without any outside interference, would settle their affairs. It is these just demands that form the basis of the proposals for a settlement in Vietnam advanced by the DRV government on April 8, 1965, and by the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam on March 22, 1965. These demands are supported by the Soviet government and by the entire Soviet people.

Dear comrades, the aim of Soviet foreign policy is to ensure peaceful conditions for the building of socialism and communism, consolidate the unity and cohesion of the camp of socialism, render all-out support to the national liberation movement, and prevent a new world war.

The CC, CPSU and the Soviet government are doing their utmost to achieve unity of action of all the socialist countries in support of embattled Vietnam. Today the Vietnamese people are on the front-line of the national liberation struggle against U.S. imperialism. It is a sacred duty of all the socialist countries to pool their efforts in rendering every possible assistance to Vietnam. The unity of the socialist states, their joint practical steps in rendering support to the fraternal Vietnamese people, should play an important role in the struggle against the U.S. aggressive policy. Therefore the CC, CPSU and the Soviet government welcome any initiative in this direction.

Our Party, the Soviet people carry aloft the banner of proletarian solidarity and friendship of the peoples, The Land of Soviets unreservedly sides with the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America fighting for genuine independence, for the consolidation of their sovereignty, for social and economic progress.

Dear comrades, we know that the fraternal Vietnamese people closely follow the progress of communist construction in the Soviet Union. Our friends the world over understand that the growth of the might of the Soviet land is in the interest of all revolutionary and progressive forces. The successes in the building of a new

society exert a tremendous revolutionizing influence on the minds of people and show them the advantages of socialism and communism. The growing might of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries enables them increasingly to influence international events to the benefit of peace, national independence, democracy and socialism.

Let me tell you briefly how our people live and work. You know about the sustained nation-wide effort in the USSR for laying the material and technical foundation of communism. The past year was the last in the Seven-Year Plan period, and Soviet people worked hard and fruitfully during it.

In the past seven years industrial output rose by 84 per cent. More than 5,500 new large industrial establishments were built and brought into operation. In 1965 output of staple manufactured and consumer goods increased considerably, and plans for the output of steel, rolled metal, oil and other items were overfulfilled. The Party and government carried out a number of measures to improve the life of the people, to provide them more and better housing, consumer goods and foodstuffs. The ideological and cultural standards of Soviet people grow from year to year.

Soviet science registered new remarkable progress. Last year a Soviet cosmonaut, Communist Alexei Leonov, stepped out in outer space. Our scientists have many new discoveries to their credit.

At the end of 1965 the USSR Supreme Soviet approved the economic plan and budget for 1966. In our opinion, it is a good plan. It was drawn up along strictly scientific lines, with due regard for real possibilities. The highest rate of capital investments is envisaged in agriculture, machine-building and related branches, as well as in the light and food industries. New houses with a total living space of about 90 million square meters are to be built.

While carrying out the tasks of communist construction, our Party and government pay much attention to strengthening the defense capacity of the Soviet state. We cannot look on indifferently while the imperialists are increasing military spending and aggravating the international situation. The stepping up of the imperialist aggression in Asia, the revanchist campaign of the West German militarists and other imperialist moves all create a grave threat to world peace. But the military might of the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries curbs imperialism, serving as a bulwark of all progressive and peace-loving forces.

We are telling you about the successes of the Soviet Union, but this does not mean that we have no shortcomings or unsolved problems. We do have them, comrades. We tell you frankly that in carrying out our plans we have to grapple with difficulties, sometimes formidable ones. But led by the Communist Party the Soviet

people are boldly tackling these difficulties and overcoming them by their selfless labor.

Comrades, as you know, the 23rd Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union will convene this March. It will be a highly important event in the life of our Party and people. Not only the Communists, but all our people are looking forward to this Congress, which will hear the report of the CPSU Central Committee and examine and approve directives for the new Five-Year Plan (1966-70).

Creative endeavor surges high everywhere in the Soviet Union. The working people of our country have enthusiastically joined in a nationwide socialist emulation drive in honour of the Congress. Good tidings are coming in from all parts of the country about the splendid labor victories of our workers, peasants and intelligentsia. The 23rd Congress will sum up the results of struggle and work of the Soviet people since the last congress. It will generalize the experience accumulated by our Party and people in those years, and will map out the course of further advance of Soviet society.

Dear Vietnamese brothers, our visit to your country takes place in grim wartime. What we have seen here will always remain in our minds and hearts. We are welcomed everywhere here as brothers, as the dearest of friends. This is an expression of the profound sentiments of fraternity and friendship between the Vietnamese and Soviet peoples.

What we have witnessed makes us admire still more the indomitable will and courage of the Vietnamese people. The heroism and self-denial with which you are working and fighting will not be forgotten by generations to come. We are confident that the Vietnamese people will win in the struggle for the independence and freedom of Vietnam. We are confident that all the tasks you have set yourselves will be accomplished. There will be a united, strong independent, free and prosperous Vietnam. And on behalf of the Soviet people, we wish that this comes about as soon as possible.

Long live the heroic Vietnamese people! Long live the tried and tested vanguard of the Vietnamese people—the Party of Working People headed by an outstanding leader of the world Communist movement, Comrade Ho Chi Minh!

Long live the indestructible friendship between the Soviet Union and the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, between the Soviet and Vietnamese peoples!

May the unity of the socialist countries, of all the revolutionary and progressive force in the struggle against imperialism, for peace and progress of nations, grow stronger!

COMMUNIQUE*

ON THE STAY OF THE SOVIET DELEGATION IN THE DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF VIETNAM

On the invitation of the Central Committee of the Party of Working People of Vietnam and the Government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam a delegation of the Soviet Union paid a friendly visit to the Democratic Republic of Vietnam from January 7 to 13, 1966. The delegation consisted of A. N. Shelepin, member of the Presidium and Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee; D. F. Ustinov, alternate member of the Presidium and Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee; K. V. Rusakov, first deputy head of a department of the CPSU Central Committee; A. S. Chistyakov, head of a department of the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs; Colonel-General V. F. Tolubko and I. S. Shcherbakov, USSR Ambassador to the DRV.

The delegation had numerous cordial and friendly meetings with representatives of the Vietnamese people—workers, peasants, servicemen, intellectuals and students, and took part in a civic reception in its honor in Hanoi. The delegation paid a visit to the Standing Committee of the National Assembly of the DRV and forwarded to it the Statement of the USSR Supreme Soviet in connection with the United States' aggression in Vietnam. The delegation visited the Yen Zuyen agricultural cooperative, the Hanoi Engineering Workers and the Revolution Museum. Everywhere the Vietnamese people demonstrated their warm feelings for the delegation of the Soviet Union.

The Soviet delegation was deeply impressed by the enthusiasm of the working people of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam in the building of socialism, by the staunchness and courage of the Vietnamese people in the struggle against the aggression of the American imperialists, for peace and the independence, sovereignty, unity and territorial integrity of their motherland, by their firm confidence in the rightness of their cause and in its ultimate victory.

Talks were held between the Soviet delegation and leaders of the Party of Working People of Vietnam and the Government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, and they passed in an atmosphere of cordiality and fraternal mutual understanding.

Taking part in the talks from the Vietnamese side were Chairman of the CC, PWPV and President of the DRV Ho Chi Minh; First Secretary of the CC, PWPV Le Duan; member of the CC, PWPV

*Pravda, January 15, 1966.

Political Bureau and Chairman of the Standing Committee of the DRV National Assembly Truong Chinh; member of the CC, PWPV Political Bureau, and Prime Minister of the DRV Government Pham Van Dong; member of the CC, PWPV Political Bureau, Deputy Prime Minister and Defense Minister Vo Nguyen Giap; member of the Political Bureau and Secretary of CC, PWPV Le Duc Tho; member of the CC, PWPV Political Bureau, Deputy Prime Minister and Foreign Minister Nguyen Zui Chin; member of the CC, PWPV, Ambassador of the DRV to the USSR Nguyen Van Kinh; Deputy Chief of the Foreign Relations Department of the CC, PWPV Chan Thi Hien.

The delegations of the USSR and the DRV exchanged views on the serious situation created by the American imperialists who have escalated the aggressive war in Vietnam and Southeast Asia, and discussed some questions of Soviet-Vietnamese relations, the international situation and a number of other questions of interest to the Soviet Union and the Democratic Republic of Vietnam.

On behalf of the Soviet people, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the USSR Government the Soviet delegation expressed full support for the Vietnamese people's just struggle against the U.S. imperialist aggression, for the four-point position of the DRV Government and for the position of the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam, the only lawful representative of the South Vietnamese people, outlined in its Statement of March 22, 1965.

These positions form the only correct basis on which to settle the Vietnamese problem; they are fully in line with the 1954 Geneva Agreements on Vietnam which promote stable peace in Indochina and Southeast Asia.

On behalf of the Vietnamese people, the Party of Working People of Vietnam and the DRV Government the Vietnamese delegation expressed gratitude to the Soviet people, the CPSU and the USSR Government for the extensive and valuable assistance in developing the economy and strengthening the defense potential of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and for the powerful support to the Vietnamese people's liberation struggle.

Both sides expressed satisfaction over the successful development of friendly relations between the CPSU and the PWPV, between the USSR and the DRV, discussed steps to strengthen still more the fraternal relations between the two parties and between the two countries, and examined specific questions relating to further Soviet assistance to the Democratic Republic of Vietnam in developing its economy, strengthening its defenses, and repulsing the aggression of the U.S. imperialists.

During the Soviet delegation's stay in Hanoi a new agreement was signed on additional Soviet assistance to the DRV.

On behalf of the CC, CPSU, the Soviet delegation invited a

delegation of the Working People's Party of Vietnam to attend the forthcoming 23rd Congress of the CPSU. The Central Committee of the PWPV accepted the invitation.

The Soviet delegation expressed heartfelt gratitude for the exceptionally warm and hospitable reception accorded it by the Central Committee of the PWPV, the DRV Government and the fraternal Vietnamese people.

The visit of the Soviet delegation to the Democratic Republic of Vietnam was a new expression of fraternal solidarity between the USSR and the DRV, an important contribution to the further consolidation and development of the unbreakable friendship and close cooperation between the Soviet and Vietnamese peoples, between th CPSU and the PWPV, based on the principles of proletarian internationalism.

Hanoi, January 12, 1966.

THE CPA AND THE COMING GENERAL ELECTION*

During the discussions in the Party to which all the provincial leaderships and district organizations and numerous local organizations contributed, most speakers called for a new approach to the elections by our Party. An obvious majority declared for nominating candidates in the Fourth Constituency and for supporting the SPA (Socialist Party of Austria) candidates in the other 24 constituencies. We stress that this decision is valid only for the next elections to the National Council and cannot be extended to other elections, not even to elections to the *Landtag* and enterprise councils.

What are the main considerations in favor of this new attitude?

To begin with, the fact that the political situation has changed considerably since the last general election (1962). In 1963-64 the APP (Austrian People's Party) came under the sway of the extreme Right, which meant a general swing to the right in Austrian home policy. This took place against the background of the consolidation of capitalism in the country.

Besides, this year's general election is to be held at a time when the international situation has changed for the worse in many respects. In U.S. foreign policy, the "Goldwater line" has been coming to the fore, and has already led to the war of aggression in Vietnam and greater international tension. In Europe, West German imperialism and militarism are growing stronger. These dark shadows in world politics endanger universal peace and encourage the Right in our country.

Indicative of the new political climate at home are APP attempts to help Otto Hapsburg to come back, which in the summer of 1964 resulted in a political crisis. The new situation is marked by greater activity of the neo-Nazis, who enjoy the overt or covert support of the extreme Right in the APP. The attacks on the nationalized industries have become more violent, with the APP trying to sell the property of the republic to private capitalists by hook or crook. The APP leadership wants big foreign capital to come step by step into full control of the key positions in the nationalized economy.

The announced election objective of the APP is to win a "clear and efficient majority." In other words, the APP plans to win the absolute majority of seats with a minority vote, by taking advant-

*Speech by Franz Muhri, Chairman of the Communist Party of Austria, to the Party's national conference (Vienna, Jan. 9 and 10, 1966). Abridged from **Volkstimme**, Jan. 11.

age of the crisis in the FPA (Freedom Party of Austria) and the undemocratic electoral system, and then to build up its absolute power in the state step by step.

This is the situation in which this year's general election is to take place and which calls for a new attitude to the election of our Party.

Another important reason for a new approach to the elections is that we have no chance of being sent to parliament if we put forward candidates in every constituency, because the APP has succeeded in blocking the electoral reform. Our policy has had a growing echo and we have become a more powerful factor in the political life of our country, a factor which can no longer be ignored. Many people say the Communists are needed and should be represented in parliament, and many resent SPA policy. But, speaking generally, we cannot yet expect this to translate itself into an increase in the pro-CPA vote securing us seats in parliament.

If we were to propose our candidates in every constituency, as we have done before, the votes cast for the Communists would be merely a demonstration. But this would also mean helping the APP in spite of ourselves, and that party would have greater chances of winning the absolute majority precisely because the Communists had proposed their own candidates. If, on the other hand, we support the SPA candidates our votes may help prevent the APP from gaining the absolute majority and so play a far more effective role.

At the same time we think it possible, and see it as our objective, to seat a Communist in parliament by nominating him in the Fourth Constituency, where our Party has long been particularly strong. This will enable us to concentrate the Party's modest forces and funds in that particular constituency, which does not imply that we may neglect our political activity in the other 24 constituencies.

In the 1962 general election the SPA won four seats and an extra 18,000 votes. Thus the nomination of a CPA candidate cannot affect these four seats. And should we gain a seat here, it will be safe to say, on the strength of the results of the 1962 election, that we had gained it at the expense of the FPA.

That is why, in the 24 constituencies where we are not going to put forward our candidates, we call on all our friends and voters, all democrats and Austrians, to use their votes in the coming election as effectively as possible against the threat of Rightist extremism in Austria by voting SPA. At the same time we ask our friends and voters, all socialists and democrats in the Fourth Constituency to help the Communist and Left Socialist candidates with their votes, so as to ensure, in the interests of the working people, the election to parliament of a Communist, a person bound by no coalition agreements, one who will resolutely and consistently

oppose the disruptive wing of the APP and support in parliament every bill beneficial to the workers, who could express the interests, sentiments and demands of the working people and would therefore be in a position to put pressure on the SPA.

The Central Committee proposal for a new approach to this year's general election accords with the orientation determined by our 19th Party Congress through the theses on the outlook. Our attitude to the coming elections is prompted by the need of better understanding between Socialists and Communists and the democratic forces in the APP. It is part of a policy aimed at countering the overt and covert opponents of Austrian democracy and neutrality effectively and in time. It is designed to win as favorable initial positions as possible for establishing working-class unity of action and for rallying the democratic forces to uphold and extend democracy after the elections.

Preventing an absolute APP majority would be a blow to Rightist extremism, such as could rouse the democratic elements in the APP to greater activity. This and SPA success at the elections would be a blow also to anti-communism in both major parties. This election policy of ours is part of our struggle to uphold and extend democracy and to safeguard neutrality, that is, to ensure that a peaceful transition to socialism in Austria remains possible.

In this election campaign too, our Party will maintain its own political platform and political demands.

In this campaign we Communists address to all Socialists and non-party people, to all the Catholic wage and salaried workers, to the democratic and patriotic forces in the APP, constructive proposals and democratic alternatives for resolving the political crisis. Our alternative is extension and renovation of democracy through the collaboration of all democrats. Our attitude to the coalition is not merely "yes" or "no" — it is more specific. The way to a democratic solution of the political crisis lies, not through the APP winning the absolute majority, but through curbing the power of big capital, through curbing and isolating the APP extremists. Better conditions for democratic cooperation will be created only to the extent that the democratic elements in the APP gain influence. The political crisis can be resolved only through the collaboration of the democratic and socialist forces of our country, through a revival of the spirit of 1945, to which Austria owes its rebirth, through the establishment of a new anti-fascist unity, such as became evident at the graveside of Ernst Kirchweger—a unity fully preserving autonomy and political and ideological distinctions.

We are not against the SPA being in the government, for it would be a dangerous step back if the government were in the hands of the extreme Right alone. SPA participation in the govern-

ment can also be a factor limiting APP aspiration for power. But the crisis of the coalition cannot be resolved democratically through SPA participation in the government at all costs, at the price of concessions on many points, at the price of renouncing democratic structural reforms. This policy has so far not strengthened but weakened the Socialists' position; it has helped strengthen the Right-wing extremists. Continuing this policy may create a situation in which the reactionaries will be strong enough to say, "The Moor has done his duty, the Moor may go."

The democratic way out of the crisis of the coalition lies, as we see it, in a courageous policy directed toward renovating democracy by stages, toward the wage and salaried workers sharing in economic management, toward democratizing the whole social life, toward invigorating democracy through an electoral reform. It lies in removing protectionism and party privileges in the economy, as well as in influencing the people's world outlook and doing away with anti-Communist discrimination in radio and TV.

A democratic solution to the crisis will not be found by continuing the policy of social partnership: after all, this policy has so far strengthened the big capitalists and the reactionaries.

We Communists consider that today parliament and the balance of forces in it are far more important than ever. But a policy relying solely on parliamentary combinations is not the way to solve the crisis of the coalition. The big capitalists and the APP are in reality waging a continuous class struggle in and outside parliament, at all levels and in every insttiution. In this they lean for support, first of all, on strong extra-parliamentary positions in the economy and the state, on the university, the association of industrialists, the *Wirtschaftskammern* and other organizations, and last but not least, on foreign capital. It is therefore essential to make more effective use also of th` extra-parliamentary strength of the working class in every form guaranteed by the Constitution. This is the only way to ensure democracy and progress, to add new democratic gains to the existing ones.

The adoption of a bipartisan system of the British type will provide no democratic solution to the crisis of the coalition because the historical and political prerequisites for this are lacking in Austria. Besides, the Austrian conditions, a bipartisan system may lead to undivided APP rule. The way out lies rather in electoral reform.

To safeguard Austrian democracy and neutrality, we must take steps against neo-Nazism and its exponents. The glorification of Hitler's war and the Hitler regime can no longer be tolerated, any more than the dissemination of racialist, German nationalist and anti-Semitic ideology.

The near future will be decisive in Austria's negotiations with the

EEC. If at this year's elections the APP wins another two seats in parliament and hence gains the absolute majority, the Right-wing extremists will be able to step up the policy of "readiness for extreme compromises" in the talks with the EEC. In that case the danger of Austria being tied to the EEC and hence to West Germany would increase.

We Communists stand for strict adherence to the State Treaty and the permanent neutrality we have assumed of our own free will. We recognize the necessity for greater economic cooperation and an international economic division of labor. However, this trend does not apply to the EEC sphere alone, but to the whole of Europe and the world. The EEC with its autocratic structure re-establishing tariff barriers and trade curbs against third countries, does not solve these problems.

Thus the *first*, and chief aim of Austria's foreign policy should be to safeguard the neutrality and independence of the nation. Austria would thereby make a valuable contribution also to peace and détente in Europe. Austria's friendly relations with the Soviet Union and many other socialist countries show that peaceful co-existence is possible. That is why we also advocate the recognition of People's China and the GDR by Austria.

The *second* major aim of Austrian foreign policy should be to contribute actively to world-wide efforts toward limiting the arms race and bringing about disarmament, especially nuclear disarmament. Austria should support the world-wide struggle against colonialism and neocolonialism. Its future parliament and government should above all support the demand for a denuclearized zone in Central Europe and for an end to the war in Vietnam on the basis of the Geneva agreements.

To support the SP in this year's elections to the National Council does not mean accepting that party's entire policy, which continues to differ fundamentally from the concepts of the Austrian Communists. During the election campaign we are not going to conceal the differences over matters of principle existing between Austria's Socialists and Communists. We are going to speak of them in clear and explicit terms. We continue to combat the policy of social partnership. We still maintain that today one cannot be a genuine socialist unless one's day-by-day policy is aimed at consistently upholding and extending democracy, and at achieving structural reforms that would restrict the big capitalists' sphere of control already at this stage. We continue to criticize disregard of the danger which the revival of West German militaris and revanchism spells for Austria and Europe. We are waging an uncompromising fight against SPA anti-Communism, which in effect benefits the extreme Right in the APP.

In an effort to win on March 6 the votes of those who are dis-

satisfied with APP policy, the leadership of that party resorts to primitive and inept anti-Communism, and shouts from the housetops about the alleged danger that a Popular Front would present.

The facts show that these shouts are so much deliberate demagogy designed to entice wavering voters into backing the APP.

We will tell the APP voters what the Popular Front really stands for. It implies political alliances between parties and political groups for democracy against fascism. It means popular unity against fascism, war and dictatorship, and the various parties and groups in it retain their political and ideological autonomy and diversity.

When the extreme Right alludes to the socialist countries we do not deny that these countries also have problems and difficulties and make mistakes. Nowhere are difficulties and mistakes admitted as frankly and self-critically as in the socialist countries themselves. But we point out that one should have been impossible, and that without the socialist system there would have been no prospect of averting nuclear war.

However, we think the decisive thing in any discussion on the socialist countries is that we want to advance to socialism in our own way, with due regard to Austrian conditions and traditions, to the possibilities, requirements and experience of today.

The coming elections are part of the struggle over whether Austria is to remain a democracy or is to be dragged into reactionary gambles. Our election objective, which we submit to this conference and for which we are going to seek the voter's support is clear. It is to prevent an absolute APP majority and to send a Communist to parliament.

SOLIDARITY WITH VIETNAM

Appeal to the Federal Government

The National Conference of the CPA has unanimously passed the following resolution:

While U.S. diplomats are touring the world on what is purported to be a peace mission, the American press comments openly on the forthcoming intensification of the war in Vietnam. It is proposed to double or treble the strength of the troops involved, step up the war, extend the bombing terror to the capital of North Vietnam, Hanoi, and to the main seaport, Haiphong, and even to carry the war into Laos and Cambodia. America's "peace offensive" is accompanied by the use of poison gas banned by international law, for destroying crops and starving major areas of South Vietnam without regard for women, children and old people. The diplomatic move of the United States has been forced by growing world-wide discontent over U.S. policy, and by protest action even among allies.

However, the U.S. imperialists see this move as merely a smoke-screen behind which they can make preparations for a war of extermination against the Vietnamese people. Throughout the world, and above all in the United States itself, mass movements have developed against America's war of aggression. But unless pressure on the government is increased world peace will be very much in jeopardy.

We Austrian Communists insist that the Federal Government take prompt initiative to help call a halt to U.S. aggression in Vietnam, an aggression flouting every standard of international law, and to support every step likely to usher in negotiations on the basis of the 1954 Geneva agreements on Vietnam, with spokesmen of the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam participating.

The voice of the people and government of neutral Austria should not be missing from a genuine peace offensive for Vietnam.

ACTIVITIES OF THE COMMUNIST AND WORKERS' PARTIES

Jan. 3-15. The First Solidarity Conference of the Peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America sat in Havana. It was attended by 512 delegates from 82 countries of the three continents, 64 observers from international democratic organizations and the socialist countries of Europe, and by numerous guests. The Conference discussed pressing issues of the day.

Jan. 9-18. A group of leading functionaries of the CP of Norway — Jorgen Vogt, Rolf Nettum and Eivind Viik, members of the CC, CPN Secretariat, Tore Skjaerseth, member of the CC, CPN, J. Olajsen, Chairman of the Thromso Regional Organization of the CPN — stayed in Moscow at the invitation of the CC, CPSU.

The group acquainted itself with the guidance of the national economy by Party organizations and with the life of Soviet people.

At the close of the visit the Norwevian comrades had a warm, comradely interview with B. Ponomaryov and I. Kapitanov, secretaries of the CC, CPSU.

Jan. 19-13. Ion Gheorghe Maurer, member of the Executive Committee and Standing Presidium of the CC, Rumanian CP, Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the SRR, was on a friendly visit in Hungary at the invitation of Gyuli Kallai, Chairman of the Hungarian Government.

Jan. 10-14. In Toronto, the NC of the CP of Canada discussed the situation in the country and adopted a program of action for 1966. It resolved to convene the 19th Congress of the Party in Toronto, on May 21, 1966.

Jan. 15-16. The CC, CP of Finland held a plenum in Helsinki. It approved the draft resolutions to be passed by the Party congress on economic, home and foreign policy and on Party work, as well as statements about the working people's cooperation.

Jan. 17. A delegation of the CP of Czechoslovakia, led by Drahomir Kolder, member of the Presidium and Secretary of the CC, CPC, arrived in Moscow at the invitation of the CC, CPSU to familiarize itself with CPSU experience in Party guidance of the economy.

Jan. 18. *De Waarheid* carried a communique reading: "The CC CP of the Netherlands met on January 15 and 16. Henk Hoekstra, Secretary of the CC, CPN, presented a report on the political situation and the organizing work of the Party leadership."

Jan. 18 and 19. Leaders of the HSWP and PUWP met in Budapest. The participants were:

on the Hungarian side, Janos Kadar, First Secretary of the CC HSWP, Gyula Kallai, member of the PB, CC, HSWP, Chairman of the Hungarian Government, Antal Apro, member of the PB, CC, HSWP, Vice-Chairman of the Council of Ministers, and Zoltan Komocsin, member of the PB and Secretary of the CC HSWP;

on the Polish side, Wladyslaw Gomulka, First Secretary of the CC, PUWP, Josef Cyrankiewicz, member of the PB, CC, PUWP, Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the PPR, and Zenon Kliszko, member of the PB and Secretary of the CC, PUWP.

The discussions concerned ways of promoting the cooperation of the two countries and parties, and urgent issues of foreign policy and the world Communist and working-class movement. They revealed complete identity of views on all the items dealt with.

Jan. 19. A communique was published in Prague on the talks between the delegations of the CP of Spain, led by Dolores Ibarruri, Chairman of the Party, and of the CP of Czechoslovakia, led by Antonin Novotny, First Secretary of the CC CPC.

The communique notes that the two parties denounced the U.S. imperialists' expanding war of aggression in Vietnam, as well as other military and political moves by the United States against the democratic and progressive forces.

The two parties are agreed that everything should be done to re-establish world Communist unity. This aim is promoted by joint action and by bilateral and multi-lateral talks between fraternal parties. The two parties are convinced that it would be useful to hold a world Communist meeting at an acceptable date. To pave the way for this meeting, it is necessary to extend mutual contacts and joint action and to provide suitable conditions.

Jan. 19. An economic delegation of the DRV government, led by Le Thanh Nghi, Vice-Premier, member of the PB CC of the Working People's Party of Vietnam, returned to Hanoi.

The delegation paid friendly visits to China, the Soviet Union, Hungary, the GDR, Rumania, Czechoslovakia, Poland, Bulgaria and KPDR.

Jan. 19. M. A. Suslov, member of the Presidium and Secretary of the CC, CPSU and B. N. Ponomaryov, Secretary of the CC, CPSU received a delegation of the Progressive Party of the Working People of Cyprus (AKEL) consisting of General Secretary of the AKEL E. Papaiiannu and Deputy General Secretary A. Fantis.

Jan. 20. At the CC, CPSU, L. Brezhnev, First Secretary of the CC, CPSU, met with Antonin Novotny, First Secretary of the CC, CP of Czechoslovakia, President of the CSSR, who was paying a friendly visit to Moscow at the invitation of the CC CPSU.

The meeting was attended:

on the Soviet side, by Y. Andropov, Secretary of the CC, CPSU, and S. Chervonenko, member of the CC, CPSU, Soviet Ambassador to Czechoslovakia;

on the Czechoslovak side, by Jiri Hendrych and Drahomir Kolder, members of the Presidium and secretaries of the CC, CPC, the Oldrich Pavlovsky, member of the CC, CPC, Czechoslovak Ambassador to the USSR.

The leaders of the two parties exchanged information on the progress of communist and socialist construction in their respective countries, discussed certain aspects of Soviet-Czechoslovak relations and exchanged views on the major problems of current world politics.

The two sides noted with satisfaction that fraternal friendship and all-round political, economic and cultural cooperation between the CPSU and the CPC and between the USSR and the CSSR are growing. These relations meet the fundamental interests of the peoples of the two countries, as well as of the other socialist countries. They are conducive to the fulfilment of the historical task of building communism and strengthening the forces of peace, democracy and socialism.

Participants in the exchange of views stressed the complete unity of views of the two parties regarding the present international situation and the state of affairs in the world Communist movement. The two sides expressed their determination to continue their effort for greater unity and cohesion of the socialist countries and the world Communist and working-class movement on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and the principles of proletarian internationalism and in line with the collective documents of the fraternal parties.

The discussions were marked by a spirit of fraternal friendship, cordiality and complete mutual understanding.

Jan. 22. Nicolae Ceausescu, General Secretary of the CC, Rumanian CP, received Santiago Carrillo, General Secretary of the CP of Spain.

Jan. 23. Pravda published a message of greetings from the CC, CPSU to the 27th Congress of the Socialist Party of Japan.

The message says that "the Japanese Socialists' active role in the struggle against monopoly oppression, for the vital interests of the Japanese people, against the U.S. imperialists' war of aggression in Vietnam, against the Japanese-South Korean Treaty and Japan's involvement in U.S. acts of aggression in Asia have gained widespread recognition in our country."

Jan. 24. At the invitation of the CC ICP, a CPSU delegation composed of M. Suslov, member of the Presidium and Secretary

of the CC (head of delegation), B. Ponomaryov, Secretary of the CC, I. Lutak, member of the CC, First Secretary of the Crimea Regional Committee of the CP of the Ukraine, and A. Shaposhnikova, Secretary of the Moscow City Committee of the CPSU, left for Rome to attend the 11th Congress of the Italian Communist Party.

Jan. 25-31. The 11th National Congress of the ICP sat in Rome.

The items on the Congress agenda were:

1. For peace, for the Italian way to socialism, for a new democratic majority and unity of the working-class and socialist forces (report by Luigi Longo, General Secretary of the ICP).
2. Amendments to the Party Rules.
3. Election of leading an dcontrol bodies.

Jan. 24 and 25. A friendly meeting took place in Poland between leaders of the PUWP and the CP of Czechoslovakia.

The participants were:

on the PUWP side, Wladyslaw Gomulka, First Secretary of the CC, Jozef Cyrankiewicz, member of the PB, Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the PPR, Stefan Jendrychowski, member of the PB, Chairman of the Planning Commission, Piotr Jaroszewicz, alternate member of the PB, Vice-Chairman of the Council of Ministers, and Tadeusz Gede, member of the CC, First Vice-Chairman of the Planning Commission:

on the CPC side, Antonin Novotny, First Secretary of the CC, President of the CSSR, Josef Lenart, member of the CC Presidium, Chairman of the Czechoslovak Government, Otakar Simunek, member of the CC Presidium, Vice-Chairman of the Government, and Vaclav Strakos, Vice-Chairman of the Planning Commission.

The meeting, which proceeded in a cordial and friendly atmosphere, discussed problems of all-round cooperation between the two countries, and agreed steps toward extending this cooperation, particularly in industrial coordination and in trade. There was also an exchange of views on important problems of the international situation and the world Communist and working-class movement.

The discussions revealed complete unity of views on the questions dealt with.

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WE WILL DO EVERYTHING TO ROUSE THE PEOPLES AGAINST THE AMERICAN AGGRESSOR

STATEMENT* BY FOREIGN DELEGATES TO THE ICP CONGRESS READ BY JACQUES DUCLOS

Comrades, the indignant protest voiced by Comrade Luigi Longo against the resumption of U.S. bombings of the territory of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam expresses our own sentiments.

The comedy staged by the American imperialists in an effort to make the world believe that they seek peace appears in its true light, as evidence of hypocrisy and cynicism. The Washington warmongers think they are free to do as they please, and they stick at no act of barbarity. It is therefore necessary for the peace forces of all countries to rally against them. And this is why, on behalf of the delegates of various countries attending this Congress, I wish to tell you that we all fully identify ourselves with the protest voiced by Comrade Longo and your unanimous Congress.

We assure the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam and the Party of Working People of Vietnam of our fraternal solidarity.

We will do all in our power to help the Vietnamese people in their noble and courageous struggle.

We are confident of the outcome of that struggle of our Vietnamese brothers, who are waging it all the more effectively because they are aided by the socialist countries, primarily the Soviet Union. We will do everything to rouse the peoples against the U.S. aggressor, who is exposing the world to the hazard of global war.

We will not relax until Johnson and his hangers-on see hundreds of millions of men and women of every opinion and every faith rise against them in anger and voice the world-wide demand: "Stop the war! Hands off Vietnam!"

Supported by world opinion, the peace partisans of the United States can make their protest against the government of their country more vigorous.

We will all fight together, comrades, as we insist on a halt to the bombing of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, an end to the aggression against South Vietnam, and the withdrawal of American troops.

We will fight to enable the Vietnamese people freely to shape their own destiny.

*L'Humanité, Feb. 1, 1966.

These are the undertakings we give. We will continue with still greater energy the struggles we have been waging in support of the Vietnamese people.

We represent an immense peace force which should resist with increasing cohesion the U.S. aggressor.

It is important to isolate the aggressor by raising an immense wave of anger against him.

We will fight to ensure that the unity of all peace forces in support of the Vietnamese people becomes more solid from day to day.

Down with the U.S. imperialist aggressor!

Long live the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam!

Long live the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and its President, our comrade Ho Chi Minh!

Long live the heroic Vietnamese people, whom the imperialist aggressor will never succeed in subduing and who will win in the end!

Long live the freedom and independence of the Vietnamese people!

Thirty-seven delegations from Communist and Workers' Parties and six delegations from the national-liberation movement and other progressive organizations attending the Congress.

PROGRAM OF THE PORTUGUESE COMMUNIST PARTY

ADOPTED BY THE SIXTH CONGRESS OF THE PCP, SEPTEMBER, 1965. ABRIDGED.

INTRODUCTION

The supreme goal of the Portuguese Communist Party is to bring about the victory of the proletarian revolution and the construction of socialism and communism in Portugal. This goal has inspired the activities of the Party ever since it was founded in 1921.

The PCP, fighting unremittingly for the unity of the democratic and patriotic forces to overthrow the fascist dictatorship, urges the working class and other working people to strive for the national democratic revolution as the first and necessary stage on the road to the socialist revolution.

Developments on the international scene favor the struggle of the working class and the whole people of Portugal. Since the Great October Socialist Revolution, which shook the foundations of world capitalism, the historic victories achieved by the working class under the impact of and thanks to the successes of the Soviet Union have radically changed the balance of world forces. The socialist world system, the chief creation and mainstay of the international proletariat, has become a decisive factor in world politics and social change. Its existence has made possible the rapid development of the national-liberation movement, which is now eroding the colonial system, and considerably hastened the progress of the working-class movement in the capitalist countries. It has repeatedly thwarted local acts of aggression on the part of the imperialists and imperialist plans of unleashing a world war. Laying the material and technical foundations for communism in the Soviet Union, and socialist construction in other socialist countries are steadily increasing the economic might and defense potential of the socialist camp. More and more, they are changing the correlation of world forces in favor of socialism, and are accelerating the world revolutionary process.

Marxism-Leninism furnishes scientific proof that the proletarian revolution and the victory of socialism and communism are inevitable. The transition from capitalism to socialism constitutes the main content of our epoch. The victories of the socialist camp, the growth of the working-class and national-liberation movements, the

general crisis of capitalism, and the aggravation of the internal contradictions of the capitalist system hasten the ripening of conditions for the victory of socialism and communism on a world scale.

In Portugal, which is ruled by a fascist dictatorship, the revolution at the present stage is a national-democratic revolution.

It is a democratic revolution because it will end the fascist tyranny, guarantee political freedom, abolish the rule of the finance oligarchy, defend the interests of the people and effect a series of deep-going reforms for the good of the overwhelming majority of the Portuguese people.

It is a national revolution because after doing away with imperialist domination over Portugal and with Portuguese domination over other peoples it will ensure the sovereignty, territorial integrity and genuine independence of the country.

The national-democratic revolution neither obviates class struggle nor brings the revolutionary process to a close. The PCP—the vanguard contingent of the proletariat and a Marxist-Leninist party—sees the struggle for the national-democratic revolution as a component of the struggle for socialism.

I

THE NATIONAL-DEMOCRATIC REVOLUTION AND ITS OBJECTIVES

The fascist regime is a terroristic dictatorship of monopolies linked with foreign imperialism, and of latifundists. The latter are closely linked with and subservient to the monopolies. The entire policy of the fascist government is directed against the interests of the other classes and strata of the population: the proletariat (industrial and agricultural workers), which is its direct victim; the peasantry (small and middle proprietors); the office employees; the urban petty bourgeoisie; groups of the middle bourgeoisie; the intellectuals. All these classes and strata are vitally interested in overthrowing the fascist dictatorship. The national struggle against it is an anti-monopoly and anti-imperialist struggle. At the present historical juncture the Portuguese proletariat and its party are faced with the great task of accomplishing, together with their allies, the national-democratic revolution, which is to overthrow the fascist dictatorship, eliminate the rule of the monopolies and latifundists, end imperialist domination, abolish the disgraceful colonial heritage and thoroughly reshape Portuguese society in the interests of the people and national independence. It is a revolution in keeping with the interests of the proletariat and other anti-monopoly classes and strata, and with the real interests of the nation.

The PCP program for the national-democratic revolution com-

prises the following eight points, or basic tasks:

(1) to destroy the fascist state and establish a democratic system;

(2) to eliminate monopoly rule and guarantee general economic development;

(3) to effect an agrarian reform giving the land to those who till it;

(4) to raise the standard of living of the working classes and the people as a whole;

(5) to put education and culture on a democratic basis;

(6) to deliver Portugal from imperialism;

(7) to recognize and guarantee the right of the peoples of the Portuguese colonies to immediate independence;

(8) to pursue a policy of peace and friendship with all nations.

Some of these tasks can be fully accomplished only at the next stage of the revolution. But unless all these tasks have been fulfilled, the national-democratic revolution will be incomplete and the democratic and independent development of the Portuguese people will not be ensured.

The full realization of these tasks depends to a decisive degree on the unity and struggle of the working class and the toiling masses generally.

1. Destroy the Fascist State and Establish a Democratic System

The fascist government has abolished elementary freedoms—freedom of speech, opinion and the press, the right to form political organizations and trade unions, freedom of assembly and demonstration. At the same time it has granted the exclusive right to organize and to engage in practical activity to the fascist party (the "National" Union), the fascist "national" trade unions, and the fascist youth organization, the so-called Portuguese Youth. The fascists also enjoy the exclusive right to political campaigns and demonstrations. The working people are not allowed to set up their own trade unions. A strike is a criminal offense. The stationing in factories, villages and seaports of police and troops who step in to force the working people into submitting to the enslaving conditions imposed by big capital are becoming an everyday occurrence. The government counters the most modest demands of the workers and the people with threats, persecution, dismissals, arrests, torture and bullets.

The repressive apparatus no longer consists of special forces alone. This apparatus and its political espionage machinery are omnipresent. They operate wherever people live and work—in factories, schools, army barracks, mass organizations, town districts, and even the most out-of-the-way villages. Even Portuguese political exiles are persecuted with the complicity of foreign govern-

ments. The monstrous network of informers and agent-provocateurs sows fear, distrust and uncertainty. A backward and underfed country, Portugal is made to bear the backbreaking burden of maintaining a huge machinery of state which swallows up a large proportion of the nation's resources while its sole function is to safeguard the interests of those who doom the country to backwardness and poverty, and to suppress popular protest and resistance.

The lack of freedoms, the regimes despotism and its terroristic methods weigh so heavy on the Portuguese people that to abolish fascist oppression and to win political freedom have become the most cherished dream and prime objective of the masses. The first essential step towards a democratic Portuguese society is to win political freedom.

The fascist state—the armed forces, the police, the courts, the government and bureaucratic machinery is used by the monopoly bourgeoisie and the latifundists to oppress the mass of the people. The National Assembly, that travesty of parliament, and the consultative technical body, the Corporative Chamber, represent the interests of the ruling classes and function as auxiliary agencies of the fascist government. The corporative system is a device through which the big capitalists and landowners control economic life, their purpose being to intensify the exploitation of the working people and the middle strata and to consolidate their rule over them. The armed forces are trained and equipped to suppress the popular movement in Portugal and to fight against the national-liberation movement in the Portuguese colonies. The judicature is merely a department of the executive authority. Local government bodies are, in fact, appointed by the central authorities, which control all their activities.

A cardinal task of the revolution, and the paramount condition for the accomplishment of its other tasks, is to establish democratic freedoms, destroy the fascist state, and replace it by a democratic state.

2. Liquidate Monopoly Rule and Ensure General Economic Development

Throughout its existence the fascist dictatorship has pursued the policy of hastening, through coercive measures by the state, the centralization and concentration of capital. This was the purpose of a veritable crusade aimed at expropriating small and middle industrialists, tradesmen and farmers.

The fascist regime invests in big companies Treasury money and insurance funds misappropriated by it. More, it often refuses to share in the profits of these companies, exempts the latter from taxes and writes off their debts, renounces its rights, accepts bribes,

underwrites loans and assists in the fixing of monopoly and exclusive prices on the home and foreign markets. While rendering this direct and important aid to monopoly groups, it crushes the working people and the middle classes with taxes and vigorously obstructs the business activity of small and middle tradesmen and manufacturers.

Through co-participation in investment the big banks and corporations dominate hundreds of companies; they set up big monopoly groups holding sway in various branches of the Portuguese economy.

The relations betwen these groups are characterized not so much by rivalry (though it exists) as by the growing interlacement of their interests and increasingly closer alliance with foreign imperialism. Their aim is to squeeze as much as they can out of the working class, destroy the numerous small and medium enterprises competing with them, appropriate the rest of the nation's wealth and bring economic activity and the market under their full control. The fascists' political motto is, "Everything for the monopolies, nothing for the people."

A dozen monopoly groups linked with foreign imperialism controlling the national wealth and the key branches of the economy make fabulous profits by brutally exploiting the working class and other working people and ruining the middle classes.

One of the prime tasks of the national-democratic revolution is to eliminate monopoly rule and guarantee general economic development.

3. Agrarian Reform to Give the Land to Those Who Till It

The agricultural policy of the fascist government has invariably protected the interests of the latifundists and big capitalists to the detriment of the working people of the countryside.

Low wages and long periods of unemployment every year add to the plight of the agricultural worker. Prices with which small owners cannot cover their expenses, control of the market and of the prices of farm produce by the big landowners associated in various corporations and federations, heavy taxes, usurious loans often resulting in expropriation, and the unfavorable and subordinate position of the small farmer all make it impossible for him to compete with the big landowners and inevitably lead to their ruin and extinction. Hundreds of thousands of small farms have disappeared since the establishment of the fascist dictatorship. The small landowner is fast becoming proletarianized.

While there are individuals owning thousands and even hundreds of thousands of hectares of land each, more than 800,000 peasants

own no land at all. Another half a million peasants have plots which cannot feed their families. There are big landowners who own more land than tens of thousands of small farmers put together. Five hundred big landowners have more land than 500,000 farmers owning the smallest plots.

The land area belonging to small farmers is shrinking as its owners are ruined and become proletarianized.

Capitalism is developing fast in the countryside. Despite general backwardness and the survival of semi-feudal forms of exploitation (sharecropping, quit-rent, etc.), capitalist relations of production have become widespread here. Agricultural workers account for more than two-thirds of the gainfully employed agricultural population.

The number of agricultural workers grew faster than ever during the first three decades of the dictatorship, due to the rapid liquidation of small-scale production accompanied by increasing redundancy as a result of mechanization. It tends to grow in small-scale farming regions and to decrease where big land ownership predominates.

The development of capitalism in agriculture worsens the condition of the working people. It brings starvation wages and unemployment to the agricultural workers over a large part of the year, and ruin, expropriation and impoverishment to the small farmers. Every year tens of thousands of agricultural workers and ruined small farmers go to the towns or abroad in search of a job.

The agrarian reform and an agrarian policy in the interests of the working people of the countryside are among the cardinal tasks of the national-democratic revolution.

4. Raise the Standard of Living of the Working Classes and the Whole People

The exploitation of the working classes is increasing.

Real wages are diminishing as a result of the fascist government's wage-freeze policy and the growth of the cost of living. Occasionally the working people succeed in winning a nominal wage rise, but this happens only as a result of struggle, and the increase invariably lags behind the price growth.

The working day is extended and labor is intensified through violation of schedules, speed-up, increasingly bigger assignments, fines and various other penalties, unpaid or poorly paid overtime, pressures and victimization.

Higher productivity due to the use of modern machines and methods increases the share of surplus labor appropriated by the capitalists. Moreover, it is generally accompanied by the intensification of labor and the use of most sophisiticated methods of exploitation.

The so-called co-participation of the workers in the capital and profits of the big companies, represented as proof of the possibility of "class harmony" and as a manifestation of "people's capitalism," is a sheer fraud through which the monopolies try to stem the struggle of the working class and increase the intensity of labor by creating the illusion that the "worker works for himself."

Complete disregard for industrial safety leads to numerous accidents killing or permanently disabling thousands of workers. Aged or sick workers are dismissed without pension or discharge pay.

The wages paid to women are much lower—sometimes by as much as 50 per cent—than those paid to men for the same work. Arduous labor and the absence of mother-and-child care sap women's health and cause early aging.

The plight of young workers is tragic, what with low wages, unlawfully lengthened apprenticeship, complete disregard for physical training and cultural development, long military service under a humiliating discipline and the dispatch to the colonies to fight in the war.

The housing policy of the fascist government is to ensure high profits to the capitalists and the state through profiteering in real estate and the extortion of high rent.

Emigration shows an alarming uptrend. Tens of thousands of workers and peasants are compelled to leave the country. Families are breaking up, and Portugal is losing the younger manpower it needs for its present and future development.

A major task of the national-democratic revolution is to improve the living standard of the working class and the people in general.

5. Democratize Education and Culture

The chief objective of the fascist government's "spiritual policy" is to perpetuate the ruling classes' monopoly of education and culture by turning the latter into an instrument of policy, demagogy and the corrupt ideology of fascism.

To keep the masses ignorant is one of the means of preventing the growth of their political consciousness and providing cheap manpower to industry and agriculture, which the monopolies and latifundists have made the most backward in Europe.

The expenditures on education barely equal one-fourth of the maintenance costs of the repressive apparatus; fewer schools are being built today than half a century ago.

The progress of science and national culture is obstructed by the lack of democratic freedoms, by police repression of scientists, artists, progressive-minded intellectuals and students, censorship of the press and the entertainment industry, rigid fascist control over all information on media and all public associations and cultural

activities, severe restrictions on international exchanges, and the prohibition of many foreign books, newspapers and magazines.

While strangling and suppressing national culture, the fascist government keeps the door wide open to books, films, plays, newspapers and magazines imported chiefly from the United States and permeated with imperialist, reactionary and militarist ideas.

What fascism has accomplished in the field of arts and letters is an affront to the cultural traditions of the Portuguese people. These are low-standard propaganda works arousing animal instincts and demoralizing people.

Everything positive achieved under the fascist dictatorship in science, literature, art and enlightenment goes to the credit of the anti-fascist movement. It has been created in the struggle against the obscurantist policy of the government, thanks to the fact that the revolutionary movement has struck deep roots in the people and assumed a large scale, to the struggle of the intellectuals, the political consciousness of the proletariat and its vanguard role in the anti-fascist struggle.

Any serious economic, political social changes will have to be accompanied by a radical change in education and culture. One of the important tasks of the national-democratic revolution is to put education and culture on a democratic basis.

6. Free Portugal from Imperialism

Portugal is not an independent country. Its principal riches and key economic branches are in the hands of foreign imperialists. Economic Dependence is combined with political dependence.

The imperialists have seized the national resources and exploit the Portuguese working people either directly or indirectly, in conjunction with Portuguese finance capital.

All Portuguese monopoly groups are so closely linked with foreign imperialism that they can never be expected to act in defense of the national interests against imperialism. While they have established their domination in the country, they are at once becoming an instrument of imperialist rule over Portugal.

The government, searching for a way out of the financial difficulties caused by the colonial war, is soliciting foreign investments and loans more and more persistently, farming out to the imperialists the branches in which they do not dominate yet, and mortgaging the future of the country.

Portugal's participation in "free trade" zones plays into the hands of the domestic monopoly groups and worsens the plight of the Portuguese working people. It also tightens imperialism's grip on the country. On the plea of resisting foreign competition, the fascist government intensifies the exploitation of the working class, creates

new difficulties for the middle classes and at the same time accelerates centralization and concentration in many industries and throws the doors of the country (and its colonies) wide open to foreign investors.

Foreign monopolies are pushing Portuguese industry out of our home market. They dominate our foreign trade, buy our raw materials on the cheap and sell their manufactured goods to Portugal at high prices. They are plundering the national resources on an increasing scale, intensifying the exploitation of the working classes, establishing closer links with the local monopoly groups and gaining control over them. They are steadily consolidating their position in every branch of the national economy.

This economic domination is accomplished by interference with a view to exerting decisive influence on the trend of economic development and national policy, and by the presentation of demands of a diplomatic or military nature which the fascist government meets in exchange for the assistance it needs to remain in power.

Portugal is both a colonial power and a dependent country. Through the fascist government, imperialism curtails and destroys Portuguese independence while supporting reaction and fascism against the democratic movement. The winning of political independence and the establishment of a viable democratic system demand liberation from the shackles of imperialism.

One of the main tasks of the national-democratic revolution is to free the country from imperialist rule.

7. Recognize and Guarantee the Right of the Peoples of the Portuguese Colonies to Immediate Independence

A country under the heel of foreign imperialism, Portugal is also a colonial power.

The fascist government is trying to perpetuate the brutal exploitation of the colonial peoples with the help of its bureaucratic and military apparatus, by denying these peoples all rights and freedoms, through terror and war.

All Portuguese monopoly groups have important interests in the colonies. But they are not alone there. What enables the Portuguese colonialists to retain large territories is that they are allied with big foreign monopolies which, acting with the consent of the Salazar regime, hold dominant positions in the exploitation of both the Portuguese people and the colonial peoples and have the military support of imperialist powers. Paradoxical as it may seem, Portugal remains a colonial power precisely because it is not independent. A backward and poverty-stricken country, it can oppress other peoples because it is oppressed itself.

With the national-liberation movement on the rise, the fascist

government is trying to retain colonial rule and slavery by means of terror and war. The colonial system of imperialism is doomed. Portuguese colonialism will also collapse. The colonial war is bound to end in the defeat of the colonialists.

The war which the government is waging against the Portuguees colonies with the help of its NATO partners is a crime, not only against these people, but also against the Portuguese people and nation. Young Portuguese are losing their lives in an unjust and hopeless war dictated by fascist interests. The colonial war is bringing more and more profits to the monopoly groups. To foot the war bill, the fascist government is stepping up the exploitation of workers. It crushes all the working classes with taxes, forces up the cost of living, causes a shortage of prime necessities, lowers the people's standard of living and takes foreign loans increasing the country's dependence.

The monstrous intensification of exploitation and terror in the Portuguese colonies goes hand in hand with increased exploitation and fascist terror in Portugal itself. The Portuguese people and the peoples of the Portuguese colonies are brothers and allies in the struggle against a common enemy, the fascist regime of Portugal and the imperialist powers supporting it.

Colonial rule is one of the causes of Portugal's general economic backwardness and of growing monopoly and foreign imperialist domination. It is also one of the mainstays of reaction and fascism. Nothing has reflected on the national conscience and the patriotic and anti-imperialist spirit of the Portuguese more than this quasi-patriotism nourished by the enslavement of colonial peoples.

The Portuguese monopolies, which use colonial rule to obtain the resources they need, are not interested in developing the Portuguese economy. Colonial rule has enabled them to cut wages and reduce the purchasing capacity of the population; it has contracted the home market and slowed down the development of the national economy, which has become a parasitic economy lacking a solid base.

To fight against Portuguese colonialism is not only a duty of solidarity and internationalism, but also a patriotic duty of the Portuguese. The longer Portugal goes on oppressing its colonies, the stronger imperialist rule over it will become. The struggle for the genuine independence of Portugal is intrinsically bound up with the struggle for the independence of the peoples of the Portuguese colonies. The Portuguese people will win genuine independence only when the colonial people have won freedom.

Portugal will become democratic and truly independent only when the peoples of its colonies have been guaranteed the right to self-determination and to immediate and complete independence.

One of the major tasks of the national-liberation revolution is to achieve the self-determination and independence of the peoples of the Portuguese colonies, although it can be accomplished even before the downfall of the fascist regime.

8. Pursue a Policy of Peace and Friendship with all Nations

As well as being economically dependent, Portugal is in a subordinate position diplomatically and militarily.

The foreign policy of the fascist government is one of subservience to the big imperialist powers and of orientation on the policy of war pursued by the more reactionary and aggressive imperialist circles. It is a policy of collaboration and complicity with reactionary and fascist governments (beginning with Franco), a policy fomenting hatred for and encouraging aggression against the socialist camp, the newly-free countries and the countries fighting to shake off colonial tyranny. It is a policy of intrigue and of assistance to fascists not in power in their conspiratorial activities against the governments of their countries, and to the lackeys of imperialism who are trying to seize power in countries now free from imperialist rule.

This foreign policy of subservience, war, intrigue and political gamble, which runs counter to the interests of other peoples and of world peace, also harms the vital interests of the people and of the Portuguese nation.

Participation in the aggressive NATO blocs, along with the existence of foreign military bases and other installations on Portuguese soil, is detrimental to the territorial integrity, sovereignty and independence of Portugal. The control over the Portuguese armed forces exercised by the military commands of the United States, West Germany, Britain and other countries is an insult to our national dignity.

The U.S. base in Lages on the Azores, the West German base in Beja, the French base on Flores Island, and other military installations that are components of the U.S. aggressive set-up expose Portugal to the danger of atomic bombing, jeopardizing the very existence of the nation.

Portugal's membership in NATO implies military assistance to the fascist government in suppressing the struggle of the Portuguese people and the peoples of the Portuguese colonies. Affiliation to NATO, which imposes on the country a heavy burden of expenditures borne by the working people, is an instrument of imperialist and fascist rule over Portugal and its colonies.

Subservience to the more aggressive circles of imperialism, like the constitution of the colonial war, increases the international

isolation of Portugal. The absence of relations with the socialist countries makes it impossible for Portugal to carry on profitable trade and scientific and technical cooperation with them, which is necessary for the general progress of the country.

In the world of today, the military potential of the Soviet Union, the strength of the socialist camp as a whole, the rapid growth of the working-class and national-liberation movements, and the winning of independence by many peoples in open struggle against imperialism make it possible effectively to resist the aggressive policy of imperialism and to prevent a new world war. Peaceful coexistence is a product of and a factor in the world reactionary process. The revolutionary forces have a vital interest in safeguarding world peace. To establish a democratic system, Portugal must completely dissociate itself from aggressive imperialist circles, and its dependence on them, and purchase a policy of peace.

One of the cardinal tasks of the national-democratic revolution is to pursue a policy of peace and friendship with all nations.

II

THE ROAD TO OVERTHROWING THE FASCIST REGIME AND ESTABLISHING A PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT

The policy of the fascist government is directed against all the non-monopolistic classes and strata and prejudices their vital interests. This makes it possible to establish a broad front against the monopolies, foreign imperialism, and the fascist government in their service.

The peasantry (small and middle farmers), the urban petty bourgeoisie and groups of the middle bourgeoisie are allies of the proletariat in the fight against the fascist dictatorship, for democracy.

On the political plane, the system of alliances of the proletariat presupposes the unity of the anti-fascist forces, of all democrats and patriots. It is a prime task of the party of the proletariat to forge this unity.

Working-class unity, of which the unity of the industrial and agricultural proletariat is a component, and a worker-peasant alliance should underlie the unity of the democratic and patriotic forces, in which the urban petty bourgeoisie will also play a major part. In addition, tremendous importance attaches today to alliance with the peoples of the Portuguese colonies.

The petty and middle bourgeoisie, which is hard pressed by the monopolies and wants their rule to be destroyed, hesitates and vacillates, for it is afraid of the working-class movement and the revolution.

A united anti-fascist front will not remove the contradictions

between the classes making it up, contradictions which are reflected in different concepts and methods of action within the unitary movement itself. But the divergence of interests dividing these classes is outweighed by the common interests which they have at present and which unite them in the struggle against the common enemy—the fascist dictatorship.

The democratic forces' repeated attempts to bring about a change in Portuguese policy within the framework of the Constitution and laws now in force, as well as through mass political actions, have been invariably countered by the fascist government with violence and terror. It is this government that by virtue of its nature and by its policy has been blocking the way to a peaceful solution of Portugal's political problems. By doing so it will eventually compel the revolutionary forces to resort to violence so as to end fascist violence.

There are no democratic freedoms in Portugal, and the fascist government pursues a policy of terror. The fascist state is highly centralized and commands a well-organized and carefully selected military, police and judicial apparatus. The ruling circles intend to cling to power to the finish—by using force. This is why the Portuguese people will be able to overthrow the fascist dictatorship and install a provisional government only as the result of a nation-wide revolt, an armed popular uprising which, in view of the militarist nature of the state, presupposes the participation or neutralization of a considerable proportion of the armed forces.

However, should growing popular struggles, the ripening of a revolutionary situation, the contradictions of the regime, discord among the ruling circles, and attempts by them to prevent a nation-wide revolt bring about political changes favorable to establishing a democratic system by peaceful means, the Communist Party will do its utmost to use this opportunity.

The people can rise successfully only in a revolutionary situation, at a time when the degree of organization of the democratic movement and the readiness and determination of the masses taking part in it enable them to launch an armed struggle for power and when the fascist forces, rent by contradictions, are no longer capable of stemming the surge of the democratic movement.

Furthermore, it is necessary to combat putschist, terroristic and adventurous trends, on the one hand, and legalist trends and constitutionalist illusions, on the other, for they divert the democratic movement from its chief task—mobilization of the masses —and from its revolutionary perspective. These trends, which reflect fear of or lack of faith in the masses and whose danger may vary depending on the circumstances, have to be combated if the anti-fascist movement is to make victorious progress.

The chief tasks of the Portuguese Communist Party in preparing a victorious popular uprising are to step up every form of Party work, ensure working-class unity of action, establish an alliance with the peasantry, unite and organize the democratic and patriotic forces, and develop mass struggles for the economic, political and social demands of the working classes.

The main aspects of the popular movement against the fascist dictatorship lie in the fight for higher wages and a guaranteed eight-hour working day;

—against unemployment;

—for equal pay for equal work;

—against the growing cost of living;

—for lower taxes;

—for fair prices on farm produce without raising retail prices;

—against the eviction of lease-holders;

—against fascist trade union control over agricultural workers;

—against the ruining of small businesses and farms by the monopolies and latifundists;

—against the invasion of the national economy by foreign capital;

—for an amnesty for political prisoners;

—for the right to strike;

—against censorship and for the right of association;

—for an end to the colonial war;

—against the foreign military bases;

—against the threat of a new world war.

Only mass struggle can result in a victorious popular rising.

The organization and struggle of young people and women, and the establishment of a strong revolutionary organization in the armed forces are essential for the growth of the people's fight against the fascist dictatorship.

In striving to develop the working-class and popular movement under the fascist dictatorial regime, the PCP applies and combines illegal, semi-legal and legal forms of struggle. It carries on well-planned and extensive underground organizing, publishing and propaganda work to rally the masses. It uses existing legal and semi-legal opportunities — and tries to create new ones — for this work, for action, however sporadic and limited. The importance of this or that forms of struggle depends on the circumstances. It is necessary not only to combine different forms of struggle, but to choose those that suit the situation best, and boldly to pass from one form to another. The change-over from peaceful forms to armed struggle is conditional on an imminent revolutionary crisis and the emergence of a situation fraught with revolt.

Anti-fascist unity, the organization of the revolutionary forces,

the intensification of the popular struggle and its development on a nation-wide scale will create conditions for a victorious national rising against the fascist regime.

While striving to rally the masses for the basic aim of the national-democratic revolution, the PCP considers, at the same time, that the overthrow of the fascist dictatorship should be followed up with the establishment of a provisional government representing the patriotic and democratic forces, including the PCP, the party of the working class.

The PCP proposes to cooperate with other democratic and patriotic forces in drawing up a common political platform aimed at overthrowing the fascist dictatorship and setting up a provisional government.

The PCP does not make its participation in the provisional government conditional on the acceptance of its program by this government. It will join this government if it carries out its chief task, that is, restore democratic freedoms and holds free elections to a constituent assembly which will determine the structure and form of the future democratic system.

To protect the revolution and make free elections to the constituent assembly possible, the provisional government will have to promptly adopt the following pressing measures:

—abolishing the organs of fascist power, the fascist repressive forces, the fascist courts and the corporative organization, and democratize the entire machinery of state;

—releasing all political prisoners, bringing back all political exiles — military men and civilians alike — and restoring civil rights to the victims of political persecution;

—guaranteeing the free founding and operation of political parties, freedom of the press, the right to demonstrate and to strike, and trade union freedoms;

—immediately placing the national trade unions, community centers, fishermen's clubs and the property of these organizations under the control of the working people themselves, and the property of the Portuguese Youth, under the control of democratic youth organizations;

—dispossessing the companies linked with monopoly capital of all information and propaganda media, and transferring the facilities of the fascist press to democratic parties and groups;

—passing an electoral law enabling the people to supervise the elections to the constituent assemlby and giving franchise to all citizens who have reached the age of 18, irrespective of sex, education and economic status;

—democratizing economic life by removing the monopolies and latifundists from commanding positions and by satisfying the im-

mediate basic demands of the workers, peasants and other groups of working people;

—putting an immediate and complete end to the colonial war, abandoning the colonial policy, recalling the expeditionary troops, releasing the arrested patriots, granting democratic freedoms to the Portuguese colonies, and starting forthwith on talks to grant them independence;

—revising foreign policy and establishing normal diplomatic relations with all countries while ensuring the sovereignty and independence of the country and respect for the principles of equality in international relations;

—bringing into court persons guilty of fascist crimes, investigating the sources of wealth accumulated under the fascist regime, banning fascist activities, keeping a watchful eye on the movements of the enemies of the revolution, and taking resolute measures against all attempts at counter-revolution.

The PCP will take joint action with the masses, participate in the provisional government, and conclude agreements with its allies to bring about, before the elections to the constituent assembly, maximum realization of the aims of the national-democratic revolution as regards the elimination of the rule of the monopolies and latifundists, liberation from imperialism, the granting of independence to the colonial peoples, and the raising of the material and cultural standards of the working classes and the people as a whole.

The overthrow of the fascist dictatorship and the coming to power of the provisional government will not automatically guarantee the accomplishment of all the objectives of the national-democratic revolution. It will be necessary to overcome the resistance of the reactionary and conservative forces. The PCP will work to ensure that the working class and the entire people not only approve the program of the Party, which meets the interests of the masses, but also fight stubbornly for its implementation. This program can be realized only as the result of resolute and irreconcilable struggle by the working class and the masses generally.

III

THE STRUGGLE FOR THE NATIONAL-DEMOCRATIC REVOLUTION IS A COMPONENT OF THE STRUGGLE FOR SOCIALISM

The national-democratic revolution will be a turning point in the history of the Portuguese nation and solve the main problems now facing the country.

By fighting for the national-democratic revolution, the PCP fights for the socialist revolution, conditions for which will have been created by the victory of the national-democratic revolution.

After freeing the country from the domination of the reactionary forces hampering its economic and social progress, the national-democratic revolution will give power to the classes united in the fight to crush fascism. This will change the balance of socio-political forces, paving the way for the rapid development of Portuguese society. The role the working class is to play in the national-democratic revolution will increase its political strength, gain it political rights that will enable it to fight against capitalist exploitation from the most favorable positions, and consolidate its alliance with the other classes and strata—a development which, in turn, will create conditions for them to side with the socialist revolution.

Economic progress will lead to the growth of the strength and influence of the working class. Industrialization and a modernized agriculture will impart a more social character to production. As a result, the contradiction between the social character of production and private ownership of the means of production will be further aggravated. The task of the working class is to eliminate this contradiction through the socialist revolution, which will remove all obstacles to the growth of the productive potential of society.

The basic aims of the socialist revolution are to abolish the exploitation of man by man, promote the steady growth of production and continuously raise the material and cultural standards of the working people. The socialist revolution will do away forever with poverty, unemployment and social inequality, establish the principle "from each according to his ability, to each according to his work," and ensure the building of a society without antagonistic classes.

The first step in building a socialist society is to establish public ownership of the basic means of production (factories, mines, etc.) under the leadership of the working class. Public ownership of the basic means of production will make for the planned management of the economy and, consequently, for the proportionate development of all the branches of the economy, proper utilization of its resources, and a rapid rise in the national income and in the people's standard of living.

The establishment of a socialist sector in agriculture (state-owned and cooperative farms) and the continuous expansion of this sector through persuasion and on the basis of free choice by the peasants will help transform agriculture and increase labor productivity in it. As well as improving the standard of living of the countryside, this will make for a decisive improvement in the standard of living of the whole people and promote general economic progress. The inclusion of small production units and companies in the system of socialist production will save small manufacturers,

farmers and tradesmen from ruin, to which they are doomed by the development of capitalism, and enable them to take an active part in general economic development.

The socialist revolution will free the working people from all forms of exploitation, ensure respect for personal property acquired through their labor and not used for exploiting other people, provide material incentives to the working people to develop production on the principle of remuneration according to work, and gradually increase public funds to be used by everyone according to his needs.

The cultural revolution, to be accomplished as economic changes are carried out, will make culture an asset and instrument of the masses and lead to all-round progress in science, technology, literature and the arts.

Upon destroying the exploiter classes, the socialist revolution will create a society free from antagonistic classes, a society of wage and salaried workers and peasants equally interested in social, material and cultural progress and cooperating fraternally for the common good.

Close cooperation with the fraternal socialist countries in the economic, political, technological and cultural fields will enable socialist Portugal to plan and judiciously develop the economy according to its possibilities and resources.

Democratic freedoms will be guaranteed, and the working people will be provided with material facilities—the press, radio and television, public buildings, etc.—for the exercise of these freedoms. The socialist state will establish the broadest democracy and enlist the participation of the working people in administration and in the guidance of the political and economic life of the country through the machinery of the state and through class, trade union, political and other organizations.

The socialist revolution and socialist construction will begin with the winning of power by the working people under the leadership of the working class and its party. This is the first task of the proletariat in the socialist revolution. A victorious socialist revolution and the building of socialism are unthinkable without a system in which the proletariat will play the leading role, that is, without the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The dictatorship of the proletariat is an alliance of workers, peasants and other working people, a new type of democracy far superior to all previous types. It implies democracy for the overwhelming majority of the population and its effective participation in governing the country.

Depending on the peculiarities of the given country, the dictatorship of the proletariat can have different forms and specific features. It can be exercised under a multi-party system or a system of

political organizations of revolutionary unity. Some of the forces which make common cause with the proletariat in the national-democratic revolution will remain its allies in the socialist revolution as well.

The form of the proletarian dictatorship in Portugal will depend on the proletariat's system of alliances in the socialist revolution, the degree to which the tasks of the national-democratic revolution will have been accomplished, the international situation, the sharpness of the struggle and the path taken by the revolution.

The class composition of Portuguese society and the proportion of the industrial and agricultural proletariat suggest that the national-democratic revolution will create favorable conditions for the proletariat to win power without a new uprising. However, the actual conditions in which the proletarian revolution will take place cannot be predicted. These conditions will determine the possibility of the peaceful way or the necessity of using force. The working class and other working people are interested in a peaceful transition to socialism, and the PCP will do everything to bring it about, remembering, however, that circumstances may necessitate the use of force.

When socialism has been built the transition to the higher phase, the building of communism, will be effected. All means of production will belong to the people. The principle "from each according to his ability, to each according to his needs" will become operative. The production of material wealth will increase to a degree sufficient to ensure a life of plenty to all the Portuguese. Classes and distinctions in living conditions between town and country will disappear. The cultural level of manual workers will rise, and this type of labor will blend harmoniously with mental labor. Full democracy will be established. Complete social equality will be provided. The state will gradually wither away.

Communism will be a society of free and socially responsible men of labor in which there will be no conflict between the interests of the individual and those of society. Labor will become a source of not only prosperity and creative endeavor but also of joy and freedom for every citizen.

For centuries socialism and communism were a dream of the working classes. Today this dream is becoming a reality. The modern proletariat, which has a revolutionary theory, Marxism-Leninism, and a revolutionary political organization, its Leninist parties, has set about changing the world. The Great October Socialist Revolution ushered in the era of the downfall of capitalism and the triumph of communism. Already hundreds of millions of people live in states flying the banner of Marxism-Leninism. Having completed socialist construction, the Soviet Union is laying the material and technical foundations for communism. From the Far

East to Europe and the Mediterranean, as well as in the first bastion in Central America, the peoples of many countries are successfully building socialism. The victories, experience, lessons and example of socialist and communist construction show the working class and the toilers of all countries the road to their future.

It is these glorious vistas that the PCP, fighting for the national-democratic revolution, opens up for the working class and other working people, for all progressive men and women.

IV

THE PARTY

The PCP has been and will go on playing the decisive role in the struggle against the fascist dictatorship, in the national-democratic revolution, in the socialist revolution and in the building of socialism and communism.

Of all the classes taking part in the national-democratic movement, only the proletariat, guided by the Communist Party and championing the vital interests of the masses, can forge the unity of all the anti-monopoly classes and strata, infuse the spirit of organization into them, give them a revolutionary impulse, lead them to victory over the dictatorship, and fight consistently and to the end for the basic aims of the national-democratic revolution.

The PCP is guided by the doctrine of Marxism-Leninism. It educates its members in the spirit of loyaly to the cause of the working class and the people, the spirit of proletarian internationalism, defense of national interests, and friendship and solidarity of the toilers and peoples of all countries.

The PCP is a contingent of the world Communist movement, in which all parties are autonomous, equal and sovereign.

The world Communist movement is the greatest political force of all times and the motive force of social evolution in our time. The PCP upholds world Communist unity on the principles of Marxism-Leninism.

The Communist party is the highest form of political organization of the proletariat. Its organizational structure is determined by the principles of democratic centralism, which imply that:

(a) all the leading party bodies, from top to bottom, shall be elected;

(b) the leading bodies shall render account to their organizations, and pay maximum attention to the opinions and criticisms offered by these organizations;

(c) the minority shall submit to the majority, discipline shall be strict, and no factional activity shall be allowed;

(d) the decisions and directives of higher bodies shall be binding

on the lower bodies, which shall report on their activities to higher bodies.

In the conditions of underground work imposed by the fascist dictatorship, the democratic life of the Party—elections, meetings, reports—has to be seriously limited. This is indispensable for the existence of the Party. These limitations will disappear when the Party becomes legal, but even today, with the Party working underground, important democratic principles are maintained, such as collective leadership, majority rule in the absence of unanimity, discussions in the Party, criticism and self-criticism, respect for Party decisions, and condemnation of individualistic methods of work and the personality cult.

The Leninist principles of democratic centralism ensures the participation of all Party members in shaping the Party line, the accountability of Party leaders to the whole Party, free and frank exchanges of opinions, and the exercise of initiative by Party organizations and members. On the other hand, they guarantee ideological unity, unity of action, and discipline in the Party, which constitute the foundation of its strength, its influence, its links with the working class and the masses generally, and its revolutionary potentialities.

Ever since it came into being the PCP has seen its mission in serving the interests of the working class and the Portuguese people as a whole. Communists spare no effort, they make sacrifices and give their very lives, in fulfilling this mission. The program of the PCP is in keeping with the interests and aspirations of the working class and other working people, of the intellectuals, the youth, and all progressives.

In presenting its program, the PCP also says: "This program is yours. Take it into your own hands. Fight stubbornly to carry it into effect."

Under the banner of the Portuguese Communist Party, guided and inspired by its program, forward to the conquest of freedom and democracy, national independence, peace and socialism!

THE ECONOMIC POLICY OF THE PARTY AND THE ECONOMIC PLAN FOR 1966*

The economic policy of the Communist Party, specifically the comprehensive decisions on cardinal economic problems adopted by the Central Committee in 1965, shows that the Party invariably tackles problems of communist construction in a creative spirit, from the standpoint of Marxism-Leninism. The realistic ideas embodied in the policy of the Party, being taken up by the people, become a great material force furthering the progress of our society. These ideas reflect the pressing requirements of social development.

As it conceives ideas meeting pople's practical interests the Party bears in mind that "the *'idea'* always disgraced itself in so far as it differed from the *"interest"* (Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *Coll. Works,* Vol. 2, p. 89). The interest meant here is that of the people, for, to quote Marx, "in every people, a theory is put into practice only in so far as it constitutes a realization of their requirements" (op. cit., Vol. 1, p. 423).

Progress in science and technology under socialism, at a time when economic and all other social relations are steadily improving, provides more and more opportunities for the development of Soviet society. The task is to discern these opportunities in time and to use them as fully as possible. In the original outline of his article, "The Immediate Tasks of Soviet Power," Lenin wrote: "At the moment we cannot so much as form a precise idea . . . of the laten forces that can come into full play in a society organized on socialist lines. Our job is *only to pave the way* for these forces" (*Complete Works,* Vol. 30, p. 153. Our italics.—Ed.).

But what does "paving the way" for the forces of socialism and communism mean? It meàns providing economic and political conditions in which the creative potentialities of the working people and the advantages of socialism, the most progressive social system, come into full play. A task of paramount importance is to develop a sound economic policy and effective methods of economic management in keeping with the character and level of the productive forces and with the peculiarities of production relations at each particular stage.

As a result of previous growth and improvement, the country's economy now is *mature* and the socialist mode of producetion as a whole, a *developed* one. This is evident, first of all, fro mthe creation of mighty up-to-date productive forces, and from a *qualitative* change in them due to major technological and economic changes

*Kommunist, No. 18, 1965.

in production, in its specialization and the methods of processing raw materials. The country has made tremendous headway, with the Seven-Year Plan as an important stage. Every year of that plan may be said to equal several earlier years.

Indeed, oil output from the inception of the Soviet oil industry to the beginning of the Seven-Year Plan increased by 113 million tons, but the subsequent seven years saw an increase of 129 million tons. In those seven years the absolute increase in steel output was as great as during the previous 18 years, and the increase in output of the chemical and engineering industries as great as during the previous 100 years. A roughly 84 per cent increase in industrial production, the doubling of the fixed production assets, and the construction in seven years of more than 5,500 large industrial enterprises were something more than quantitative changes. They will seriously alter the overall economic picture because they will make for considerable progress in social division of labor, specialization and coordination, and for broader and more complex relations between all the sections and elements of the economy. Today there are up to 300 branches in industry alone. Their ratio has changed noticeably of late. The electric power, engineering and chemical industries, that is, the branches ensuring technological progress, account for over one-third of total industrial output.

Deep-going changes in the productive forces have made it possible and necessary to perfect relations of production and the pattern of economic management. They require methods of management and planning and material incentives fitting for a mature socialist economy.

In March 1965 the CC, CPSU adopted a program for radical improvements in agricultural planning and management. Last September it defined the main principles of the new system of industrial management. Last December it examined and in the main approved the drafts of the economic development plan and the state budget for 1966. The Supreme Soviet of the USSR approved them after careful discussion.

The decisions of the Central Committee and the laws enacted by the Supreme Soviet reflect the country's urgent economic needs.

They are appreciated and supported by the Party and the people.

It was after making a thorough analysis of the state of the productive forces, looking more deeply into the nature of production relations in Soviet society, and taking into account the objective laws of their development and data provided by science and experience that the Party decided on measures of fundamental significance to improve economic planning, management and stimulation. A Marxist-Leninist approach to the economic problems of socialism enables us to master the economic machinery of the country and to use it to the best advantage in the interests of the

people. This scientific approach was taken by the Party in determining the main lines of the economic reform. The task now is to choose the best forms and methods of carrying out the decisions of the CC.

FIRST YEAR OF THE FIVE-YEAR PLAN

Management methods are improved as economic plans are fulfilled. The plan and budget for 1966 express the Party's policy. They lead off the implementation of the economic reform. In 1966 the 23rd Congress of the CPSU is to approve directives for the economic plan for 1966 to 1970. The drafts of the plan and budget for 1966 were first discussed by the CC. And this is only natural if we consider the special political importance of our economic plans.

The Program of the CPSU points out that the aim of socialism is to meet the growing material and cultural requirements of the people to an increasing extent by promoting and improving social production. Typically, the 1966 plan provides for a considerably greater rise in the people's standard of living than in previous years. It is, in effect, a plan for improving the standard of living. Total industrial output in 1966 will go up by 6.7 per cent. Each per cent of this increase accounts for much greater material wealth than in any previous year. Next year the rates of growth of the two subdivisions of social production will draw closer together. Output of capital goods will grow by 6.9 per cent and output of consumer goods by 6 per cent. This implies that more and more material and manpower resources are turned to the direct satisfaction of people's requirements.

The national income, source of accumulation and of a rising standard of living, will grow by 6.4 per cent against this year's 6 per cent, that part of it spent on consumer goods growing by 6.8 per cent. As a result, the proportion of the consumption fund in the national income will reach 80 per cent—if we consider also the appropriations for housing construction.

Visible improvements will come about in such spheres decisive for the standard of living as real incomes of the working people, housing, the health services, care of the rising generation, and the service industry. In 1966 real incomes of the population will grow by 6.5 per cent per individual. This is almost twice as much as the average annual growth of real incomes between 1959 and 1965. Output and sale of consumer goods will increase substantially, and retail trade in the state and cooperative sectors will grow by 7.4 per cent.

The housing problem will be solved at a faster pace. Never before —not even in recent years—have we built so much housing as is to be built in 1966. In 1963 we built 79 million square meters of

housing, in 1964—75 and in 1965—over 80, but in 1966 we will build 90 million sq. m. Over 11 million people will move into better homes.

The Party and the State continue to give much attention to public health. The number of hospital beds will increase by 90,000. Hospitals will be supplied with equipment and medicines better than before. An extra 54 million rubles has been budgeted for this purpose and to grant better treatment to disabled war veterans in outpatient clinics.

The 1966 plan shows how well our society takes care of children. Over the year the capacity of pre-school institutions run at state expense will increase by 835,000, or 10.8 per cent. This means that toward the end of 1966 almost one-half of the children under school age will be provided with accommodation in nurseries and kindergartens. The proportion of school children in extended day groups will grow by 20.5 per cent.

A well-organized service industry is one of the factors shaping the standard of living. It gives people more leisure time and enables them to meet their spiritual requirements more fully, to raise their cultural standards and give more attention to the bringing up of their children. In 1966 the capacity of the service industry will increase by 17 per cent, which is far more than in earlier years.

The standard of living and the rate of economic progress depend in large measure on agricultural production. One of the major plan targets is to promote agriculture. The March 1965 decisions of the CC, CPSU created proper economic and organizational conditions for this. The 1966 plan envisages the rapid growth of the material and technical base of agriculture and improvements in farming. An important part in this respect will be played by fixed plans for the purchase of farm produce over a number of years, as well as by better pricing. In particular, tractors, automobiles, farm machines and spare parts for them will be sold at lower prices as from January 1, 1966. This will make for greater use of machinery in agriculture.

The material and cash resources of the collective and state farms will climb. Allocations for agricultural development will amount to 13,2000 million rubles, of which 6,500 million rubles is to be provided under the state budget. Agriculture will be supplied with 263,000 tractors, 85,500 grain harvester combines, 130,000 lorries, 29,500,000 tons of mineral fertilizer, and great quantities of excavating equipment for irrigation. In 1966 the combined effort of the state and the peasants is expected to lead to an 8 to 10 per cent increase in agricultural production over 1965.

To raise the standard of living in town and country, in particular by expanding the consumer goods industries, we need a powerful heavy industry manufacturing highly-efficient machinery. Socialist

society, while attending to the everyday needs of the people, makes plans for meeting also their future requirements, which can be done primarily through higher productivity of labor, the growth of socialist accumulation for extended production, capital construction, and the renewal of production assets. Prominent in the 1966 plan and budget are provisions for the priority development of the industries guaranteeing technical progress and raising the efficiency of every branch of socialist production.

The key industries—power, oil, gas, chemical, engineering and metal working—are to develop 50 to 100 per cent faster than industry as a whole. This should enable us to increase the use of power and machinery per worker, continue perfecting the pattern of industrial production, renew technical facilities and improve the use of fixed and variable assets, all of which will in the final analysis raise the efficiency of production and the productivity of social labor. The plan is aimed at raising labor productivity by 4.7 per cent in industry and by 6 per cent in construction over 1965.

Making social labor more productive has been and remains the decisive factor in socialist economic development, and the main condition for socialism to win in the economic competition with capitalism. True, greater productivity of labor is a result primarily of scientific and technological progress. But it depends in vast measure on the introduction of scientific principles into the organization of production and labor, on competent utilization of internal resources at every enterprise, shop, production line or work place. We can raise the productivity of social labor and improve the standard of living on this basis only if we perfect planning, make much better use of fixed assets, exercise strict economy, properly combine material and moral incentives for labor, and encourage popular initiative.

While carrying on peaceful construction, the Soviet people are compelled to devote part of their effort to strengthening their country's defenses. World imperialism, above all U.S. imperialism, has lately become more bellicose. U.S. aggression in Vietnam is expanding, plans are being laid for multilateral and Atlantic nuclear forces, and the United States, West Germany and their partners of aggressive alliances are building up their war potential. The United States has been boosting its military budget by the year, while the Soviet Union has more than once reduced its defense spending by unilateral action. In the present situation the Soviet Union, while continuing its peace effort, is constrained to take steps to strengthen its defenses, and has therefore decided on a 5 per cent increase in defense appropriations.

The year 1966 will be the first year of the new five-year plan. We should do all in our power to reach its targets. The important thing is to ensure that every branch of the economy and every enterprise

fulfils its plan assignments judiciously and to allow the working people's initiative full scope. The coming year will offer greater opportunities in this respect, and these opportunities will grow as the new system of planning, management and material stimulation becomes reality. The more steadfastly the relevant Party decisions are carried out, the sooner and the more tangibly popular initiative will translate itself into millions of tons of products worth thousands of millions of rubles as plans are fulfilled and exceeded.

FIRST STEPS IN THE ECONOMIC REFORM

We will have to go over in organized fashion to new planning methods and material inducements. This implies, in particular, specifying the order of this change-over and the conditions and forms in which we should effect it in each particular branch, group of enterprises, economic amalgamation, or enterprise.

The planning bodies, ministries, research institutions, Party, Komsomol and trade union organizations, and enterprise staffs are faced with important tasks. The primary need is to complete preparations for the adoption of the new system of planning and material incentive by the first group of enterprises early in 1966. It is essential to operate these enterprises correctly and then, after studying and generalizing their experience, to introduce the new system into a second, larger group of enterprises, or even whole industries, in the second half of 1966.

Well-organized economic experiments should help us a good deal. We must put to a practical test many aspects of the operation of enterprises in new conditions and devise an effective system covering material inducements, contractual relations, cost accounting, distribution of the profits of the enterprise, the relation of the enterprise to the state budget, the procedure and rates of payment for assets, and many other matters.

The reorganization of economic management is intended to give full range to the economic laws of socialism, to create optimum conditions for their use in the interest of communist construction. We have every opportunity to execute the decisions of the Party on the economic reform. It should be obvious, however, that the complicated process of passing from outdated economic forms and conditions to new forms corresponding to the contemporary standard of socialist production cannot take place easily and smoothly.

What makes the reform in economc planning and management exceedingly difficult is that alterations in any section of the economy entail shifts in numerous other sections. Setting up a complete system of genuine cost accounting implies, among other things, substantial changes in production organization, labor remuneration, price formation, material and technical supply, trade—in

short, in every aspect of material production. We will have to overcome economic and organizational difficulties of what may be called national magnitude, and difficulties typical of the branch or the enterprise. We must overcome them if we want to create an economic organization whose every element will be equally strong and supple. But to do this we must have a clear idea of the ways of accomplishing our tasks in terms of the entire economy, industry, enterprise, shop or production line. In the course of socialist construction there arise and are resolved non-antagonistic contradictions. A task of scientific thought and of those who guide this or that aspect of social life is to reveal contradictions in time and to find realistic ways and means of resolving them correctly. "One should not *invent* these means out of one's head," wrote Engels, "but *discover* them with the help of one's head in the actual material facts of production" (Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *Coll. Works*, Vol. 120, p. 278). This means, in particular, that in introducing a new economic system one should not ignore the actual conditions nor scorn the practical experience gained.

At the September plenum of the CC, CPSU, it was said that the return to the branch principle of economic management did not mean re-establishing the methods used by ministries before, with administrative fiat holding pride of place. It was also said that the positive experience of the past in management and organization should be utilized. But some people forget that. In establishing new ministries, for example, unwarranted attempts are made to abolish certain economic associations which have proved their worth. Experience shows that production combines run on a cost-accounting basis have ample opportunities to enlarge or reshape production, promptly introduce scientific and technological achievements, and increase production efficiency and labor productivity at a higher rate.

In organizing the activity of the new ministries and establishing proper relations between them, on the one hand, and the enterprises and amalgamations, on the other, we should carefully analyze and painstakingly select all the new and progressive ideas suggested by experience. The important thing at this stage is to improve planning, introduce methods taking into account the economic laws of socialism, promote cost accounting and encourage the initiative of enterprises. What the Party decisions require from the ministries is to guide each industry in its entirety and to pursue a uniform technical policy, and not to establish petty tutelage over enterprises, not to infringe their rights.

In view of the forthcoming change-over to a new system of material incentive, work has begun on important standard-setting documents specifying the procedure of establishing the amount of payments for production assets, the proportions of the enterprise de-

velopment fund, the bonus fund and the fund for satisfaction of the cultural and other social requirements of the factory staff. The success of the reform will depend largely on how sound these documents are economically and how well they are drawn up. In any case, it is essential that enterprise staffs should perceive, at the very first stage in the transition to the new system, the benefits which the reform will bring to society as a whole and to each working team or individual. To implement the reform means providing at every enterprise and in every branch, with due regard to their peculiarities, conditions ensuring a more consistent realization of the main principle of socialism, according to which those who work better and give society more get more from society for their work. One of the major conditions for introducing the new system of planning, management and incentive is to create the obvious and simple correlation between labor inputs and remuneration in each production sector.

The economic reform will be put into effect in a definitive succession of stages. Some of the problems it involves can be solved now, others require prepartation, still others have yet to be studied in theory and tested in practice. But the cardinal task is, under all circumstances, to decide what should be done in every branch of the economy to carry out the Central Committee decisions. That is what our scientists, executives and propagandists should concentrate on. They should carefully generalize the positive that becomes manifest as planning and management are reorganized, reveal the methods and results of experiments, help enterprises and branches to find new ways and forms of work, analyze the new conditions of economic activity in economic, sociological, ideological, moral and political terms.

ENCOURAGE POPULAR INITIATIVE

The Party has always seen the revolutionary energy of the people as the decisive factor in reorganizing the world on socialist and communist principles. Its policy concentrates, therefore, on arousing and encouraging popular initiative and the creative effort of each working man.

It is the duty of Party organizations to help our working people in mastering a new style of work and in maintaining truly communist relations with one another. We must ensure that every working man or woman promotes the new and progressive, that the initiative of individuals or groups is encouraged and every reasonable proposal or fair criticism supported. This is all the more necessary because the new plan indices we are introducing, the greater powers the enterprise will enjoy, the promotion of cost accounting, and the provision of greater economic stimuli for production teams and the

individual working man encourage popular initiative.

Lenin's idea that the new society cannot be built "by enthusiasm alone but with the help of enthusiasm born of the great revolution, on the basis of personal interest, personal incentive, cost accounting . . ." (*Complete Works,* Vol. 44, p. 151) is being implemented more and more in the economy, in solving a problem of vital importance for socialism—that of harmoniously combining the interests of each working man with those of the collective and of society as a whole. Socialist public property by virtue of its character provides a solid basis on which people merge into a single community of workers. Nevertheless, experience shows that this alone is not enough for the effort of all and each to be invariably applied in one direction.

People work best when they are well aware of the fruits of their effort. They do their utmost for the common good, and save every screw and every kopek if economic and material factors daily convince them that the well-being of each directly derives from the well-being of all. And lastly, people carry on a steady quest for the common good if the initiative they show is rewarded morally and materially by society. Only by tackling the problem in Leninist fashion can we allow scope for scientifically sound *economic* methods of management and make full use of the more effective *economic* levers in fostering social production.

The December decision of the CC, CPSU and the law reorganizing the Party and state control bodies into people's control bodies are closely linked with the measures the Party has been taking to improve the economic structure. These acts open up even greater opportunities of drawin gthe mass of the people into administration of the affairs of the state, of ensuring that the working people themselves systematically verify the execution of Party and government directives by administrative, economic and other organizations, of the people taking a direct part in tightening state discipline and promoting socialist legality.

The activity of people's control bodies is particularly necessary and useful in the economic sphere. It is their mission to stimulate a thrifty attitude to public property, reveal production reserves and have them utilized, and ensure that the economic interests of society, enterprise staffs and each working man or woman are always treated as components of a single whole.

We have reached a stage in the development of society at which economic knowledge is as indispensable as a specialized education or technical training. Working people will show the greatest initiative only when they can estimate what a particular system of organizing labor and production in the given sector will cost them and society. And to make this estimate, they have to be versed in something more than mathematics—they should understand the

nature of economic phenomena they come across day after day and should steadily improve economic methods, for no one will do it for them. Only when one has ample and solid knowledge will the creative element inherent in any quest or analysis transform itself into creation. Genuinely creative effort is impossible without thorough knowledge, versatile interests and a high cultural standard.

The new system of planning, management and material incentive necessitates a more careful economic training of people, specifically through the dissemination of economic knowledge. Given proper implementation of the new principles of management and extensive ideological work by Party organizations, the people will feel more than ever that they are the masters of the country, and as this sentiment grows on a solid and tangible material basis people will increasingly conceive "mine" as a natural result of "ours," they will become more collectivist-minded and realize that the interests of the individual, the collective and society constitute an indivisible whole.

The recent decisions of the CC call for the removal from the economy—the very foundation of our lives—of those traditions, habits and methods that have become fetters of social development. They show that no social force is greater than the requirements of material life, which under socialism are met through the conscious activity of people.

The main task of Party organizations today is to help carry out the economic reform and the plan for 1966. Their role in accomplishing these tasks and providing leadership to the economy does not diminish but increases in the new situation. This, of course, is not to say that they should assume the functions of economic agencies. They should enhance their role primarily by doing more political, organizing and educational work among the people. They should organize and lead the effort of production staffs toward carrying out Party and government decisions, with due regard to local conditions.

It will take considerable time to introduce the new system, but even so we can no longer work by the old methods. Party organizations should help economic executives master a new style of work; they should insist on a scientific approach to economic problems by planning and economic bodies and by enterprises. How one can work in a new way, how the efficiency of economic leadership can be raised in line with the decisions of the Party, and what can be done to ensure the early execution of these decisions are all questions on which Party organizations should focus their attention.

An important task of the social sciences, propaganda, and all Party organizations at this stage is to make every Soviet citizen aware of the progressive nature of the changes taking place in

society and at the same time to show them that these changes will not come about of themselves, that each will see the fruits of improved production and economic relations only if he himself does all he can to that end.

The Party does not set its political and ideological work apart from organizing work, from guiding economic development. Today the Party organizations in industry, agriculture and other branches of the economy should strive for the fulfilment of key tasks in production. The 1966 plan should be fulfilled in its entirety beginning with the very first day, month or quarter year. Socialist emulation is on the rise in the country. The working people in town and country, looking forward to the Twenty-Third Party Congress, are stepping up their production effort, making use of untapped reserves to promote the economy. The Party is confidently leading the people along the Leninist path as it organizes them, guides their initiative, and provides them with ample moral and material stimuli to advance socialist production.

RESIST PRESSURES OF IMPERIALISTS MONOPOLISTS AND REACTION; DEFEND PEOPLE'S INTERESTS, DEMOCRACY

RESOLUTION* OF NATIONAL COUNCIL, CP OF INDIA

The National Council of the Communist Party of India has considered the economic and political situation in the country arising particularly out of the recent Indo-Pak war and the Tashkent Declaration.

The Council is firmly of the opinion that the situation not only underlines the danger of increasing pressures of imperialism and the monopolies, both foreign and Indian against our accepted national policies and the government often succumbing to these, but also points to the great and widening possibilities for the broadest possible mobilization of the masses against these pressures.

The crucial task in the coming period is to resist the pressures of the imperialists, monopolists and reaction, consolidate and develop the anti-imperialist democratic consciousness of the people manifested in the recent period, defend people's interests and democracy against the anti-people's policies of the government and carry forward the spirit underlying the Tashkent Declaration.

On the basis of the above, the National Council sets forth the following campaign tasks and calls upon the entire Party at all levels to display the utmost initiative in developing campaigns for united popular intervention in the situation.

In the course of these campaigns, the Party will carry forward the developing joint front of Left Parties and groups as well as broader unity wherever possible including the drawing in of Left Congressmen and the masses under Congress influence.

FOR IMPLEMENTATION OF THE TASHKENT DECLARATION AND PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT WITH PAKISTAN AND CHINA:

The Tashkent Declaration is a great blow to imperialism and reaction and opens new possibilities not only for improving and normalizing Indo-Pak relations and seeking the solutions of the problems between the two countries through peaceful means but also for strengthening India's foreign policy of peace, non-alignment and anti-colonialism and consolidating the forces of secularism and democracy inside the country.

*New Age, Jan. 23, 1966.

The great significance of the Declaration must be explained to the masses, exposing and rebuffing all maneuvers of imperialism and domestic reaction to sabotage the Tashkent Declaration.

The Party has to mobilize public opinion in a vigorous nation-wide campaign for the implementation of the Tashkent Declaration and for the necessity of an overall settlement and durable peace and good neighborly relations between the two countries even while proposing and supporting all measures to strengthen the defense of the country against aggression from all quarters.

In the wake of the great success at Tashkent which has heightened India's prestige and generally improved the climate for peaceful approach to border problems, the National Council is of the opinion that notwithstanding the wholly negative attitude of the Government of the People's Republic of China in regard to the peaceful settlement of Indo-China problems and her provocations on the frontiers, the new atmosphere should be used by the Government of India for fresh initiatives with the help of the good offices of friendly powers for a peaceful negotiated settlement with the People's Republic of China, on a principled basis and consistent with India's national interests and integrity.

The interests of peace and our national development demand such a settlement.

CAMPAIGN FOR NATIONAL SELF-RELIANCE:

The recent months have witnessed a remarkable patriotic upsurge among our people for self-reliance.

The conferences attended by Congress ministers, engineers, scientists, technical experts and manufacturers have denounced the stranglehold of imperialist foreign know-how, foreign raw material and foreign components and standards on the industrial growth of the country and particularly in the defense industry.

This movement has revealed that the scientists, technicians and intelligentsia of the country have enough know-how of their own to fight the foreign sabotage and want the government to really build on the basis of independence and not fall a victim to foreign imperialist pressures.

Hundreds of scientific papers and proposals have been put forward providing alternatives to foreign imports.

It is the duty of the Party and the working class and trade unions to understand the anti-imperialist and anti-monopoly implications of this movement for self-reliance and import substitution in the most vital sectors of our national production including defense industries.

The Party must do all in its power to sustain, consolidate and carry forward this massive urge for self-reliance and defeat all at-

tempts and maneuvers being made by imperialism and Indian monopolies to thwart and distort this urge.

Every attempt must be made to work out the anti-imperialist anti-monopoly and democratic content of the urge for national self-reliance and to give concrete expression to it in every sphere of our economic and political life.

The particular importance of growing economic cooperation and trade relations between India and the Soviet Union and other socialist countries as well as the importance of strengthening, developing and democratizing the public sector must be understood in the specific context of their key role in strengthening national self-reliance.

On the basis of all the above, broad-based Self-Reliance Conventions should be organized at the all India, State and other levels. Every effort must be made to promote the cooperation of all those who are genuinely interested in self-reliance including representatives of all political parties and popular mass organizations, Congressmen, intellectuals, scientists, technicians, economists etc.

FOR FREEDOM FROM FOREIGN DEPENDENCE FOR FOOD FOR THE PEOPLE

For two successive years the whole country is under the grip of a severe food crisis owing primarily to the grip of the blackmarketers over the food grains trade. Nationalization of wholesale trade in food grains for extensive rationing can no longer be delayed.

The present situation also underlines the urgency of mobilizing all national resources to increase food production so that the dangerous stranglehold of dependence on PL 480 may be rapidly overcome and self-reliance in food achieved.

United mass campaigns and popular activities should be developed on the basis of the meeting of the Left Parties held in Delhi in November and December 1965. In this connection the following demands must be highlighted:

—Mass campaigns for increasing food production rapidly by giving all possible incentives and aids to the mass of agriculturists, bringing all cultivable fallow land under the plough, by distributing such lands amongst agricultural laborers and poor peasants and by carrying out effective land reforms in the interest of peasantry;

—Exposure of the dangerous implications of the dependence on PL 480 and explanation of the necessity for overcoming this dependence within the shortest possible time;

—Introduction of monopoly procurement and state trading in food grains. Procurement should be through a levy system on a graded basis, exempting the proper sections of the peasantry as required by the local situation;

—Unearthing and distribution of hoarded stocks of food-grains;

—Introduction of proper rationing in all urban areas with a population of one lakh and above;

Rationed supply at fair prices for agricultural laborers and poor peasants as well as for non-agricultural sections in rural areas and smaller towns;

—Adequate relief work and productive work for the distressed in the famine-affected areas on the basis of reasonable wages.

UNITED RESISTANCE TO THE OFFENSIVE OF THE EMPLOYER ON THE TRADE UNION FRONT

The broadest mass unity in action must be organized to fight back the offensive unleashed by the employers in the form of lay-offs, colours, retrenchment, wage-cuts and denial of bonus as well as for the demands for linking of DA with the cost of living index and full neutralization of the rise in the cost of living, for defense of trade union rights, etc. Immense possibility for forging such trade union unity in action have opened up today.

FOR THE DEFENSE OF DEMOCRATIC RIGHTS AND CIVIL LIBERTIES AND PARLIAMENTARY DEMOCRACY:

A vigorous campaign has to be run for:

—Lifting of the Emergency and scrapping of the DIR;

—Release of all political detenus and withdrawal of cases arising out of popular mass movement.

In order to build up the mass campaigns on the basis of the above-mentioned demands, the state units of our Party will organize mass demonstrations before State Legislatures at the time of their budget sessions.

The National Council instructs the secretariat to draw up a Charter of Demands and send it immediately to the states. In the general character, the state units concerned will incorporate the special local demands of their respective States.

This Charter of Demands will be presented to the legislatures.

AGAINST AMERICAN AGGRESSION SOLIDARITY WITH VIETNAMESE PEOPLE*

The National Council of the Communist Party of India salutes the matchless heroism of the people of Vietnam, who are waging a glorious struggle in defense of the motherland against U.S. aggression.

New Age, Jan. 23, 1966.

The National Liberation Front of South Vietnam has written in blood a saga of courage, which will live for all times in the minds and hearts of men and women, who stand for the immortal cause of national independence.

Over four-fifths of the total territory of South Vietnam has been liberated by the Front from the grip of U.S. imperialism and its puppets.

Despite the ever-increasing number of U.S. troops in South Vietnam, despite the use of the most barbaric weapons, despite brutalities which surpass the most inhuman in history — the people of Vietnam have withstood the U.S. aggression, and are with every day inflicting more and more effective blows on the invaders.

From all parts of the world the movement for solidarity with the people of Vietnam has grown into a mighty torrent.

The Soviet Union, land of socialism, has thrown its entire might behind the Vietnamese people, and has helped the Democratic Republic of Vietnam with much needed material to assist in its defense against U.S. bombing and aggression.

Anti-imperialist governments of the non-aligned and socialist worlds have also acted in solidarity with the Vietnamese people.

The peoples in all countries and, especially in the United States of America itself, have rallied against U.S. imperialist aggression and in support of the Vietnamese people's struggle.

The latest phase of the U.S. aggression is marked by a massive propaganda drive, which seeks to create the illusion that the American imperialists are making a bid for peace in Vietnam, U.S. ambassadors are flying from capital to capital in support of this propaganda drive.

The National Council of the Communist Party of India warns the people of this country against this deceitful high-powered hoax. At the same time as this so-called "peace offensive" has been launched, the U.S. imperialists are intensifying their attacks on the Liberation Front, using poison gases and other weapons of mass destruction against innocent men, women and children.

As for the much boosted "halt" in raids on North Vietnam, which is the main propaganda weapon of the U.S. imperialists, the fact is that U.S. espionage flights continue and preparations for still bigger attacks are being made, taking advantage of the so-called respite in bombing.

The National Council sees in this U.S. "peace offensive" also a proof of the fact that U.S. imperialism is now hard put to it to resist the world-wide demand for an end to its aggression. It is also facing mounting opposition to its war inside its own country and from its own people. Hence the need for this propaganda stunt.

The National Council of the Communist Party of India fully supports the clear position taken by the Government of Demo-

cratic Republic of Vietnam and the South Vietnam National Liberation Front in regard to the U.S. "peace offensive."

The Council reiterates the demands that all U.S. troops quit Vietnam and that the South Vietnam Liberation Front be recognized as the only true representative of the people of South Vietnam.

The Indian people expect the Government of India to end its weak and vacillating stand in regard to American aggression on Vietnam and to take the initiative for concerted Afro-Asian action against U.S. aggression in Vietnam, demanding the withdrawal of all troops of the USA and its allies from South Vietnam, the recognition of the South Vietnam Liberation Front as the only representative of the people of South Vietnam, and the implementation of the Geneva agreements of 1954.

The Communist Party appeals to all sections of the Indian people to intensify the campaign against the U.S. aggression and the drive for the collection of funds, medicines and other forms of material aid for the Vietnamese people.

GENERAL DECLARATION OF THE HAVANA CONFERENCE

ABRIDGED

The General Declaration says that for the first time in history numerous delegates of the revolutionary forces of 82 countries of three continents compared notes and put forward proposals, strengthened the bonds of revolutionary and anti-imperialist solidarity, and adopted important decisions on the fight against the system of imperialist, colonial and neocolonial exploitation.

The Declaration analyzes the present international situation and exposes the imperialist, colonialist and neocolonialist activities of the reactionary camp led by the United States, which maintains and increases world tension, endangering peace and security. The United States has surrounded the globe by military bases. It signs aggressive military pacts, and with unheard-of cynicism proclaims its alleged right to interfere in the internal affairs of other countries and to use its armed forces for occupying a part of or even the entire territory of these countries. Thus it is assuming the disgraceful role of world gendarme. By virtue of the very nature of their system of oppression and exploitation, imperialism, colonialism and neocolonialism block in every way the promotion of national sovereignty, as well as the national and social emancipation of peoples. By contrast, the oppressed peoples of the world are fighting to uphold the principles of self-determination, sovereignty and independence of states.

The national-liberation movement of the peoples of the three continents has become one of the major forces in the world-wide struggle against imperialism, colonialism and neocolonialism. Along with the struggles of the peoples of the socialist countries and the world proletariat, it plays the decisive role in the history of mankind.

The task of achieving national liberation, the Declaration stresses, is most closely linked with the need for social revolution. The national-liberation movement, the struggle of the working class for social and political gains, the demands of the peasants, who seek land, resolute action by the youth and students, the demands of workers, intellectuals and other sections of the population upholding their rights, the fight against oligarchies and military dictatorships

subservient to the ruling classes, and the fight against racial discrimination and other manifestations of social injustice constitute an irresistible torrent, a movement destined to play a major role in human progress.

The peoples who have succeeded in throwing off oppression and exploitation, the peoples building socialism set an example for and help other peoples. They therefore constitute a force playing a big role in the struggle of the oppressed peoples against imperialism.

As the liberation movement in Asia, Africa and Latin America develops, the Declaration notes, the working class and other progressive sections of the population in the capitalist countries will be able to render increasingly effective and direct assistance to this movement. Proof of this is no doubt furnished by the growing civic protest movement of the North American people against the war which the U.S. government is waging in Vietnam.

The effective revolutionary activity of the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam and the courageous resistance of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam further this struggle and enhance the political consciousness of the people of the United States, who voice their indignation over the war more and more resolutely and persistently. This shows that the liberation struggles in Asia, Africa and Latin America will lead, both in the United States and the developed capitalist countries of Europe, to greater activity of the working class and other oppressed sections of the population against the rule of monopoly capital, against oppression and exploitation, for social progress. The growth of the class struggle of the proletariat and other working people in the capitalist countries will, in turn, contribute to the success of the fight for national liberation in Asia, Africa and Latin America. Thus common effort will lead to victory over the common enemy of the peoples, imperialism, above all over the U.S. imperialists.

A group of countries of the three continents have already won political independence. Many other countries are fighting for it. Both the countries which have gained independence and those striving for it are today strengthening their alliance here at this Solidarity Conference of the Peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America. They are learning to carry out their internationalist duty in the common cause of the peoples, which is to abolish the system of colonial, neocolonial and imperialist exploitation and oppression.

There still are territories suffering from the most brutal colonial exploitation. This Conference is attended by delegates from many such countries. With a view to solving the serious problems of the economic and social development and complete liberation of countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America, it is necessary firmly

subversion, oppression, exploitation and plunder. They should ac-
ereignty and political independence of states.

Conference, the Declaration states, proclaims the inalienable right of the peoples to complete political independence, to every form of struggle necessary for winning this right, armed struggle included.

The countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America that have won their political independence are realizing more and more that the juridical status of formal sovereignty is not enough to guarantee complete liberty, it is necessary to destroy every instrument of imperialist oppression and exploitation, effect deep-going social and economic reforms, and lay the material and technical groundwork for the construction of a society of free men. In addition to political liberty, it is necessary to gain economic liberty. This is the only way to provide social equality for people and genuine independence for states.

The peoples of the independent countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America should resist every form of imperialist penetration, subversion, oppression, exploitation and plunder. They should actively develop their resources, expand mutual resistance and cooperation with friendly countries, eliminate imperialist and colonialist forces, repulse neocolonialist aggression and penetration, and create and promote national economy and culture.

Conference proclaims as being common to the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America the principles of fighting to abolish all survivals of the economic domination of imperialism and to set up national economies. It proclaims as a program for those who are still fighting for their liberation:

—the right to exercise national control over basic resources, to nationalize the banks and the enterprises of vital importance, to exercise state control over foreign trade and foreign-currency transactions,to expand the state sector, to revise and reject anti-national and unlawful debts imposed on the economies of the nations concerned;

—the right to carry out a genuine agrarian reform, one capable of ending feudal and semi-feudal property, promoting the development of agriculture, raising the standard of living of the peasants and other working people of the rural regions, and expanding the national economy and export trade.

The implementation of this principle will enable them fully to guarantee the development of their natural resources and the industrialization of their countries according to prevailing conditions, and thus to complete their economic liberation.

The imperialists try to strangle the newly-independent peoples by raising every manner of obstacles to their trade, taking advantage

of monopoly control over transport, resorting to criminal blockade, undermining the national economies concerned through forcible cuts in the prices of export commodities and keeping these prices in continuous fluctuation.

Conference proclaims the right of the newly-free peoples to trade with all the other countries of the world on the principles of equality. It declares the need to end the continuous fluctuation of raw material prices and to coordinate these prices with those of industrial goods on an equitable basis. It stresses the necessity to ensure that the common fight of the peoples of the three continents leads—with the cooperation of the progressive forces of the other countries of the world—to the frustration of the imperialist blockade of the trade and transport of newly-free countries.

Imperialist, colonial and neocolonial domination is responsible for the disastrous technical backwardness preventing the urban and rural working people of the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America, whose effort underlies all national progress, from raising labor productivity through the use of the forecast technical facilities in agriculture and industry.

Conference proclaims the right of the peoples to have access to technology and the need for the newly-free countries to train large numbers of technical personnel from the ranks of the people. This will lead to a revolution in the sphere of education, which begins with the abolition of illiteracy and leads to a technical revolution.

The countries that have won freedom from imperialist dependence find their health services in an appalling state. They have no hospitals or auxiliary medical institutions, and lack doctors and other medical personnel indispensable for the promotion of the health services.

Conference proclaims the right of the peoples of the three continents to a healthy life, medical care and proper prophylaxis, and stresses that the more developed countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America should help the newly-free countries by every means in setting up a system of medical care, with special emphasis on the training of professional and auxiliary personnel, which should accomplish this important task under the planned guidance of the state and with the broadest cooperation of the people.

The imperialists, colonialists and neocolonialists preserve racial discrimination in vast areas of the world, and it takes on the most abominable forms in the policy of apartheid, which causes suffering to and is combated by the people of the Republic of South Africa, and imperils the people of Zimbabwe by dooming them to a status of permanent slavery. This is an instrument of exploitation and one of the most unfair and barbarous forms of inequality.

Conference proclaims the complete equality of all and the duty

of the peoples to combat every manifestation of racialism and discrimination. It therefore signifies its full support for the struggle of the Zimbabwe people against the racialist government of Ian Smith, and declares that it supports the international solidarity movement against RSA government. It calls on all the countries represented at this Conference to set up a political and trade blockade against the RSA and to prevent oil and arms shipments to that country.

Military pacts, the existence of military bases and the presence of imperialist or mercenary troops on foreign soil infringe national sovereignty and imperil the peaceful coexistence of states. Imperialism preserves this situation by suppressing national-liberation movements, intimidating neighbor countries and committing aggression against newly-free countries.

Conference proclaims the right of the peoples to get rid of foreign military bases, and calls on them to extend their fight for this goal and against military pacts, as well as against the presence of imperialist or mercenary troops on their soil.

Conference proclaims the right of the peoples to counter imperialist force with revolutionary force in order to uphold their national sovereignty and independence.

Conference, the Declaration says, proclams the right of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America, as well as of all the progressive states and governments of the world to extend material and moral support to the peoples fighting for their liberation or being subjected to direct or indirect aggression on the part of imperialist powers.

The courageous resistance of the Vietnamese people to the imperialist aggressors, the Declaration stresses, is not only lgitimate defense of Vietnam's independence, but also defense of the right of all the peoples of the world to self-determination and sovereignty.

Conference denounces the U.S. imperialists' war of aggression in South Vietnam, their bombing of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, and brands them as war criminals for their barbarous operations against the Vietnamese people. Conference exposes the lying talk of the Johnson government about peace, and unreservedly supports the proposals put forward by the DRV government and by the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam aimed at settling Vietnamese problems. Conference declares that the NLF of South Vietnam is the only genuine spokesman of the South Vietnamese people, and expresses its firm conviction that the South Vietnamese people, led by the NLF, will without any doubt achieve final victory.

Imperialism, the Declaration says, is trying to blunt the national

awareness of the peoples by implanting its decaying culture. It uses all propaganda media to attain this objective, thereby undercutting the scientific, technical and cultural foundations of the countries it exploits.

Conference proclaims the right of the peoples to preserve and develop their cultural heritage, to enrich it with new contributions through mutual exchanges with the genuine cultures of the peoples of other countries. It points out to the peoples of the three continents the need to strive actively for the exclusion from the cultural life of their countries of all manifestations of an imperiallst spirit and to enrich the lives of their peoples by means of genuine art and genuine culture.

Conference hails the working class and the progressive movements of the capitalist countries of Western Europe and the United States, and calls on them to work for still closer fraternal bonds of solidarity with the peoples of the three continents, so that they can fight in common against the imperialist monopolies, as well as against the policy of aggression and intervention, since they themselves are victims of the system of oppression and exploitation.

Conference, the General Declaration says in conclusion, considers it the main task of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America to fight against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism, for the winning and consolidation of national independence, democracy, social progress, and peace. The peoples of the three continents will advance shoulder to shoulder until they win complete and final victory. They believe firmly in their future. The joint efforts of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America will result in the active solidarity of the peoples of the three continents becoming a powerful force capable of sweeping away the bulwarks of imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism, to which victorious national-liberation movements have already delivered blows in recent years and whose foundations have already been undermined by the inexorable march of history.

STATEMENT* BY THE TRICONTINENTAL COMMITTEE FOR ASSISTANCE TO VIETNAM IN CONNECION WITH THE RESUMPTION OF U.S. BOMBING RAIDS ON THE DRV

Yesterday, January 31, 1966, challenging the peoples of the world and demonstrating once again its absolute and insolent disregard for the independence and sovereignty of the peoples and their right to self-determination, the U.S. government ordered the resumption of bombings of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam (North Vietnam) and at the same time adopted highly adventuristic decisions

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Abridged from a **Prensa Latina** release of February 3, 1966.

on the further intensification of its war of aggression in South Vietnam.

The U.S. government, like a thief yelling "Catch the thief!", even demanded that the UN Security Council "discuss the situation in Vietnam."

With typical cynicism, President Johnson declared that the United States would "continue its search for peace." While he was making this statement Yankee bombs were blasting peaceful Vietnamese towns and villages.

In connection with these exceedingly grave facts, in connection with the new acts of U.S. imperialism's aggression in Vietnam, the Tricontinental Committee for Assistance to the People of Vietnam in their fight against the U.S. aggression, an organ set up by the First Conference of Solidarity of the Peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America, declares, expressing the sentiments of the peoples of these continents:

The resumption by the United States of bombings of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, an independent and sovereign country on which the United States has never declared war and which has never undertaken any hostile actions against the territory and people of the United States, clearly demonstrates the falsity of the Johnson government's "peace offensive" and constitutes the best proof of the hypocrisy and perfidy of the U.S. rulers, who constantly blare about their "good will" and "striving for peace." It is a slap in imperialism's own face which exposes before the peoples of the world the real essence of the "pause" in the bombing of North Vietnam and of the Johnson administration's "search for peace." In reality, the U.S. imperialists had never intended to stop their aggression against the Vietnamese people. The measures taken of late were part of their escalation plans, but, confronted with the escalation of protests all over the world against their vandalism in Vietnam, they enacted this farce in an attempt to justify their aggressive plans in the eyes of the world.

The fact that while holding forth on peace Johnson hastened the escalation of the aggression shows that all this was mere maneuvring.

The appeal of the U.S. government, which is the sole aggressor in Vietnam and which is solely responsible for the situation obtaining there now, to the United Nations Security Council is a hypocritical, repugnant act comparable to that of a murderer seeking condemnation of his own victims, and at the same time a new highly perfidious maneuver of U.S. imperialism designed to draw the United Nations into the imperialists' war of aggression, make it interfere in the internal affairs of the Vietnamese people, and flout the Geneva Agreements of 1954, the only legal basis for the

solution of the Vietnamese problem.

In view of the unprecedented intensification of the U.S. imperialist aggression against the Vietnamese people, the Tricontinental Committee exposes and resolutely condemns before the public opinion of our continents and of all the world the new acts of aggression of U.S. imperialism against the people of Vietnam as acts of barbarism and genocide against a whole people, a violation of elementary norms consecrated by international agreements, and the flouting of generally-accepted norms, committed with the help of weapons and methods prohibited by international conventions. We expose the U.S. imperialists' intention to use their aggression against Vietnam for creating a precedent and arbitrarily appropriating for itself the right to commit with impunity acts of aggression against any people, to prevent the peoples from freely settling their internal problems.

The Committee reaffirms its unqualified support of the reasonable and just stand of the government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam as outlined in President Ho Chi Minh's letter of January 28, 1966, and of the Central Committee of the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam, set forth in its statement of January 6, 1966.

The Committee vigorously calls upon the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America, all the peoples of the world and especially the people of the United States, to redouble their efforts to stay the criminal hand of U.S. imperialism, and to resolutely oppose, using all means at their disposal, the escalation of the U.S. aggression in Vietnam. It is necessary to promote all forms and aspects of active solidarity with the Vietnamese people. We call for concrete actions to thwart the imperialists—from protests, exposures, meetings and demonstrations in front of U.S. embassies to boycotting the manufacture, loading and shipment of arms and material for U.S. troops. We call for sabotaging everything that serves U.S. imperialist interests in all parts of the world so that it should know that its aggression will not be left unpunished.

As an important element of actions to curb the imperialist aggression, we call for holding in every country a campaign against the recruitment by the U.S. imperialists of mercenaries for a foreign legion to fight in Vietnam. All means at our disposal should be used to lay bare these intentions; an intensive campaign should be launched to expose such attempts by the imperialists.

Convinced that the best way in which the revolutionaries of one country can express their solidarity with the peoples of other countries is to win their own freedom, we call upon the fighters for national liberation to step up the revolutionary struggle in their own countries.

We call for assistance and support to the fighting Vietnamese people with all means—political, moral and material, including weapons, money, medicines and the training of volunteers ready to fight shoulder to shoulder with the Vietnamese people when they ask for this. We urge the national committees of the Conference of Solidarity of the Peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America as well as all organizations that took part in the Conference, to hasten the realization of measures it decided upon as unqualified support to the heroic fight of the Vietnamese people against the U.S. aggression and as a means to stay imperialism's hand. This will be the most effective way to prevent the imperialists from committing with impunity barbaric actions against other peoples in the future.

The Committee resolutely demands an immediate end to the U.S. imperialists' aggression against South Vietnam, an immediate withdrawal of the troops of the United States and its satellites, the dismantling of the imperialist military bases in the South of Vietnam, an immediate and unconditional discontinuation of bombing raids on the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, respect for and strict observance of the 1954 Geneva Agreements on Vietnam, recognition of the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam as the sole legitimate spokesman of the people of South Vietnam, and full respect for the Vietnamese people's right to solve their internal problems without any foreign interference.

The Tricontinental Committee points out that, far from proving their might, the American maneuvers and the ferocity of their aggression are indicative of the debility and their fear of world public opinion, which has condemned their crimes, their fear of the victorious patriotic struggle of the Vietnamese people.

Imperialism is desperately trying to avoid a debacle in Vietnam. The Vietnamese people, on the contrary, feel ever more powerful and ever nearer to final victory.

The people of Vietnam enjoy the sympathy and support of all the peoples of the world. This sympathy and support should be expressed in active solidarity in order to end the suffering of a people fighting a ruthless enemy. We should do everything to enable Vietnam, which is on a sure road to victory, to inflict the most humiliating defeat upon imperialism it has ever experienced.

Havana, February 1, 1966.

IN THE STRUGGLE FOR PEACE AND PROGRESS

DOCUMENTS OF THE AFRICAN PARTY OF INDEPENDENCE OF SENEGAL. SLIGHTLY ABRIDGED.

DECLARATION

Senegal is at a turning point of its history. As they always do at a critical juncture the opportunists, traitors and reactionaries are maneuvering to capitalize on the situation. The utter failure of the Senghor government is made particularly conspicuous by the squandering of public wealth. The anti-popular elements are out to take advantage of this in order to realize their plans. *The situation demands vigilance and determination.* Full awareness of responsibilities is needed to prevent hoodwinking of the people.

Foreign capitalist trusts continue to hold sway in our economy. Key branches — the industry, trade and the banks — remain the exclusive property of those who owned them prior to independence. Foreign capitalists increasingly monopolize them and concentrate them in even fewer hands. Senegalese industrialists, tradesmen, transporteurs, businessmen and artisans are being brutally squeezed out of all sectors and getting ruined. Senegal's trade is being curtailed and monopolized by foreigners. The import quota of local tradesmen is being constantly reduced in favor of the latter. Taxes, fines and patent payments weigh down heavily on the transporteurs, adding to the burden of an excessively rigorous system of licences and insurance. All their incomes go into the safes of the state and the insurance companies. Denied orders and markets, businessmen and artisans are doomed to ruin. Their bids are, as a rule, rejected in favor of foreigners who can pay the ten per cent duty and offer a bribe.

The political situation is characterized by complete absence of democracy. Progressive and democratic organizations have all been disbanded and their leaders imprisoned. Patriots are arrested, brutally tortured and convicted. Seven-hundred and fifty citizens have been condemned for their political views.

Senghor's social policy is a permanent attack on the interests of the masses.

Ever since independence, the working people's wages have been kept frozen in the name of development. The prices of prime necessities are sky-rocketing. The taxes and the levies for social

needs are growing constantly. The ten per cent deducted from wages strongly hits the budgets of the working people.

In the factories, workers suffer from intensive exploitation, victimization and humiliation by the employers. Denied any defense of labor conflict hearings, they invariably lose. They are constantly threatened with dismissal and unemployment. Under the Senghor government 25,000 working people have been given the sack, and every year 1,200 more lose their jobs.

The hospitals are short of cots and medicines. People do not seek their services because of the prohibitive charges for treatment and consultation. *Good health is only for the rich.* Even the radio reports that 48 people die every day, i.e., two every hour.

In the school, the children's future is outrageously sacrificed. The percentage of children attending school remains a low 37.8. This year, only 5,000 out of 25,000 candidates have been promoted to the 6th form. The rest have been left to their own resorts. The training of national personnel in secondary and higher schools is sabotaged. School teachers are subjected to all sorts of humiliation. Their trade union has become a target of attacks and insults.

Our peasants languish in dire misery; they are being robbed, exploited and ruthlessly persecuted by regional authorities. All their harvest is taken away as payment for debts.

An atmosphere of discord and suspicion has been created by the government in the religious sects, where secret agents play leaders and laymen against one another. Distrust and confusion reign everywhere.

This anti-national, anti-popular and anti-social policy is accompanied by an outrageous plunder of national wealth. In five years of Senghor's rule 7,807,275,900 francs have been embezzled from public funds. How many factories, hospitals, schools, roads and flats could have been built with this money! Everywhere the regime is squandering property belonging to the people. Ministers, service administrators, governors, prefects, mayors—all are plundering with impunity the riches created by the sweat of the people. Only small fry are arrested; the real thieves enjoy protection.

In keeping with its policy of national betrayal, the Senghor government has flung the doors of our country wide open to U.S. imperialism — the most barbaric, ruthless, criminal savage and cynical imperialism which murders women, children and old people in South Vietnam, bombs the peaceful industrious civilians of North Vietnam, invades the Congo and Santo Domingo to suppress the freedom and independence of the Congolese and Dominican peoples, and tramples underfoot the right of all peoples to independence and sovereignty. U.S. imperialism enjoys all privileges in Senegal. It penetrates into the banks (BICIS-BIAO) and the industry (TAIBA phosphates); it has enmeshed our country in its CIA spy network.

Such is the tragic situation our country finds itself in after five years of Senghor's rule. It is a logical consequence of the activities of a government installed, financed and supported by the monopolies in order to protect their interests to the detriment of the toiling masses. It is high time to put an end to this state of things. The country is heading for a catastrophe. *The time has come to save the country from disaster and ruin towards which the Senghor government is driving it with increasing speed.* The country needs changes, rapid and radical. *A change in policy and government is needed,* and not merely a ministerial reshuffle or accession by part of the opposition. These are half-measures which will solve no problems. The way out is not in replacing some people with others and sticking a new label to the same merchandise. The only solution is to overthrow the present government and establish a patriotic government of a broad popular alliance based on a democratic program of national development.

Demission of Senghor's bankrupt government — such must be the slogan of all parties around which the entire people should be rallied. Down with this neocolonialist government which has fully exposed itself in these five years!

HEIGHTEN VIGILANCE AND COMBAT ALIEN INFLUENCES*

The five years of ruthless repressions have turned Senegal into a vast prison and concentration camp, destroyed all democratic freedoms and introduced arbitrary rule, torture and massacre as methods of government policy. Giving free run to its lowest class instinct (thieving, debauchery, venality, attempts to split the patriotic forces) and intensifying the propagation of its reactionary ideology, the bureaucratic bourgeoisie seeks to spread its pernicious influence. Pressed to the wall, the authorities have for five years now been trying to create a "political vacuum" and foster defeatist trends, hoping that the difficulties will cause general apathy and demobilize the people.

It is clear today, however, that the people have not yielded: despite all the obstacles, the opposition movement is growing and gaining strength. Our Party has been resolutely and purposefully stimulating it for seven years now. Even before, when conditions were different, the Party was severely persecuted for these activities. It is natural that today, when it enjoys the increasing support of the working class and sympathy of the toiling masses, our Party should be attacked by the government and by slanderers of every hue. For the more boldly the Party advances, the more such obstacles it encounters on its way.

That is why the principal task today is constantly to strengthen

*Abridged from **Momsarev**, October 1965.

organization and maintain strict discipline on the basis of the immutable principles of Party life. For in this period of serious difficulties experienced by the country and of a progressive decomposition of the regime, pernicious trends find favorable soil for development and corruptive, subversive influences seek to penetrate into the Party in order to wreck it organizationally, undermine observance of the Leninist principles of party life, sow and justify confusion — in short, to impose on it alien concepts and practices which are as far removed from Marxism-Leninism as heaven from earth.

It is necessary constantly to expose and eradicate all these influences and the practices engendered by them, to heighten vigilance and consistently maintain, at all levels, good organization and firm discipline on the basis of active application of genuine principles of democratic centralism. This task demands constant attention, for everything aimed at weakening the Party in any way is an evil which must be mercilessly uprooted.

As our Party is marching forward, being aware of its responsibilities, which have increased in the present situation, it enriches itself with its own experience and with that of the working people. Maintaining its links with the masses, with the patriotic and all healthy forces of the nation, the Party will go on working tirelessly to resolve the national crisis in the interests of the people and thus pave the way for establishing an independent democratic state, for building socialism in Senegal.

At the present stage of our revolution this central task of the patriotic movement demands that the working-class Party operating underground should maintain maximum centralization and strong discipline and rule out any laxity.

Thus, elimination of everything that undermines the organizational strength of the Party from within and from without, and promotion of everything that strengthens its organization and enhances its fighting capacity — such is the line which should be consistently followed if our Party is to be armoured against any alien influence.

TO COMRADE A. KOSYGIN*

CHAIRMAN OF THE COUNCIL OF MINISTERS OF THE USSR

Dear Comrade Kosygin,

A short time ago economic delegations of our government and the government of the USSR brought negotiations on economic and technical assistance to a successful close. The signing of relevant agreements between our two countries constitutes valuable aid on the part of the Soviet Union in strengthening the defenses and promoting the economic power of our country with a view to fully repulsing the U.S. aggressor. This consolidates and promotes friendship between the peoples of our countries for the common revolutionary cause.

On behalf of the Central Committee of the Working People's Party of Vietnam, the government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and the Vietnamese people, I convey to you sincere thanks for the support and assistance in the spirit of proletarian internationalism which the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Soviet people give to the Vietnamese people in their just and victorious struggle against the American imperialists, for the salvation of their country.

I wish to thank you for the cordial and warm welcome which the CPSU and the Soviet Government extended to our government delegation.

I send you fraternal greeting and wish you good health.

Pham Van Dong,
Prime Minister, Democratic Republic of Vietnam.

*Pravda, Feb. 10, 1966.

ACTIVITIES OF THE COMMUNIST AND WORKERS' PARTIES

Jan. 14-17. In New York, a CP conference discussed the problems and tasks facing the Party. It heard a report by Gus Hall.

Jan. 25. Nicolae Ceausescu, General Secretary of the CC of the Rumanian CP, received Ezekias Papaioannou, General Secretary of AKEL, Mihail Dalea, Secretary of the CC, RCP, took part in the ensuing friendly interview.

Jan. 21-31. A group of functionaries of the Bulgarian CP, led by Vendin Kotsev, alternate member of the CC, head of the Art and Culture Department of the CC, stayed in the Soviet Union at the invitation of the CC, CPSU. The group familiarized itself with CPSU experience in cultural work.

On Jan. 29 the BCP group was received by P. Demichev, alternate member of the Presidium and Secretary of the CC, CPSU, for a friendly interview.

Jan. 28. The CC, CP of Austria met in Vienna. It heard a report by Erwin Scharf, Secretary of the CC, on the political situation and the election campaign in the country.

Jan. 28. Josip Broz Tito, President of the SFRY, General Secretary of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia, received Ion Gheorghe Maurer, member of the Executive Committee of the Rumanian CP, Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the SRR, in Brioni.

Jan. 29-Feb. 1. The Fourteenth Congress of the CP of Finland sat in Helsinki. It adopted the Party's program of economic and social reform for the near future.

The Congress approved a resolution on inner-Party work, declarations on international and foreign policy issues, the political situation in the country, the cooperation of the working people and cooperation in the trade union movement, and an appeal to Finland's youth. It elected a Central Committee of 35 full and 10 alternative members.

Ville Pessi was re-elected General Secretary of the CPF, Aarne Saarinen became Chairman and Erkki Salomaa Vice-Chairman of the Party.

Jan. 31. L. Brezhnev, First Secretary of the CC CPSU, received Stoyan Karajov, the Bulgarian Ambassador to the Soviet Union at his own request for a friendly interview.

January. A delegation of the CP of Germany, led by Josef

Schleifstein, Secretary of the CC, visited France at the invitation of the CC, FCP.

The delegation met with a FCP delegation led by Waldeck Rochet, General Secretary of the Party.

The two delegations noted that both base their activities on the decisions of the world Communist meetings of 1957 and 1960. They reaffirmed their acceptance of the proposals put forward by the Moscow meeting of 19 parties, March 1-5, 1965.

January. The 10th Congress of the CP of Colombia passed a number of resolutions on political and organizational matters, adopted the Party Program and amended the Rules.

The Congress elected a new Central Committee of 45 full and 10 alternate members.

Gilberto Vieira was re-elected Political Secretary of the CC and Alvaro Vasquez, Secretary of the CC Executive in charge of organizational matters.

Feb. 1. A joint meeting of the CC and CCC of the Italian CP, held in Rome, unanimously elected a 31-member Leadership of the Party.

Also elected by unanimous vote were the Political Bureau Luigi Longo, Mario Alicata, Giorgio Amendola, Enrico Berlinguer, Pietro Ingrao, Giorgio Napolitano, Agostino Novella, Giancarlo Pajetta and Ugo Pecchioli — and the Bureau of the Secretaria — Luigi Longo, Paolo Bufalini, Armando Cossuta, Emanuele Macaluso, Giorgio Napolitano and Alessandro Natta.

Feb. 3. In Bucharest, a delegation of the Rumanian CP met with a delegation of the CP of Greece.

The two delegations exchanged information on activities of their respective parties, and view son the situation in the world Communist and working-class movement.

The RCP delegation was composed of Nicolae Ceausescu, General Secretary of the CC, Paul Nicolescu-Mizil, member of the Executive and Secretary of the CC, and Ghizela Vass, member of the CC.

The CPG delegation comprised Kostas Kaloiannis, First Secretary of the CC, Panos Dimitriou, member of the PB and Secretary of the CC, and S. Gerasimos, members of the CC.

Nhan Dan carried a report on the growth of the Working People's Party of Vietnam in recent years. Since its Third Congress the Party has admitted 300,000 members.

Socially, the new membership has the following composition: workers 16.34%, people of poor-peasant origin 50.8%, and people of middle-peasant origin 27.53%. Women account for 20.8% of the new admissions.

Feb. 3. A book entitled *Thirty-Five Years of Struggle* appeared

in Hanoi on the occasion of the thirty-sixth anniversary of the Working People's Party of Vietnam. It describes the main stages in the Party's activity between 1930 and 1965.

Also published were the books *Promotion of the Spirit of Collective Ownership from a Proletarian Class Position* by Le Duan, First Secretary of the CCW, WPPV, and *Better Party Guidance in Industry* by Le Duc Tho, member of the PB CC WPPV.

★ ★ ★

A recent issue of *Nuestra Palabra*, the Argentine Communist newspaper, reported on the growth of Party membership in various parts of the country.

In 1965, 500 new members were admitted in Buenos Aires Province alone. During the same period 1,860 people joined the Communist Youth Federation.

Local Party organizations admitted 7,360 new members — a result of the uptrend in the working-class movement.

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POLITICAL RESOLUTION*

OF THE 11TH CONGRESS OF THE ICP APPROVED UNANIMOUSLY

The 11th Congress of the Italian Communist Party earnestly calls on all working people, on all democrats, to achieve unity and to fight in order to lift the country out of the grave situation in which it finds itself. Owing to the fallacious policy of the Center Left and to growing pressure by the major monopoly groups, the fundamental problems of society today are more open than ever. Economic programming, which was to have made it possible to tackle the problems of employment, agriculture, the South, education, and the material and cultural standards of the people, has yet to be launched.

The fall of the Moro government is a proof of incompetence. It is, in particular, the result of a negative foreign policy which has seriously injured the international standing of Italy.

It is necessary to find a positive way out of this deep political and social crisis. The leading group of the Christian Democratic Party is striving to preserve the present government coalition and its erroneous course at all costs, which threatens a preoccupying discrepancy between the official institutions and the country, for the group is clearly intent on asserting a regime prejudicing the dialectics of democracy. It is necessary to defeat this line and the groups and individuals supporting it in and outside the CDP, and to carry foward the struggle to do away with the Center Left.

What the country needs is a new policy. This requires new relations between all the Left forces, lay and Catholic alike, and an end to the present absurd division of the nation and to discrimination against working-class and popular opposition. To adopt a new policy means striking at the powerful coalition of interests and abolishing all privileged positions. To this end the foremost forces of the working people and the intellectuals, above all the forces of the ICP and the masses following it, should be called on to make a decisive contribution.

The possibility of a new program and new relations between the Left forces is stressed by the scope and militancy of the struggle for various demands which involves the main categories of working people in industry and the public services, civil servants, farm laborers, sharecroppers, settlers, and cultivators. Growing unity in

*Roma, Feb. 1, 1966.

the fight against the intransigence of the employers and the income policy speaks of the great potentialities of democracy in the country and shows the need for a different type of economic development.

Thus the conviction that a change of policy is required is increasing. Authoritative voices in favor of this are raised also in the Center Left parties.

A government capable of taking this reality into account will have, first of all, to take a new approach to the solution of foreign policy problems. The gravity of the situation demands initiative and independent action from our country.

The resumption of the bombing of North Vietnam exposes the hypocrisy of the recent diplomatic initiatives of the U.S. government and poses this issue in new and more dramatic terms. It is necessary to renounce all complicity in the brutal and disgraceful U.S. aggression against Vietnam, well remembering that any attempt to embroil Italy in the U.S. adventure would have painful consequences and give rise to grim popular struggles. A positive stand on the Vietnam problem should be the starting point of a policy opposed to atomic proliferation and designed to promote disarmament, facilitate the rejection of military pacts (in view of the expiry in 1969) and thus further collective security in Europe. This is today the touchstone of the national sensibility of any government and of its will for renovation.

In home policy, it is necessary promptly to face up to the present economic and social difficulties in order to launch democratic programming.

It is a pressing task to take effective steps against unemployment, increasing and qualifying interference by the state and local bodies in agriculture and in capital construction, public utilities and housing. Another pressing task is to provide the municipal councils with funds for carrying out local urban development plans, and to effect an urbanization reform without delay.

To begin ensuring full employment and counter the domination of private monopolies, there is a need for a vast program and a new orientation of state industry, particularly in the key sectors of the economy. Public agencies should exercise—by adequate new methods—effective control over the investments of the big corporations. In this sense the announced fusion of Montecatini and Edison is coming up against resistance, and problems of the reorganization and development of various industries are being examined.

The establishment of regions is a fundamental condition for economic development meeting the demands of the working people and an important factor in strengthening the democratic system. The present economic and political crisis makes this measure indispensable for a vast decentralization of authority, for the granting

of greater powers to local self-government bodies, and for the reduction and modernization of the central bureaucratic apparatus.

Economic growth and programming, the training of new personnel, specifically technicians, and the renovation of social life as a whole make imperative also the implementation of democratic reforms and a far-reaching effort by the state in the fields of secondary and higher education and scientific research.

The 11th Congress of the ICP notes that these program items may constitute the elements of a turn. An end to discrimination, a new foreign policy, and an anti-monopoly trend in economic development are vitally important for the Italian people. From this it will be necessary to proceed to deeper-going economic and political changes while promoting the formation of a new democratic majority.

The course for merging the Italian Socialist Party and the Italian Social-Democratic Party, approved by the latest congresses of the two parties, does not lead in this but in the opposite direction. It tends to deepen the divisions in the working-class movement and thereby affords the CDP new opportunities for domination and maneuver. The Socialist-Democratic merger should therefore be resisted. The rise and consolidation of the Italian Socialist Party of Proletarian Unity, the resistance put up by various Left trends, the most widespread concern of the Socialist rank and file, and the contradictions existing in the ISP majority trend itself show that it is possible with the aid of these forces, on a broader basis, to carry out a direct action aimed at isolating and foiling the Social-Democratic scheme.

There are favorable conditions for the success of this unitary course thanks, in particular, to the vast ferment in favor of renovation that is in evidence among the working people and the democratic forces of the Catholic world. There is a growing conviction that CDP-ISP cooperation has not lived up to the people's expectations and that, on the contrary, the persistence of the present formula of government and its policy has debased the Catholic rank and file's ideals of freedom, justice and peace. The discrepancy between the Christian Democrats' policy and certain new orientations of the Church is conspicuous.

There exist conditions for strengthening the unity of the Italian Confederation of Labor and the unity of action of all trade unions. Besides, there are increasing new possibilities, as far as the working people are concerned, of forming a single trade union organization on the principles of autonomy and democracy, and the Communists intend to work for this.

Congress calls on all comrades and all organizations to support the policy of democratic unity and progress, to carry on a frank and fair dialogue with all the Left forces, to act in favor of the

necessary rapprochement of these forces and for the formation of a new majority based on strict adherence to the democratic method and on the guarantee of a fair agreement unshackled by the will of this or that group or trend for supremacy. At the same time Congress reaffirms the validity and urgency of the demand for a unification of the socialist forces on the basis of a clear line of struggle and a clear democratic and socialist perspective—as a particular element of the broader unitary process. The Communists will cooperate in this field, their experience and struggle and their ideas lending them strength and their minds open to the contribution of any other forces striving to fight consistently for socialism. They therefore propose holding more and more joint discussions and setting up consultative and unification committee.

This is the way to find a correct and positive solution to the present political crisis and to overcome the current difficulties.

Congress stresses that its proposals are a pledge to act immediately for a lessening of international tension, for peace, for the freedom of Vietnam, to support the struggles of the working people in town and country still more extensively, to seek an end to all discrimination and help pave the way to a democratic solution.

With full confidence in the will of the Italian people to advance along the path shown by Gramsci and Togliatti, the Communists will vigorously carry forward their fight for a new policy, for the transformation of Italian society, for socialism.

TWENTY-NINTH CONGRESS OF THE CP OF GREAT BRITAIN

POLITICAL RESOLUTION. ABRIDGED

WHY THE CRISIS?

The crisis in Britain is part of the general crisis of world capitalism. Official Labour policy, like that of previous Labour and Tory administrations, is chiefly concerned to defend and extend British imperialist interests. . . This can be done only at the expense of the British and colonial peoples, and is doomed to failure.

British imperialism's position in the world has changed. Britain's imperialist rivals are increasingly challenging her position. The world socialist system is becoming a decisive influence in international economic and political affairs. The underdeveloped countries are beginning to develop their independent economies, and some have begun to break the grip of foreign monopolies. The tide of national liberation is rising. Super-profits derived from the colonies and the newly-independent states can no longer be relied upon to support a parasitic economy in Britain.

Both Labour and Tory Government policies result in crippling military expenditure, slavish alliance with the United States, colonial wars, near-stagnant British production and a crisis in the social services.

This policy is bringing the Government into increasing conflict with the industrial workers and the professional sections.

The crucial question is whether the conflict will express itself in the positive form of a fight for a change in policy which can defeat the Tory attempt at a come-back, or whether the Tories will be able to take advantage of discontent and frustration among the people as they did in 1951.

THE NEED FOR A CHANGE

The Tories can no longer get away with their complacent "never-had-it-so-good" propaganda, but say that Labour's policies will make the crisis worse.

The Liberals try to cash in on the growing feeling that the two main parties are bankrupt of solutions, and advance a so-called "radical" policy allegdly tied neither to capital nor to labor.

All these parties attempt in their propaganda to answer the wide-

spread feeling that something is basically wrong, and that great changes are needed. But none of them propose a fundamental change; for they are all wedded to the present economic systm, either openly like the Tories and Liberals, or under the name of the "mixed economy" like the Labour Party.

A Tory Government again would be a disaster. It would represent a victory for big business and a political set-back for the labor movement. There is no prospect of a Liberal Government, and if there were it would solve nothing. Another Right-wing Labour Government pursuing the same policies as now would land the nation in the same difficulties.

That is why the Communist Party calls upon all Left and progressive forces to create a common front for a new political battle in Britain—a battle which would cut across the shams and deceptions employed to confuse and frustrate the people, change the relation of forces in the labor movement and put the country on the right course.

BRITAIN AND PEACE

The first need is widespread action by the people to place Britain firmly on the side of peace. This action must be directed to ending the British Government's support for the aggressive policies of U.S. imperialism, which is dragging us towards a third world war.

A tense stage in the international situation has been reached with the U.S. war against the Vietnamese people.

Not only are the U.S. imperialists pouring more and more men and arms into South Vietnam in a vain attempt to subjugate its people; they have now passed over to direct aggression against a socialist country, the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, and are carrying out dangerous provocations on the Chinese border.

Every successive step by the U.S. to escalate the war in Vietnam increases the gravity of the threat to world peace. The United States aggression has to be answered not only by the Vietnamese people and by the combined efforts of the socialist world, but also by the rising tide of opposition in capitalist and non-aligned countries. American aggression is not only a crime against Vietnam, it poisons the international atmosphere and makes any real progress towards International understanding impossible.

America is supported up to the hilt by British imperialism, which fears that it will be pushed out of South-East Asia if the U.S. is defeated.

The supreme duty of all democrats is to compel the Americans to end their aggression, to withdraw U.S. troops and observe the Geneva Agreements of 1954.

Their aggression in Vietnam is the spearhead of their general

policy of increased attacks on the forces of liberation in South-East Asia, in the Dominican Republic and elsewhere.

British imperialism joins in with its own dirty war in Malaysia, its aggression in South Arabia; and its "East of Suez" colonial policy. At the same time it gives full support to every U.S. act of aggression wherever it may be.

Simultaneously in Europe there is the resurgence of West German militarism, the open proclamation of its expansionist aims and the pressure to get its own nuclear weapons.

Every possibility exists to defeat the U.S. imperialist policy and extend and strengthen peaceful coexistence between states with different social systems.

We reject all theories which encourage the conception of the inevitability of a third world war. In such a nuclear war, Britain would be virtually wiped out. The question of war and peace has taken on a new character in the conditions of today. It is imperative for all Communists, and for all who strive to achieve a progressive future for mankind, to prevent a third world war.

The socialist states, the national-liberation movement and the international working class are becoming the dominant forces of our epoch.

Their combination with the world-wide movement for peace and social advance makes it possible to defeat U.S. imperialist policies.

Internationally, the unity of the world Communist movement is of crucial importance.

The differences which have arisen and the attempts to split Communist parties have done harm to the advance of communism on a world-scale, have encouraged imperialism in its aggressive military actions, have provided weapons to the class enemy and have injured the interests of the working people everywhere.

We welcome the positive steps for peace taken by the Soviet Union over recent months, its firm advocacy of peaceful coexistence and its active support for the struggle of the Vietnamese people.

We reaffirm the decisions of our previous Congress to do all in our power to contribute towards the aim of restoring and strengthening the unity of the international Communist movement on the basis of Marxism-Leninism. We endorse the statements of the Executive Committee expressing our efforts to promote this aim. We reaffirm the statements already published expressing our viewpoint on the issues of the ideological controversies, on the 1957 Declaration and the 1960 statement agreed at the time by all Communist parties, and we shall work to fulfil the general objectives of the March 1965 communique.

We recognize that differences exist, and that there is a need for

continual discussion with all the brother parties to re-establish international Communist unity.

At the same time, united action against imperialism is essential in face of the urgent needs of the international situation, and is the best way to restore international Communist unity.

A NEW IMMEDIATE PROGRAM

The British people are faced with acute problems which can be answered only by drastic changes in foreign and domestic policy, changes which make serious inroads into the power of British monopoly capitalism.

The Communist Party does not expect a social-democratic government to introduce socialism, and has never encouraged illusions in that respect. There is urgent need, however, for an immediate program which will command the support of millions of people.

To win even those limited immediate changes will be possible only by united mass struggle.

The crushing burden of arms must be lifted, and Britain's power thrown on the side of peaceful coexistence, disarmament and national independence.

The first essential of a new British foreign policy is to condemn U.S. aggression in Vietnam, to demand the withdrawal of U.S. and Commonwealth troops and the observance of the Geneva Agreements, to support the four points of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and the five point program of the South Vietnam National Liberation Front, as a solid basis for a correct political settlement of the Vietnam problem. The British Government must withdraw all material aid to the Saigon Government of American puppets.

The present colonial wars should be ended in Malaysia and elsewhere, and the undemocratic policies pursued by the Labour Government in countries like British Guiana should be abandoned.

British arms-expenditure should be cut in half, making a major contribution to the balance of payments problem and releasing resources for improving the living standards of the people. Plans should be made to provide alternative work for all who are displaced thereby, with maintenance or full pay until such work is found.

We must arouse the patriotism of the British people to ensure that the U.S. Polaris base and all other American bases are closed down, and all American troops sent back home.

Britain's influence should also be used to secure an international agreement on disarmament.

The Atlantic Nuclear Force and the Multilateral Nuclear Force

should be opposed. The granting of training facilities to the West German military forces in South Uist to carry out practice firing of U.S. sergeant missiles, or any other plans to give West Germany direct or indirect access to nuclear weapons, should be opposed. Britain should renounce its own nuclear weapons and work for an international ban on testing, use, manufacture and export of nuclear weapons.

Negotiations should be opened for disengagement and a nuclear-free zone in Central Europe. All moves to revise the present frontiers of Germany should be resisted. Britain should accept the Oder-Neisse line as final, recognize the government of the German Democratic Republic and bring the British troops home from Germany.

The NATO alliance and the Warsaw Treaty Organization should be dissolved and replaced by an European Security Treaty.

The outrageous policy of excluding the Chinese People's Republic from the United Nations and other international bodies shcuild be ended. The rights of the Chinese people must be fully restored in these bodies, and their government recognized as the sole representative of the Chinese people, and backing withdrawal from the Chiang Kai-shek clique on Taiwan.

Britain should not enter the Common Market, since entry would constitute a threat to the political and economic independence of our country, but instead should extend trading relations, as well as with the capitalist countries. . . .

THE LEFT PROGRESSIVE ADVANCE AND THE COMMUNIST PARTY

The extent and character of the big policy changes needed are not yet fully grasped in the movement. Nor is the measure of the struggles for the changes in the balance of forces in the labour movement, and the organization of the Left required to win these changes.

The Left in the Labour Party, unorganized and without a common program, faces great difficulties and obstacle in the battle it is waging to defeat the heavily entrenched Right-wing leadership. Our previous National Congresses have stated that this could only be done by the joint efforts of the Communist Party (the independent party of the working class and socialism) and the militant trade unionists and socialists in the Labour Party.

We affirm that the outstanding need is to build the unity of all trade union and labour organizations, based on the cooperation of Communists, Socialists, progressive cooperators and militant trade unionists as the foundation of a broad progressive alliance.

During the past few years important political developments con-

tributing to this aim have taken place. There were mass movements on the Bomb, on colonial wars, in the fight for jobs and wage advances, and on social questions. The economic struggle grew, and with it a development to the left in important unions. There was also the growth of the Left challenge within the Labour Party. There was the resumed growth of the Communist Party and the Young Communist League, with an increasing participation in elections. All this undermined the cold war paralysis, weakened the Tories and paved the way for Labour electoral victory.

These varied movements included not only the organized labour forces, but many of the middle class, professional people and intellectuals. It opened up a possibility of a still broader popular alliance extending beyond the labour movement.

In all of this our Party played an important and pioneering part.

But while these developments have been of the greatest significance, they did not reach the size or achieve the organized united character necessary to loosen the dominant Right-wing grip on the movement.

In the event, therefore, the defeat of the Tories was narrow, support for the Liberals grew, and the Labour Government was overwhelmingly Right-wing in character.

With only a limited social program, its main concern has been to act as an "efficient" capitalist administration, continuing imperialist policy. As a result, it has brought no real social or political changes in Britain, although some positive reports and legislation have been introduced.

Already the movement for these aims has developed strongly. Congress appeals to all trade unionists, cooperators, Labour Party members and supporters to unite their forces and overcome all barriers and misunderstandings. . . .

Within the trade union movement there is rising opposition to incomes policy and to the attempts to impose legal shackles on the trade unions. Over 2½ million votes were cast at the Labour Party Conference against the proposed new legislation.

The closest attention must be given to the development of friendly relations with labour movement activities, labour councillors etc., in all the localities as well as in the trade unions and the factories. The initiation of broader movements on the many issues causing deep concern among the people can spring from such relationships. In all this work and mass campaigning, the Party must avoid all sectarian and opportunist tendencies.

Four things are vital: (a) agreement on a popular political program; (b) far-reaching changes of a Left-progressive character in the trade union movement, and the removal of bans and proscriptions; (c) the development of friendly relations between Communists and Socialists and all progressive movements, and between

Communist Party and Labor Party branches; (d) a growth in the membership of the Communist Party and its political campaigning and electoral work, including a sufficient number of candidates for the Party to be seen as an electoral force.

These things are part and parcel of the process of winning a big change in government policy.

Our 28th National Congress adopted a detailed report on the future of trade unions. This Congress reaffirms its basic conclusions, and resolves to intensify the campaign for its realization. . . .

The Right-wing tries to divide the Left movement by a policy of anti-communism. Anti-communism is a menace to the whole movement, only helps reaction and should be rejected as sterile, disruptive and dangerous.

The Left advance would be greatly speeded up by the removal of the divisions imposed by the Right-wing.

These bans on the rights of Labour Party members to take part in common actions with Communists, and the bans in some trade unions and cooperative organizations preventing members exercising their democratic right to elect Communists to official positions, have been imposed to prevent such an advance and to maintain Right-wing domination.

The Left should actively fight for the removal of all such bans and proscriptions. Conditions are ripe for a big new effort to end them. This requires a major effort by our Party.

The *Daily Worker* has an enormous contribution to make towards the building-up of the broad progressive and militant alliance. It must become increasingly the voice of all these forces, and the weapon for unity.

BUILDING THE COMMUNIST PARTY, THE YOUNG COMMUNIST LEAGUE AND THE CIRCULATION OF THE DAILY WORKER

A major responsibility for unity in the labour movement rests on our Party. Every member, every Party organization, should seek friendly discussion and association with Labour and cooperative people, shop stewards, councillors, trade union secretaries and MPs. We should do all in our power to work with all sections of the peace movement, the committees on Vietnam, the movements against colonialism, and other similar bodies. . . .

We adhere to the aim set out in *The British Road to Socialism* for the peaceful transition to socialism. We regard this aim as a practical and realizable path within British conditions. Its realization depends on the mass struggle, strength and unity of the working class, leading the majority of the people so as to check and

bar the road to any attempt at anti-democratic resistance by the representatives of the old social order.

The aims and perspective put orward in *The British Road to Socialism* are more relevant now to the British political situation than ever they were. The Communist Party is the only political party in Britain that fights for socialism. A new campaign to popularize *The British Road to Socialism* must be launched.

Only a party with a clear theoretical socialist basis (Marxism-Leninism) nationally organized, with firm roots in the factories and main industries, and with a socialist program, can effectively fulfil these responsibilities.

Experience before and since the election of the Labour Government shows that the changes required cannot be won by the Left Labour forces alone. An independent, working class political party organized to campaign in the factories and places of work as well as in the localities is essential. The Communist Party is such a party.

The broad militant alliance can only come about to the extent that the Party grows and becomes a mass organization.

Since our last Congress the Party has done considerable mass work, and contributed a great deal to the changed political atmosphere in the country.

In particular, we had a big extension of our electoral effort locally and nationally: and despite all the problems, and in some cases setbacks, the Party appeared before the people as a political party in its own right more than it has done for years.

In the conditions of Britain, and because of the electoral system, this is the most difficult sector of the fight in which to make advances. It is precisely because they know that electoral reforms would not only help the Liberals, but also mean Communists in Parliament ,that the Tory and Labour leaders oppose it.

This is the reason why they also virtually exclude Communists from television.

Despite the difficulties, the electoral fight must be maintained and extended as an indispensable aspect of the struggle of the working class and its allies to win political power.

The experience of the present Parliament underlines the need for Communist MPs fighting alongside and in unity with the Left. The aim of a Socialist and Communist majority in Parliament will only be achieved on the basis of a much greater Communist participation in elections, both local and parliamentary, giving far more people than at present the opportunity to vote Communist. This is the challenge facing the Party.

Congress is highly critical of the position as regards Party life and membership. While the Party grew between 1963 and 1964, it lost ground between 1964 and 1965, and we ended with a slight

decline in membership. We must study the reasons for this if we are to overcome our weaknesses. Many factors contributed to this. One of these was the strong feeling in the movement in the election year of 1964 that the most important issue was the return of a Labour Government, and the illusions about Harold Wilson's political position. An additional cause was a feeling of unclarity among some of our members on the subject of the disunity in the international Communist movement. There were weaknesses in our own work:

(a) The inability to combine our electoral work with the effort to build up united action and to influence the labour movement as a whole;

(b) the difficulties many Branches had in overcoming their isolation from the rest of the labour movement;

(c) the failure to grasp the significance of the awakened political mood of young people, though the evidence for this has come in the 1,000 new recruits to the YCL in less than a year;

(d) while the emphasis on electoral work was correct, it was not correct to allow this to lead to a certain neglect of factory work.

These factors have helped to produce a sense of frustration and lack of confidence in the Party and in the need to build it. For those factors that are under our control, the Party leadership naturally accepts responsibility. The entire Party must rally round the new Executive Committee to overcome these problems and register a new striking advance for the Party, so that we can progress towards the aim of 50,000 members set by our last Congress.

Much more needs to be done in industry, shops and offices to win new members, to form new factory branches, to strengthen existing ones and to give them the sustained support of our local branches. All leading committees should overcome the tendency to neglect consistent factory work. However, the need to extend factory work does not mean that factory branches should become inward-looking, dealing with purely trade union issues: they must take every effort to give all-round political leadership.

For many years now the Party's growth has not kept pace with the needs and possibilities of the situation. The new EC must do more to secure the conviction of the membership concerning the correctness and implications of *The British Road to Socialism.* For our policies to have the required impact in the labour movement, much more needs to be done to explain and emphasize our peaceful path to socialism. Until this conviction is secured only a minority of members will be involved in recruiting new members, and gains in membership will be insufficiently consolidated.

Therefore this Congress wholeheartedly welcomes the Report of the Committee on Organization, and calls for its implementation. At all levels we must turn outward to the people as a vigorous po-

litical force. There must be greater participation in the general cultural field and in the battle of ideas. We must introduce intensive cadre training and extend Marxist education.

We welcome the signs of increasing political awareness amongst the young people. Their rejection of the "Establishment" and of Right-wing policies, and their search for a new alternative, are all evidence of the opportunities offered to our Party. Here the development of the Young Communist League is of major importance. This requires the most energetic assistance of the Party at all levels, including the allocation of finance and personnel, and assistance in political education. Special consideration should be given to the problems of youth, including sports facilities.

There is yet insufficient understanding in our ranks of the key role that women can play in the broad labour movement. They must be won for this, and as recruits to our Party in ever increasing numbers.

The Party must make a renewed effort to win to our ranks students in universities and colleges, and the professional sections.

Within the Communist Party more discussion is needed on the questions of the advance to socialism in Britain, the relation of the Party to the labour movement, electoral strategy and the practical questions involved in these and other key matters. We must make greater efforts to get the labour movement to take part in these fundamental discussion.

The new Executive Committee should examine the role of leading comrades, with a view to their presenting themselves before the maximum number of people, in order to stimulate political thought. There must be far greater personal contact between the District Committee and the Branches. There must be a wider public appearance of the Party, in all possible ways, using our literature and the *Daily Worker*.

To the extent that we take advantage of the opportunities and strengthen the activity, organization and influence of the Communist Party, we shall help develop a united Left movement which can reverse the present dangerous trends and enable the labour movement to set Britain on a new socialist path.

THE ROLE OF THE SOCIALIST WORKERS' AND FARMERS PARTY*

Tunji Otegbeye
SECRETARY-GENERAL

SWAFP IS BORN TO SERVE THE MASSES

Events in the country took a sharp turn. The nationalist parties of the idle rich became more and more exposed in their bankruptcy to fulfil the needs of the working people.

Sharp contradictions between and within the ruling classes began to show themselves. The economic and cultural life of the country became more and more deplorable as the neocolonialist powers under the leadership of the USA, Britain and West Germany intensified the exploitation of Nigeria.

It was obvious that the party of a new type—a Party that will protect the true interests of the working people of Nigeria and which will lead them in their historic struggle for complete independence and true democracy—has become an urgent necessity.

CONFERENCE

It was under this historic and objective condition in Nigeria that a Conference of Nigeria Marxists took place in August 1963 in Lagos.

The Socialist Workers' and Farmers' Party of Nigeria was then founded.

Founded on the bedrock of the general truths and principles of Marxism-Leninism, basing the activities on the objective realities of our society, guided always by the true interest of the working people and linked with their struggles, the SWAFP is sure of leading the workers and the poor farmers of Nigeria to victory over their class enemies.

The path of struggle of the SWAFP is not an easy one. In the two years of its existence, the SWAFP has intensified the spread of Marxist education in the country. It has given invaluable help to the militant wing of the Labour Movement in Nigeria.

The realization of complete independence and true democracy is the immediate task of the SWAFP. To this end the Party has embarked on a planned program of exposing and fighting all forms of neocolonialist intrigues and activities in Nigeria.

*Abridged from the report of the CC, SWAFP to the First Congress of the Party (December 1965).

More than 70 branches of the Party have been established all over the country and the influence of the Party is reaching far into the different organizations of the people.

The SWAFP is not a chance coming together of individuals. It is not a tribal or ethnic party.

The SWAFP is a voluntary union of like-minded persons united for the purpose of applying the Marxist world outlook to Nigerian problems and to guide and lead the Nigerian working class and the masses of the working people in their historic mission of building a socialist Nigeria.

There are thousands of workers and poor farmers in our country who give their support to either the Action Group or the NPC, the NNDP or the NCNC.

However, events are daily unfolding to the poor workers and farmers of our country that they cannot find their salvation and progress in those parties.

POVERTY

The Action Group, the NPC, the NNDP and the NCNC are led, financed and dominated by the group of Nigerian bankers, company owners, emirs, obas, big plantation owners, transporters, factory owners, big landlords and who directly or indirectly ally themselves with the foreign firms in our country that daily subject the vast majority of the working masses to severe hardships and poverty.

SPLITTERS ARE ENEMIES OF PROLETARIAN REVOLUTION

The path of struggle of revolutionary parties of the working class is not an easy one. In order to strengthen and consolidate its basis—ideological, organizational, political, and tactical—the SWAFP has had to wage ceaseless class battles against the enemies of the Party right from its inception.

On the one hand, it has had to fight against the class enemies led by the United States monopoly capitalists in our country. On the other, the SWAFP has waged ideological battles against the enemies within the party — the revolutionary phrasemongering charlatans who, though they wear the badges of Marx and Lenin, attempted to introduce certain methods and ideas that are not in the interest of the Nigerian working class.

The program of the party is based on the objective situation and the level of development of the Nigerian working class. But the adventurists in the party wanted the party to jump an inevitable stage of its development.

The Eskor adventurists and Kola renegades of opportunists did not want the Party to educate and raise the political consciousness of the workers; to transform the bread and butter trade unionism

in our country into militant revolutionary trade unionism; to organize the working people into a popular democratic united Front for the attainment of complete independence and true democracy.

ADVENTURISTS

The adventurists declared that a revolutionary situation has ripened in Nigeria; that the Nigerian workers should embark on a revolution.

During the General Strike of 1964, these adventurists, without having any direct link with the masses of the workers, without any basis or organization for projecting a radical policy of revolt, they, in collusion with the petty-bourgeois elements in some nationalist parties, attempted to impose a political struggle on the workers out of the strike, thereby exposing their ideological bankruptcy and harmful methods of work.

This adventurist plan, if executed, would have set the hands of the clock back as the revolutionary movement in Nigeria was not prepared for the heavy onslaught of the reactionaries.

The SWAFP, which is the revolutionary party of the Nigerian working class and poor farmers, is a monolithic party based on the principle of collective leadership.

Criticism, self-criticisms, inner-party ideological and organizational struggles are being carried out within the party. Strict discipline has become the necessary condition for the success of the Party.

All this is elementary. But the adventurist splitters of the Eskor camp who will want to weaken the solidarity under the guise of revolutionizing the SWAFP, refused to observe the principle of democratic centralism on which the Party is based.

The Eskor gang-up of adventurists collaborated with the Kola branch of opportunist renegades, and set up cliques within the Party that worked against Party discipline and solidarity.

Thanks to the vigilance of the working people and the correct leadership of the Party. The erroneous adventurist methods of the Eskoists and the Kola clique of opportunists were exposed.

POLICY ON CADRES

What is the immediate and future task before the Party? What type of Party have we built and which are we building?

The answers to these two questions will lead us to objectively redirect the activities of the cadres and to be able to drive home to the cadres a glimpse of the hardship they will have to overcome and the correct method of work necessary for our particular situation.

What type of Party? We are building a revolutionary working class Party whose strength must depend on the solid support of the conscious worker — particularly the industrial workers.

Having clearly defined the type of Party without playing down the role of the peasantry, the petty-bourgeoisie and the patriotic national bourgeoisie and fully realizing that a Marxist-Leninist Party with its iron discipline is not synonymous with a United Front qualitatively, we can proceed to determine the task of the Party at this stage of our revolutionary development.

Since our pivot is the working class, the Party must establish a full and unbroken contact with the workers principally through their trade unions. Through the trade unions the political consciousness of the workers will be raised and the Party will be able to win over the thinking, honest, self-sacrificing and progressive and devoted elements from within the working class to its fold. The SWAFP is a qualitative rather than a quantitative Party.

It follows that our cadres must first of all be concentrated on the trade union field in order that we may be able to help the workers concretely in their economic struggle, at the same time disseminating Marxist ideology amongst them to win them to the perspective of the political objective of the proletarian revolution. Hitherto we have scattered our cadres all over the regions, even in places where the working population is non-existent. This had proved an error in our organizational method, calling for reassessment and reapproachment in the light of our experience and concrete situation existing in Nigeria. This policy is based on our working experience in the past two years.

What can we do? Our cadres must be concentrated mainly in the working class centers in the country and must take up the work of Trade Union Organization as their primary task. This will put the cadres in close touch with the problems of the working class and methods of solving them, enrich their experience and put them in a position to organize the youth and win over more members for the Party. By this system the Unions will provide the means of livelihood for the cadres, cutting down our overhead expenditure on organization. In these working class centers, the cadres should form a Party branch in the absence of one, an NYC branch and arms of broad organizations. Except in large towns where coordination is of top priority it will therefore not be necessary to have full time cadres in every center.

The concentration of cadres in the working-class centers will make for greater opportunity for exchange of views and experience and better coordination. A Cadres' Conference held every week will enable cadres to discuss organizational, educational and specific problems with a view to planning mass action effectively.

The activities of the Party, NTUF, and NYC will then be coordinated properly.

The emphasis on the trade union aspect of our work is important now that the ULC has been weakened within and without, but we also must see clearly the new objective of U.S. imperialism to get hold of the working class of Nigeria through the American-African Labor center in Lagos. We must therefore take advantage of this contradiction in the Right-wing trade unions, take over the leadership, the initiative in the trade union front and win the workers to the struggle for national democracy and socialism.

POLICY ON CADRES
SWAFP A QUALITATIVE PARTY

There are many of our supporters and Partymen who would wish our Party to spread like wildfire throughout the Federation of Nigeria. The taboo of Communism has been fought and the Communist image is becoming clearer and clearer to the masses as the dogged fight for the defense of democracy, peace and socialism.

Our Party is a qualitative Party — the Party of the most politically conscious members of the working class, peasantry and progressive intellectuals. The spread of our ideas may be fast but the growth of our Party must be regulated so that we may maintain the quality that is essential for a monolithic Party with iron discipline.

It is therefore not strange that in the coming year we will have to purge our leadership and the entire rank and file of those opportunist elements and agents provocateurs who are a negative propaganda and an obstacle on the way of our healthy growth.

OUR CADRES

The quality of our cadres must be improved through education, the more experienced and ideologically mature paying more attention to the living conditions of our young Leninist banner carriers.

The Central Committee deeply appreciates the hard work being put in by the cadres in the development of the work of the movement.

Restriction will be put on qualification for membership of the Party. Every new member should serve a year's probation using the yellow card. After a good report on discipline, ideological, education, finance and practical Party work he will be admitted to full membership. The effort is not to discriminate against any

individual but primarily to ensure the qualitative youth that is desired.

THE TRADE UNION MOVEMENT IN NIGERIA
THE NIGERIAN TRADE UNION CONGRESS

The Nigerian Trade Union Congress has emerged as the most disciplined, the most rapidly growing and the most effective Central Labor Centre in Nigeria. For these reasons the Nigerian Trade Union Congress has become the pivot of all trade union activities and the champion of the workers of our country.

Between the First Revolutionary Congress of the NTUC, and the present Congress, there has been a marked growth in the steadfast struggle of the NTUC, for democracy, and for better conditions of life for the workers. The constructive and guided leadership which the NTUC now gives to the entire working class of this country has contributed in no small way to the growing consciousness of the workers.

The workers of Nigeria have a worthy history of struggle against Colonialism. There are some sections of the leadership of the workers of this country that tend to forget this history of the workers and to compromise workers' interests with the present ruling clique that daily usurp the workers rights.

The NTUC has not only inherited this legacy, it has strengthened it in the present phase of our peoples struggle against neo-colonialism and Feudal Autocracy.

This steady growth would not have been possible without the emergence at this period of the only working-class party in the country — the Socialist Workers' and Farmers' Party — which has been working in close collaboration with the NTUC and we are proud of its record in the struggle for democracy, against neo-colonialism and for the total emancipation of the workers of this country from all forms of exploitation.

The Nigerian Trade Union Congress, in order to continue to be the center of action of the workers' struggle in Nigeria, must direct itself to a positive program of education and must strive to democratize the trade union machinery so that the workers themselves are more and more involved in the policy making and other activities of the individual Unions and the center itself.

The unity of the working class is a pressing need in Nigeria. But mere desire for unity, mere unity slogans, will land us nowhere except we analyze the situation objectively and work for a lasting remedy.

It is a fact today that the Nigerian workers are split into four main centers — the Nigerian Trade Union Congress, the Nigerian Workers' Council and the Labor Unity Front. Due to the intrigues

of neocolonialist forces spear-headed by the ICFTU and the Christian Federation, the United Labor Congress and the Nigerian Workers' Council believe that the trade union movement must be strictly limited to economic struggle and should be insulated from politics. For this reason they water down the struggle of the Nigerian workers, against the forces of neocolonialism, feudalism and bureaucratic capitalism, for independence and democracy.

For our part, lasting unity can only be achieved by exposing the reactionary leadership of the ULC and NWC, exposing quite clearly through education and mass action their false stand, their feet of clay — in the struggle for the emancipation of Nigerian workers. Unity for unity's sake is useless. For practical purposes, a federation of the four trade union centers in the form of the Joint Action Committee of the Nigerian Trade Unions is desirable at the moment. This will allow the progressive fronts to wear out the coat of deceit of the reactionary trade union centers, raise the consciousness of the workers and ensure that they will be in good shape to carry out their historic role of demolishing capitalism and building socialism. In this struggle for positive unity the NTUC has a great role to play.

We must raise the political consciousness of the Nigerian worker so that he can appreciate the significance of Lenin's great teaching about the working class. As the only consistently revolutionary class of contemporary society, it must be the leader, the hegemon in the struggle of the whole people for a complete democratic revolution, in the struggle of all the toilers and exploited against the oppressors and exploiters.

The NTUC at its Second Revolutionary Convention has demonstrated beyond doubt its qualitative growth, its mature approach to the problems of the Nigerian worker and more, its ability to dictate the pace and guide the Nigerian trade union movement. We congratulate the NTUC and wish it every success in the struggle to unite the entire workers of Nigeria on the basis of their class interest which is linked with the struggle against neocolonialism and feudalism, for full national independence, peace and socialism.

THE NIGERIAN YOUTH CONGRESS

The Nigerian Youth Congress was launched in 1960, shortly before Nigeria attained political independence.

The Congress became the most dynamic front in the struggle against neocolonialism and feudalism, for full independence and democracy. Expressing the will of the common people of the country to free themselves from foreign exploitation, it became a threat to the popularity of the older parties — the NCNC and the

Action Group — which lives in the ignorance of the masses. These two parties as a last resort called on their members to quit the Nigerian Youth Congress in an effort to weaken the organization. Although a few people obeyed the call, the Congress emerged stronger and has since grown qualitatively.

The Congress led the struggle against the Anglo-Nigerian Defense Pact, ban on Communist literature, French atomic test in Sahara and spear-headed the protest against the murderers of the late Patrice Lumumba, first Premier of the Republic of Congo (Leopoldville).

The Congress took great steps to popularize socialist ideas, which has now become so fashionable that older parties have to pay lip-service to socialism in order to continue to enjoy the support of the masses.

The Congress and the NTUC joined hands in the formation of the Socialist Workers' and Farmers' Party of Nigeria in August, 1963.

Most of the political work of the Congress is now carried on by the Socialist Workers' and Farmers' Party. The Congress has concentrated on cultural activities — sports, music etc. — and has become the recruiting ground for the young Leninist banner carriers of Nigeria.

The Congress is one of the founders of the Federation of Nigerian Youths.

PARTY EDUCATION

The Patrice Lumumba Institute of Political Science and Trade Unionism has carried out short term courses spreading over one to three months for activists of the Party, NTUC and NYC from all over the Federation.

Party education classes continue to be held in branches.

On the whole ideological education has improved the level of consciousness of our members and has popularized the ideas of socialism all over the country. There is, however, great room for improvement.

ADVANCE

Advance, the maiden issue of which appeared on August 16, has maintained a steady progress. Our progress claim is based on production results, circulation and public receptivity.

Advance is progressively championing the cause of the masses of workers and the oppressed — the principal aim for which *Advance* is established.

Circulation has risen over 600 per cent from the maiden issue

to the eighth issue. Less than 4,000 copies of the maiden issue were sold. The eight isssue sale is nearing 27,000. *Advance* circulation is at 30,000, though the actual circulation figure could not be safely quoted now as returns are yet to be made from circulation zones.

SOLID UNITY WITH THE CPSU*

The 11th Plenum of the CC of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany stated that the present international situation is characterized by steady growth and development of the forces of socialism, peace and democracy, on the one hand, and by the increasing aggressiveness of imperialism, especially U.S. and West German imperialism, on the other. This extremely complicated situation puts high demands to the central forces of our time which shape history and embody social progress — the socialist countries, the world Communist movement, the working-class and democratic movement in the capitalist countries, and the national-liberation movement.

In the alliance of these forces and in their joint struggle to promote peace and create the most favorable international conditions for social progress, a place of special importance is held by the Soviet Union as the first socialist state and the most powerful member of the socialist system. Not a single action to safeguard and consolidate peace has been taken in recent decades without a decisive contribution from the Soviet Union. More and more people — in even the non-socialist countries — realize that it is primarily the Leninist peace policy of the CPSU that has so far made it possible to spare mankind the horrors of a third world war.

The Soviet Union's good offices in Tashkent at the beginning of 1966 crowned, as it were, its greatest peace offensive of 1966 which included far-reaching agreements and treaties with many countries, new proposals for the UN General Assembly to adopt decisions on non-proliferation and non-interference in the internal affairs of other countries, and other steps to curb imperialism's aggressive policies and to expand and strengthen the positions of socialism, democracy and peace.

Soviet policy on the German problem and the character of the Soviet Union's relations with the two German states are marked by Marxist-Leninist fidelity to principle. The SUPG and the CPSU, the GDR and the USSR cooperate ever more closely on every issue of vital importance in keeping with the principles of socialist internationalism. The June 1964 Treaty of Friendship, Mutual Assistance and Cooperation, the results of the friendly visit of the Party and government delegation led by Comrade Ulbricht to the USSR in September 1965, the "October Storm" military exercises, the trade treaty for 1966-70, and many other agreements show that German-Soviet unity is becoming closer in every respect. This unity, like

*Abridged from **Neues Deutschland**, February 10, 1966.

the close defense alliance of the European socialist countries, largely determines the balance of forces on the European continent. That is why the West German imperialists have failed to spark off the conflict they sought. It is by no mere chance that the scene of recent attempts by world imperialism to sound out militarily the unity and might of the socialist system in Southeast Asia and not Europe.

All who cherish the interests of socialism and peace are grateful to the CPSU and the Soviet government for their steadfast effort. They entertain feelings of close affinity with the Soviet people led by the CPSU. They appreciate the fact that in the fifty years since the Great October Socialist Revolution the Soviet people have made colossal sacrifices for socialism and peace. Their progress in laying the material and spiritual groundwork for communism would have been much greater had they not taken upon themselves these sacrifices. Every true proletarian revolutionary and, indeed, every progressive should always be grateful to our Soviet friends.

Today the Soviet Union bears a heavier burden than ever in the struggle for peace and socialism, against imperialism. It plays the main role in maintaining the integrity of many countries, the GDR included. It makes a decisive contribution to the international support being rendered to the Vietnamese people, who are fighting for freedom, support for which the leadership of the fraternal Vietnamese Party has repeatedly and publicly expressed gratitude. Our Soviet comrades work indefatigably to foster the unity of the socialist world system, to rally all the progressive forces against imperialism. The CPSU and the USSR support, politically as well as materially, all fighters for social progress and national freedom. The Soviet Union spends large sums on assistance to many developing countries in building an independent economy.

In line with this unity and joint action in countering the aggression of the United States and its allies against the valiant Vietnamese people, and in full agreement with the brother parties, the CPSU has since the October 1964 plenum of the Central Committee refused to be provoked by the Chinese leaders' continued attacks. More, it has been taking new constructive steps to settle the differences. But the sense of historical responsibility, the political maturity and fraternal affinity with the great Chinese people, which determine this attitude of the party of Lenin, have unfortunately brought no response from the CPC leaders.

The CC, SUPG has time and again proposed to the CPC leadership that open polemics be discontinued and joint action be taken against the common enemy, imperialism.

The West German bourgeois press pins great hopes on this stand of the CPC leaders. It keeps track of every printed Chinese attack on the CPSU, the SUPG and other parties, and fits them into its own anti-communist propaganda. Capitalizing on discord and di-

vision among the anti-imperialist forces is a major component of the strategy and tactics of Bonn and its imperialist allies. The West German rulers, who close their eyes to the realities in Germany and Europe as they try to carry out their plans for revenge and domination through an atomic deal with the United States, clearly hope that differences will persist and that the Chinese leaders's disruptive trend will intensify and will further their reckless policies. The Bonn revenge-seekers' effort to aggravate the situation in Europe and bring matters to a conflict is encouraged by the Chinese press alleging that calm reigns in Europe, with the obvious aim of drawing the socialist countries into a conflict on two fronts.

The SUPG is on the front-line of the anti-imperialist struggle in Europe. Faced by the West-German imperialists and their NATO partners, the GDR is particularly aware of the adverse effect the CPC leaders' conduct has on the struggle against imperialism. It emphatically protests against the Chinese leaders' continued attacks on the great party of Lenin, on the SUPG and other brother parties. It denounces their splitting policies.

The progress of the German socialist state is intrinsically bound up with the Leninist policy of the CPSU, with fraternal support from the Soviet Union, with the unbreakable unity of the SUPG and the CPSU. All speculations on this score have been, and are, hopeless.

The SUPG and the government of the GDR regard closer unity and cooperation and increased power of the socialist communist as their prime internationalist duty. Nothing is more imperative today than joint action by the socialist countries in supporting the fraternal Vietnamese people politically and materially. As for relations with the Communist Party of China, we hold that what unites the Communist parties outweighs that which disunites them today. We can and must find ways of promoting the unity of action of the socialist countries and of the world Communist movement.

Our Party will maintain its solid unity with the CPSU and the other brother parties and will go on contributing to the realization of the great tasks of the world Communist movement.

STATEMENT*

OF THE CC, PEOPLE'S PARTY OF IRAN, ON THE ACTIVITIES OF THE SPLINTER GROUP

THE HISTORY OF THE QUESTION

For some time, influenced by the ideological propaganda and disruptive activities of the leaders of the Communist Party of China, two former members of the CC, comrades Ahmad Qasemi and Dr. Gholamhosein Forutan, and an alternate member of the CC, comrade Abbas Seghai, have been opposing the PPI international and domestic policy line.

As can be seen from the history of the Party, in the past these persons held Right-sectarian views, and their adherence to particular dogmatic, leftist methods, which the CPC leaders present as stemming from the principles of Marxism-Leninism, and to the policy of exacerbating the divergencies in the world Communist and working-class movement actively pursued by the CPC leaders, is a logical consequence of this attitude. Right up till the 10th CC plenary meeting there had been unanimity of views in the Party on problems related to the Communist and working-class movement and its international strategy and tactics, and these three comrades had supported all the relevant documents, resolutions and decisions.

At the 10th meeting comrade Qasemi, while agreeing with all the points of the resolution on the activities of our delegation to the 22nd Congress of the CPSU, adopted an incorrect stand on the point deploring the unprincipled line of the Albanian Party of Labor.

At the same meeting comrades Forutan and Seghai fully endorsed the draft. But after the meeting Dr. Forutan and later Seghai gradually joined Qasemi in supporting the position of the Chinese leaders. They tried to influence the Party's propaganda and ideological work in the spirit of their views, thus hampering to a certain extent the normal activity of the Party.

When the CC Bureau invited all full and alternate members of the CC to state their views regarding the disagreements in the movement, comrades Qasemi, Forutan and Seghai expressed themselves fully in favor of the position of the CPC leadership. Seghai

*Abridged from the CC, PPI information bulletin **Mardom**, December 1965-January 1966.

supported the Party line only as regards condemnation of the Stalin personality cult, and on the other questions virtually adopted the same stand at Qasemi and Forutan.

At the 11th CC meeting, despite the fact that their mistaken views were repeatedly pointed out to them in the report of the Bureau, and paying no heed to the remarks and explanations of the participants in the meeting, these comrades stuck to their incorrect line and evinced no desire to abandon it.

In connection with this, and considering that coexistence of two different lines in the CC of a party of the new type was contrary to the principles of such parties, the meeting removed comrades Qasemi and Forutan from the Central Committee while tolerantly leaving the organizational status of Comrade Seghai unchanged. However, despite the condescension shown him by the plenary meeting, comrade Seghai walked out of the session and submitted a letter of protest to the presiding board, thus making common cause with his associates.

After the plenary meeting, far from stepping down their activity, these comrades expanded and intensified it.

In the period following the 11th plenary meeting the Bureau was informed about the un-Party activities of comrades Qasemi, Forutan and Seghai, such as clandestine meetings, secret contacts with some exiles and non-exiles, dissemination of untrue, biassed and provocative information about the decisions of the 11th plenary meeting at private meetings, during discussions in Party branches and during attempts to organize collusion on the basis of their particular Left-sectarian platform opposed to the CC line. However, the Bureau displayed maximum tolerance and, bearing in mind the recommendations of the 11th plenary meeting, made all allowances in order to persuade these comrades and lead them onto the correct, Party road and also to guard them against any material or moral damage.

The tolerance and respect displayed by the leadership failed to ensure that these comrades, while holding their own views, should at least continue to respect and observe Party norms and decisions and take into consideration the supreme interests of the Party and the need for preserving its unity. They, however, set about working actively for an ideological and organizational split. At the same time they sought to camouflage their activity by references to imaginary attempts to expel them from the country of residence and hand them over to the Iranian police! They were fully aware of their wrongness, for the Party leadership, maintaining contact with them and considering the need for comradely approach and help, was taking measures — with their own knowledge — to provide them normal conditions for life and work.

When the CPC leaders went over from the tactics of temporizing and subverting the unity of fraternal parties from within to acts aimed at splitting them ideologically and organizationally, comrades Qasemi, Forutan and Seghai openly undertook steps towards a split and declared the following in their letter of October 7, 1965, signed by all of them: ". . . We shall fight for the restoration of the revolutionary traditions of the PPI and for the triumph of its ideals."

It should be noted that until that time these three comrades had not objected to the composition of the CC Bureau and on all maters addressed themselves to it, both orally and in written form.

The attempts to induce the comrades to respect Party discipline which the Bureau undertook upon receipt of the October 7 letter, and the written proposal on establishing contact, with which the Bureau twice addressed itself to each of them separately, were of no avail.

In the meantime, two statements were published: "An Open Letter of a Group of PPI Members to All Members of the Party Concerning the Renovation of the Party Organization and the Resumption of the Revolutionary Activity of the Working Class of Iran," which was unsigned, and "Violent Revolution — the Road to the Liberation of the Peoples of Iran," signed by comrades Qasemi, Forutan and Seghai. The second statement was dated June and August 1965 simultaneously.

Although the first statement was unsigned, the complete identity of its content with that of the second statement and of the letter written by the three comrades on October 7 leaves no doubt that the authors are the same. In both statements after sharp attacks on the PPI leadership, in the part entitled "Raise the Banner of the Ideals of the Iranian Working Class," the authors call for a split in the Party, and in the second statement they declare that they are preparing and will soon make public the political and organizational platform of the party to be built on a new basis. In view of this, being aware of its political and organizational responsibility, the Bureau adopted the following resolution:

"1. To regard the joint statement of comrades Qasemi, Forutan and Seghai on disagreement with all the decisions of the CC plenary meeting as a non-Party action and obvious neglect of the duties of the Party member stated in points 'a,' 'b,' 'e' and 'g' and Article 9 of the PPI Rules.

"2. To condemn the joint statement of these comrades on disagreement with the line and decisions of the CC of the Party and on their intention independently "to fight for the restoration of the revolutionary traditions of the PPI and for the triumph of its ideals" as an anti-Party, disruptive act harmful to the unity and interests of the PPI.

"3. To condemn as factionalist, anti-Party activities the setting forth of a platform and political line running counter to the line and tactics of the CC, the holding of clandestine conferences among the three, the attempts to establish secret contacts with some Party members with a view to winning them over for their leftist and anti-Party position, the dissemination of incorrect, provocative information about the decisions of the 11th plenary meeting and of the Party leadership, and the manifolding and circulation of various documents and letters among Party members.

"4. To consider that the actions of these persons constitute, in their totality, a conspiracy against the PPI and its unity, for disagreement with the line laid down by the CC and the proclamation of political and organizational activity outside the framework of decisions of the Party leadership is nothing else but proclamation of the establishment of a separate organization with a line and policy differing from the official line and policy of the Party. Such is the essence of the factional and splitting activities.

"The preservation of the name 'PPI' and the proclamation of struggle "for the restoration of the revolutionary traditions of the PPI and for the triumph of its ideals" is merely a subterfuge intended to camouflage the factionalist and splitting essence of these actions.

"On the basis of the above-stated and proceeding from Article 7 of the Party Rules, the Bureau of the CC resolves:

"a) To expel A. Qasemi and G. Forutan from the PPI.

"b) To remove A. Seghai from alternate membership of the CC and expel him from the Party, subject to endorsement by a CC plenary meeting.

"c) To bring the decision of the CC Bureau to the knowledge of these persons and to inform all Party organizations about it.

"d) The Bureau of the CC shall present a detailed report on the history of the matter to the 12th plenary meeting of the CC."

THE SPLITTERS VOICE OTHER PEOPLE'S IDEAS

In their documents, specifically in the statement dated simultaneously June and August 1965, the splitters insist that they speak their own mind and in the same breath accuse the Party of being dependent in its judgments and actions. The aim of these allegations is to make it appear that the PPI has lost ideological and organizational independence and present themselves as champions of this independence.

Leaving aside the fact that this accusation has been borrowed from the enemies of communism and the splitters themselves have on more than one occasion refuted it in the press, maintaining that the Party is independent in its thoughts and actions, its repre-

tition in their statements is purported to portray them as independent innovators voicing the aspirations of the nation, and to conceal their dependence on Peking.

The dating of their last statement, published in December, as June and August, is indicative of their desire to camouflage the fact that the launching of their disruptive work coincides with the receipt of instructions from Peking. The CPC leadership had long been preparing an ideological and organizational split, and finally this intention was made public in the *Jenminjihpao* issue of November 11, 1965 (and also in the magazine *Hunchi*), in a leader headlined "Unity of Action of the New CPSU Leadership."

At the same time the splitters made arrangements to leave the country and issued their first and second disruptive statements in which, forgetting about their "independence of thought" slogan, repeated several times exactly what the *Jenminjihpao* wrote, saying that they, too, had no other road than that of a split.

To be sure, the splitters take care not to mention the CPC so as not to reveal their dependence on Peking. But it is precisely this precaution that serves best to give them away, militating against thir assertion to the contrary.

Some time ago *l'Humanite* pointed out quite correctly that the *Jenminjihpao* article put everything in its place and that should small groups be formed in France, it would be clear that they were made up merely of agents of Peking.

We, for our part, wonder what right such groups have to call themselves national and independent while branding as dependent the Party which they but yesterday considered to be independent in its thoughts and actions, and declaring that not only is the PPI dependent in its actions, but that it also opposes the independence of thought and action of its members and voice other people's ideas.

It is noteworthy that, judging by their statements, the splitters are out to revive a splinter organization under the name of "PPI." This fact alone is indicative of the great social, political and moral prestige the PPI enjoys in Iran. This usurpation of the name, which others have also employed without success, shows that our Party, despite the setbacks and shortcomings which it certainly has and which it has never concealed, is the true exponent of the lofty hopes and aspirations of the people and spokesman of their revolutionary spirit. The splitters, who mouth the ideas of the CPC leaders and want, through usurping the name of the organization, also to appropriate its authority, are in a hopeless position, for it is impossible to claim independence after having borrowed both the ideas and the name from others.

What characteristic is deserved by the splitting activity of some Party members and the encouragement of this activity by the CPC

at a time when reaction is rampant in Iran, when imperialism, acting through the regime, is trying frantically to strangle the revolution and destroy democracy, when national and democratic organizations are ruthlessly persecuted by the security organs, and when the PPI, braving all difficulties, is doing its utmost to keep alive the flames of the working-class movement in the country? There is not the slightest doubt that this activity does not benefit the Iranian toilers and the people generally. Objectively, it benefits and gives joy to our sworn enemies. It leads to confusion and split in the working-class Party.

Our Party has experienced many such events in its long history. The first split in it showed that it was capable, by relying on its correct positions of principle, its prestige among the masses, its correct internationalist line and purposeful struggle, of not only holding out in the face of danger, but also fortifying its position. Since then, having endured many trials, the Party has gained new experience and become even more steeled. Today, confronted with a new split, it depends itself more ably than before.

One certainly should not underestimate the danger of a new split in the world Communist and working-class movement generally and in our movement in particular. But the dogmatic and adventuristic line of the Chinese leaders and their Iranian followers will be confronted by grim reality: being incorrect in principle, it is bound to suffer fiasco. It is likewise indubitable that all Party members will stand up in defense of the Party and resolutely fight for its existence.

The PPI has never prevented its members from stating their views independently and actively, provided they respect its ideology, principles and norms. Therefore free confrontation of views and ideas in our Party is a normal phenomenon. But whenever the existence and supreme interests of the Party have been in danger, its members have displayed complete unanimity and revolutionary unity, in keeping with the Party's basic demands and tasks. This is one of the most cherished traditions of our Party.

The situation demands that all members of the PPI, both in and outside Iran, put aside all ideological and other divergencies and rally their ranks still closer around the banner of the PPI and under its leadership in order to defend it against splitters and their dogmatic, adventuristic line. This is of fundamental, vital importance for the development of the liberation movement in our country.

We are confident that, despite all difficulties, our glorious organization, the People's Party of Iran, will ultimately win through.

December 1965.

FIDEL CASTRO REPLIES* TO CHINESE GOVERNMENT'S DECLARATIONS

In connection with the statements included in the speech I made on January 2nd† and the subsequent statements of the Ministry of Foreign Trade of Cuba, the Chinese government has issued two statements in which it attempts to justify its conduct on the question of trade relations with Cuba.

These statements of the Chinese government put in the mouth of a supposed "functionary" of the Ministry of Foreign Trade of that country, are to a high degree insidious.

No one will ever believe that in China an obscure and unknown functionary of the Ministry of Foreign Trade could make statements in which the Prime Minister of a socialist country, with which formal and diplomatic relations are maintained, is called a liar, statements which involve, because of their political substance and disrespectful manner, the possibility of seriously affecting the relations between two countries like China and Cuba.

Two things must be said at the outset:

First, that this form of procedure indicates great hypocrisy, because such statements can only emanate from the highest levels of the Chinese government.

Second, that besides being dishonest, this procedure reveals a feeling of contempt for other nations because it is equivalent to saying that statements by the Prime Minister of a small country, even when the problem being discussed seriously affects that country, only deserve the reply of a junior and anonymous functionary of the Ministry of Foreign Trade of China.

We will not use such hypocritical and contemptuous procedures because that is not our habit nor do we distinguish between big and small nations, neither with regard to defending the dignity of our own country nor with regard to the respect we owe other nations, whatever may be the consequences.

The attitude of the Chinese government goes beyond the limits of a discussion based strictly on figures and facts related to trade. Having reached this point, it is almost useless to argue about those facts and figures. Nevertheless, the statements and conclusions with which the Chinese government seeks to defend its position on this point must not remain unanswered.

On January 2 I did not want to pass judgment on, or define or

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*Abridged from **Granma**, special edition in English, February 6, 1966

†**See Information Bulletin** No. 65, 1966—**Ed.**

describe the economic measures adopted by the Chinese government, although I had more than enough evidence to do so. I limited myself to explaining that a sharp and unexpected reduction in our imports from China was going to take place. I explained the reasons put forward by the Chinese government and the immediate consequences for our country. I said on that occasion.*

With regard to these matters, the Chinese side has not been able to refute or conceal any of the essential points.

They have not been able to deny that for 1966 they agreed to deliver only 135,000 metric tons of rice. That is to say, 115,000 tons less than the previous year (1965) and 145,000 tons less than the needs put forward by Cuba.

They have not been able to deny that when our delegation proposed to use the 10 million credit to finance partially the imbalance that would occur, the Chinese side replied that this would have to be raised at the government level, but that as far as the products and amounts that could be delivered were concerned, their offers were maximum and hence final.

They have not been able to deny that in addition the Cuban delegation was informed of the fact, something which had never happened in any previous year, that trade would be balanced, which in commercial terms means that no credit could be expected.

In essence, they have not been able to deny that the Chinese representatives proposed four things in a very clear and precise way:

a) The limiting of our exports of sugar — the basic product with which we pay for our imports — to only 600,000 tons;

b) That the amounts of products offered by them were maximum and final;

c) That the imbalance would end this year;

d) That the amount of rice, a traditional and appreciable product of our consumption, would be reduced to almost half in relation to the previous year.

They have not been able to deny that these proposals were made to the Cuban side in a completely unexpected way at the end of 1965, without, naturally, our government having had the slightest notice that this would be the new trade policy of the Chinese government toward Cuba.

I repeat, not having been able to deny any of these essential matters, they have limited themselves exclusively to the discussion of a secondary point, whether or not it is true that the volume of exports that Cuba will receive from China in 1966 would be smaller than that of previous years, since 1961. And what they

*See Information Bulletin, No. 65, 1966, pp. 7-9.—Ed.

did in an attempt to distort this in their statement of January 9th, was to speak of the total volume of trade and, without offering any facts, to say that the information of the Cuban Ministry of Foreign Trade which I read on January 2nd, to the effect that imports would be lower than those of any previous year, was false.

The use by the Chinese side of the argument about categories of figures is made with obvious bad faith in order to confuse uninformed persons, to hide the weakness of their position and to make people believe that the Cuban Ministry of Foreign Trade is irresponsibly playing with figures.

They limit themselves simply to comparing total figures. But no matter what criterion they use to analyze the figures, the fact remains that they would receive 205,000 tons more of sugar by sending only an additional 100,000 tons of rice to Cuba. Can they deny that this proposal was highly beneficial for the Chinese people?

However, the essential thing in all this is that they have had to admit the following:

First: that the Government of Cuba, at the end of 1964, made a proposal for a special exchange of sugar for rice.

Second: that the Cuban proposal was conceived in terms of delivering larger amounts of sugar for rice than the established equivalents.

Third: that as a result of this proposal, they agreed to deliver 250,000 tons of rice.

Fourth: that just as I had said on January 2nd, they had agreed to deliver the amount of rice asked for, but not at a price in terms of sugar higher than the established.

How did the Government of Cuba interpret the Chinese reply? This is an important question. When China agreed to increase to 250,000 tons its rice exports to Cuba, we had to consider this as an affirmative reply to our proposal which clearly expressed our annual needs for rice, so important in our national diet.

The refusal to accept a higher price for sugar in exchange seemed to us consistent with the spirit of cooperation which had always governed the attitude of the Chinese government in its relations with us, and in no way a rejection of the commitment to supply us with the annual minimum requested.

The interpretation which the Chi[illegible] government has now given to this question, as a favor it did us for one year, which was certainly not what we proposed, reveals an ambiguous conduct in its proceedings and constitutes an act of betrayal of the good faith of the Cuban side.

We could never have thought that the Chinese government was reserving, like a hidden dagger, the right to interpret the extent of its commitment, in an absolutely unilateral manner, without

any kind of previous discussion or warning, and precisely at a time when our country was not in a position, nor had the means, to buy rice in other markets.

With regard to the rationing which we have been obliged to establish, due to the drastic and unexpected reduction of the rice exports to Cuba on the part of the Chinese government, the Chinese government in its last statement says the following:

". . . it was in 1962 when Cuba started to ration rice at six pounds per month per person. That same year the total amount of rice exported by our country to Cuba was 120,000 tons. In the following years, 1963 and 1964, our country exported 135,000 tons of rice each year to Cuba, and the rice ration for the Cuban population remained unaltered. In 1965, our rice exports to Cuba were almost double, but nevertheless the rice ration for the Cuban population was not increased. In 1966, according to figures discussed by both parties in the preliminary negotiations, it is true that Chinese rice exports to Cuba will be lower than those of 1965, but, nevertheless, they will be higher than in 1962 and equal to those of 1963 and 1964, in the face of these facts, how can the reduction of the rice ration in Cuba be arbitrarily linked with the problem of trade between China and Cuba?"

We cannot help but think how cynical this argument is. The Government of China cannot be unaware of the fact that in the years 1962, 1963 and 1964, Cuba was also supplied from other markets; that with many of these possible suppliers we are encountering growing difficulties of a political nature as a result of the Yankee blockade; that no country in Latin America, except Mexico, trades with Cuba; that those who had not broken off trade, like Uruguay and others, did so after the OAS agreement decreed by Yankee imperialism at the consultative meeting held in Washington in July, 1964. At that time, measures were taken against Cuba which was accused of having sent arms to the Venezuelan revolutionaries.

Also, in order to supply ourselves with rice from the few places possible, our purchasing power is limited by the price of sugar on the so-called world market. The Chinese government cannot be ignorant of the prices of sugar in the years in question.

How can the Chinese government attempt to ignore these realities and how can it say without blushing:

"If because of difficulties in their relations abroad, the Cuban side had really and sincerely wanted our country to export more rice to Cuba in 1966, it could have perfectly well raised the matter in negotiation at a higher level, as it did in the past."

Of course, the Cuban government had — as I will explain later — more than enough reasons for not doing this. But before reaching that point we want to ask: What would the Chinese people

think if the Cuban government, knowing that Chinese needs for sugar amount to 600,000 tons, as their representatives told our delegation, should reply that we were planning to reduce the delivery to 300,000 tons because we needed to sell the rest to obtain foreign exchange with which to buy various cereals? However, in spite of the fact that Cuba has suffered the worst drought in the last 60 years, and that its production will not be the same but less than last year's, and that sugar on the residual world market has dropped to the lowest prices in recent decades, and that U.S. imperialism has tightened its blockade against us, far from reducing our deliveries of sugar to 300,000 tons we proposed to send 800,000 tons.

With less sugar we offered to send more; you, with more rice, offered less. We, in the midst of drought, blockade and low prices, offered to increase deliveries of our main commercial product. You, admitting that you have had good harvests, reduce deliveries of rice to us by almost 50 per cent.

The representatives of the Chinese government also alleged the need to create reserves of rice to be prepared in case of a U.S. aggression. Is Cuba not running risks of U.S. aggression equal to, or greater than, those run by the People's Republic of China? And in the midst of an aggression, how could food supplies reach our coasts, thousands of miles away from any country of the socialist camp? By what means and across what frontiers could Cuba be supplied?

According to the Chinese government's concept of international duty, it is obvious that a country like ours, weaker militarily, more vulnerable to aggression, does not have the right to think of reserves, does not even have the right to maintain a modest ration which, in the face of the U.S. imperialist blockade, it has been obliged to establish.

We do not blame the Chinese government exclusively for the reduction of this ration. The responsibility in the first place falls on the Yankee imperialists who imposed the economic blockade on us; in the second place, on the Government of China for having in fact joined this blockade; and in the third place on ourselves, for having believed in the internationalist spirit of the Chinese government.

But this is not all. In its statement of January 9th, the Chinese government said:

"Trade negotiations between Cuba and China take place every year, and every year in the course of these negotiations different opinions arise. But Prime Minister Fidel Castro had never acted in this way in the past. Why, then, did he suddenly take this extraordinary step on the eve of the inauguration in Havana of the

Solidarity Conference of the Peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America? This merits thought."

In my speech of January 2nd, I limited myself strictly to the difficulties which had arisen with regard to trade, without passing judgment on the Chinese conduct, without going into the root of the problem, because it was extremely unpleasant and disagreeable to reveal other matters of a more serious nature which had arisen previously and which clearly explain the real motives behind the Chinese conduct.

At the same time the Chinese government speaks as though January 2nd had something to do with the Tricontinental Conference. It tries to disregard completely the nature of this date and the fact that new difficulties, which would start to manifest themselves immediately had to be explained to the people. This had absolutely nothing to do with the Tricontinental Conference.

It is we who can declare that precisely on the eve of the Solidarity Conference of the Peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America, the Chinese government carried out a criminal act of economic aggression against our country, in a year of serious difficulties caused by weather conditions, of exceptionally low prices on the world market for our main export product, and in the midst of a rigorous imperialist economic blockade which makes difficult or prevents trade with a large number of countries. The Chinese government could not have chosen a better and more timely moment to strike a grievous blow at our people, and, what is more serious, precisely when the Conference of Solidarity of the Peoples of the Three Continents was about to take place. This really is something that deserves serious thought.

What we are going to say now we could have said on January 2nd to explain the motive of the Chinese government's conduct. However we did not do so. It is precisely that Government, with its perfidy, its hypocrisy, its malevolent insinuations and its contempt for our small country, that obliges us to do so now.

Three months before the opening of the trade talks, on September 14, 1965, at 10 a.m., the President of the Republic, Comrade Osvaldo Dorticos Torrado, and I, as Prime Minister of the Government, called in the charge d'affaires of the People's Republic of China to discuss matters which in our opinion were extremely grave.

In spite of the fact that the Chinese government knew perfectly well what our position was regarding the distribution of propaganda material in our country on questions of a political nature, especially those which tended to deepen divisions between socialist peoples and states, since the Government of Cuba had stated it publicly, the representatives of the Chinese government in Cuba had paid absolutely no attention to our requests in this respect,

disregarding the prerogatives which, as a sovereign country, pertain exclusively to our Government.

This position of the Government of Cuba had been expressed very clearly on March 3, 1965, at the University, where we also made very clear our opinion on the division in the socialist camp and on the imperialist aggression against Vietnam.

On that occasion we stated in an unequivocal manner:

"We, small countries, that do not base ourselves on the strength of armies of millions of men, or on the strength of an atomic power; we, small countries like Vietnam and Cuba, have enough instinct to see with serenity and to understand that these divisions and differences that weaken the strength of the socialist camp hurt us, no one more than we who are in special situations: here, ninety miles from the U.S. empire; there, attacked by U.S. planes.

"It is not a question of analyzing here the problems under dispute theoretically, or philosophically, but of recognizing the great truth: that in the face of an enemy that attacks, in the face of an enemy that is more and more aggressive, there is no justification for division: division doesn't make sense, there is no reason for division.

"At any time in history, at any period of mankind, since the first revolutionary appeared in the world, since revolutions became social phenomena in which the masses acted instinctively, until the time revolutions were made consciously, became tasks and phenomena fully understood by the people — which took place when Marxism arose — division in the face of the enemy was never a correct strategy, it was never revolutionary strategy, was never intelligent strategy.

"In this revolutionary process we have all been educated from the beginning in the idea that everything that divides weakens, that everything that separates us is bad for our people and good for imperialism. The mass of our people understood the need for unity from the first moment, and unity became an essential question for the revolution, unity became the cry of the masses, unity became a slogan of the whole people. We ask ourselves if imperialism has disappeared. We ask ourselves, if the imperialists are not attacking North Vietnam. We ask ourselves if in North Vietnam men and women of the people are not dying.

"Who can be made to think or to believe that division is proper or useful? Can it not be seen that the strategy the imperialists are following is to smash the revolutionary movement in South Vietnam?

Who can doubt that this division encourages the imperialists? Who can doubt that a united front facing the imperialist enemy would make them hesitate, make them pause and think before launching their adventurous attacks and their evermore shameless

intervention in that part of the world? Who has to be convinced of this? With what argument, with what logic? And who benefits from this? The imperialists! And who are the victims? The Vietnamese! And what suffers? The prestige of socialism, the prestige of the international Communist movement, of the international revolutionary movement! And this truly hurts us! Because for us the liberation movement is not a demagogic phrase, but a watchword that we have always felt deeply!

"And of course we have full right, the full and absolute right, that I don't think anyone would dare to question, to ban such differences and such Byzantine battles in our country and among our people.

"And it should be known that our Party makes the propaganda here, that our Party gives guidance here, that this is a question that comes under our jurisdiction! And if we don't want the apple of discord here, because we don't like it, then no one can smuggle it in! Our enemies, our only enemies, are the Yankee imperialists! Our only insuperable contradiction is with Yankee imperialism! The only enemy against whom we are ready to break our lances is imperialism!

"This is, in all frankness and sincerity, our reasoned and dispassionate position, emanating from the right to think, to reason, and emanating from our legitimate and inviolable right to take measures and to act in the way we believe most correct and most revolutionary. And let no one fool themselves into thinking that they can give us classes for revolutionaries.

"The dangers that lie in wait for us are great, but they are not fought with Byzantine disagreements and academic charlatanry. No, they are fought with revolutionary firmness, revolutionary integrity, the readiness to fight. The imperialist enemy is not fought effectively anywhere in the world when revolutionaries are divided, insulting each other, and attacking each other, but only with unity and cohesion in the revolutionary ranks. And to those who may not believe that this is the correct tactic for the international Communist movement we say, that for us here on our small island, in our territory, in a frontline trench ninety miles away from the imperialists, this is the correct tactic! And we will adjust our line and our conduct to this way of thinking."

In spite of this absolutely clear position, an unmistakable expression of the will of our people, and the line we intend to follow, the Chinese government increased the massive shipment and distribution of propaganda material in our country, both directly from China and through its diplomatic representatives.

On September 12th, the Ministry of the Revolutionary Armed Forces reported that a massive distribution of this material was being carried out systematically among the officers of the Revolu-

tionary Armed Forces of Cuba by the representatives of the Chinese government. This propaganda was being sent to the General Staff of the Revolutionary Armed Forces, to the General Staffs of Armies, Army Corps and Divisions, to the General Staffs of the different branches of the Army, to the chiefs of political sections, and in many cases directly to officers of our armed forces at their home addresses. On occasions Chinese representatives tried to make direct contact with Cuban officers and in some cases went so far as to approach officers in an apparent attempt to personally attract them, either to convert them or perhaps to obtain information.

A kind of massive distribution of propaganda, similar to that described in the report of the Ministry of the Armed Forces, was being carried out among numerous civilian state officials, although to a lesser degree.

This was a really unheard-of act which no sovereign state, no self-respecting government would ever tolerate; a flagrant violation of the norms of the most elementary respect which should exist between socialist countries and even non-socialist countries. Our revolutionary state could not tolerate such an attempt to influence its military and administrative cadres through acts which constitute a betrayal of the confidence, friendship and brotherhood with which our country welcomes the representatives of any socialist state.

That was the reason why on September 14th we had to express, in the most energetic terms, to the charge d'affaires of the People's Republic of China, since its Ambassador was absent, our indignation, our protest and our demand that such activities cease. With complete clarity we told the representative of the Chinese government that these methods and procedures were exactly the same as those used by the U.S. Embassy in our country when it tried to interfere in the internal affairs of Cuba and in one way or another impose its will on the nnation; that our country had freed itself from that imperialism, 90 miles away from our coast, and was not prepared to permit another powerful state 12,000 miles away to impose upon us similar practices; that we considered the attitude of the Chinese government representatives an open violation of the sovereignty of our country and harmful to the prerogatives which, within our boundaries, pertain exclusively to our government; that cost what it might our government was not prepared to tolerate such acts.

After fully explaining this point of view, with an abundance of arguments and vigorous words, we expressed our protest against the campaign of lies against the Cuban Revolution being carried on in some part of the world by elements closely linked to the Chinese government, which, from our point of view, made even

more serious the disregard by the Chinese representatives of our warnings with respect to the massive distribution of propaganda involving problems of a political nature.

In spite of this warning, made in the most precise and conclusive way, the Chinese government and its representatives, with the insolence of the all-powerful and absolute contempt for our country, shipped in more than 800 bags with bulletins of political propaganda for distribution in Cuba.

Following the interview I have referred to, bulletins arrived in the following quantities:

SEPTEMBER:		
Bulletin No. 37	200	copies
" No. 38	190	"
" No. 39	3,816	"
OCTOBER:		
Bulletin No. 40	7,448	copies
" No. 41	6,816	"
" No. 42	4,827	"
" No. 43	10,043	"
NOVEMBER:		
Bulletin No. 44	7,178	copies
" No. 45	2,671	"
" No. 46	2,204	"
" No. 47	2,668	"
DECEMBER:		
Bulletin No. 48	1,274	copies
" No. 49	910	"
" No. 50	1,552	"
" No. 51	1,311	"
" No. 52	1,559	"
JANUARY:		
Bulletin No. 1	1,099	copies
" No. 2	1,075	"
" No. 3	1,200	"

The total number of these bulletins sent to Cuba from abroad after the direct and personal warning of the President of the Republic and the Prime Minister of the Government is 58,041.

And after that date scores of thousands of other bulletins and material of a political nature, printed or collected by the Chinese representatives in Cuba, were distributed.

The propaganda materials in question continued to arrive without interruption at the General Staff of the Armed Forces, at the General Staffs of the Armies, Army Corps, Divisions, branches of the Armed Forces, chiefs of the political sections, in spite of the fact that the charge d'affaires of the People's Republic of China had informed us on September 14th that he would inform the Government of his country and would reply to the questions raised. Absolutely no explanation whatsoever arrived from the Chinese government, which continued to go ahead with its activities. It gave a reply, very obviously and clearly, when our trade delegation arrived in China to discuss trade for 1966, a reply in the form of a brutal reprisal of an economic nature for clearly political reasons.

Naturally, these activities will end.

Now that this is explained, we have the right to ask:

How could the Chinese government expect that the Cuban government would go humbly to higher levels to beg, to implore that they give us a credit, that they accept our 800,000 tons of sugar, that they restore to us the 115,000 tons of rice, that they permit us a trade imbalance as in former years, when from the first moment we understood the clearly extortionist position taken by the Chinese side in the trade negotiations?

This pretension of the Chinese government can only be explained as an example of absolute contempt for our country; of total ignorance of the character and sense of dignity of our people. What was involved was no longer the number of tons more or less of rice, or the greater or lesser quantity of cloth, which was also affected, but a much more important and fundamental question for the peoples: whether, in the world of tomorrow, powerful countries can assume the right to blackmail, extort, pressure, attack and strangle small countries; whether in the world of tomorrow, which revolutionaries are fighting to achieve, there will continue to prevail the worst methods of piracy, oppression and filibusterism, which slave and feudal societies, absolute monarchies, bourgeois states and, in the contemporary world, imperialist states, have imposed upon the world ever since class societies existed.

FIDEL CASTRO
Prime Minister of the Revolutionary
Government of Cuba.

VENEZUELAN COMMUNISTS REPLY* TO THE "APPEAL OF THE 59"

In December 1965 fifty-nine prominent politicians, men of letters, scientists and artists issued an Appeal to the public proposing a solution to the current crisis in the county.

Dear Compatriots,

The day your Appeal appeared in the press of the capital, the reactionaries, fearing the repercussions it might have, hurriedly resorted to the vilest maneuver they have ever used against the Venezuelan revolutionary movement throughout the seven years of the Betancourt-Leoni regime. In a vain attempt to discredit those who have devoted their lives to a lofty ideal, renouncing all the good things of life, they portrayed outstanding leaders of the outlawed parties as common criminals. They secretly passed death sentences on them, and many of these sentences have evidently been carried out. The reactionaries' sole aim in doing this was to frustrate initiatives which, like yours, were intended to find solutions to the severe crisis our country is experiencing.

But they failed. Despite the unscrupulous abuse of power and the irresponsible charge fabricated by Congress and President Leoni without so much as an elementary investigation, public opinion gave no credence to the story made up by the police. It is clear to all that the outrageous attempt on Senora Rangel's life, prompted by no strictly personal motives, could be conceived and carried out only by those who have always been against a democratic solution. No one can deny that Betancourt's gorillas, directly advised by the U.S. police apparatus openly functioning in our country, will stick at no means, however infamous, to prevent an atmosphere of peace and progress in the country. Small wonder, therefore, that they decide on such an atrocity in the hope of ruling out every chance of peace.

They have certainly failed to stamp out the desire for peace on the part of the majority of the population. To end "this atmosphere of violence and political confusion which has persisted in the country for five years now and which sadly affects every aspect of the life of the nation" — as you very aptly put it — is the central task for every Venezuelan today. This is why the Political Bureau of the CC of the Communist Party of Venezuela, which has to work underground because it has been outlawed by decision of

*Abridged.

the Betancourt government in gross violation of the Constitution, sends this letter to you. The public standing of those who have signed the Appeal, and the ideas that inspired them to put forward a proposal aimed at freeing Venezuelan society from the fear of a protracted civil war, demanded a prompt reply on our part.

But to understand the problem, it is necessary first to point to those responsible for the present state of affairs and to indicate the causes of the conflict.

It was not we, but Betancourt who first used force, on orders from the U.S. State Department, which has never tolerated the rise of a democratic and popular movement in Venezuela or anywhere else in the world. This is not a groundless assertion. You know that upon coming to power Betancourt proclaimed the tactics of "isolating and segregating the Communists" as the pivot of his program. This is known to the leaders of the two parties who teamed up with Democratic Action to form the "broad basis" and who certainly share the responsibility for the hostilities launched by the government. Finally, this is known to the Venezuelan people, who have in various forms repudiated the policy of repression. This slogan initiated the cycle which you deplore in your document. For "isolating and segregating the Communists" would mean a declaration of war on a large section of the people.

Clearly, the revolutionary forces under attack could not remain passive in the face of brutal repressions and national betrayal. Loyal to the finest traditions of our people, we countered the government's violence with armed resistance. By consciously assuming this historical responsibility, we demonstrated our fidelity to the behests of our liberators, who voiced the aspirations of the peasants during the war for federation, and the example of those (they include some of you) who took up arms to free our country from the Gomes dictatorship.

Such are the antecedents which must not be ignored when discussing the present situation. Members of our Party have shed their blood in abundance fighting the policy of repression. The prisons are filled with our leaders and rank-and-file members. But we have never ignored any possibility of putting an end to the alarming situation in our country.

It goes without saying that we Communists shall never oppose any step really aimed at lessening the tension in the country and achieving mutual understanding. We reaffirm to you and to the whole people our intention to promote peace. Moreover, we have — as the resolutions of our Seventh Plenum point out — concentrated our policy on this aim in order to help isolate the real enemies of peace in Venezuela, the Betancourt gorillas, who hold key positions in the government and the Army and are trying to impart an anti-popular character to the "broad-based" regime.

We are aware that a certain segment of the regime is opposed to official policy and we therefore reiterate our proposals: an end to repressions, restoration of freedom to all former MP's, complete abolition of the Cachipo, El Tocuyo and Cabure concentration camps, strict adherence to the Constitution, and full guarantees for the organization and mobilization of the masses.

This is a minimum program opening up ample prospects for easing the tension. These measures would undoubtedly help create a different climate. But the question is of action, not of promises. As far as we are concerned, we shall do our utmost for the National Liberation Front and the Armed Forces of National Liberation to give a positive reply should the government adopt this orientation.

Dear compatriots, the Communists are ready for a dialogue. We shall never evade a discussion with any organization, party, sector or group truly wishing to contribute to peace, provided it recognizes our right as revolutionaries to fight for national independence. But let no one expect us to take a defeatist stand. The world of conquerors and conquered, of persecuted and persecutors, which the Betancourt gorillas would like to bring into being will never materialize.

If circumstances compel us to shed all our blood in struggle, we shall pay this tribute to our revolution. This is not mere bragging. You know well of our determination to fight and our unlimited capacity for sacrifice.

There will be no real peace in our country until we win recognition of our right to legal defense of Venezuela's independence against foreign domination. We have given this solemn pledge together with the fallen heroes of our revolution, such as Luis Emiro Arrieta and Argimiro Gabaldon, and we shall carry it out to the full.

Thus the road to mutual understanding is open. It is the sincere desire of our Party and our people that your commendable intiative find the right channel.

CC, CP of Venezuela.
Political Bureau,
December 1965.

PRESENT STATE OF THE STRUGGLE IN MOZAMBIQUE

DOCUMENTS* OF THE LIBERATION FRONT OF MOZAMBIQUE

The First Congress of the Liberation front of Mozambique (FRELIMO), held in September 1962 in Dar-es-Salaam, analyzed the situation in the country and worked out a program of action which, on the one hand, expressed the legitimate striving of our people for freedom, progress, justice and peace and, on the other, put on record the Portuguese government's refusal to recognize their right to self-determination and national independence.

Our program was thoroughly elaborated and carried out; work was launched in 1962-63, and 1964 saw completion of the first stage and transition to new forms of struggle.

The first half of 1964 was devoted to improving methods of mobilizing and organizing the people as provided for by the program. Our organization was strengthened, security was enforced, the maneuvers of the political police (PIDE) were exposed, and so on.

On September 25, 1964 the Appeal to the Mozambique People was issued, sparking off the general armed uprising against Portuguese colonialism, for full independence.

On that day fierce fighting between the colonialists' troops and the popular forces headed by FRELIMO errupted in many regions of the country.

RESULTS OF THE STRUGGLE

Reports on the losses sustained by the colonial army as a result of our struggle have begun to appear in the communiques of the Portuguese General Staff. Although the figures are strongly understated, a single comment on one of the communiques led to the suspension, on November 22, of *Diario de Mozambique*, organ of the Beira bishopric. The truth about the losses is concealed from the Portuguese people, to whom they are presented as "traffic accidents," etc. But these subterfuges can mislead no-one. At the end of the year the authorities even started circulating rumors about an imaginary "epidemic of hepatitis." At the same time, severe blows are being dealt at the colonialist economic apparatus by the

*Abridged from FRELIMO **Information Bulletin**, No. 6-9, 1965.

actions of our fighters. For instance, sabotage on the railway line in Nampula caused a damage in excess of 12,500 pounds sterling; 23 coaches with motor vehicles destined for Southern Rhodesia were derailed in Vila Peri; a warehouse belonging to a colonial company was set on fire in Antonio Enes, with the resulting damage of 2,500 pounds sterling.

Towards the close of 1964 our fighters had killed more than 400 enemy soldiers, shot down two planes and destroyed military vehicles, warehouses, bridges and administrative centers. The offensive capacity of our troops steadily increased, and the outlook for our victory grew ever brighter.

Our struggle, launched in different localities—in Lugela, Mueda, Tacuane, Vilanculos, Boane—gradually gained in strength and intensity.

Far from intimidating our people and our fighters, the colonial repressions heightened the hatred for the oppressors and the determination to win. It was not the people but the enemies of the people whose morale began to sink.

FIRST LESSONS OF THE STRUGGLE

In its end-of-the-year statement the Central Committee analyzed the results of the work done and charted the line of action for 1965. The statement read, in part:

"We must strengthen our political organization through setting up new nuclei of FRELIMO militants in seaports, mines, factories, on railways and plantations, at sawmills and in the villages, schools and offices. Everywhere we should have conscientious and devoted FRELIMO fighters capable of mobilizing all forces for the struggle and effectively promoting mass actions in any concrete conditions. . . . We must raise the level of our political consciousness, primarily through systematic reading of FRELIMO bulletins and other publications, the study of all problems pertaining to our revolution both on the local and nationwide scale. . . We must constantly explain the political, economic and social objectives of our revolution so that the people should better understand the reasons for our struggle. . . Finally, we must tirelessly explain to the Portuguese population the clear and just aims of FRELIMO in order to isolate the Portuguese colonial government and the colonial repressive forces from it."

1965

In these conditions, 1965 became the year of a powerful upsurge of our armed struggle for national liberation.

The armed struggle we have been waging for almost a year has

been marked by fairly significant victories: about 1,000 Portuguese soldiers killed (more than 200 in July and the first half of August 1965 alone), eight planes shot down, administrative centers, trading establishments, military vehicles and bridges destroyed, arms and ammunition captured, numerous acts of sabotage carried out against the colonial economy and strategic communications.

In addition, many PIDE agents and particularly harmful traitors have been liquidated, while educational work has been conducted among others, who are not doing any serious harm any longer.

To conceal its setbacks, the enemy devises new methods, such as immediate demobilization of the severely wounded (if they die, they die as civilians, and are not added to the casualty list), invention of new "epidemics" (the Lisbon *Diario Popular* reported on a flu epidemic allegedly carrying away 100 lives, an epidemic of small-pox which killed thousands), and so on. On May 21, 1965 *Diario de Mozambique* was again suppressed for ten days for having printed an article by Monsignor Rezenda, the Bishop of Beira, stating that "a hardly remediable situation has developed."

To support the myth about the "Portuguese patriotism" of the Mozambique people, the Portuguese government has launched an international propaganda campaign alleging that the patriotic armed struggle in Mozambique has been engineered by "rebels arriving from abroad." This campaign is accompanied by threats of aggression against fraternal countries such as Tanzania, and appeals to Verwoerd to send soldiers, and we have proof that they are coming already, for some of them have been killed by our fighters. The NATO bloc and especially the United States, Great Britain, West Germany and France do not stint financial and diplomatic support for Salazar's colonial wars. The strategy of imperialist aggression in South Africa has been specified recently in secret agreements between Salazar, Verwoerd and Smith providing for mutual assistance of the reactionary forces in the struggle and armed aggression against the people of Africa.

ZONES UNDER OUR CONTROL

The colonialists retaliate to the actions of our fighters by massacring peaceful civilians, bombing and napalming our villages and employing all means of intimidation, as evidenced by the establishment of a concentration camp on Ibo Island or by the so-called trial of intellectuals.

These crimes, however, cannot break our will for victory. On the contrary, they result in our struggle growing in intensity and strengthen our determination to do away with oppression once and for all.

Our struggle has already driven the colonialists from some

regions. After a year of fighting, large parts of the provinces of Cabo, Delgado, Niassa and Zambezia and several regions of Tete have been freed from Portuguese control and a system of people's government is being established there. We have set about organizing production, organs of justice and medical services. New types of production and new relations of production are being developed under our leadership. We also take steps to open schools. This is only the beginning, of course. But as we free more and more of the territory we extend and develop the practice of people's government. In this way our people will gradually begin, at long last, to exercise control over Mozambique's policy and economy.

SOLIDARITY OF WORLD PUBLIC OPINION

These events, especially the growth of our national-liberation struggle have enhanced the international prestige of FRELIMO, which has enabled friendly and fraternal peoples, governments and organizations to express in concrete form their solidarity with our people.

The prestige our struggle and our National Front enjoy finds expression in press reports and radio broadcasts in the African, Asian, Latin American and socialist countries; even organs most closely connected with imperialism are compelled to admit the successes of our struggle.

This prestige finds expression in the fraternal relations existing between FRELIMO and the anti-imperialist governments and organizations the world over, especially those of Asia and Africa. Witness the decision of the Fourth Conference of the Organization of Afro-Asian Solidarity, which elected FRELIMO to its Executive Committee and proclaimed September 25, the day of the beginning of our armed struggle, the International Day of Solidarity with the People of Mozambique.

LETTER* FROM WALTER ULBRICHT TO KURT MAETZIG

On January 14 last Comrade Walter Ulbricht wrote a personal letter to Professor Kurt Maetzig, who wrote back, thanking Comrade Ulbricht for the trust placed in him. The letter prompts some hard thinking, Professor Maetzig added, and since it is of general significance, its early publication would be highly desirable. Professor Maetzig's consent enables us to publish the letter.

Dear Comrade Maetzig,

The stand you took on your film, I Am the Rabbit

The stand you took on your film, *I Am the Rabbit*, in *Neues Deutschland* was welcome news to me because it showed that you had no doubt after an arduous inner struggle—adopted a Party attitude. I do not doubt that in conceiving the film you saw it as important to the mastering of present-day themes by the cinema and therefore threw the full weight of your artistic talent behind it.

You certainly had no intention of making a film that when shown in West Germany would draw applause from the most reactionary enemies of the GDR. To the West German reactionaries there is only a GDR in inverted commas. But then your film is also about a GDR in inverted commas. And this is the primary point at issue.

What was the situation in the struggle between the ruling classes of West Germany and the peace forces when your film was about to go on the screen? The West German ultras had come to realize that the GDR stands firm on its feet. Their old methods of fighting the GDR had proved of little effect. They were therefore out to deprave people by exporting pop literature and propagating perversion, that is, by spreading Western trash and filth and advocating scepticism and estrangement. As usual, this activity was carried on under the slogan of freedom. When some student groups committed disgusting excesses and when some young people, succumbing to Western beerhouse culture, stopped washing, there came earnest protests from the population. This raised the issue of educational work through radio, TV, cinema, theatre, school and university.

It was in those circumstances that the film *I Am the Rabbit* struck a discordant note of its own. We told ourselves: let the

*Neues Deutschland, Jan. 23, 1965.

Central Committee, the highest instance, see all materials and pass judgment on them.

Since there are again some artists who talk nonsense about a new "tough line," I must ask: Isn't that turning the truth upside down? Is not your film or plays, films and "hits" cast in the same mould the toughest line against our Party and the GDR? I would like to ask whether it was really necessary to call a CC, SUPG meeting, and whether there were no other ways of forming a collective opinion, of providing public and state guidance, in order to make it clear to you in time how profound your ideological errors were.

Numerous people believe that your Party point of view stand in *Neues Deutschland* is insincere. I do not think so. Your film was an error and you have said so in public. Once Johannes Becher gave a very apt definition of error: "It is a grave error to believe that an error recognized as an error is no longer an error. It is neither more nor less than an error recognized as an error. Now it stands a chance to be removed. Through practice, through deeds, through action."

Think also of how to spare disappointment to the gifted young actress whom you assigned the key role in your film, and how to help her gain real political clarity and prove her talent by accomplishing new, worthy tasks.

It has to be made perfectly clear to film makers as well as to all other art workers where departure from the Party position gets one. Please imagine the material consequences. Were industrial workers, farmers, technicians, engineers, scientists, the managements of enterprises or agricultural production cooperatives to register difficulties and contradictions and leave it at that, instead of constantly divising new methods for overcoming them, where would they be?

Are writers and artists less responsible for spiritual output? Do they think they can create a socialist art by means of crass naturalism, a fact-recording display of specimens of negative conduct, blended with coarse sex? Really, the more "skilful" such art is, the more corrupting it will be.

Thus the present debate on cultural policies does not deal with your film alone. It deals with great ideological problems that concern everyone and above all artists, of course.

The 11th Plenum of the CC SUPG discussed the prospects of development till 1970. It gave considerable prominence to the problem of advancing our nation's socialist culture with its aesthetic and ethical assets typical of the new stage in our social development.

The frank and deep-going discussions there have been about harmful ideological standpoints were published with the aim of

revealing to the entire population the consequences involved when artists and, moreover, members of our Party, abandon the Party standpoint and yield to influences opposed to our socialist outlook.

It should be obvious that for our writers and artists also, not all the roads in our socialist construction are as smooth as concrete highways. There still are "uneven spots" and "potholes," but they mark the road leading the arts out of an impasse and into the future, as Becher put it. Socialist art cannot flourish either in the impasses or on the no-man's land between the frontlines of socialism and imperialism.

Many an artist today enjoys casting doubt on everything as he might enjoy taking a narcotic. This is not to deny a certain productive potential of doubt as an element of the creative method, provided it is based on the ability to recognize the objective social truth. Doubt in itself is of no use whatever to our socialist world outlook unless it is used creatively and becomes, along with the weapon of socialist ethics and aesthetics, an instrument for attaining specific goals of socialist construction.

Socialist living conditions, too, do not spontaneously create, as in a test tube, people with a socialist world outlook. Illusions about false freedom, about the right of the invidual to place himself above the Party and the state, about ideological coexistence with the most bellicose enemies of our socialist construction are barriers to the development of socialist concepts of life. They militate against our genuine socialist ideals, which are feasible and hence become reality within a definite time. These ideals are the yardstick with which we measure our present achievements, both material and spiritual. This is why socialist ethics also are becoming more important as the technical revolution progresses, our working people acquire more varied skills, and the GDR is perfected as a socialist state.

Our writers and artists have the greatest freedom to create anything useful to our state and society. Conversely, it should be contrary to their professional ethics to claim freedoms, whose implications are directed against our state and Party, against Germany.

In June 1950 Becher wrote in his diary: "When we are striving for a renaissance of German culture, the question is not of searching for new forms but of appreciating that which is historically new, and of being thoroughly aware of how it has come into the world and how it is going to radically change the very nature of people." In the same passage, Becher wrote: "We are proud to live and work in the German Democratic Republic, the first state in German history where art and science enjoy citizenship and where their every genuine achievement is acknowledged and furthered. The ardent "yes" we say to our GDR will very soon give rise, we hope, to creations bringing joy to our people and doing credit to

our free statehood. We belong to the GDR, just as it belongs to us. We say to it: "You, our state, just as it calls us 'its writers.' Its institutions are our institutions."

These ideas and sentiments of Becher's are perfectly valid for the attitude of our writers and artists today and will remain so. The concepts of partisanship and of close bonds with the people, the two pillars of socialist realism, which Lenin described in his article "Party Organization and Party Literature" 60 years ago, are, as applied to this day, to the concrete stage in our full-scale socialist construction, fundamental qualities of every progressive artist irrespective of his party allegiance. These fundamental qualities should determine, in constant and stimulating debates, the subjective point of departure of writers and artists. Let them be decisive — in the truest sense of the word — for their world outlook.

During discussion, such concepts as conformism and non-conformism today play a certain part with some writers and artists. There are absolute misconceptions on this issue, as, "You progressive West German writers are non-conformists and hence are against your state. We also are non-conformists, that is, are against our state. What a convenient position for us to fraternize!"

Yes, the more unreservedly West Germany's progressive artists reject and combat the concrete Bonn state, an imperialist, warmongering state, the more respect their position commands. The more unreservedly progressive artists of the GDR assert the concrete workers' and peasants' state in Germany, the first state of this type, supporting it with imaginative socialist works of talent that arouse the deepest, worthiest and most fertile thoughts and sensations iin spectators and listeners, the more respect their position commands. We have such works in our literature, the imitative arts and music, on our stage, in cinema and television. Among the latest films of this kind are no doubt the film on Liebknecht, *Dr. Schluter,* and *The Mother and Silence.*

To be able to produce such works in every sphere of the socialist development of our national culture, our writers and artists should close their ranks behind the Party. They should openly and ruthlessly combat ideological sabotage, the poison of scepticism, the negation of all that is heroic, of great and noble sentiments.

Thus, freedom for everything that benefits our state, but no freedom for filth and pornography, none for ideological agreement with the enemies of socialism, none for smearing our state, which has come into being through untold sacrifice and innumerable feats of heroism by honest Germans. It follows that the artist's many-sided use of this socialist freedom implies a constant appeal to his Party conscience and his civil conscience. It follows that another precondition for genuine recognition is for our writers and artists

to strike firm root in the GDR, in their own state, which they must defend against every ideological attack.

This idea was well put by the author Joachim Knappe in his *Neues Deutschland* contribution to the 11th Plenum. "We would do well," he wrote, "to place, alongside the 'October stand' put up by socialist armies, the 'October stand' of socialist art, as a comrade-in-arms, so that it should become obvious to everyone that this frontier is also impregnable, that it has no loopholes for the enemy but gates for the friend."

Professor Marx Burghardt was right when he stated, in his *Forum** interview on the cinema—an interview inspired by Marxism-Leninism: "What people want today is not to watch sexual aberration or excitement but to posses an indomitable spirit, so that they can disentangle themselves from the philistine meshes of pernicious instincts and inclinations. They are casting about for an ethics of life, such as our socialist world outlook offers them."

Of course we need educated and cultured writers and artists. But without political awareness and ideological conviction they cannot create works whose impact on the mind and the senses would promote and intensify the socialist associative capacity of people, particularly of youth. What a master of dialectics is Bertold Brecht! His entire work insists on man's ethical responsibility for his actions and achievements, as do, for example, *Mother Courage, Galileo,* and *Days of the Commune.* In the latter work, the national question is most intimately linked, in dialectical terms, with the winning of power by the people.

We cannot demand that progressive West German writers and artists should be Marxists and recognize the GDR without reservations. But you can make it clear to them that the GDR is the only German state which has all that is needed to rule out the existence of a conflict between authority and creativity. You can make it clear to them how severe is the crisis of the social superstructure in West Germany as regards politics, justice, education and culture. You can make it clear to them that in the GDR the law on a single socialist system of education, the law on the family, justice, and the policy on culture guarantee peaceful socialist development. You can make it clear to them why you say "yes" to your state. You should ally yourselves with them in a common fight for peace.

The "little GDR" is faced by a state whose government is willing to carry the dirty war in Vietnam into Germany, by a state which is openly making war preparations against the GDR and, indeed, has already begun a covert war using every means of agitation and propaganda, political and cultural sabotage against the GDR. What fair-minded writer or artist of the GDR will not feel very strongly

*Newspaper for students and young intellectuals, published by the Central Council of the Free German Youth League.—**Ed.**

that he must fight in the front line to beat back these massive attacks on peace and socialism!

The world is impressed by the Soviet Union's successful mediation for peace between two belligerents, India and Pakistan, in Tashkent. There you have a splendid example of the honesty and effectiveness of Soviet peace policy. The policy of peace is also our state doctrine. This is why we spare no effort to ensure that no war ever starts from German soil again. Hence the six-point proposal contained in my New Year's message to the West German Bundestag.

An analysis of the uncertainty and confusion of various artists and writers opposed to the GDR shows that in the long run the uncertainty is rooted in a lack of understanding of the national question. It is this uncertainty that the enemy is trying to carry deeper through his dirty propaganda. In this sense, our fight against immorality, corruption, pessimism and fatalism in literature and the arts is a national necessity.

It is decisive, therefore, that the writer or artist should not let himself be misled into adopting a fundamentally wrong position. He is not a priest administering the last rites, nor a doctor at the sickbed, nor yet a judge dealing with a defendant. He is one of us and is among us, and his task is to plan and work and govern with us. The clearer his idea of the great perspective of peace, a goal to which the GDR is advancing steadfastly, the more fruitful his effort. Where there is light there ought to be shadows. The shadows which the writer or artist sees are cast by the light of full-scale socialist construction. The shortcomings and weak points he must combat are contradictions which socialist art should measure with the yardstick of the vast gains and achievements of our society.

We citizens of the GDR have undertaken the difficult and honorable task of building a peaceful German socialist state. Writers and artists cannot leave the accomplishment of this task to workers and farmers alone. They have the freedom and the power to influence by their work the all-round development of truly socialist man.

In this sense I wish you, dear Comrade Maetzig, and all our writers and art workers great success in your responsible work, such as will do credit to you and to our German Democratic Republic

Yours sincerely,
WALTER ULBRICHT

Berlin, January 14, 1966.

STATEMENT* BY THE CC, CPSU

On February 21 last a military tribunal sitting in Jakarta sentenced Comrade Njono, member of the Political Bureau of the CC, Communist Party of Indonesia, to death.

The trial, held in an atmosphere of mass terrorism against the Communist Party and the Left forces generally, revealed the reactionaries' intention of dealing summarily with their political opponents.

In an effort to put on Comrade Njono as a member of the PB, CC, CPI the blame for the "September 30 movement," the court passed an unfair and unfounded sentence. During the deliberations the prosecutor made a slanderous attack on the CPI by describing it as counter-revolutionary. This was aimed at satisfying the reactionary demand that communism be "eradicated."

The Jakarta trial once again exposes the anti-popular schemes of the organizers of the anti-Communist hysteria and their desire to make up so-called legal grounds for the formal prohibition of the CPI, virtually driven underground already. The reactionaries are trying in vain to discredit the ideology of the Communist movement and to justify their crimes, the murder of many tens of thousands of Communists, in the eyes of the Indonesian people. Their deeds link up with those of world reaction, which operates under the flag of anti-communism.

Comrade Njono had devoted his energies to the fight for the national independence of Indonesia, for the interests of the working people, and the sentence passed on him is a challenge to all who cherish national freedom and social justice.

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, expressing the will of the millions of Soviet Communists and the Soviet people as a whole, indignantly condemns the continuing anti-Communist terror in Indonesia launched by Rightist reaction and emphatically protests against the unfair sentence.

On behalf of all the Communists of the Soviet Union, the CC, CPSU insists on repealing the sentence and saving the life of Comrade Njono, a staunch champion of the progress and happiness of his people.

The CC, CPSU feels confident that the Indonesian nation's patriotic forces will stop reaction on the rampage, which is destroying the national unity of the country, and prevent the loss of the revolutionary gains of the Indonesian people.

Central Committee,
Communist Party of the Soviet Union

*Pravda, Feb. 24, 1966.

STATEMENT* BY GERHARD DANELIUS

FIRST SECRETARY OF THE SUPG (WEST BERLIN)

(The Statement was made in connection with the ban on holding the First Congress of the Party.)

The ban on holding the First Congress of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany (West Berlin) in Spandau† on February 25-27, imposed by the Allied Kommandantur and the Berlin Senate, is an outrage against the Constitution and democracy, against the rights of a legal democratic party. It does tremendous harm to the prestige of our city. It is one of a series of anti-democratic measures restricting the exercise by the SUPG (West Berlin) of its constitutional rights.

This unlawful measure was adopted at the insistence of Ernst Lemmer, Bonn's special commissioner, and the press of the Springer syndicate. They fear a relaxation of tension and the establishment of mutual understanding, and dread the growing influence of the policy of our Party, whose proposals and ideas for peace and security are gaining ground in West Berlin. The sole purpose of this act is to increase tension, prevent any steps towards a détente, and maintain the abnormal situation in West Berlin.

The ban is directed not only against our Party but against all forces in West Berlin championing a policy of common sense and goodwill. It is an expression of weakness, not strength. Are they afraid of our arguments, of a discussion on the German problem, such as could promote peace and a rapprochement between the two German states and between West Berlin and the German Democratic Republic, and hence serve the cause of reunification?

The keen interest that the policy of our Party arouses is evident from the fact that twenty-two brother parties were going to attend it and 90 journalists from West and East had asked permission to cover the congress.

We emphatically protest against the decision of the Allied Kommandantur and the Berlin Senate prohibiting the congress of our Party, set for February 25 to 27, and insist on the lifting of the ban and on respect for the constitutional rights of our Party.

This is my first statement. As a democratic party, we shall immediately call an extraordinary meeting of the Board to discuss the measures to be taken.

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*Neues Deutschland, Feb. 22, 1966.

†West Berlin.—Ed.

§Representing the United States, Britain and France.—Ed.

ACTIVITIES OF THE COMMUNIST AND WORKERS' PARTIES

An agreement on work among the Italian emigrés in France was reached at a meeting of delegations of the FCP and the ICP led, respectively by Georges Marchais, member of the Political Bureau and Secretary of the CC, FCP, and Giorgio Amendola, member of the Leadership and the Secretariat of the ICP.

The French Communist Party, the agreement reads, is responsible for the political, ideological and organizing guidance of the emigre working people's struggles for economic and social demands, for peace, democracy and socialism.

The Italian Communist Party approves of the activities of the FCP in this sense and recommends to its members and activists in France to join the FCP and work in its ranks.

Feb. 11. The CC SUPG published an open letter to the delegates to the Dortmund congress of the Socioal-Democratic Party of Germany and to the SDP members and supporters in West Germany.

The CC, SUPG suggests setting up in 1966 a medium for public exchanges of opinions between East and West Germans comprising all segments of the population of the GDR and West Germany on a parity basis.

Feb. 12-13. The Walloon section of the CC, CP of Belgium, discussed ways of stepping of the *Drapeau Rouge* circulation campaign, problems of the struggle of young people, the question of holding a conference of Walloon Communists on the problems of ameliorating the economy, and the political situation in Belgium resulting from the government crisis. It unanimously adopted a resolution entitled "For a Government Which Will Renounce Regress."

Feb. 14. *Le Drapeau Rouge* carried the text of the resolution of the PB CC of the Communist Party of Belgium "For a Government Which Will Renounce Regress."

"No more taxes!" the resolution says. "No more restrictions! No more closing down of industrial establishments! The workers have already paid too much. The account must now be presented to big capital."

Feb. 17-18. A joint meeting of the CC and CCC of the Italian Communist Party discussed the following items:

(1) The government crisis and problems of the country (report by Giorgio Amendola).

(2) Appointment of heads of CC sections (departments) and heads of press organs.

(3) Miscellania.

Feb. 18. M. Suslov, member of the Presidium and Secretary of the CC, CPSU, and B. Ponomaryov, Secretary of the CC, CPSU, met at the CC, CPSU with a delegation of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany (West Berlin), consisting of G. Danelius, First Secretary of the Board, and E. Ziegler, Second Secretary.

The meeting, which proceeded in an atmosphere of cordiality and fraternal friendship, demonstrated anew the complete identity of views of the two parties and their striving to consolidate the unity of the world Communist movement on the principles of the 1957 Declaration and 1960 Statement.

Feb. 19. The CC, CPSU heard and discussed a report by A. Kosygin, Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR, on the draft directives of the 23rd Congress of the CPSU for the 1966-70 economic development plan. The speakers included L. Brezhnev, First Secretary of the CC. The CC adopted the following resolution:

1. To approve the draft directives of the 23rd Congress of the CPSU for the 1966-70 economic development plan of the Soviet Union.

2. To publish the draft directives in the press.

3. To offer the draft directives for discussion in Party organizations, at working people's meeting and in the press.

February. Nicolae Ceausescu, General Secretary of the RCP, and Ion Gheorghe Maurer, Chairman of the SRR Council of Ministers, paid a friendly visit to Bulgaria at the invitation of Todor Zhivkov, First Secretary of the CC of the Bulgarian CP, Chairman of the BPR Council of Ministers.

In February the CC, CP of Australia discussed the economic situation in the country and Australia's foreign policy.

It also considered problems of building the Party improving ideological and political work in the Party organizations, and distributing the Party press.

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MATERIALS OF THE 14TH CONGRESS OF THE CP OF FINLAND

Helsinki, January 29 - February 1, 1966

RESOLUTION ON THE POLITICAL SITUATION AT HOME

It became clear back at the time of the 1962 presidential and parliamentary elections that the bourgeois parties were intent on paving the way for post-election cooperation. This, it was claimed was essential for "normalizing the situation in the country," for establishing internal peace. The Agrarian Union — Center Party bears the chief responsibility for the coalition party entering the government after the 1962 elections.

The bourgeois coalition in the government resulted in an economic policy favoring big capital. Moreover, the coalition's participation in the government encouraged the rightist bourgeois paramilitary and other reactionary organizations in their resistance supported even by the Party of the Center, to the country's foreign and domestic policy of peace.

In recent years the government has failed to solve any of the most important problems, and the difficulties have been further aggravated. The Diet, where the bourgeoisie has the majority, had sufficient time to effect the necessary reforms, but the ruling bourgeois parties evinced no desire to run the economic life of the country in a planned way and in the interests of the nation—this at a time when the economic resources could be put to much better use.

Government policy, geared as it is at catering to big capital, is characterized by striking contradictions: with all the propaganda fuss around laws on "developing regions" or the establishment of some new industrial enterprise, no measures are being taken against curtailing the operation of existing enterprises; the state of our foreign trade, especially with West Germany and Sweden, is admitted to be intolerable, but "freedom of trade" is invoked to allow further growth of disproportions in the trade balance; the shortage of capital is lamented as hampering industrial development, while capital is outflowing abroad, where it is invested in industrial construction; it is agreed that solution of the housing problem brooks no delay, but no prompt measures are taken. The monopolies, which dominate in political and economic life, hinder the country's development. The way the government runs the companies in which it is

the biggest shareholder compels even those companies to rely on big private firms.

The current economic policy must be abandoned if social progress is to be secured and the living conditions of the people improved. The standard of living can be raised in a planned way even in the prevailing situation. The economic program adopted by the 14th Congress of the CPF suggests what policy of socio-economic reforms should be pursued.

The working class is the chief force capable of effecting a change for the better. To cope with this task, workers' organizations should act in common. Taken together, they represent the majority of our people, and they cannot absolve themselves of the common responsibility for Finland's progress. Their cooperation will also be conducive to the unity of broader democratic forces, preparing the ground for a government of democratic unity, for only such a government can change the orientation of economic and domestic policy.

A new domestic policy for the coming years should have the following aims:

—higher real wages;

—measures to prevent growth of prices and the cost of services and to prevent inflation;

—elimination of unemployment through stepping up state-directed industrialization and improving conditions for the operation of industry. Each citizen should be ensured earnings obviating the need to look for a job abroad;

—promotion of foreign trade to balance it. Through expanding trade with the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries, it is necessary to create more jobs and thus make life more secure; trade with developing countries should receive more attention.

—support to small farmers with the help of measures to promote growth of production, reduce production costs, cut down the cost of operations, and buoy up the farms. People quitting agriculture should be ensured proper earnings in other branches;

—abandonment of the agricultural policy favoring the big landowners; curbs on the intermediary and processing monopolies operating in agriculture;

—improvement of housing conditions through large-scale construction, with emphasis on state-subsidized communal building and greater help to the families facing the housing problem. Expenditures will be reduced considerably by putting an end to profiteering in real estate, subsidies and flats;

—easing the tax burden through legislation to make the big companies and the rich shoulder the brunt of it. The available means should be spent through the state budget more rationally, in the interest of the people;

—a more vigorous policy of social reforms. Social legislation should truly be social security. It is necessary to unify legislation on pensions and to adopt a law on pensions to families bereft of the breadwinner. The network of hospitals and other medical establishments should be expanded to cover the outlying localities, and properly staffed with qualified doctors and other medical personnel;

—extension of state democracy, specifically through giving greater powers of control to the Diet. Local self-government on the elective basis should be developed, with due regard to the composition of the population of each region, and the rights of the communities extended;

—extension of industrial democracy to give broader rights to the working people and their representatives, and to enable them to take a direct part in planning and directing the operation of enterprises;

—a democratic educational reform, with due regard to modern science and technology.

Possibilities exist for the democratic parties to act jointly in the political life of the country. The Fourteenth Congress of the CPF instructs the Party organizations and all Communists to continue to work for unity of action with all progressive forces to bring about a change in domestic and economic policy.

In the new three-year period of its activity our Party will have good prospects in this respect: a change in policy can be achieved in the parliamentary elections to be held two months hence, and activity in this direction can be stepped up during the 1968 campaign to elect the President's electors and in the municipal elections, also slated for 1968.

The CPF is full of hopes as it enters a new period of its activity. The basic aims of our Party are peace, democracy, security and justice.

Unity of Action in the Trade Union Movement

Our trade union movement has been split since 1960. But in recent years the split has not been deepened. Nor was it broadened —largely due to the efforts of the Communists and all democrats. On the contrary, a desire for unity of action has begun to be displayed even in those quarters which formerly had helped to split the movement. These are, in the opinion of the CPF, positive phenomena.

The trade union movement has been split twice in the past four decades, and the capitalists have been the only ones to benefit by this. A split movement is advantageous to those Social-Democratic leaders who seek complete control over the unions. This makes restoration of unity very difficult, a fact which has been admitted of late by many leaders of the Social-Democratic Party.

As our Party sees it, trade union activity should be based on democratic principles, through equal and open cooperation free from any partisan or political prejudice. The opinions and rights of the minority should be respected. The trade union movement should act quite independently of the parties, but it should be ready to cooperate with all other working people's organizations in defending and extending the rights of the factory and office workers.

With the exception of a few postwar years, democratic principles and the above-mentioned principles of cooperation have been disregarded in the Central Trade Union Federation and in the leading bodies of some of the unions affiliated with it. Despite this, Communists have opposed the split in the CTUF and insisted on the return of the unions which withdrew from it, for unity is vital to the working class.

The CPF stands for a united Central Federation embracing all factory and office workers, and for united trade unions. New and favorable conditions have appeared for restoring trade union unity, for many organizations strive for it. Unity presupposes respect for democratic principles. To make the reunited trade union movement democratic in form and content from the very beginning, it is necessary to submit without delay all the relevant problems – including those of the program, the rules, international contacts and methods of work—for discussion by all trade unionists in their organizations and in the factories. The Party calls upon the Communists to act in this spirit, contributing in every way to the establishment of a united militant movement as a reliable defender of all working people.

The unity and organization of the trade union movement can be strengthened and improved only in the struggle for the vital interests and social rights of the working people, against big capital. These interests and rights presuppose:

—activity aimed at securing higher real wages and better working conditions;

—effective struggle against the negative consequences of streamlining and automation, against the sweat-shop system;

—revision of labor legislation;

—constant improvement of social security, establishment of a single social security scheme;

—modification of the law on working time to make the 40-hour week a reality and introduce it into all branches of production;

—longer holidays and leisure time, and greater opportunities for recreation;

—democratic practices in the factories and offices; revision of the law on production committees; adoption of a law guaranteeing stable labor relations, protection against layoffs, and the rights of the working people's representatives;

—promotion of unity of action of the international trade union movement, and participation of trade union organizations in the peace movement.

—respect for democratic principles and methods in the entire trade union movement;

—effective struggle to restrict the power of big capital and extend democracy in our country;

—development of production and foreign and domestic trade to ensure permanent employment and decent earnings to everyone.

On Unity of Action of Working People

The need for this unity is becoming clearer than ever before. Various groups of working people are searching for concrete forms of this unity. Talks are in progress on the restoration of the unity of the trade union movement, and a possibility is presenting itself to work out a policy with regard to the labor market which would unite broader sections of the working people. Political groups of working people divided by ideological and other differences have achieved of late, through joint effort, positive results in some legislative matters and in opposing the government's rightist policies. Besides, groups of working people have been acting in unison on some foreign policy issues and the question of war and peace. These are encouraging developments in the present situation, which is characterized by intensified political struggle, worsened economic situation, and greater international tension.

The CPF considers that broader and more vigorous united action by the working people alone can lead to an effective solution of the political and economic problems of the country in the interests of the people. The Party is ready, for its part, to do everything it can to pave the way for working people's unity of action. We urge the SDP and the Social-Democratic Alliance of Workers and Small Farmers to follow suit.

At present everything that promotes unity must be advanced to the foreground, and the parties should refrain from narrowly partisan tactics and mutual invective. The existence of every party of the working people should be recognized as an established fact. It is also necessary to recognize the natural right of every party (which, however, is often forgotten) to pass independent decisions as regards its program, leaders and representatives. The CPF reaffirms its opinion that what is decisive is whether or not a particular party champions the common interests of the working people, works for peace and a progressive reconstruction of society. As to who leads or represents it in this activity, this is not a criterion for judging it.

Achievement of unity will take time and calls for patience. The

CPF considers that mutual invective hampers unity. In its own ranks, the Party affirms a constructive spirit, urging its members and supporters to cooperate jointly in working people's organizations and take part in all spheres of social and political activity. The CPF strives to remove the prejudices and mistrust that have piled up over decades. Biased, narrowly partisan propaganda and tactics lead to strife and division. The practice of branding any one party as "un-Finnish," "undemocratic" or "untrustworthy" should be discarded. The CPF holds that cooperation does not rule out criticism and that criticism based on facts does not harm cooperation.

An important prerequisite of broad unity of action is the ability of the working-class parties to see what unites them and serves the good of the entire people, of the whole country: the striving for a socio-economic and cultural policy aimed at building a more secure society and one which is more worthy of man, at establishing commonweal.

In the opinion of the CPF, in the present situation it would be in the interests of the working people if all the left forces agreed on a single policy embracing all spheres of social life and leading to the unity of the mass organizations of the working people. But the Communist Party does not attach decisive importance to formal agreements. The most important thing is that the desire for cooperation should prevail in all groups of working people and determine their aims and decisions. It is necessary to encourage the striving for a broad united trade union movement on a democratic basis and to carry through, by joint effort, the struggle for jointly outlined aims in negotiating labor agreements. The forthcoming parliamentary elections should be regarded chiefly as a trial of strength of bourgeois and working-class policy which should result in a unitary working-class majority in the Diet. Cooperation of the left forces is indispensable for establishing broader progressive unity in the working-class movement as well, and for the pursuit of a democratic policy at the government level.

The CPF expresses the hope that the SDP, the SDAWSF, the organizations of factory and office workers and other working people will contribute towards establishing unity. This would strengthen all these organizations and each individual organization, and help bring about a favorable turn in the country's political life and social development.

Renovate Society by Infusing Young Forces

—It is unjust that young people cannot find employment and that not all of them receive a due share of the material and spiritual wealth of the nation.

—It is a reactionary state of things when equal educational opportunities are not provided and the system of instruction is inadequate, although industrialization ought to have led to a school reform and enhanced the role of science.

—It is a conservative state of things when the freedom of culture is restricted as is the young artists' striving to create artistic values.

—It is unjust that the voting age is not lowered to 18 despite the growing social responsibilities of the youth.

—Only self-seekers and conservatives can approve the present under-privileged status of the youth.

—The CPF is the party of the new forces, of the new epoch. Together with it, young people can achieve a secure, well-to-do life and acquire opportunities for free development. The CPF calls upon the younger generation—young workers, students, the rural youth, young scientists and art workers—to build a better society.

—The CPF is a party which will give new opportunities to the youth.

FOREIGN-POLICY AIMS: PEACE, INDEPENDENCE AND DEFENSE

Statement on International and Foreign-Policy Problems

The vigorous activity of the peace forces and the growing support enjoyed by them have made it possible to prevent a third world war. The consistent peace policy of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries is winning increasing recognition. Although the socialist countries are not acting today in a united front in the struggle against imperialism and war because of ideological and political differences in the world Communist movement, they remain the main force for peace. Their economic and political might and their role in world politics have further increased. Peaceful coexistence is winning ever greater support as the sole principle which can guarantee mankind's security.

In the past three years the international situation has been complicated and worsened, especially in Southeast Asia, where U.S. policy is endangering universal peace. This policy causes growing alarm in the United States and still more so among its allies.

U.S. policy in Vietnam has evoked a worldwide movement of protest which goes beyond partisan limits. The participants in this movement are demanding an end to the war and observance of the 1954 Geneva Agreements, which provide, among other things, for the withdrawal of foreign troops and the holding of free elections in the country.

Many member states of the United Nations fear that the conflict in Southeast Asia can involve them in a bigger conflict harmful to

their own interests. Hence disagreements among them and even signs of a split in NATO. As a result of all this, the positions of the United States have been further weakened and some West European countries have begun to pursue a more independent policy, the example of France being typical in this respect. On the other hand, the worsening of the situation has led to the strengthening of the various peace movements both in Europe and in the United States. Besides, concern over peace has compelled people to give more serious thought to social problems.

The National-Liberation Movements

The development of the national-liberation movement has also been many-sided and successful. The number of newly-free countries has grown. The winning of independence has enabled many peoples to embark on economic and cultural progress. As they enter the new period of their development the young independent states grapple with major socio-economic problems and at the same time combat the neocolonialist policy of oppression. This means a weakening of the positions of imperialism.

However, development in a number of newly-free countries, especially in Africa and Latin America, where neocolonialism has entrenched itself, has been unsteady and politically contradictory. That is why they proved unable to act in a united front on such issues as, for instance, the liberation of countries still under colonial rule, as in South Africa and Rhodesia. Joint action against imperialism and colonialism will promote national and economic development of the newly-free countries.

The national interests of the countries and the interests of world peace demand settlement of disputes through negotiation, of which the Tashkent agrement between India and Pakistan is an encouraging example.

Along with the Vietnamese people, the frenzied onslaught of internal and international reaction has been experienced by the Indonesian people and their Communist party. The Indonesian Communist Party has been disbanded and liquidated. Tens of thousands of Communists have been murdered by right extremists. The CPF hopes that Indonesia will be able to fight back neocolonialism and the domestic reactionaries, that its Communist party will be able to muster its forces again and reassume its national role as a fighter for freedom.

In their endeavor to raise standards of living the developing countries are coming up against great difficulties caused by the constantly dropping world prices of raw materials and growing prices of manufactured goods.

The gap in the standard of living between the industrial and the

developing countries is widening and this does not help to lessen the tension. Therefore Finland, too, should support the young states, particularly through tariff concessions and greater aid for development.

The Security of Europe and of the Nordic Countries

There is peace in Europe now, but our continent is beset with disquieting problems.

The feverish armament of West Germany has for a long time now been the biggest source of apprehension. The promise of the United States to give West Germany access to nuclear weapons endangers European peace, for West Germany is the only European state presenting territorial claims to other countries. Placing nuclear weapons in the hands of the West German politicians and military would have dire consequences. As regards Northern Europe, the situation is aggravated by the military cooperation of Norway and Denmark, both members of NATO, with the Bundeswehr command. This increases the danger in the Baltic zone.

Any proposals aimed at achieving a detente are of special importance for the security of Northern Europe. The Finnish representatives in the Nordic Council should seek to see the question of ensuring peace in Northern Europe occupy the central place in the work of the Council. An international agreement on nuclear non-proliferation would help towards turning Northern Europe into a denuclearized zone.

This, in turn, would greatly contribute to easing the tension generated by the division of Germany and by the problem of West Berlin, and create prerequisites for Norway and Denmark assuming the status of non-aligned neutrality.

A grave and direct danger is presented by the flight of U.S. nuclear-armed planes over our continent.

For an Active Peace Policy

In her international relations, Finland should strive to ensure peace, uphold its independence and promote her national interests. This calls for a policy of détente and peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems.

Development of relations of friendship with the Soviet Union in keeping with the Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation and Mutual Assistance should be the basis of the neutrality of our country. Under no circumstances should our country be allowed to be used as a springboard for attack on the Soviet Union.

The interests of Finland demand support of initiatives and proposals designed to broaden the basis for an all-Scandinavian policy

of neutrality and creating conditions for the withdrawal of Denmark and Norway from NATO. With this aim in view, support should be given to any initiative to make the Nordic countries a nuclear-free zones.

The emphasis on Finland's neutrality should not, however, mean that the stand of our country on disputed international issues can be isolationist or passive.

With the exception of some statements by the President of the Republic, our official foreign policy either maintains complete silence or evades adopting a clear-cut stand on such problems as the war in Vietnam and the nuclear armament of West Germany, although both problems involve the vital interests of our country. The same can be said about the military-political objectives of NATO in the Baltic zone. Nor can one regard it as a positive fact that Finland has abstained from voting on certain issues in the UN (specifically, on the question of South Africa). On the other hand, Finland's abiding by the principle that we should vote in conformity with the viewpoint of the other Nordic countries is not always appropriate.

Promotion of good-neighborly relations with the Soviet Union—the basis of Finland's foreign policy—meets with growing support and understanding even in those circles which used to take a suspicious or plainly negative view of this. However, a certain measure of discrimination is constantly manifested in the government's foreign policy. For instance, foreign trade continues to be oriented chiefly on the West, although this is becoming increasingly disadvantageous for Finland. Particularly harmful is the adverse balance of trade with Sweden and especially with West Germany. This has led to a critical depletion of Finland's currency reserves and increased the country's indebtedness. This policy harms the national interests of Finland.

The reluctance of our government and our import organizations to increase trade with the East, whose volume has long since stopped growing, has a clearly political background: it is considered that extension of trade with the socialist countries can at some stage create "difficulties" to our country. This shows that the talk about "relations of confidence" with the Soviet Union cannot always be taken on trust irrespective of the source.

For Justice and Peace

Equality of all nations and races is an inalienable right of man. The CPF considers racial oppression and racial hatred as a disgrace which our government should energetically work to do away with, also through acting purposefully in this spirit in the UN. This, in turn, would help the UN lessen international tension. The People's

Republic of China should be given its rightful place in the UN and its agencies.

Spain, Portugal and Greece are still ruled by fascist or semi-fascist regimes, with which the more reactionary quarters in Finland continue to express open sympathy. The CPF voices its solidarity with the democratic forces and Communist parties of these countries, and also with the outlawed Communist Party of West Germany and the persecuted Communist Party of the United States—parties which are fighting in difficult conditions for democracy and the political rights of citizens.

To act for peace, to prevent a third, nuclear world war is a prime task of all humanists. In our time even a minor conflict can develop into a world conflagration if all the peace-loving forces of the world do not put out the smoulder by joint effort.

The CPF, therefore, considers defense of peace to be one of its central tasks and supports any plan for gradual and general disarmament and liquidation of all military alliances.

It is a special duty of the citizens of Finland to step up their activity in strengthening peace and security in Northern Europe and the Baltic zone. The parties adhering to an active policy of peace can facilitate a business-like dialogue and help initiate intergovernment negotiations on this question by putting all their international contacts to effective use and conducting talks with like-minded parties in other countries. For its part, the CPF is ready to contribute towards these aims in all its contacts with fraternal parties.

The peace movement in Finland has done valuable work. It is gratifying that of late it has been joined by persons belonging to the Social-Democratic working-class movement and to bourgeois parties.

The cause of peace should not be the monopoly of any single political trend, for preservation of peace is the duty of both the entire working-class movement, which represents the majority of our people, and of all the organizations and persons aware of their responsibility.

POLITICAL RESOLUTION*

OF THE TENTH CONGRESS OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF COLOMBIA

ANALYSIS OF CHANGES IN THE WORLD SITUATION

In this epoch of struggle between two diametrically opposed systems, of socialist and national-liberation revolutions, the liquidation of colonialism and the weakening of imperialism, the chief characteristic of the international situation is that the socialist countries and in the first place the Soviet Union are carrying forward the building of socialism and communism, advancing, though at different levels, along the same ascending line, whereas U.S. imperialism, the chief enemy of the Latin American peoples and a constant threat to world peace, is finding itself in ever greater isolation.

At the same time, trying to find a way out of profound contradictions, U.S. imperialism grows more and more aggressive and ever more frequently resorts to the policy of armed intervention against the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America fighting for their independence. But this interventionist policy meets with increasing resistance on the part of its victims, expressed in broad mass actions and mounting armed struggle.

To make the U.S. imperialists abandon their plans, to preserve world peace and ensure the security of the peoples, it is necessary to work for the unity of the three great anti-imperialist forces of our epoch—the socialist countries, the national-liberation movement and the working-class movement in the capitalist countries.

The Conference of Solidarity of the Peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America has shown how important it is to achieve the unity of the anti-imperialist forces, whose division benefits only the imperialist oppressors of the peoples.

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U.S. imperialism employs different tactical methods to stem the historical development of the Latin American peoples inspired by the shining example of the Cuban revolution.

One of these methods is to maintain U.S. imperialist domination behind the facade of "representative democracy" and with the collaboration of groups of the big bourgeoisie (in addition to the

*Abridged from **Noticias de Colombia,** information bulletin of the CC, CPC, No. 17, February 1966.

latifundists) dependent on U.S. financial "aid." Another is to engineer military coups and help install "strongman" governments, as exemplified by the brazen intervention in the Dominican Republic and, to an ever increasing degree, by the activity of U.S. military missions, the financing of "mopping-up operations" and the provision of arms for the suppression of the national-liberation movements in such counrties as Venezuela, Colombia, Guatemala and Peru.

In some countries these methods are employed simultaneously, which is precisely what is happening in Colombia. At the same time, the U.S. rulers ever more frequently resort to aggression and intervention.

The Alliance for Progress has virtually fallen through, for, far from helping the Latin American countries out of the economic, social and political crisis, it makes them more dependent on U.S. imperialism.

Even though it temporarily succeeds in retarding the democratic and patriotic process in some Latin American countries, the aggressive interventionist trend aggravates all economic, social and political contradictions and creates conditions for more and more extensive struggle for national liberation.

The U.S. imperialists are out to eliminate the principles of noninterference and self-determination for which the Latin American peoples have fought over the years. They are pressing for the establishment of a permanent inter-American armed force for "collective interference" supported by reactionary governments and general staffs. This force could be used for U.S. imperialist intervention against Cuba and against all Latin American peoples striving for national independence. One of the tasks of our time is to confound this interventionist plan. This calls for the fraternal cooperation and unfailing coordination of the liberation struggles of the Latin American peoples.

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U.S. imperialism has set itself the aim of isolating from the other Latin American peoples the heroic Cuban people, who, after winning freedom and becoming the master of their destiny, are building the first socialist society in the Americas. To frustrate this infamous blockade and encourage greater solidarity with the Cuban revolution is a lofty task and an effective means of promoting our own liberation. "By promoting the solidarity movement, organizations, leaders and parties not only fulfil their internationalist and Latin American duty but defend the interests, freedom, dignity and future of their own peoples," the Conference of the Latin American Communist Parties justly pointed out in 1964.

At the same time, it is our prime internationalist duty to promote ever more effective solidarity with all peoples who are victims to

U.S. imperialist aggression, specifically the peoples of Vietnam and the Dominican Republic, and to pursue a policy of comradeship in arms and fraternity with the Latin American peoples.

To support the heroic Vietnamese people, the object of the most brutal imperialist intervention of the United States, is a top-priority internationalist task and an effective means of safeguarding universal peace.

The struggle for peace all over the world, against imperialist intervention and against the preparation by the U.S. imperialists of a thermonuclear world war must become part of the entire patriotic and popular struggle. The constant struggle for world peace, which should be based on mass organizations and popular movements, must be closely connected with the struggle against the militarization of the country.

FOR THE UNITY OF THE WORLD COMMUNIST MOVEMENT

If U.S. imperialism, despite its growing isolation, tends to resort to aggressive gambles and armed intervention against the peoples, this is due not to a change in the world balance of forces in its favor, but to the temporary weakening of the unity of the socialist countries and the differences in the world Communist movement.

These differences have objective and subjective causes which should be discussed on the basis of Leninist principles. Instead, they have been used for launching sharp open polemic in which distortions and calumnies are systematically resorted to, as has been done by the leaders of the Communist Party of China and those who unconditionally follow them, and they do damage to the world Communist movement, providing food for anti-communist campaigns and encouraging U.S. imperialism in its aggressive policies.

Ever since its Ninth Congress the Communist Party of Colombia has adhered to a clear-cut and honest ideological stand on the disputed issues—the struggle for peace and peaceful coexistecne of states with different social systems; the possibility of preventing world war in the conditions of the present new correlation of forces; the role of the national-liberation movement in the defense of world peace; the threat of war which remains as long as imperialism exists; the struggle against the personality cult, and other problems with the Statement of the 1960 Meeting of 81 Communist and Workers Parties.

But the leaders of the Communist Party of China unilaterally revised the principles of the 1960 Statement and worked out a special line, which they tried to impose, using every means, on the Communist parties. After their untoward practices had been rejected, the Chinese leaders broke off, also unilaterally, relations with those Communist parties which disagreed with their special

line, and then began to encourage the formation of anti-party groups unconditionally supporting their positions. Finally, they openly attacked the Program of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the program of building communist society, and proceeded to launch an open anti-Soviet campaign chiming in with the slanderous campaigns of the imperialists and reactionaries.

The Communist Party of Colombia has firmly abided by its position of principle, refusing to yield to any pressure, and, despite insults and slander, insisted on the need to fight for the untiy of the world Communist movement. In this respect the Tenth Congress reaffirms the Party's support of the decisions of the 1964 Conference of the Latin American Communist and Workers' Parties and, consequently, repudiates any factionalist and disruptive activity. Acting in the spirit of that historical conference, the Communist Party of Colombia declares for all necessary bilateral and multilateral meetings and conferences of all the Communist and Workers' parties, as well as for unity of action by all the Marxist-Leninist parties against the common enemy—U.S. imperialism and its allies.

THE STRUCTURAL CRISIS AND THE GOVERNMENT'S ECONOMIC POLICY

The ever-deepening structural crisis sharpens the contradictions and aggravates the disproportions in Colombian society.

The only effective way out of this crisis is to remove all obstacles to the economic, social and political reforms the country needs to eliminate the latifundist monopoly of the land, modernize agricultural production and promote Colombia's independent development through planned industrialization—essential conditions for major social changes necessitated by our epoch.

The pace of the country's capitalist development remains slow and unstable, and the development itself is characterized by the prevalence of branches controlled by U.S. finance capital, although the capital of some European countries also begins to play a certain role. At the same time, national capital is losing its influence, and the entire economic structure grows more unstable and vulnerable to imperialist penetration.

As the domination of the big bourgeoisie closely linked with imperialism increases, the absolute and relative impoverishment of the broad masses and the ruin of small and middle businessmen grows apace.

The lop-sided, deformed capitalist development aggravates contradictions between the monopolies (foreign and national) and the Colombian people, sharpening the class struggle, raising the

struggle for national liberation to a higher stage, and making solution of the structural crisis more urgent.

The oppressors' fear of the example of the Cuban revolution and the growing discontent of the masses induce the U.S. imperialists to employ new tactical methods, to try to rely chiefly on the big bourgeoisie without giving up reliance on the semi-feudal circles. These methods are revealed in the provisions of the "Alliance for Progress" which find expression in the "socio-agrarian reform"; the plans for the building of houses, sewerage systems and schools; the communal juntas often headed by "peace Corps" spies; the "military-civil actions" designed to undermine the peasants' militancy and prepare offensive operations to crush their struggle; handouts in the form of parcels with imported foodstuffs, and so on.

As the facts show, this fraudulent policy is intended to ensure U.S. imperialist domination in all areas of economics and politics. With this aim in view, everything termed aid is made conditional on the satsfaction of anti-national demands. U.S. "aid" has entangled the country in chains of financial dependence which compels it to subordinate its monetary and credit policy, its international transactions, its banking system, the prices of its national output, the public service charges and even its budget to terms dictated by the U.S. creditors.

The "socio-agrarian reform" was limited to the purchase and sale of land in the interests of the big landowners, the award of plots contested between their supposed owners and small farmers to the latter, or the redistribution of uncultivated state-owned land and improvements in some regions, without tackling in earnest the actual agrarian problem.

Among the new imperialist forms of penetration, mention should be made above all of the role of the financial corporations, which provide large credits without taking direct part in production proper and through which the U.S. imperialists dispose of huge sums and exert a growing influence on industry.

The country continues to depend on coffee as its chief item of export, and the low prices for coffee remain one of the most burdensome tributes the country has to pay to the imperialists. The vast potentialities of trade with the socialist countries are barely utilized because of obstruction on the part of the United States in the government apparatus. The demand for broad and stable relations, for all-round trade with the socialist countries figures prominently in the popular movement against economic bans and dependence on the U.S. monopolistic market.

The chief aim of the ruling oligarchy's economic policy is to guarantee and increase the monopoly profits of the U.S. investors and the domestic finance tycoons. This policy, then, runs counter to the interests of the people and the nation.

The anti-popular and anti-national policy finds expression in such facts as successive devaluations of the Colombian peso on orders from the International Monetary Fund, which hit the people heavily and facilitate the concentration of wealth in the hands of the biggest capitalists. At the same time the oligarchic government systematically resorts to inflationary emissions principally designed to cover the deficit of the state budget and provide easy-term credits to big corporations.

These anti-popular and anti-national trends are clearly reflected in the state budget, what with the constantly growing expenditures on the payment of the "state debt" to the U.S. creditors and the enormous sums spent on the maintenance of "public order," i.e., on repressions against the people.

This policy is implemented through an incessant offensive of the oligarchy against the interests of the people, coupled with repressions against the popular movement and resulting in the constantly growing cost of living, lower real wages, increasing unemployment, inhuman intensification of labor the deterioration of the condition of the peasantry and the ruin of many small manufacturers tradesmen and artisans.

This offensive should be countered with the struggle of the toiling masses in defense of the standard of living for better conditions. This calls for more vigorous actions for the satisfaction of the demands of the people and the use of flexible organizational forms, with due regard to the discontent of the middle strata with monopoly rule and to the different attitudes of the various groups of the bourgeoisie towards the U.S. imperialist subordination.

Far from contradicting the revolutionary slogans, the fight forms part of the great struggle for the unity and mobilization of the masses. The most important slogans for orienting and stimulating this struggle are as follows:

1. For higher wages and better social security.
2. For sufficient minimum wages in agriculture and an eight-hour day for the agricultural laborers.
3. Against the tax policy which raises the cost of living for the masses.
4. For the immediate transfer of adequate plots of land to toiling peasants, at prices making agricultural production sustainable.
5. Against the closure of enterprises, for the occupation of such enterprises and control over them by the workers.
6. For stable employment, against super-exploitation and dismissals under the pretext of "insufficient productivity of labor."
7. Against monopoly of the land in the cities, for an effective solution of the housing problem.
8. For people's control over the prices and drastic measures against profiteers and buyers-up.

9. For the nationalization of oil and other natural riches.

10. For protective exchange-rates, against anti-national measures imposed by the International Monetary Fund.

11. Against taking out of the country the dollar receipts from oil export, the profits of foreign investors and the payments of interest on state loans.

12. For higher budgetary allocations for productive purposes and a sharp reduction of expenditures on the maintenance of the top bureaucracy.

13. For broad relations with the socialist countries, providing for trade not only in coffee but in other Colombian goods as well, in exchange for equipment, machinery and technical assistance in industrialization.

THE STRUGGLE FOR THE UNITY OF ACTION OF THE ORGANIZED WORKING CLASS

Numerically, the Colombian proletariat is growing constantly, but the level of its class consciousness does not rise in proportion to this growth.

The same applies to its organization, which does not improve because of the split in the trade union movement and the shortcomings in the independent sector of the working-class movement. Hence the important task of fighting for the unity and organization of the majority of the working people.

To split the working-class movement is an aim of big foreign and domestic capital. To achieve this aim, the state apparatus and the top clergy are employed and vast sums of dollars and pesos are spent to bribe venal trade union "leaders." U.S. imperialism is at pains to infiltrate the ranks of our working class, operating through the Inter-American Regional Organization of Working People and the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions, utilizing their propaganda media and the so-called advanced training courses for trade union functionaries, and arranging trips for the latter to the United States. In addition to official organizations, the U.S. monopolies also finance organizations in industry uniting workers according to trade.

Besides the working-class movement controlled by the pro-government Confederation of Colombian Working People and the Union of Colombian Working People and the movement following the Trade Union Confederation, which stands for unity, there are trade union organizations which do not belong to any federation or any independent trade union bloc. This testifies to the disunity of the working class and to the emergence of new trends.

Class struggle in Colombia is growing in scope and intensity. The fighting spirit is on the increase in many groups of workers.

The strike movement is being joined by many government employees.

Although divisive policies have been the sharpest weapon used by big capital in the struggle against the proletariat, today it also resorts to repressions, to use of force against strikers, as was the case during the bloody suppression of the striking workers of the El Cairo cement plant in Santa Bàrbara. In the new conditions characterized by repressions, big capitalists set up, under the pretext of "civil defense," barracks and prisons at enterprises and especially at sugar refineries, and organize armed groups trained by army officers camouflaged as employees. Their aim is to mete out violence against the working people and liquidate the trade unions. In many agricultural regions, military occupation and virtual martial law actually deprive the peasants of the right to organize.

When big capital, aided by splitters, fails to prevent strikes, it turns them into drawn-up conflicts, in order to make starving workers capitulate and to teach a lesson to the whole proletariat. As a rule, the workers taking part in such strikes carry on staunchly and in the end, through tremendous effort, have their demands met, but some trade union organizations have been tending to make certain concessions on the plea that even mediocre results are better than prolonged strikes. This trend should be combated, for it can undermine the militancy of some contingents of the working-class movement.

To become a decisive unifying factor, the independent trade union movement, whose central organization is still in the making should fight resolutely for its demands, broaden its organizational tasks and wage both ideological and practical struggle against legalism and economism, on the one hand, and sectarianism and adventurist extremism, on the other. It is an important task for the entire independent working-class movement to do away with the obsolete structure of the Colombian trade union movement, overcome narrow craftism and the obstacles put up by the authorities, and establish large trade union organizations or federations in branches of industry.

Our Party will counter the imperialist and capitalist policy of division with the slogan of struggle for working-class unity of action.

To achieve this unity, based on solidarity with all the struggles of the proletariat and the people in general, is the most correct policy which will expose and eliminate the split fostered and financed by the exploiters. At the same time, it is a reliable road to the future organizational unity of the great but as yet divided strength of the Colombian workers. Besides, it should be borne in mind that without advance towards working-class unity the demo-

cratic solution of the problems in the nearest future is out of the question.

The worker-peasant alliance, which has accumulated important although not yet sufficient experience, is the motive force of the Colombian revolution. If it is to grow stronger and achieve new successes, it is necessary to promote the solidarity of workers and peasants in all revolutionary actions and battles, in the struggle for their demands.

In connection with the constant growth of unemployment it is essential to organize a national movement of unemployed working people based, whenever possible, on the trade union movement. They should demand that the authorities create new jobs and use the colossal means now being criminally spent on military operations against peasants and on the unproductive wasteful consumption by the top bureaucracy for public works demanded by municipalities.

NEW STAGE IN THE PEASANT GUERRILLA MOVEMENT

The emergence of the peasant guerrilla movement at a new and higher stage of revolutionary struggle is the most significant development of recent times in Colombia which constitutes a qualitative change.

This guerrilla movement, which is growing and gaining in strength, has emerged as a legitimate reply of the people to the policy of terror pursued by the government, which instituted capital punishment without trial or investigation and hurled its armed forces into an offensive against peasant regions. This offensive, conducted under reactionary slogans and with the assistance of the U.S. military mission, is part of the imperialist plans for "preventive war" against the revolutionary movement, such as the LASO Plan."

A specific revolutionary road, providing for the use of all forms and methods of struggle which are combined depending on the concrete local and general conditions, is opening up in Colombia. The peasant guerrilla war is one of the highest forms of mass struggle; it develops only when it assumes a mass character.

At present, although the peasant guerrilla war has not yet become the chief form of struggle, it acquires increasing importance as an effective reply by the people to the oligarchy's policy of violence and the growing interference of U.S. imperialism. The guerrilla movement is mounting in a number of peasant regions, but for a large majority of the people mass actions, increasingly broad, varied and vigorous, remain the chief form of struggle. These actions are workers' and students' strikes, demonstrations, the seizure of empty urban plots to somehow solve the housing problem, and the seizure of non-farmed latifundia by the peasants. Correct com-

bination of all forms of mass struggle has been and will certainly remain the basis of our tactics. But as the class struggle deepens, the national-liberation movement grows, the repressions are intensified and U.S. imperialism steps up its interference, armed struggle of the people will become the chief form, the decisive factor for the conquest of power by the people. In fact, in the regions where the plans of the U.S. imperialists are actually being carried out, guerrilla action has become the chief form of struggle of the peasant masses.

The guerrilla movement has a patently revolutionary and anti-imperialist content and an emancipatory character; it regards the conquest of power by the popular and patriotic forces as its chief task to effect the revolutionary changes necessitated by the structural crisis.

In Colombia, armed struggle in the form of the peasant guerrilla movement is developing before the emergence of what can be defined as a revolutionary situation, because the revolutionary peasant movement cannot look on passively as its organizations are being destroyed. It counters the armed aggression of the class enemy with guerrilla actions, which can be successful only when they are sponsored by the masses and conducted in their interests and in keeping with the principles of Marxism-Leninism. In turn, the guerrilla actions help create some of the subjective factors which are necessary for the revolutionary situation to develop into a victorious Colombian revolution.

The policy of self-defense of the masses pursued by our Party has been and remains essentially correct. But in some regions it is not conducted consistently, and in the cities it is not brought into conformity with the new conditions. These shortcomings must be overcome in the course of the struggle against the reactionary policy and the militarization of the country to which the oligarchic regime has committed itself.

At a time when a systematic large-scale offensive of the government's armed force is being waged against peasant regions in implementing the U.S. military plans, transformation of the self-defense of the masses into a powerful guerrilla movement constitutes, in Colombian conditions, correct development of our entire concept of revolutionary struggle. At the same time, the use of all forms of struggle in combination, with emphasis on those best suited to the given situation, is indicative of correct understanding of Marxist-Leninist ideology and its consistent application to the process of social development of our country.

The ruthlessness of official violence and the magnitude of the punitive operations of the U.S.-inspired "preventive war" against a number of peasant regions, just as the subsequent emergence of the guerrilla movement imperatively call for the solidarity of he

people: political and practical solidarity with the revolutionary fighters, and effective solidarity with the evicted peasant families, which have lost everything and which need fraternal help from the working-class, popular and democratic forces so as not to depend on humiliating handouts from those who bully them. To launch a broad movement of solidarity is one of the most important and pressing tasks posed by the new situation.

THROUGH NATIONAL-LIBERATION STRUGGLE TO A PATRIOTIC FRONT

The old ideological distinctions between the liberals and the conservatives are getting blurred. The identity of interests of the big bourgeoisie, big landowners and the agents of U.S. imperialism, who actually form the party of the ruling oligarchy, is manifested ever more clearly. This class coalition intends to retain its privileges and continue to rule in its own interests with the help of the parity system. Its leaders are hard at work to preserve and "revitalize" this system.

The discontent of the people is growing. The desire for change is evinced by ever broader strata. Our task is to help the masses realize that the changes must be radical. No matter how vastly unpopular the parity-oligarchic regime may become, it will not collapse of its own. It has to be swept away by the popular movement. Only then will it be possible to advance towards national liberation and genuine democracy through struggle for economic and political demands, for the abolition of the state of siege, and for democratic freedoms for the people.

These great historical changes will not be brought about by terroristic conspiracies or individual exploits. The only way to achieve them is to organize a great popular movement, to establish a patriotic national-liberation front, the broadest united front based on the worker-peasant alliance, with the active participation in it of the middle classes, students, intellectuals, technical specialists and democratically-minded military.

As long as the two-party parity system of the oligarchy exists, no deep democratic changes are conceivable. The only purpose of the secondary reforms lauded by some leaders of this system is to save it and ensure its more effective operation in the interests of the exploiter classes.

Within the rigid framework of the two-party parity system the people will not be able to use elections to exert decisive influence, but it is necessary to take part in them whenever circumstances make it possible to use them for struggle and for undermining this anti-democratic system, for the pursuit of an effective policy of alliances.

We Communists advance aims and tasks much more important than parity elections of the two traditional parties which alternately form governments, elections whose outcome is always determined in advance. But we do not reject any forms of struggle, and we are ready to contest the elections, in conformity with the concrete conditions, in the fight against the present system. The most important thing is to employ all methods of struggle to strengthen the unitary trend which will lead to the establishment of a great patriotic front of national liberation.

FOR THE CONSOLIDATION OF OUR COMMUNIST PARTY

As the political crisis develops there can appear conditions for the emergence of a revolutionary situation. Leninism teaches us that the revolution does not arise automatically from any revolutionary situation. It breaks out when to objective changes are added certain subjective factors which depend on the political consciousness and will of the people. To our mind, the most important of these subjective factors is a strong united Communist party linked with the broad masses, firmly adhering to the positions of Marxism-Leninism and determined to become, together with its other contingents and above all the Young Communist League, the decisive factor of the revolution.

This mass revolutionary party is forged in revolutionary action in which it properly combines all forms of struggle, systematically propagates its program observes its principles and adheres to its tactical line in the struggle against all opportunistic deviations.

The Party must continue the resolute ideological struggle against the pernicious "ultra-left" trends with their empty "revolutionary" phraseology and no basis in Colombian reality, dogmatic theses on armed struggle as the only form of struggle worthy of revolutionaries—theses which are accompanied in practice by opportunistic passivity towards U.S. imperialism and its military-oligarchic instruments and by disdain for the struggle of the toiling masses for their demands, by contempt for open and legal forms of political activity.

A persistent ideological struggle should be waged against the trends which underestimate the present struggle and the historical role of the working class and overemphasize the role of the petty-bourgeoisie as the force allegedly destined to head the Colombian revolution.

At the same time, it is necessary to combat constantly Right-wing opportunism, which is manifested in the working-class movement and in our own ranks as a reflection of the influence of bourgeois ideology.

In the Communist ranks, the Right-opportunist trend finds expres-

sion today in the attempts at accommodation with the two-party parity system, in the underestimation of the highly important tasks of party building and organizing the self-defense of the masses, in the distortion of the policy of alliances, which in practice leads to trailing in the wake of events. These are actually liberal trends which tend to dissolve the Party in other movements, hamper the preparation of our organization for harder times and for higher forms of struggle, and even dampen, whenever they can, the militancy of the masses.

The most important thing for us is to go ahead in building the Communist Party of Colombia, which is growing stronger and more hardened in the class and anti-imperialist struggle and in the ideological struggle against alien influence and "leftist" and rightist deviations.

The Program of the Party approved by the Tenth Congress is an important ideological document not only for the education of Communists, but also for the mobilization of ever broader masses, to whom the Program must be systematically explained if it is to perform the historic role of the document by which our people will be guided and inspired in the glorious fight for democracy, national liberation and socialism.

DRAFT PROGRAM OF THE SUDANESE COMMUNIST PARTY*

PREAMBLE

Early in 1956 the Sudanese people's struggle against British imperialism culminated in the declaration of national independence and in the birth of the independent Sudanese Republic. Thereupon the country faced new problems, primarily that of completing its national, economic and social liberation. Various social classes tried to solve these problems and advocated, both in and outside government bodies, a new policy and their views on the course of development to be adopted by the country.

The Communist Party began to work on the problem of the Sudan's course of development after the winning of independence, and published its well-known Program, "The Sudan's Road to Greater Independence, Democracy and Peace." The Program was approved by the Third Congress, in February 1956.

The Party, basing itself on an accurate scientific analysis of the situation in the country after colonialist hordes had set upon the Sudan at the turn of the century, of the resistance put up by our people after the defeat that had been inflicted on them with modern weapons at Qarari, of the deep-going changes which had occurred in the socio-economic structure and hence in various social forces and in the character of popular resistance, and of the conditions in which the national movement had surged high after World War II, as well as on a study of the experience of our people during the period of self-government, was able to define in its Program the objectives to be sought at the new stage, the ways of attaining them, and the social forces that would do it.

Our Program pointed out that since the achievement of political independence the goal of our people was to consolidate their independence and defend it against every imperialist conspiracy, to use political independence for freeing our country from the tyranny of imperialist economic domination in order to build our country independently, by changing the backward social relations imposed by the colonialists.

Thus the CP Program confirmed that our country was still at the stage of the national-democratic revolution and that political independence was the first victory of this revolution, which must inevitably continue until the foundations of a socialist develop-

*Abridged from the original text of the document (translated from the Arabic).

ment in our country were laid. The Program spoke of the course of development of the Sudanese revolution and stressed as an important condition the unity of the national-democratic forces—workers, peasants, revolutionary intellectuals, students and Sudanese capitalists free from foreign influence and striving to develop the country—their unity in a national-democratic alliance leading the people to the formation of a national-democratic government that would represent the masses, meet the requirements of the democratic revolution and open the way to a socialist development in accordance with the will of the masses exercising their democratic rights.

Our people carried on their struggle for these revolutionary objectives in various ways till they won the last brilliant victory in their great revolution of October 21, 1964, which swept away an enormous obstacle to their goals.

THE REVOLUTION OF OCTOBER 21 WAS A NATIONAL-DEMOCRATIC REVOLUTION

The revolution of October 21 was a national-democratic revolution by virtue of its historical tasks and the social forces that accomplished it. It was a continuation of the struggle which the people had been carrying on since World War II with the aim of winning complete national liberation, establishing a solid national economy, renovating the life of the people and affording them maximum democracy, solving the problems of the national minorities on democratic lines and reviving national culture.

The achievements of the revolution of October 21, 1964,* to date are:

—the abolition of the arbitrary rule of the dictatorial military regime, an agent of imperialism;

—the transfer of power to a transitional government including revolutionary forces for the first time and hence national in character.

The government brought into being as a result of the revolution is a transitional national and not a national-democratic government.** Nevertheless, the people have entrusted this transitional government with urgent tasks, above all:

—restoring all the democratic rights of the people with a view to promoting the revolutionary movement in the country;

—eliminating the corruption and dislocation that have developed under the military regime, so that democracy in the country can be strengthened and the people can freely express in the future

*Meaning those attained before March 1965 when the Draft Program was published.—Ed.

**The civil administration bodies set up under colonial rule.—Ed.

their opinion in the constituent assembly truly representing them and carrying forward their revolution.

Basing itself on this democracy and promoting it, the revolution of October 21 is developing in a peaceful way, the way of the people, advancing to the establishment of a full-fledged national-democratic regime that will open the way to socialist changes.

The peaceful way of the people is in line with the Sudanese revolution and is really useful to the mass of our people. It has every opportunity in the world of today. This, of course, depends not only on the revolutionary forces, but also on the position of the forces of imperialism and home reaction. Should the imperialists and reactionaries decide to stop the advance of the revolution for selfish considerations and resort to undemocratic and unconstitutional methods, as they did when, on November 17, 1958, they used certain high-ranking army officers against the people, the revolutionary people's movement will have no choice but to defend itself and maintain the revolution and the independence of the country.

WHITHER THE REVOLUTION?

The capitalist road which our country has followed ever since it became independent has resulted in the impoverishment of the working people through wage and salary cuts, growing unemployment, rising prices of the prime necessities, falling prices of farm produce, a stagnant market, a growing national debt, and negligible medical aid and educational facilities. This road has brought our economy under the sway of U.S. and West European monopolies in such forms as aid and loans. The riches of our country have been flowing abroad in the interests of the neocolonialists. A handful of high-ranking government officials, owners of large enterprises, and adventurers have been reducing the share of our people through corruption, bribery, and curbs on the people's rights.

The capitalist road of development is the root of the economic backwardness of our country, making it an easy object of neocolonialist economic domination.

The struggle of the democratic forces—workers, peasants, intellectuals and national leaders—after the declaration of independence, and more particularly in the years of military rule, was spearheaded against the foundations of capitalism, semi-feudal relations and the domination of foreign monopolies. Their interests prompted these forces to search for a new road that would not be a capitalist road and would enable them to safeguard and carry forward the gains of the revolution of October 21.

The socialist road is the only road open to the democratic forces. At the same time the first step toward genuinely socialist changes,

a step providing the possible and necessary conditions for such changes, is the advance along the national-democratic road.

Non-capitalist development does not do away wtih capitalist relations in the production sphere nor replace them by socialist relations overnight. But thanks to revolutionary measures it paves the way for the transition to socialism.

The more important among these measures are:

—freeing every branch of the national economy from the domination of foreign monopolies and from imperialist aid and loans;

—effecting a deep-going agrarian reform in the interests of the peasants and agricultural laborers by abolishing semi-feudal relations and freeing the sphere of agricultural production from the rule of the rich and from various forms of usury;

—extending the state sector on a democratic basis, so as to make it the decisive factor and instrument in setting up a national industry, advanced agriculture and independent national economy.

To put the country on the national-democratic road leading to socialism, the revolutionary forces must:

—establish a lasting alliance of the working class and the peasants, especially those engaged in production;

—consolidate the national-democratic alliance with the revolutionary intellectuals and the patriotic members of the petty bourgeoisie, as well as of the national bourgeoisie opposing imperialism and foreign capital;

—express solidarity and practice mutual assistance in respect of the liberation and socialist forces in the Arab countries, on the African continent and elsewhere;

—wage a relentless fight against imperialism and neocolonialism, against the reactionary forces and the agents of imperialism operating against the revolution of October 21;

—maintain vigilance in the face of the conspiracies and subversive activities of the reactionaries and imperialists, in the face of provocations aimed at splitting the national forces.

It is along these lines that the national-democratic forces are fighting for the advance of the revolution, for the establishment of a national-democratic state of workers, peasants, intellectuals, petty bourgeoisie and anti-imperialist national bourgeoisie, for the fulfilment of the tasks of the revolution at its national-democratic stage and for progress toward socialism.

THE NATIONAL-DEMOCRATIC STATE, DEMOCRACY, AND THE NEW MACHINERY OF POWER

Democracy corresponding to the conditions in our country and opening up prospects for its development is democracy of the revolutionary social forces composed of workers, peasant, intel-

lectuals and those who represent truly national capital, that is, of the forces which accomplished the revolution of October 21 and are striving to carry it forward. These forces are fighting for such democracy by uniting in a national-democratic front in order to establish a new, national-democratic state that will give the people all rights and curb the reactionary forces by destroying their economic basis, that is, neocolonialist domination and the survivals of feudalism.

This is the only way to put the exercise of democracy in our country on the right track in accordance with our experience. This democracy, corresponding to the conditions in our country and to our experience consists in:

—granting democratic rights to the people; enacting new penal legislation and adopting a new penal code; repealing legislation now in force, and devising a new legislative system based on respect for the rights of the people and the dignity of citizens, on the traditions and culture of our country;

—enabling Sudanese women to enjoy political rights by granting them full economic rights and respecting them as human beings engaged in production. All laws and regulations reducing the role of women in society and family should be repealed and new laws protecting the interests of the family and children passed;

—granting all citizens who have reached 18 years of age the right to be elected to town or rural councils; extending the powers of these councils to ensure that they exercise control over all matters relating to the areas under their jurisdiction—administration, finance, economic projects, security troops, and the service industries;

—completely abolishing the system of civil administration as it is now*;

—protecting the country against imperialist activities, and banning the activity of imperialist agents. This should be guaranteed by every revolutionary law passed.

To provide these democratic rights, it is necessary to replace the old machinery of government which the imperialists had set up with the aim of protecting their interests and crushing the national movement and used by the propertied classes in their own interests after the winning of independence. The reactionary military regime used this machinery to abolish democracy, clear the ground for neocolonialist domination and undermine the national economy. The new machinery of government should be based on the following principles:

Parliament should represent the revolutionary forces—workers, peasants, intellectuals and those of the national capitalists oppos-

*Formed in October 1964 and overthrown in February 1965.—**Ed.**

ing imperialism. These revolutionary sections of the people should secure a guaranteed majority in the elected bodies on the basis of free and direct suffrage;

The title of MP should be respected and should not become a source of income or a profession. To this end the state should grant MPs financial allowances (transport and lodging expenses during parliamentary sessions) helping them discharge their functions. The payment of salaries to MPs should be prohibited because this contains an element of corruption, to say nothing of the fact that it tends to dissociate MPs from their constituencies and trades;

The formation of a government representing the alliance of national forces cooperating among themselves and having common objectives;

The granting of regional autonomy to the South, which should have a legislature and an executive council of ministers of its own, and be equitably represented in the national parliament and the national government;

The establishment of a State Council of three, one of whom should represent the southern provinces. This will stave off the danger of one person seizing the post of head of state, as in the case of the November 17 regime, which was characterized by the arbitrary rule by one man;

The sovereignty of the Sudanese national-democratic state should be maintained and promoted on the world scene through a foreign policy against imperialism and neocolonialism, through firm support for the forces of peace, liberation and socialism throughout the world. The Sudan should support the idea of Arab unity based on the struggle against imperialism and reaction, for socialism; it should strive for African unity by fighting for the complete liberation of the African continent and against all racial discrimination, and extend material and moral support to the peoples fighting for their independence;

The specification of the place of the armed forces in the democratic system by protecting them against political corruption and subversion; the transformation of the armed forces into a democratic factor by introducing compulsory military service and training them in a truly national spirit to ensure that they become the defenders of the independence of our country and the democratic system. At the same time it is necessary, in view of the numerous problems facing our country, to intensify the training of the armed forces, equip them with appropriate arms and abolish the monopoly imposed upon us by the countries supplying us with arms;

The national-democratic state, leaning on political and economic democracy for support, will set about building a national-democratic

society that will pave the way for the transition of our country to socialism.

THE STATE SECTOR

1. Freeing the state sector from the domination of foreign capital; extending and strengthening this sector, so that it would encompass the principal development projects in industry, agriculture, trade, transport and banking and become the leading and guiding sector of the national economy.

2. Adopting a system of scientific economic planning, and drawing up development plans for definite periods under which every branch of the national economy could be developed, in both the state sector and the private sector, toward accomplishing the tasks of reorganizing our society on socialist lines.

3. Setting up a national planning and economic development board that will include government representatives, technicians, employers, workers and peasants. In carrying on its activities, this board should rely on regional economic boards.

THE PRIVATE SECTOR

4. The private sector should complement the state sector and play a subordinate role in it. With this aim in view, it is necessary to encourage and help this sector, enabling it to share in the realization of production development projects under the guidance of the state sector and within the framework of the development plan.

5. Freeing the private sector from the influence of foreign capital, and prohibiting foreign investment in any branch of this sector.

THE MIXED SECTOR

Setting up enterprises involving the state sector and the private sector in the fields of foreign trade, non-basic goods production, the building industry and certain consumer goods industries. This mixed sector is a transitional stage leading to the transformation of the private into the state sector.

THE COOPERATIVE SECTOR

Setting up the cooperative sector in addition to the state sector. This sector should be controlled by the state and should receive from it aid in industry, agriculture, trade and the handicrafts within the bounds of the overall development plan.

INDUSTRY

Providing a solid base for industry by increasing power generation and oil extraction; concentrating on the exploration and working of minerals; setting up a mining industry and appropriate technological institutes.

Setting up an engineering industry to supply agriculture and the consumer goods industry with capital goods that can be made in the Sudan.

Setting up a chemical industry, which is indispensable for the development of agriculture; building plants for the production of fertilizers, pesticides, weed-killers and other chemicals, as well as medicine for the people.

Expanding and increasing the production from local materials of such basic consumer goods as sugar, textiles, footwear and animal products, timber, and building materials.

Creating a large network of technical and occupational schools and other educational institutions for the training of national skilled personnel.

TRADE

(a) Foreign Trade

Establishing state monopoly on basic exports and imports, specifically the import of consumer goods.

Drawing up a foreign trade plan within the framework of the development plan, thoroughly recasting the import pattern by concentrating on the import of goods and equipment for the economic development of the country.

Giving private national capital, along with the state sector, a share in mixed export and import agencies.

Affording the private sector an opportunity to participate in the export and import of goods with which the state does not concern itself.

Granting foreign trade licences to private national capital concentrated in cooperative societies.

(b) Home Trade

Establishing state control over prices, particularly those of consumer goods, and over the distribution of these goods in various parts of the country; setting up, with this aim in view, a committee of representatives of the authorities, the working people and cooperative traders.

The state should control and encourage the establishment of

home trade cooperatives, and should protect them against monopoly domination.

BANKS AND INSURANCE COMPANIES

Nationalizing the foreign banks, insurance companies and financial organizations.

The state should handle all banking transactions in the country in industry, agriculture, trade, mortgage, transport, and cooperative crediting.

Freeing the Sudanese banks from all foreign influence.

Setting up a mortgage bank which should help eliminate the housing crisis in the towns and promote housing construction in the countryside.

STATE FINANCE

Financing economic development out of internal sources.

Subordinating foreign loans to the interests of the overall development plan and putting them under government control to ensure that interest on loans does not exceed 2.5 or 3 per cent and that these loans are long-term and exempt from any political, economic or military stipulations.

Payments to the state budget should consist of the incomes and profits of enterprises in the state sector and of revenue accruing from progressive taxation of the private sector.

Reducing maintenance spending on the government apparatus by bringing the working people into government.

Increasing expenditure on social security, such as the health services, education, etc.

IMPROVING THE LIVING CONDITIONS OF THE WAGE AND SALARIED WORKERS

Establishing minimum pay and adopting the principles of equal pay to men and women for equal work throughout the country.

Giving the employees a share in the management of production enterprises.

Passing labor legislation and introducing a 48-hour maximum working week.

Passing a law on social security, to be guaranteed by the state and the employers, with workers' and office employees' unions participating.

Enacting legislation against lockouts, and devising measures against unemployment and for the safeguarding of the right to work.

Granting women employees prenatal and postnatal leave of not less than 50 days; building public nurseries at work places.

Giving the working people a share in the management of industrial and agricultural enterprises.

THE AGRARIAN REFORM

Eliminating foreign capitalist influence on agriculture with respect to financing, production and sales.

Discontinuing the cultivation of only one market crop; extending plans for intensive and diversified crop-farming on the basis of careful scientific research and with due regard to the requirements of local industry, and not on the basis of accidental market demand.

The state should take into its own hands the sale of cotton upon purchasing it from agricultural cooperatives. It should set a minimum price limit for cotton, find markets, and guarantee the peasants a minimum annual income.

The state should stimulate the establishment of production, sales and consumers' cooperatives and reorganize the Land Bank into a farm credit bank in order to promote agricultural production and assist the peasants by granting the cooperatives low-interest credits.

Reorganizing private cotton farms into cooperatives which the state would supply with machinery and assist in terms of scientific advice and technical aid. Together with peasant unions, the state should control the management of cooperatives and foster their development in accordance with the overall economic development plan.

The peasants should be represented on the managing boards of agricultural enterprises. Management costs should be cut by establishing a definite budget instead of allotting a proportion of the enterprise incomes.

Introducing and promoting new forms of management by enlisting the assistance of technical experts and accountants. Village councils should exercise control over farming operations.

Reducing taxes on irrigation, land and livestock; fixing a minimum purchase price for farm produce.

Devoting special attention to animal husbandry by using science and technology to improve pastures, supply drinking water, store feeds, process animal products by industrial methods, and solve the transport problem.

Promoting the settlement of livestock-breeders by building housing estates in rural areas, and introducing industrial and handicraft production in the countryside.

Associating non-seasonal agricultural workers in unions, assigning them directly with production. Stepping up the dissemination of agricultural experience and knowledge.

Extending research and experiments in agriculture, and coordinating them directly with production. Stepping up the dissemination of agricultural experience and knowledge.

OUR SOCIALISM IS SCIENTIFIC

Socialism in our country has become a slogan repeated by every political party and every public organization from the extreme right to the extreme left.

In our country, socialism represents the true interests of the workers, peasants (land cultivators and livestock-breeders), revolutionary intellectuals and the middle classes of the population striving to promote the country's progress. But the class of semi-feudal lords and that group of capitalists which is an agent of foreign capital in our country have no interest in socialism. It is therefore important for the cause of our people that we should explain the meaning of socialism and say how the sincerity of various calls for socialism should be ascertained.

The Sudanese Communist Party, which applies the theory of scientific socialism—Marxist-Leninist theory—in our country—is entitled to do this. Since it was founded in 1946 it has been able through its practical activity to spread socialist ideas in our country. Our Party took a sincere approach to the issue of the development of our country following the declaration of independence, and stated in its program, "The Sudanese Road," published early in 1956, that the Sudan, having achieved independence, would necessarily have to solve construction and development problems and that our people could not win happiness unless they built a socialist society. This was done at a time it did not occur to any traditional political groups to draw up a socialist program. All they did was to squabble over government posts. That is why the foremost section of the people has invariably associated the slogan of socialism with the aims for which the SCP has been striving.

It is a fact, however, a fact confirmed, recognized and welcomed by our Party, which calls for full cooperation—that new, non-Communist groups have been drawn to socialist ideas, particularly during the last six years. They are made up of intellectuals and working people active in politics. These new socialist schools are sincere in their appeals for socialism. They are thoroughly aware of the importance of the social problem facing the country today, and hold that the capitalist road is unsuitable for the development of the country and is out of keeping with the national tradition of fraternal operation.

The Sudan is not the only example in this respect. Large sections of the people and numerous champions of social change all over the world find themselves influenced by socialist ideas. After

World War II these ideas spread beyond one country, the Soviet Union, and led to the formation of a world system comprising more than one-third of mankind.

The socialist system has become a center of attraction for all fair-minded men thanks to the material and spiritual happiness it has given to its people. Socialism daily proves its superiority in the fields of science and moral values. It has proved its superiority by replacing discord between different peoples by brotherhood. This remains a problem for many countries of the present-day world and leads to enmity between brothers, to the squandering of human effort that could have been used for creative purposes.

These principles are the touchstone of the genuineness or spuriousness of a socialist system. What are they?

Government by the working class allied with the peasants, intellectuals and other forces interested in socialism.

The transfer of the means of production from private hands to the whole people, and the scientific planning of production.

The distribution of public wealth according to the labor contributed by each citizen and to his share in the production effort. This means that social justice will reign supreme, class differences in society will disappear, and discord and enmity will give way to the unity of the peoples.

The liberation of agriculture from semi-feudal influence and from the capitalists, and its transformation into a cooperative and collective agriculture with the aim of delivering the peasants from poverty and of developing agricultural production through the use of machinery and up-to-date scientific methods.

The solution of the problem of national minorities on the basis of equality, fraternity and solidarity, so that a new society can be built and world-wide fraternity with the working people can be established on the basis of struggle against national oppression and imperialism.

The accomplishment of a cultural revolution in society doing away with illiteracy and superstition born of ignorance, a revolution training people in scientific and cultural terms for the building of a new life. The complete emancipation of women from slavery, so that they can become an effective factor in the construction of society on the basis of high cultural standards and lofty moral principles.

7TH PLENARY SESSION OF THE C.C., COMMUNIST PARTY OF ISRAEL

The 7th plenary session of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Israel took place on December 29-30, 1965, with the participation of members of the Central Control Commission. The session was chaired by Comrade Wolf Ehrlich, member of the Political Bureau.

Comrade Tawfiq Toubi, member of the Political Bureau and Secretary of the Secretariat, lectured on recent political developments. Comrade Jehoshua Irge, member of the Secretariat, lectured on the problems to be discussed at the 10th Histadrut Congress. Comrade Ruth Lubitz, Chairman, Central Control Commission, reported on Party work in the democratic organizations. Comrade Meir Vilner, Secretary of the Political Bureau, delivered a report on the activities of the Political Bureau and the Secretariat. The reports were followed by a discussion, which was summed up by the lecturers.

The Central Committee approved the reports presented by the Political Bureau and adopted a number of resolutions.

REPORT (Abridged)

Delivered by Comrade T. Toubi at the 7th Plenary Session of the Central Committee, Communist Party of Israel

In his report T. Toubi dwelt on the international situation, on the growing activities of the imperialists, particularly American imperialists, against the advance of the peoples to national and social liberation. Comrade T. Toubi condemned American imperialist aggression in Vietnam which is being opposed and defeated by the heroic Vietnamese people and its National Liberation Front supported by anti-imperialist and peace-loving people. Comrade T. Toubi referred to the activities of the forces of peace and freedom in Israel during the week of solidarity with Vietnam and called upon the Israeli Parliament to respond to the appeal of the Supreme Soviet of the Soviet Union to come out against American aggression in Vietnam.

FOR THE UNITY OF THE COMMUNIST CAMP

Referring to the stepping-up of aggressive activity by the im-

*Information Bulletin of the CP of Israel, January 1966.

perialist forces, the speaker said the following: "There is no doubt that the imperialists are taking advantage of the difficulties that beset the Socialist camp and the world Communist movement as a result of the stand and the activity of the Chinese Communist Party leadership, which are in contradiction to the precepts of the unity and cohesion of the socialist camp and of our Communist movement.

Five years have now elapsed since the 1960 Moscow consultation, whose conclusions, together with those of the 1957 consultation, have stood the test of developments in the international arena. These documents are of historic importance to the international Communist movement, to the international working class and to all peoples fighting for their freedom. These documents constitute a creative Marxist-Leninist compass in the struggle waged by all Communist Parties for peace, national liberation, democracy and socialism.

The 1960 Moscow Declaration jointly adopted by 81 Communist and Workers' parties, including the Chinese Communist Party, constitutes to this very day a basis for the unity and the common struggle of our world Communist movement.

The experience of the past years on various fronts has shown up the mistakes made by the leaders of the Chinese Communist Party.

Our Communist Party, the Communist Party of Israel, which stands behind the Moscow Declarations of 1957-1960 and March 1965, will continue, as in the past, to support the efforts made by the CPSU and the majority of Communist Parties the world over to ensure the internationalist unity of the entire world Communist movement, in order to intensify the fight against imperialism, for peace and socialism.

DEVELOPMENTS IN OUR REGION

In his report, Comrade T. Toubi dwelt on developments and events in the Middle East and in a number of Arab countries. He noted, among other things, the importance of the latest visit of the Algerian President and Premier, Boumedienne, to the Soviet Union. Comrade T. Toubi said in this connection: "The fact that the Soviet Union was the first country to be visited by Boumedienne since his coming to power and that Algeria has reverted to the policy of broad economic and political cooperation with the USSR bears witness to the objective processes at work in that country and which it is no simple and easy matter to alter. The imperialists and the forces of reaction believed that, with Ben-Bella's downfall, they would be in a position to turn back the wheel of development. Of course, many dangers threatened the Algerian people's gains and

there were even setbacks. The persecution and arrests of Algerian Communists and patriotic democrats aroused anxiety and protest among all those forces that had highly appreciated and sympathized with the Algerian people's heroic struggle. The developments of the last six months have proved that there exist strong revolutionary forces who are partisans of the tradition of anti-imperialist struggle for national and social liberation as well as constant contradictions between these forces and the imperialists. Objective reality once more drives that country in the direction of economic independence and social progress, towards upholding the line of positive neutrality and of Algeria's position within the anti-imperialist camp.

The Soviet Union's wise and far-sighted policy has once again been proved correct. Today, Algeria is taking the road of a strengthening of her all-round ties with the Soviet Union, to the benefit of her progressive development, the common fight against imperialism, and the cause of peace and socialism. . . .

THE ARMS RACE IN OUR REGION

Comrade Tawfiq Toubi went on to stress that imperialist activity in the Middle East was once again increasing the threat to the well-being and the security of the peoples of that area. There is the danger of an accelerated arms race in our region. In stepping up their efforts to strengthen their positions and their reactionary supports, the American and British imperialists supply arms to those rulers who are within their sphere of influence.

The latest big arms deal between Britain and the U.S., on one side, and Saudi Arabia, on the other (for the creation of a modern air force in that country) as well as the latest delivery of American tanks and other equipment to Jordan are aimed, above all, at consolidating the stand of these pro-imperialist regimes (Saudi Arabia in particular) against those Arab states that pursue an anti-imperialist policy (Egypt in particular). The supply of equipment to Jordan is destined, first and foremost, to strengthen King Hussein's position in his country. Imperialist and reactionary aggression against the Yemeni Republic (through the agency of Saudi Arabia) as well as the Western powers' desire to strengthen their positions in the area form the main background for the supply of weapons to Saudi Arabia.

The *Ha'aretz* correspondent in the U.S. wrote in his newspaper (28/12/65) as follows: "American State Department circles added that they are not apprehensive about the large arms deal between Saudi Arabia and Britain. Nasser ought to be more worried than Israel, said these same circles, who noted the fact that there had

been a time when Saudi Arabia had no defense against Egyptian bomber raids. . . ."

Following a meeting between the Israeli Ambassador in Washington and Secretary of State Dean Rusk, *Yediot Ahronot's* correspondent in the United Staes wrote (30/12/65) that American spokesmen go to great lengths to explain that the arms sent to Saudi Arabia and Jordan are intended "to enable them to successfully resist Nasser's subversive activity."

There is not the shadow of a doubt that it is this imperialist activity in the area—aimed, first and foremost, against the anti-imperialist forces—which is responsible for the intensified arms race in the Middle East.

Not only do the ruling circles of Israel fail to come out against this arms race, but they actually take advantage of this situation to reinforce their "deterrent force for the dictation of terms," thus fanning the flames of the arms race.

This was the approach adopted by Chief of Staff Rav-Aluf Rabin in a speech made at the Tel Aviv Engineers Club on 24/12/65, when he called for "an even greater effort to increase the Israel Defense Forces' military potential." In praising the policy of force and the arms race, he stated that "military power alone provides the solution and the key to the prevention of war and to victory if war is forced on us."

Israel, like any other state, has the right to maintain a military defense force, but if the ruling circles were really worried by the arms race they would strive for its cessation instead of taking a hand in its intensification.

We ask them: why did they not back, *at the time*, the Soviet appeal for an agreement between the great powers to ban the supply of arms to all Middle Eastern countries from any source whatsoever and why doesn't the Israeli Government give its support *now* to the demand for the conclusion of an agreement between the powers banning the supply of weapons to all Middle Eastern countries from any source whatosever and for the dismantling of military blocs and bases. Would not this be the most correct response from the point of view of ensuring the security of Israel and of the whole Middle East? Can there possibly be any doubt that the way to guarantee the well-being of Israel and of the other countries of the Middle East lies in a sincere striving for the cessation of the arms race, whose source was and remains imperialist policy and its policy of force aimed against the peoples of the Middle East fighting for their freedom and independence?

The ruling circles of Israel, however, are intent not on putting a stop to the arms race but to stepping it up. That is the goal of the "warning signal" voiced by their spokesmen; and if the Chief of Staff declared in the above-mentioned lecture that the "problem

of increasing the Israel Defense Forces' military potential is a question of financial possibilities," it is proof that this "warning signal" is meant to justify the recent economic measures imposed on the public, such as price boosts, abolition of subsidies and the like also for the sake of intensifying the arms race.

In addition to the dangers stemming from the conventional arms race, a growing threat is presented by the non-conventional, nuclear arms race.

That is why we renew our demand that the Israeli Government work for an agreement to convert the Middle East into a denuclearized zone and to put an end to the military trend in the work of the nuclear reactor at Dimona. This is a vital need, first and foremost, for Israel itself.

Israel's security will be ensured not by an impoverishing and dangerous arms race, but by a policy of peace, a policy directed at a peaceful settlement of the Israeli-Arab dispute, based on mutual recognition and mutual respect for the just rights of the two peoples.

THE TALKS ON THE FORMATION OF THE NEW GOVERNMENT

As to the coalition talks on the formation of a new Government, Comrade T. Toubi said the following: "The fact that nearly two months after the elections to the 6th Knesset, Eshkol has not succeeded in forming a government is proof of the continuing crisis of the regime in Israel; this crisis stems from the official policy which Eshkol pursued and continues to pursue, a policy that has not solved and is unable to solve, Israel's basic problems."

All the signs point to Eshkol's conducting these negotiations on the basis of the "fundamental principles" of the previous government. The leadership of the "Alignment" has already ensured the participation of Mapam and of the "Independent Liberals" in the new coalition and is keeping up its efforts to include the National Religious Party, too.

Weeks on end talks have been going on on problems solely connected with the religious parties' Sabbath claims. The working class and the popular masses cannot be indifferent to the growing number of demands put forward by the religious parties, which have the effect of restricting the citizen's freedom of action and reinforcing religious coercion. But the really regrettable part of the whole story is that no serious political and economic problems have been brought up in the entire course of this inter-party haggling, from Mapam to the religious parties.

Whereas M. Ya'ari, leader of Mapam, declares that Mapam's demands in the economic-social sphere have been satisfied, (!), the

statements made by the Minister of Finance leave no doubt as to the direction in which the wind is blowing in the sails of the new Government.

Finance Minister Sapir stands for a policy of restricting economic activity (he claims that this is a means of stemming the danger of inflation), involving the creation of unemployment in various branches of the economy (at first, in the building trade and ancillary branches) as a means of pressure against the workers' just claims for wage increases. Three weeks ago, at a conference of Directors-General of Government corporations, Sapir declared that, in the two years to come, there will be no salary rise for workers in State and municipal services, medical and education services, etc. Labor agreements will have to be prolonged and Sapir even went as far as to threaten to fire any Director who would raise wages. P. Sapir thereby signals the direction in which the new Government intends to move.

The rise in the price of essential goods and services put into effect these last few days also serves as a clear indicator of the trend of this policy. All these measures testify to the continuation of the policy of enriching the rich and of throwing to the dogs the vital needs of the workers and the popular masses. There is the danger that, this time, the policy will be carried out with the connivance of Mapam.

As far as the democratic liberties are concerned, Comrade T. Toubi remarked that, instead of drawing the necessary conclusions from the bitter fight that took place this last year against the Ben-Gurionite clique, instead of strengthening democracy in all fields, there are clear signs, here too, pointing to the continuation of traditional policy. Insofar as reports have appeared in the press they speak of certain alleviations in military government such as the granting of freedom of movement from the Israeli Triangle to the Galilee and the abolition of the post of military governors. Even if these reports are true and the Government is compelled to introduce changes under the pressure of public opinion, it still remains that they intend to keep up "blacklists" which grow longer every day, to close certain areas and use the mandatory regulations with all their draconian clauses, such as administrative arrests, exiles, "security" summons to police stations, etc. All this means the continued existence of military government, which hangs like the Sword of Damocles over the heads of the Arab population in Israel.

At the very time of this present session the authorities are continuing their policy of land confiscation. They are as determined as ever in the seizure of fellaheen's lands under various pretexts.

The Arab workers are now threatened by the beginnings of the

unemployment crisis in the building trade, since they will be the first victims of this crisis.

We shall, of course, adopt a positive attitude toward any alleviation in military government. These steps constitute, on the one hand, lip-service to the general demand voiced for the abolition of this regime of oppression and, on the other, an attempt to evade the need to respond to the comprehensive and just demand for the complete abolition of this regime of oppression.

FOREIGN POLICY

In the field of foreign policy all signs point to a continuation of the pro-imperialist policy, a policy contrary to the cause of peace, a policy of cooperation and "ties of confidence and friendship" with Bonn. Even though Bonn goes back on its promise to grant increased economic "aid," Israel repays her by approving German diplomats who, in the past, had served Hitler and by keeping quiet over the arming of the Bundeswehr with atomic weapons. The Israeli Government's policy passing over in silence the American aggression in Vietnam and even "undeclared" support does nothing to add honor to Israel's name. The stand taken by Israel's UN delegation on the issue of the Arab refugees, too, clearly shows that no change has taken place in the official attitude on the question of peace with the Arab States.

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All the above point to the course that will be taken by the coalition about to be formed. It will be a government which will maintain the basic policy lines of its predecessor, whereas Israel's supreme interests require a new policy of independence, neutrality, peace, democracy, equal rights and social progress.

We are not, of course, indifferent to the composition of the Government, but it is the political line of the Government which is of decisive importance. The non-participation of Ben-Gurion's extremist militarists is of very great significance. A government without the National-Religious Party would be more vulnerable to pressure by the working class fighting for its interests.

In the face of the danger of an attack by the circles of the Right and Ben Gurion's extremist militarists we shall, as always, take up positions in a single front with all the forces wishing to protect existing democratic forms of government and democratic freedoms.

We shall have a positive appreciation of any step that will be taken in favor of democracy and the working people's interests, any step that will serve as an expression of the struggle waged by the broad masses for a change of policy.

It is not, however, this or that composition of the future Government that will extricate Israel from the crisis, but a shift in Israeli

policy in the direction of peace, independence, neutrality, democracy, equal rights and social progress.

We shall fight and group forces with a view to effecting this change.

APPEAL*

OF THE COMMITTEE FOR THE DEFENSE OF THE CP OF INDONESIA

The attitude of the Communist Party of Indonesia to the events linked with September 30 is clear and unmistakable. It was set forth in the statement of the Political Bureau of the CC, CPI, of October 5, 1965, read at the meeting of the Cabinet on October 6, and in the PB, CC statement of October 10. The statements said that there had been organized arson on the CPI premises and in the homes of Party functionaries and rank-and-file members in the capital and elsewhere, although the CPI had fully supported President Sukarno's instructions and signified its readiness to cooperate in putting them into practice. On October 15 the CC, CPI sent a telegram to the Cabinet Presidium asking the Cabinet to take measures against the anarchists and elements bent on destruction who were committing acts of provocation against law and order.

Over a certain period the CPI was the main target for attack, including physical attack, persecution and propaganda by anti-Communist elements representing a group which President Sukarno had long ago described as splitters, primarily of the unity of the Indonesian people.

The infamous alliance concluded by imperialist reaction and the home reactionaries was aimed at making the CPI a black sheep. But the short-sightedness and clumsiness of these forces had the opposite effect.

The reactionaries stinted neither strength, time, nor money to slander the CPI and other democratic forces.

The weapon found on the premises of the CPI was a rifle with which an aircraft of the U.S. aggressor had been shot down and which the CC of the Working People's Party of Vietnam had presented to the CC, CPI. The gift was handed over at the central Senajah stadium before the eyes of President Sukarno and the four leaders of the armed forces.

The report alleging that 1,000 m. rupiahs had been found in Comrade Aidit's home and subsequently burned are completely groundless, for in a state like the Republic of Indonesia the burning of banknotes is punishable under the Constitution, especially when the amount in question is so great.

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*Abridged from **Aus der Internationalen Arbeiterbewegung** (information bulletin published by the Department of International Relations under the CC, SUPG), No. 2, 1966.

The so-called foreign military equipment, including the "bombs," in Comrade Njoto's home consisted of children's clothes and toys.

The documents stolen from the homes of Aidit, Lukman, Njoto, Sudisman, Sakirman and other comrades and made out afterwards to be "September 30 documents" were mostly state documents of the People's Consultative Assembly, Parliament, the Cabinet Presidium, the Operational High Command (KOTI), the Economic Operations High Command (KOTOE) and other bodies.

Furthermore, the reactionaries committed acts that had hardly anything in common with civilization, such as the burning of libraries belonging to the CC, CPI, the Aliarcham Academy of Social Sciences and other progressive academies and Pembaruan Publishers, the Kramat bookshops, etc., or the destruction of the private libraries of leading members of the CPI.

The reactionaries also slung mud at revolutionary mass organizations. They alleged that the BTI peasant organization sabotaged food production, whereas it was obvious that no peasant organization had worked as loyally and as strenuously as BTI for the implementation of the agrarian reform and for the expansion of areas planted to rice, the use of fertilizers, irrigation, and so on.

SOBSI (Indonesian Federation of Trade Unions) was said to have injured state finance. Yet it is an open secret that SOBSI was among the foremost fighters against the bureaucratic capitalists and those who had unlawfully enriched themselves at the expense of the nation's wealth. SOBSI had always striven to increase production, insisting, among other things, that production councils should operate democratically and efficiently.

All kinds of sadistic acts were said to have been perpetrated above all by GERWANI, the women's organization. Yet anyone knows that GERWANI's action against feudal and conservative concepts, against imperialist corruption and rowdyism, against the humiliation of women, the violation of women's rights, etc., placed it in the van of the struggle for a new moral code.

People's Youth, trained by the Air Force, is said to have wanted to revolt. Yet it has never been a crime to be trained by an official organization.

Under the pretext of "putting down the September 30 movement," the reactionaries are trying to take repressive measures against the entire CPI and all its supporters in factories and harbors, on plantations and in the countryside. Indeed, they are trying to suppress Marxism as a doctrine and communism as an ideology. At the time of the Madiun affair Hatta[1] launched a "campaign

1. During the Madiun affair, in 1948, reactionary elements in the Army provoked the progressive forces with an eye to acquiring an opportunity to persecute the CPI. Leading members of the CPI cadre and over 30,000 rank-and-file members of the Party were murdered. Hatta, the then Prime Minister, collaborated with the Dutch imperialists.—**Ed.**

against the Reds" on the basis of information which he used regardless of "whether it was true or not," and today's little Hattas are doing exactly the same—arguing "direct or indirect complicity."

Just as once the Madiun provocations were preceded by the spread of forged documents attributed to the CPI, so today forged documents have been spread that are attributed to the CPI. The gutter press has even published forged documents, alleged to have been found not only in CPI but in Partindo, Perti and PNI[2] quarters.

Giving threadbare "reasons" like those listed above, a number of political parties, above all IPKI[3], the Catholic Party, the Protestant Party, NU (a Moslem party) and PSII (another Moslem party), demanded the dissolution of the CPI.

We know IPKI as a party which includes elements linked with the October 17 affair, Right Socialists, and even former counter-revolutionaries from PRRI-Permesta[4]. We know the Catholic and Protestant parties as parties which at one time sank as low as to join the Democratic Union, disbanded by the President. We also know that NU and PSII include a number of Masjumi as well as Rightist and Right-Socialist elements, and even one-time members of the counter-revolutionary DI-TII[5]. Nevertheless, the CPI has never demanded the dissolution of any one of these parties. These parties must therefore decide whether they want to remain loyal to NASAKOM[6] and the five principles of the revolution or to betray both. As regards the demand that the CPI be dissolved, it is necessary to repeat here what Bung Karno[7] said in a Dutch colonial court in Bandung, namely, that a revolutionary movement cannot be "made" by revolutionaries, any more than it can be stopped by counter-revolutionaries.

The CPI has been accused of being opposed to Pantja Sila[8]. Yet it is a fact that at a time when some political parties still did not accept Pantja Sila or even had turned against it the CPI upheld it. However, fidelity to Pantja Sila can be proved only by deeds. Pantja Sila has nothing to do with anti-democratic action and still less with the murder of seasoned cadres and young people, as in Pondok

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2. Partindo is a petty-bourgeois party with a Left trend. Parti is a party comprising primarily adherents of Islam. PNI, or the National Party, represents the interests of the national bourgeoisie and has a Left and a Right wing.—**Ed.**

3. IPKI, Party of Rightist army officers.—**Ed.**

4. Counter-revolutionary, pro-Western separatist movement, active in Sumatra and Sulawesi from 1957 to 1960.—**Ed.**

5. Counter-revolutionary movement which opposed the Indonesian state of the time and insisted on establishing a Moslem state.—**Ed.**

6. NASAKOM (from **Nasionalis** (national), **Agama** (religion) and **Komunis** (Communist)) is the national unity front formed by President Sukarno.

7. "Brother Karno," Indonesian appellative of President Sukarno.—**Ed.**

8. The ideology for the Indonesian people put forward by President Sukarno on June 1, 1945. It became the general and obligatory ideology of the state, including all parties. It consists of five principles: belief in divinity, nationalism, internationalism, democracy and social justice—**Ed.**

Gede or in the case of the massacre of peasants in Central and East Java. Pantja Sila has nothing to do with tortures or the arbitrary massive victimization of officials, workers and scientists, with the arbitrary denial of an income to people, or with the barring of youth and students from school and university. Besides, Pantja Sila has nothing to do with anti-communism and the anti-NASAKOM spirit.

There are those who want to use the "September 30 movement" directed against the "Generals' Council"[9], for combating the CPI. They have launched a campaign of hysteria making the CPI out to be a "cruel party." The CP has been subjected to violence throughout its history, and this not only in the day of colonial oppression. There were CPI leaders killed during the Madiun provocation, and the PRRI-Permesta counter-revolutionary rebellion took a toll of hundreds of key members of the Party cadre.

President Sukarno has called for peace and order, and the CPI responds to his call in practice. Not a single act of arson or violation of public peace has been committed by the CPI. All such acts were organized by the Right. Only because it responded to Sukarno's proposal did the CPI refrain from all-out resistance. But if the persecution of Communists continues and if it is done, as in the past, on the strength of "suppositions" and calumnies, the Communists will be all the more justified in defending themselves.

The Defense Committee for the Communist Party of Indonesia has been set up because the CPI, a revolutionary party, is being treated unfairly. This appeal is addressed to all who still can and want to think.

The Committee considers that the CPI has no interests other than those of the people, first of all the workers and peasants. The Indonesian workers and peasants will, along with other sections of the people, make a tremendous contribution to national independence. The Committee is convinced that the CPI has always been, and will be, at one with the lives, suffering and struggles of these workers and peasants.

The reactionaries' chief mistake is that they would like to achieve a quick victory. Even in the long run they could not suppress the Communists let alone hope for an early victory unless, of course, they were capable of completely routing the proletariat and the peasants.

There are other mistakes which the Right cannot correct. To all the parties, groups and individuals who have not lost their heads, who are still loyal to NASAKOM and Pantja Sila and have not allowed themselves to be infected by the morbid fear of Communists, the CPI and other Left forces, nor to be set upon them, the

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9. Leading center of the Right.—**Ed.**

Defense Committee for the CPI expresses its gratitude and pledges to contribute to the closest possible cooperation.

The Committee also thanks the Communist parties and democratic movements abroad which have expressed their support and solidarity for the CPI.

The Committee calls on the Indonesian workers, peasants and other groups of the people, including servicemen, who are striving with devotion to carry forward the revolution against imperialism and feudalism, not to flinch or abandon their hopes of freedom. Today it is necessary to fight for liberation from imperialism and feudalism and later for the elimination of the exploitation of man by man, against injustice, for a higher standard of living.

Let us prove ourselves equal to the situation, which calls for defense of the five principles of the revolution! Let us defeat the reactionary forces! Forward, not a step back! We shall win!

Capital of the Republic of Indonesia
November 20, 1965.

THE FORCES OF SOCIALISM AND PEACE ARE STRONGER*

ZOLTAN KOMOCSIN, MEMBER OF THE PB AND SECRETARY OF THE CC, HSWP

World developments today claim increased attention on the part of Communists and other champions of peace. These developments tell them how the balance of the forces of socialism and peace, on the one hand, and of the forces of exploitation, neocolonialism, imperialism and militarism, on the other, is shaping and what is the trend of the struggle for world Communist unity.

These questions, which agitate public opinion in both our country and the world, were dealt with last month by the Central Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party. The Party membership is familiarizing itself with the stand taken by the CC. Nevertheless, we think it useful to give the more important definitions and conclusions in our paper as well.

The struggle of the world forces of socialism and peace cannot be judged realistically by current events alone. To generalize the results of this struggle and specify our tasks, we must sum up the outstanding international events for at least the last five years and use them as a basis for drawing conclusions.

It is typical of recent years that the world situation and social development have been shaping in favor of those fighting for socialism, democracy, freedom, national independence and peace. The forces of socialism are breaking through in many directions. Imperialism is trying hard to stop this process by increasing its aggressiveness. International life has become more complicated and contradictory. Periods of greater and lesser tension alternate. Analysis of those developments that are favorable or unfavorable to us entitles us to state with confidence, on the strength of facts, that during the last five years the forces of socialism and peace have proved, all difficulties notwithstanding, more powerful than the imperialist forces striving to unleash a world war.

One of the main conclusions of the 1960 world Communist conference, namely, that the socialist world system is increasingly becoming the decisive factor in social development, has been borne out again.

In drawing conclusions, we must remember that the development

*Népszabadság, March 5, 1966.

of the socialist countries and of the Communist and workers' parties cannot follow a straight line and there may be temporary reverses. It is very important, however, that as a result of the economic, social and military progress of the Soviet Union and the other fraternal socialist countries, the socialist commonwealth now is, all the difficulties and problems notwithstanding, a greater force than five years ago.

The weight which the Communist parties of Europe carry in society has also grown appreciably. This is evident from increased Communist influence on social life and from a series of gains scored by the Communists in elections to trade union, government and local bodies. It is an important phenomenon of precisely the last years that the Communist parties have been organizing the anti-monopolist forces of society and leading them into action more and more firmly and successfully.

The struggle of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America against the colonialists and neocolonialists and their underlings at home has assumed a tremendous scale. In the vast majority of the countries concerned, the anti-imperialist struggles of the people are led by the Communist parties. On these continents the reactionary forces of the world, particularly the U.S. imperialists, are trying to maintain or restore their domination through bribery, rebellion, military coups and, in extreme cases, through military intervention.

It is indicative of the ups and downs of the struggle that important gains are followed by temporary setbacks, so much so that certain Communist parties have lately been banned and driven underground. But stamping out the class struggle turns out to be an impossible task, and this or that brother party can be put out of action only for a while.

A matter of particular concern to the world Communist movement is, needless to say, the splitting activity and anti-Soviet subversion carried on by the CPC leadership. The Chinese leaders' conduct hampers the development of the world Communist movement and seriously prejudices the Communist and Workers' parties and the entire anti-imperialist front. For all that, it cannot in principle alter the objectively necessary trend of development in the present-day world. While slowing down the progress of the Communist movement, it cannot throw it back.

Nor should imperialism's temporary and partial gains be overrated. Its economic and political offensive and military aggression can hold up but not stop objective social development—not in our day—or prevent a further shift in the balance of forces in favor of socialism and peace.

The dispute which has been going on in the world Communist movement for years prompted the enemy, imperialism, to step up its attacks while our attention and energy were largely diverted

to the struggle for unity. The imperialists' recurrent sorties, political and economic attacks and acts of military aggression ranging from the Dominican Republic to Vietnam take place at a time when the growth of the forces of socialism is accompanied by the spread of socialism to new areas. Along with the Cuban revolution, mention should be made of the one-time colonial, mostly African, countries which, prompted by socialist aspirations, have made progress and gained strength on the non-capitalist road of development.

This trend, the all but complete disintegration of the colonial system, and the rapid growth of the movement for freedom and independence constitute the decisive characteristic of the last decade. On the other hand, imperialism, pursuing its neocolonialist aims, scores passing gains in both time and space. Nevertheless, it is a fact that while the economic situation in some capitalist countries is still favorable and they are in a position to achieve results not only in promoting science and technology but in meeting the material requirements of the people, the capitalist world is coming up against more and more economic and social difficulties. More and more often, the press and officials of imperialist countries speak of crisis-like phenomena, inflation, and various financial problems. The mounting difficulties of the capitalist system express themselves, among other things, in increasingly frequent strikes. There can be no doubt that in subsequent years facts of this kind will grow in number and will affect the course of events more and more.

When analyzing and drawing conclusions from the international situation and the balance of forces, it is essential to weigh every factor carefully. In other words, just as we should, along with our own gains, see the strength of the capitalist social system, of imperialism, its potentialities and opportunities, we should, along with the difficulties in the way of the world Communist movement, take careful stock of the difficulties besetting capitalist society and the leading imperialist powers, of their problems and weaknesses. In the future, when analyzing factors that are favorable or unfavorable to us, we will have to pay greater attention than we have so far to new developments making it possible for us to take our bearings in a complicated situation and to set more specific tasks before ourselves.

In terms of the struggle of the forces of socialism and peace and of shifts in the balance of forces, the situation in the international Communist and working-class movement is of the utmost importance. We should therefore carefully study its development and gains, as well as the causes of its temporary failures. The achievements of the progressive forces, the international working class fighting for better living conditions, the national-liberation move-

ment and the peoples of the world fighting for peace are all closely linked with the strength of the world Communist and working-class movement. At the same time we must not shut our eyes to the difficulties that the Communist and working-class movement encounters when the imperialists achieve temporary gains in world politics, when Communist parties are outlawed and progressive governments overthrown as a result of reactionary military coups. The lack of unity in our international movement encourages the U.S. imperialists to continue, in particular, their military aggression against Vietnam.

It is extremely unfavorable to the world forces of socialism and peace that efforts aimed at re-establishing world Communist unity have so far borne no fruit. Indeed, the situation has regrettably deteriorated in recent months. Those Communist and Workers' parties which abide by the decisions of the 1960 world Communist conference are fighting hard for the elimination of divergences and the restoration of world Communist unity.

Our Party, like other fraternal parties, considers it the paramount task of the Communist and Workers' parties steadfastly to promote socialism from the economic, political, social and military points of view and to intensify the fight against imperialism. Meanwhile it is necessary to strive without let-up for the restoration of Communist unity, although this is a prolonged process.

At the moment the prime task of the Communist movement is to achieve unity of action of the socialist countries, the Communist and Workers' parties and the anti-imperialist forces generally, above all in order to render still more effective support to the heroic Vietnamese people. The Hungarian Communists will continue to regard it as their proletarian internationalist duty to contribute to the solution of the problems facing our international movement. This is what the interests of socialism, peace, progress, our country and our people call for.

The CC, HSWP, invariably upholds the fundamental conclusions of the Twentieth and Twenty-Second congresses of the CPSU concerning the world Communist movement. Our Party always regards the general line worked out at the Moscow conferences in 1957 and 1960 as the basis for its international activity. It fully subscribes to the point of view of the consultative meeting of 19 brother parties held in Moscow in March 1965.

To contribute to the restoration of world Communist unity, our Party puts first in its international activity that which unites the Communist and Workers' parties, all the forces of revolution and progress, against imperialism. We will continue our effort for the convening of a large international meeting of Communist and Workers' parties. But in the present situation we place the emphasis on the anti-imperialist unity of action of the Communist and

working-class movement. To promote this unity, our Party will continue to seek bilateral and multilateral talks with the representatives of brother parties.

Maintaining peace and averting a world war is still the main issue for the world forces of socialism and peace. The peaceful coexistence of countries with different social systems is very important to the struggle of these forces. But the policy of peaceful coexistence does not apply to the relations between exploiting and exploited countries, any more than to the struggle of the peoples oppressed by the imperialists against their oppressors. The principle of peaceful coexistence does not connote restricting the equal right of the peoples to accomplish their social revolutions. It implies the unlimited right of nations to self-determination. The peaceful coexistence of countries belonging to two different world systems creates a favorable international climate for the struggle of the working class and other classes and of the peoples fighting for their emancipation. It cannot extend to the ideological sphere, for there is an irreconcilable contradiction between communist and bourgeois ideology.

The policy of peaceful coexistence does not rule out the peoples and Communist parties of the socialist countries expressing solidarity for the struggle of the working class and other working classes and the peoples of the capitalist countries. In fact, they see it as their duty to give their fighting class brothers and the peoples fighting against imperialist aggression and foreign interference all the support they can.

Today it is particularly important to support the struggle of the Vietnamese people. Our Party and government, expressing the will of the Hungarian people, fully identify themselves with our Vietnamese brothers and support them by every available means. We quite agree with the four points of the DRV and the five points of the NLF of South Vietnam, for these points could serve as the basis for stopping the U.S. aggression and for settling the conflict politically. At present our Party and government put complete solidarity with the fighting Vietnamese people above everything else in their activities on the world scene.

The situation in Vietnam and the Afro-Asian continent, as well as in Latin America and Europe, shows to all that implementing the policy of peaceful coexistence requires sustained effort. This policy is a form of the class struggle, being a struggle at state level to preserve peace, meet the requirements of peaceful coexistence, prevent a world war, counter imperialist aggression and interference in the internal affairs of peoples, and promote the further expansion of the sphere of socialism.

The imperialist countries express readiness to coexist peacefully with some socialist countries. At the same time they strive to isolate

other socialist countries internationally, threatening them with arms and even attacking them outright. Some socialist countries are compelled to devise tactics that will help them eliminate the direct threat emanating from the imperialists. Their foreign policy on the main issues should therefore be identical. But it cannot be identical in its every shading with that of the other socialist countries. The socialist countries pursue an independent foreign policy but they can do this effectively only if they coordinate their moves and bring them into line with the interests of the whole socialist commonwealth.

In view of the present state of world politics and the international working-class movement, the fundamental political importance of friendship with the Soviet Union has substantially increased. A situation has developed in which friendship with the Soviet Union forms the divide in the fight against the chief enemy, imperialism, as well as in the polemic against the sectarian, dogmatist and Rightist trends manifesting themselves in the working-class movement. In fulfilling its international tasks, our Party proposes, as in the past, to foster friendship with the Soviet Union, using it to promote our common interests and objectives. This is in perfect harmony with the interests of our Party, our socialist country and the world Communist and working-class movement.

Our international policy is proved correct day after day, as a comparison of favorable and unfavorable facts shows. It is proved correct by new gains in the Vietnamese people's courageous fight against the U.S. aggressor, and by the fact that world opinion is becoming increasingly emphatic in demanding an end to the U.S. aggression.

The first major diplomatic victory of 1966 is linked with the Soviet foreign policy. It is acknowledged all over the world—even our opponents do not deny it—that direct Indo-Pakistani negotiations and the signing of the Tashkent agreement were made possible only by the unflagging effort of the Soviet government. Reaching this agreement in precisely the present international situation greatly enhanced the international prestige of the Soviet Union and hence of the socialist world system.

We were proved right—our principles and policies were proved right—by the convening of the Havana tricontinental conference and the decisions it adopted. The conference laid special emphasis on the interconnection of the three principal revolutionary torrents of our time, on the need for the close cooperation of the worldwide liberation movement, the socialist countries, and the international working class and its struggles.

The desire for unity is gaining ground in the Communist and Workers' parties of the world.

All this, while not making us forget the complicated international

situation, prompts us to feel still more certain that the forces of socialism and peace will achieve progress in their persevering effort to bring about anti-imperialist unity of action of the international Communist and working-class movement and of mankind fighting for peace. In accordance with the objective law of our time, there is bound to come a further shift in the balance of forces in favor of socialism and peace.

INDESTRUCTIBLE UNITY*

The Party and all Soviet people are preparing to greet the 23rd Congress of the CPSU with fitting achievements. Pre-Congress emulation in labor is expanding. Communists and Party organizations study and generalize the results attained, striving, in accordance with Lenin's precept, "to bring tested, analyzed and summed-up *practical* experience to the Party congress."

The Party conferences and Union republic Party congresses being held these days proceed in an atmosphere of solid unity and vigorous activity. Delegates point out with satisfaction that since the 22nd Congress the Party, firmly pursuing its Leninist course, has done a great deal to fulfil the tasks in communist construction in our country set by the Program of the CPSU.

Of particular importance to the Party and country are the decisions passed by the CC, CPSU in October 1964 and afterwards. The measures adopted by the Leninist Central Committee with a view to improving Party guidance of political, economic and cultural affairs, promoting industry and agriculture and spurring progress in science and technology meet the fundamental interests of the Soviet people. The Party and the people unanimously approve them and are carrying them into effect. The links between the Party and the people have grown closer still, the Party organizations have become more solid organizationally and the millions-strong Communist army has rallied even more closely behind the CC, CPSU.

Communists discuss—thoroughly and earnestly, from the standpoint of principle—progress in the execution of the March and September decisions of the CC, the draft directives of the 23rd Party Congress for the new five-year plan. They point to the possibilities of furthering our economy, science and culture and improving the people's standard of living. The conferences and congresses that are taking place show that Party organizations and members are becoming more and more constructive in their work and that they refuse to compromise where shortcomings and manifestations of subjectivism, hidebound routine and red tape are concerned.

This is a result of the vast amount of work done by the Party and its Central Committee to encourage the activity and initiative of Communists and all Soviet people, and to make every Communist and every Soviet citizen increasingly aware of their responsibility for communist construction.

The progress made by the Soviet people under the leadership of

*Pravda, February 26, 1966.

the Party in recent years is due to the policy formulated by Party congresses and the Party Program and carried forward by recent plenums of the CC.

The 20th Congress of the CPSU, which played a prominent part in the life of our Party and country, met ten years ago, in February 1956. It took place at a time when the Soviet Union, upon recovering from the ravages of war, had passed to a new stage in communist construction, when the socialist world system had become firmly established, the revolutionary and national-liberation movement had assumed tremendous scope, the general crisis of capitalism had gone deeper and the balance of world forces had changed sharply in favor of socialism and the anti-imperialist front as a whole.

The Congress, responding to urgent historical exigencies, specified the next tasks in the development of the country. Its decisions, aimed at restoring Leninist standards in the Party and the state and at enforcing and promoting the principles of collective leadership and inner-Party democracy, were of great moment. The Party, remedying the adverse effects of the personality cult, did much ideological, political and organizing work among the people and took important steps to stimulate socialist democracy.

The decisions of the 20th Congress were very important also to the world Communist and working-class movement. Our Party and other fraternal Marxist-Leninist parties, taking into account the new historical situation, put forward the proposition that in our times it is actually possible to prevent a world war by rallying the anti-imperialist forces and strengthening their unity and by fighting with might and main against the imperialist policy of aggression, for peace and the security of nations. They reaffirmed and carried forward the Leninist thesis of the diversity of forms of transition from capitalism to socialism in different countries.

The Party and the people energetically fulfil their internationalist duty, consistently carrying on the Leninist policy of building up the power and unity of the socialist commonwealth, of fostering the cohesion of the world Communist movement. They give full support to the revolutionary and democratic forces battling for their freedom and national independence, and fight unrelentingly against imperialist aggression and reaction, for the triumph of the great cause of peace and socialism.

Our people are marching confidently on. The Party uses the objective laws of socialist society as it solves cardinal problems in developing the productive forces of the country, improving every aspect of the life of society and educating the people in a communist spirit.

This is evident from the decisions adopted by the CC, CPSU, last February. The draft directives of the 23rd Party Congress for

the five year economic development plan of the USSR (1966-1970), approved by the CC in February, express vital interests of the people and fully accord with the Leninist principles of economic management. The draft, based on the present level of the productive forces, is a result of scientific analysis of economic relations in our society.

The fulfilment of the new five-year plan will be an important stage in providing the material and technical base for communism and in speeding the attainment of a higher standard of living. The Soviet Union will scale new heights in the economic competition with capitalism, and will enhance the appeal of socialism in the eyes of millions.

The Soviet people hailed the February decisions of the CC, CPSU. They make the plans of the Party their own, well knowing that the Party sees its supreme goal in serving the interests of the working people.

The next five years will be marked by memorable events. Next year the Soviet people and all men of labor will celebrate the fiftieth anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution and in 1970, the closing year of the five-year plan, the hundredth anniversary of Lenin's birth.

The workers, peasants and intellectuals—the whole family of fraternal peoples of the Soviet Union—inspired by Leninist ideas, will turn their inexhaustible energy and creative initiative toward fulfilling the new five-year plan, a plan for the further advance of our society to communism.

We owe our greatest strength to the indestructible unity of the Party and the people. Based on their immense historical experience in revolutionary struggle, this unity is an earnest of the radiant communist future of our great country.

The Party and the people, solidly united under the great banner of Lenin, are advancing to the 23rd Congress of the CPSU.

LETTER FROM THE NATIONAL EXECUTIVE, COMMUNIST PARTY OF CANADA, TO THE COMMUNIST AND WORKERS' PARTIES

Dear Comrades:

It has come to our attention recently that some misconceptions exist regarding the formation of the Communist Party of Quebec as a "distinct entity." Some of the capitalist press have twisted it to mean that a separate Communist Party now exists in that province in which the French-Canadian people live. This is not the case at all. We draw your attention to a National Committee resolution to be presented to our coming National Convention:

"The bi-national character of our country and of its working class finds expression in the Communist Party and is reflected in the establishment of the Communist Party of Quebec as a distinct entity within the Communist Party of Canada, having complete control of its own policies and structures in Quebec. The principles of democratic centralism are binding on all Communists; the members of the CPQ as members of the CPC, participate fully in its life and activities, in its Conventions, National Committee and leadership, take part in the collective formulation of policy and share in the common responsibility for action in the interest of the working class of Canada."

Arising from misconceptions regarding the essence of "distinct entity" some questions have been raised as to whether the Communist Party of Quebec will establish its own relationship with other fraternal parties. This is not proposed. As in the past fraternal relationships with other parties will be maintained and developed through the Communist Party of Canada.

Fraternally yours,

National Executive Committee,
Communist Party of Canada.

ACTIVITIES OF THE COMMUNIST AND WORKERS' PARTIES

Feb. 24. An enlarged plenum of the CC of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party discussed international matters (report by Zoltan Komocsin, Secretary of the CC), progress in the execution of the CC decisions of December 8, 1965, on the national economic plan for 1966 (report by Rezso Nyers, Secretary of the CC), information on Party building, and a proposal for convening the Ninth Congress of the HSWP (report by Bela Biszku, Secretary of the CC).

Upon discussing the reports and proposals presented, the CC approved them unanimously.

Janos Kadar, First Secretary of the CC, spoke in the debate.

The CC resolved to convene the regular Ninth Congress of the HSWP at the end of November 1966.

Feb. 25-26. The CC of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia met in Belgrade to discuss pressing tasks of the Yugoslav Communists in carrying out the economic reform.

Josip Broz Tito, General Secretary of the LCY, addressed the meeting.

Feb. 26. A French Communist Party delegation composed of the members of the Party's Central Committee Georges Marchais, Paul Laurent and Jacques Denis arrived in Havana, where it was met by Armando Hart and Osmani Cienfuegos, members of the CC, CP of Cuba.

Feb. 26. A. Kirilenko, member of the Presidium of the CC, CPSU, received a delegation of the Union of Czechoslovak-Soviet Friendship led by Zdenek Fierlinger, member of the Presidium of the CC, CP of Czechoslovakia, Chairman of the CC, UCSF.

Feb. 26-27. A conference of the city organization of the CP of Sweden met in Stockholm to discuss preparations for the autumn elections, measures to improve Party information, the situation on the labor market, and the Vietnamese problem.

Second half of February. The CP of Argentina discussed and approved Victorio Codovilla's report on the international situation, the political situation in the country and the tasks of the Party. It also heard reports on the recent congresses of the Italian CP and the CP of Colombia and on the significance of the Havana tricontinental conference.

March 1. President Ho Chi Minh of the DRV visited the exhibi-

tion "Aid from the Soviet People to the Vietnamese People in the Struggle Against the USA, for National Salvation," on display in Hanoi.

March 2. Wladyslaw Gomulka, First Secretary of the CC, PUWP, had an interview with Luigi Longo, General Secretary of the ICP.

The interview was attended: on behalf of the PUWP, by Zenon Kliszko, member of the PB and Secretary of the CC, Artur Starewicz, Secretary of the CC, and Jozef Czesak, Andrzej Werblan and Stanislaw Trepczynski, CC heads of department; on behalf of the ICP, by Carlo Galluzzi, member of the Leadership, and Sergio Segre, member of the CC.

March 3-6. AKEL held its Eleventh Congress in Nicosia.

The political report was presented by Ezekias Papaioannou, General Secretary of the CC. The Congress adopted a relevant resolution and elected the leading bodies of AKEL.

March 7. Tawfiq Toubi and David Henin, leading functionaries of the CP of Israel, visited the CC, CP of Czechoslovakia.

During an interview with Vladimir Koucky, Secretary of the CC, CPC, and Oldrich Kaderka, head of the International Department of the CC, CPC, a number of current issues were discussed, including the question of re-establishing the unity of Israel's Communists.

March 8. Mihai Dalea, Secretary of the CC, Rumanian CP, received Tawfiq Toubi and David Henin, CP of Israel. The interview was attended by Stefan Andrei, deputy head of department at the CC, RCP.

The interview proceeded in a warm, comradely atmosphere.

March 10. Janos Kadar, First Secretary of the CC, HSWP, and Gyula Kallai, member of the PB, CC, HSWP, Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the HPR, arrived on a friendly visit in Bucharest at the invitation of the CC, RCP, and the government of the Socialist Republic of Rumania.

March 11-13. The CC, FCP met in a Paris suburb to discuss ideological and cultural matters.

March. The Political Commission of the CC, CP of Chile, said in a statement published in *El Siglio* that the reactionaries had become more active in the country in an effort to bring the government into the struggle against the working class and the Popular Action Front.

The statement denounced the arrest of Oscar Nunez, General Secretary of the United Trade Union Center of the Working People of Chile, and the declaration of a state of emergency in a number of areas involved in the strike movement, and exposed the intensified anti-Communist campaign of the reactionary press.

The Political Commission pointed up the need for change in the country and for national progress.

The Socialist Unity Party of Germany is on the eve of a major event. On **April 21** twenty years ago the CP and the SDP of Germany merged in the eastern part of the country into a single party of the working class. Communists and working people throughout the republic have begun preparations for the anniversary.

CORRECTION

In the article "The Role of the Socialist Workers' and Farmers' Party" by Tunji Otegbeye in Information Bulletin, No. 68, p. 10, third paragraph from top, first sentence should read:

It is a fact today that the Nigerian workers are split into four main centers—the Nigerian Trade Union Congress, the United Labor Congress, the Nigerian Workers' Council and the Labor Unity Front. Due to . . .

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Decision on 5-Year Plan, Communique

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REPORT* OF CC, CPSU TO THE 23rd CONGRESS OF THE CPSU

L. I. BREZHNEV

FIRST SECRETARY OF THE CC, CPSU

Comrade delegates, the period between the 22nd and 23rd congresses of our Party has seen numerous big and important events, both in our own country and in the international sphere. All these years the CPSU, guided by the line laid down by the 20th, 21st and 22nd Party congresses, has led the Soviet people unswervingly along the path of communist construction. All the activities of the Party have been devoted to the fulfilment of the Program of the CPSU, the creation of the material and technical basis of communism, ensuring a higher standard of living, improving social relations and educating Soviet people in a spirit of high communist consciousness. The Party has devoted all its efforts to ensuring peaceful conditions of work for the Soviet people, and has been actively fighting to maintain peace throughout the world.

With regard to the development of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the period under review has seen the further consolidation of the Party's ranks and a growth of its political and organizing role in Soviet society. The Leninist principles of Party life have been firmly established in the Party. Today, at the 23rd Congress, we may confidently say that the Communist Party of the Soviet Union has become stronger and more monolithic and its ties with the people have become more solid. The Communist Party of the Soviet Union, together with other fraternal parties, has actively worked and continues to work for the cohesion of the world Communist movement on the basis of the invincible doctrine of Marx, Engels and Lenin, for the unity of action of the Communists of the whole world in the struggle against the common foe, imperialism.

With regard to the internal development of the Soviet Union, it has been a period in which the Soviet people have, by their devoted labor under the leadership of the Communist Party, completed the Seven-Year Plan. New achievements in economic, scientific, technical and cultural development have made the Soviet Union still more powerful economically, politically and militarily.

*Pravda, March 30, 1966.

The people's standard of living has improved. The consolidation and extension of socialist democracy in various spheres of social life has continued. There has been a further strengthening of the political foundations of the socialist system—the alliance of the working class and the collective farm peasantry, the friendship of the peoples of the multinational Soviet Union, the ideological and political unity of all working people and their cohesion around their vanguard, the Communist Party.

With regard to the international situation in the period that has elapsed since the 22nd Party Congress, there has been a steady growth of the international influence of the Soviet Union and the entire world system of socialism, the countries and peoples fighting for independence and progress against the yoke of colonialism have scored fresh victories, the struggle of the working class in the capitalist countries has become more active and there has been a further development of the international Communist and working-class movement.

On the other hand, there has been a continued deepening of the general crisis of capitalism and a growth of the contradictions between capitalist countries in this period. Imperialism, primarily imperialist circles in the USA, have on a number of occasions resorted to brazen acts of provocation, including military adventures. This has resulted in an aggravation of the international situation.

However, the increased aggressiveness of imperialism does not at all mean that there has been any change in the balance of world forces in its favor. On the contrary, this aggressiveness is a reflection of those growing difficulties and contradictions that the world capitalist system is faced with in our day. The events of the past years have again shown that no matter what methods and means imperialism resorts to, it is not in a position to check the course of historical development. The revolutionary forces of today are continuing their offensive. The peoples have stepped up their struggle against imperialism.

The CC, CPSU has taken into account the great complexity of the world situation in elaborating the course of the Party and the state in foreign policy. It has been guided by the vital interests of the peoples of the Soviet Union and by a desire to ensure peaceful conditions for the building of communism and socialism in the countries of the socialist world system and to prevent the unleashing of a new world war. In elaborating and implementing foreign policy, the Central Committee has proceeded from our Party's internationalist revolutionary duty both to the fraternal socialist countries and to the working people of all countries.

The results of these past years show that the political line of the

CPSU is correct and enjoys the full support of the entire Soviet people. Our chief task is to work for the implementation of this line. Loyalty to the cause of communism, proletarian internationalism and socialist solidarity always has been and will be the law of life and struggle of the great Party of Lenin.

I

THE INTERNATIONAL POSITION OF THE USSR, THE FOREIGN POLICY ACTIVITY OF THE CPSU

1. The Socialist World System and the Struggle of the CPSU to Strengthen its Unity and Might

Comrades, work to strengthen the might and cohesion of the socialist community occupies a particularly important place among the manifold activities of our Party and state in the sphere of foreign policy. We regard the socialist world system as the greatest historical achievement of the international working class, the main revolutionary force of our time, the most reliable support of the peoples struggling for peace, national freedom, democracy and socialism. During the period under review the socialist world system has grown substantially stronger, and its international prestige and its impact on mankind's destinies have increased.

In the sphere of political cooperation between the socialist countries during the period under review, the relations between the fraternal parties of these countries have been developing on the basis of Marxism-Leninism, socialist internationalism and mutual support, on the principles of equality, non-interference, and respect for one another, on the principle of independence of the parties and states concerned. In this period our relations with the Communist and Workers' parties of the countries of the socialist community and with the socialist states have undoubtedly been enriched and have become closer and more cordial. We have good fraternal relations with the People's Republic of Bulgaria, the Republic of Cuba, the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, the German Democratic Republic, the Hungarian People's Republic, the Korean People's Democratic Republic, the Mongolian People's Republic, the Polish People's Republic, the Socialist Republic of Rumania, the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and the Socialist Federative Republic of Yugoslavia.

Treaties of friendship, cooperation and mutual assistance play an important role in the development of relations between the Soviet Union and other socialist states. These treaties are real charters of friendship that embody experience accumulated in the

course of many years, the maturity and warmth of the relations between fraternal peoples, their great internationalist spirit. They are doing excellent service to our common revolutionary cause and will continue to do so.

It is gratifying to note that the socialist system is steadily growing stronger in the fraternal countries, the new social relations are being perfected, the people's standard of living is improving and the international prestige of the socialist states is increasing.

The socialist world system is making steady progress. The basic laws of socialist construction are common to all countries, they are well known and have been tested in practice. However, the socialist countries, as they develop are constantly coming up against new problems engendered by the realities of life in all its complexity and variety. It stands to reason that there are no ready-made solutions to these problems, nor can there be any. Therefore the development of the socialist world system always requires a creative approach, on the tried and tested basis of Marxism-Leninism, to the problems that arise; it requires the pooling of experience and opinions.

Business contacts and political consultations between the leaders of the fraternal parties of socialist countries have developed into a system. During the year and a half that have elapsed since the October 1964 Plenum of the Central Committee, members of the Presidium and Secretaries of the Central Committee, and many members of the CC, CPSU have repeatedly met with leaders of the Communist and Workers' parties of almost all the socialist countries for negotiations and detailed talks. Our friendly meetings, sincere talks, the pooling of opinions and mutual respect and our common loyalty to the great ideals and aims of socialism.

Such meetings make it possible to generalize and use, in good time and more fully, all that is best in the practical activities of each country and of the entire socialist system, to elaborate more successfully the policy of communist and socialist construction in our countries and the most correct line in international affairs. Life and all our experience tell us that this is a very necessary and useful practice and we should like it to be extended in every way.

As far as the CPSU is concerned, we shall continue to do everything to develop and strengthen political relations with fraternal socialist countries.

In the sphere of economic cooperation between socialist countries, our relations in these past years have been developing and have reached a higher level. Bilateral and multilateral economic relations have been substantially expanded. Trade between socialist countries has increased appreciably. Trade with the CMEA countries

alone has increased from 5,600m. to 8,500m. rubles in the period under review. A number of measures have been carried out for the specialization and cooperation of production on mutually beneficial terms. Scientific, technical and cultural relations in the interest of our peoples are steadily expanding and becoming closer. The Council for Mutual Economic Aid is playing an ever-greater role in the economic development of the member countries. Economists work a great deal on the problems of greater specialization and coordination of production and a more rational dovetailing of economic plans. Like many fraternal parties, we are of the opinion that only in this way can the national economies of the socialist countries keep pace with the rapid scientific and technical revolution of our days and thus provide conditions for further achievements in the economic competition with capitalism.

The economy of the socialist countries is developing faster than that of the countries of the bourgeois world. Suffice it to say that in the period of 1961-1965, industrial output in the socialist world system increased by 43 per cent and in the capitalist system by 34 per cent. As you see, the difference is substantial, to say nothing of the fact that the industrial growth figures in the capitalist countries do not indicate improvements in the standard of living of the people, as they do in the socialist countries, but are primarily evidence of growing monopoly profits and the progressing militarization of the economy.

By maintaining and developing their superiority in economic growth rates and making ever more effective use of the advantages of the socialist mode of production, the socialist countries are fulfilling one of their primary, genuinely revolutionary tasks.

As far as the CPSU is concerned, we shall continue to do all we can to ensure that economic relations with fraternal socialist countries are extended and strengthened.

In the sphere of military cooperation in view of the intensification of acts of aggression on the part of the imperialist forces headed by the USA, there has been a further consolidation of our relations with socialist countries, and a further strengthening and improvement of the machinery of the Warsaw Treaty. The Warsaw Treaty is a reliable protector of the gains of the peoples of the socialist countries. The armies of the Warsaw Treaty countries are armed with the most perfect weapons. In field training, in the air and at sea, cooperation between the armies and arms of the service of the allied states is mastered, the power of modern weapons is tested and the combat fraternity of the armed forces of the Warsaw Treaty countries is promoted. If the need arises, the closely-knit family of signatories to the Treaty will rise as a formidable force to defend

the free life of our peoples and deliver a crushing blow to any aggressor.

As far as the CPSU is concerned, we shall continue to do all we can to ensure that the military cooperation of the fraternal socialist countries is extended and strengthened.

Comrades, cooperation and solidarity are among the main sources of the strength of the socialist system. The development and deepening of this cooperation are in accordance with the vital interests of each country and of the socialist world system as a whole; they help us close our ranks in the struggle against imperialism.

This closing of ranks is particularly necessary today, when the U.S. imperialists, escalating their aggression against the Vietnamese people, have brazenly attacked a socialist country, the Democratic Republic of Vietnam. The CPSU consistently advocates unification of the efforts of all the socialist countries to give help to fighting Vietnam. You will allow me, comrades, to dwell on the events in Vietnam and on our support for the fraternal Vietnamese people somewhat later.

The CPSU and the Soviet people fully support the fraternal Korean people, who are fighting against U.S. imperialism to unify Korea on a democratic basis. Our Party and all Soviet people are confident that the Korean people will win and that the whole of Korea will be united and free.

The heroic people of Cuba, the first American country to have carried out a socialist revolution, are fighting and building socialism in difficult conditions. Cuba is not alone, it is a member of the mighty community of socialist states. Our people are wholeheartedly with the Cuban people in their effort to build a new society. The Soviet Union has been rendering and will invariably render all-round assistance to fraternal Cuba.

Speaking of the consolidation of the world socialist system, comrades, we must note that our relations with the parties of two socialist countries—the Communist Party of China and the Albanian Party of Labor—unfortunately remain unsatisfactory.

Our Party and the Soviet people sincerely desire friendship with People's China and its Communist Party. We are also prepared to do everything possible to improve relations with People's Albania and the Albanian Party of Labor.

You know that in November 1964 there was a meeting in Moscow with a delegation of the CC, CPC. Somewhat later our delegation had talks with the CPC leadership in Peking. The CC, CPSU proposed to the Chinese comrades holding a new meeting at the highest level in Moscow or Peking. We still believe that such a meeting would be useful, and are prepared at any moment again to examine existing differences with the leadership of the CPC in

order to find a way of overcoming them on the principles of Marxism-Leninism.

We are convinced that in the end our parties and our peoples will overcome all difficulties and will fight together for our great common revolutionary cause.

The CC, CPSU puts forward also for the future—as one of the main lines of the foreign policy activities of the Party and the Soviet state—the development and consolidation of ideological and political bonds with the Communist parties of all the socialist countries on the principles of Marxism-Leninism, the development and consolidation of political, economic and other relations between the USSR and other socialist states, vigorous promotion of the cohesion of the socialist community, and the strengthening of its might and influence. The CPSU will do everything in its power to ensure that the world socialist system becomes still more powerful and wins one victory after another.

2. Aggravation of the Contradictions of the Capitalist System. Expansion of the Class Struggle of the Proletariat

Comrades, the CC, CPSU has been conducting its foreign policy with due regard to the processes occurring in the capitalist world. The capitalist system as a whole is gripped by a general crisis. Its internal contradictions are growing. Trying to surmount these contradictions and hold their ground in the confrontation with socialism, the bosses of the bourgeois world pinned great hopes on state regulation of the economy, scientific and technical progress and on increased war production. However, this did not cure capitalism of its fundamental evils, nor could it have done so. Although the rates of postwar economic growth in the main capitalist countries have been higher than between the two world wars, it is patent that the capitalist economy continues to be unstable. Periods of a certain uptrend are succeeded by recessions. Such rises and drops occurred in many capitalist countries, particularly the United States.

Coupled with mounting inflation and the tremendous growth of the national debt and the indebtedness of the population, this clearly shows that the hidden destructive forces of the capitalist economy continue to operate and that it will not escape new convulsions.

The law of the uneven development of capitalism operates without let-up; the contradictions between capitalist states are growing more acute. For a number of years the West European countries and Japan were ahead of the United States in the rate of economic growth. However, the tables have turned in the last few years.

The U.S. rate of economic growth has climbed, while those of Western Europe and Japan show a sharp drop.

The U.S. monopolies took advantage of this and mounted a fresh offensive in the world market. American capital is again being invested heavily in the industries of Italy, the Federal Republic of Germany, Britain and other countries. However, unlike the early postwar years, the U.S. monopolies are having to deal with stronger competitors, who are hitting back at the dollar more and more frequently.

The competitive struggle in Western Europe, including the Common Market and the other state-monopoly associations, has also become sharper. A process of loosening has set in in the imperialist blocs due to contradictions among their members. The United States is no longer able to direct the policies of the member countries as sweepingly as before. It is a long time now since any serious politician, let alone the people, has given credence to the myth about a "threat of Soviet aggression," which once helped to forge these blocs. American aggression, on the other hand, is a patent fact. The allies of the United States are becoming increasingly conscious of the dangers implicit in blind conformance to Washington policies.

Thus, a new area of contradiction and rivalry is appearing within the capitalist world.

Militarization of the economy, the most perverse development in the bourgeois world today, must not be overlooked. The national wealth created by the workingman is being used increasingly for the production of death-dealing weapons, rather than for improving people's lives. Mountains of arms have been stockpiled by now, yet the arms race continues at an unheard-of pace, consuming an immense portion of the national income.

Suffice it to say that more than $100,000,000 million have been spent on building up, and improving, the NATO war machine since the bloc was founded. In 20 postwar years U.S. military expenditures surpassed those of the 20 years before the Second World War 48 times over. Today, more than three-quarters of all U.S. Federal budget expenditures are being spent directly or indirectly for military purposes.

Increased production of weapons of war in the main imperialist countries is compelling other countries as well to spend considerable funds on their defenses. Militarization of the economy is tied up intimately with the general aggressive policy of the imperialist powers, above all that of the United States. They would like nothing better than to subjugate many of the independent states and erect barriers to the social progress of mankind. Time and again, the course of history is bearing out Lenin's description of

imperialism as a predatory, piratical and hated strangler of the peoples.

As before, the contradiction between labor and capital—the main contradiction of capitalist society—operates to the full extent in the capitalist world. The monopolies are trying to impose greater burdens on the working class and other sections of working people. The degree of exploitation has never been as high as now. The fruits of scientific and technological progress, and of the growth of the productive forces, are falling into the laps of a handful of monopolists. In the meantime, millions of people are unemployed, even at time of high business activity. Large numbers of peasants are being ruined and are being driven off the land.

The facts plays havoc with the specious tales of "people's capitalism" and the "welfare state" spread by bourgeois ideologists. What sort of general welfare is it if, say, the 1965 net profits of the U.S. monopolies aggregated $45,000 million, or four times as much as the annual average during the Second World War, while 32 million Americans, as the U.S. Government itself admits, live in poverty?

Mounting exploitation of the working people is giving added impetus to the class struggle. The social battles in capitalist society are growing more bitter. The proletarians of Italy, Japan, France, Belgium, the United States, Britain and other countries have been fighting back staunchly in recent years with strike actions against the monopoly offensive on their standard of living, and on many occasions they wrested concessions from the bourgeoisie. Suffice it to say that in the last ten years the number of strikes has doubled and now totals some 55 to 57 million annually.

The range of socio-economic and political demands raised by the working class has widened in the course of the class battles in the capitalist countries. In Italy, France and other countries, factory and office workers demand with mounting vigor that trade unions should share in the management of enterprises, that the key branches of the economy should be nationalized; they oppose the omnipotence of finance capital. In Japan millions of working people demand not only higher wages, but also the removal of American military bases, and fight against U.S. nuclear submarines calling at Japanese ports.

Headed by the Communist parties, who are their vanguard, the proletariat of the capitalist countries is waging an active struggle against war, against the colonial policy of the imperialists, and in support of peoples that have become victims of imperialist aggression. The resounding political successes scored lately by the working class and all the Left forces of France speak plainly of their increasing influence on the country's social life, and of the growing political maturity of the masses. The working class of Italy stands in the

van of a broad progressive front and is frustrating reactionary attempts at encroaching on the democratic gains of the people. In the United States, the struggle against racial discrimination, for the civil rights of the 20 million American Negroes, has surged powerfully in the period under review. Large sections of the American nation are protesting more and more vigorously against the U.S. imperialists' aggression in Vietnam.

Other social strata opposing monopoly oppression—the bulk of the peasants and the mental workers—are rallying more closely round the working class. A broad anti-monopoly front is taking shape. This process promotes closer unity of the people and stimulates their struggle for the ultimate goal—for the revolutionary transformation of society, for socialism.

Capitalism is entering increasingly difficult times. Its doom is becoming more and more obvious. But the capitalists will never give up control of their own free will. It is only through tenacious class battles that the working class and the rest of the working people will achieve victory.

We know that the workers' movement in the capitalist countries has to cope with serious difficulties and fight difficult battles. Many such battles lie ahead.

The Communists and all people of the Soviet land express their heartfelt solidarity with the working people in the capitailst countries. Soviet people are inspired by the thought that gains of the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries are a support to our class brothers in their courageous struggle for their rights, for the future of their children, for the victory of the new social system.

3. The CPSU Works for the Unity of the World Communist Movement

Comrades, a century ago, when Marx and Engels raised the banner of scientific communism, there were no more than a few dozen people in the world's first Communist League which they founded. That was the time when the world first heard the proud word Communist imbued with such deep meaning. This word spread, never to disappear, because it connotes the supreme truth, the supreme purpose of millions upon millions of workingmen.

Half a century ago, when our Party, led by Lenin, marshalled the people to assault capitalism, there were 400,000 Communists in the world. Today, 88 Communist parties in all continents have a membership of nearly 50 million.

What is the reason for the steady growth of the Communist ranks, and of their influence? The reason is that the Communists are the best exponents of the basic interests of the working people. Selfless dedication to the working-class cause, living unbreakable bonds

with the people, the skill to learn continuously from the people's revolutionary experience and the ability to furnish leadership and lead the people fearlessly in the struggle—all these are sources of Communist strength.

Equipped with a scientific theory of social development, Communism is the only political movement in the world that is able to see clearly the historic prospects of mankind. The general line of the Communist movement, worked out collectively by the fraternal parties at the 1957 and 1960 meetings, is a line focussed on the triumph of peace, democracy, national independence and socialism. It accords with the interests of all mankind. In the last few years, most of the Communist parties adopted new program documents on its basis, taking due account of national as well as international interests and tasks.

In the period under review the international activities of the CC, CPSU were imbued with the devout wish of cementing unity and fraternal solidarity with the other Communist and Workers' parties and working with them hand in hand for the realization of the general line of the world Communist movement.

Since 1960 the number of Communists in the world has increased by 14 million. Their bonds with the people have grown still stronger. The world Communist movement has strengthened its positions as the most influential political force of our time.

The Communist parties of the socialist countries are doing immense constructive work. They are resolving difficult problems of economic development, new social relations and the communist education of the people, and are providing for the defense of their socialist gains. This work is of historic significance. It strengthens the international positions of socialism and adds to the force of attracton exercised by its ideas all over the world.

The Communist parties in the capitalist countries are heading the struggle of the masses against the monopolies and building the political army of the revolution in the course of class battles. Today Communist parties are exerting a strong influence on all national life in many of these countries. The Communists are the finest sons of the working class, the working peasantry and the progressive intelligentsia. They produce prominent social and political leaders and many devoted fighters for the working people's cause. Communists are leaders of many trade unions and democratic mass organizations in capitalist countries; Communists are members of parliament and mayors of many towns and villages; Communists are publicists and scientists, writers and teachers; Communists stand at the head of partisan detachments and underground groups of revolutionaries in countries where an armed struggle is in progress against the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie. All this is practical

evidence of the mounting influence exercised by the Communist parties, and of their unbreakable ties with the people.

In France, Italy, Finland, Belgium, Austria, Denmark and Cyprus, Australia and Canada, India, Ceylon, Syria, Iraq, the Sudan and the South African Republic, Chile, Uruguay, Argentina, Colombia, Brazil, Ecuador, Mexico and Guatemala, and other countries—wherever Communist parties exist, they are waging a determined struggle for greater influence on the masses, for the interests of the working class and all other working people. More and more, the Communists are wining the sympathies of the people. In a number of European and Latin American countries, the Communist parties have grown into a major political force.

The Communists are the most active fighters for the unity of the working-class movement. Lately, distinct headway has been made in the struggle for such unity, although it is still bedevilled by considerable difficulties. These are due above all to the Right-wing leaders of the Social-Democratic parties. But it is not these leaders who represent the true interests of the working-class movement. The working class is becoming increasingly conscious of the dangers implicit in the policy of the Right-wing Social-Democratic leaders, a policy aimed at safeguarding capitalism and maintaining the split of the working-class movement. The masses are becoming increasingly convinced from their own experience that nothing but concerted efforts will yield tangible successes in the struggle against monopoly capital. The working class wants unity and we are deeply convinced that it will achieve it.

The collapse of imperialism's colonial system and the emergence of a large group of young independent states on the world scene confront the *Communist movement in Asia, Africa and Latin America* with new tasks. Born in the flames of national-liberation revolutions, it is gaining strength in the struggle for their consummation, for the consolidation of freedom and independence, and for social progress.

The Communists tread a thorny path in the countries of the capitalist world, speciously styled as "free." Every step made by the Communist movement there involves grim struggle against an experienced, treacherous and ruthless foe. Our Party, which has travelled a glorious path from the early underground Marxist circles of the late 19th century, from the barricades of 1905 through the battle of the October Revolution to the victory of socialism, knows full well how much courage, tenacity and heroism are required of Communists in the struggle for the people's cause under incessant enemy fire. For many years now, the Communist parties of Spain, Portugal, Greece, West Germany, Venezuela, Peru, the South African Republic and a number of other countries have had to operate

underground. The Communist Party of the United States is fighting gallantly in most difficult conditions, withstanding the assault of a giant coercive police machinery, and hounded continuously by anti-Communist ideologists in the pay of the bourgeoisie.

Unable to defeat the Communists in politico-ideological combat, bourgeois reaction resorts to terrorism against the Communist parties and to physical violence against loyal sons of the working people.

The whole of our Party and all our nation condemn the anti-Communist terror in Indonesia. The reactionary forces in that country have, without trial, brutally exterminated tens of thousands of people whose only "guilt" was that they were members of the Communist Party. The persecution and banning of the Communist Party prejudices the unity of the revolutionary forces of Indonesia, undermines the anti-imperialist front and greatly damages the interests of the friendly Indonesian people. We demand that the criminal butchery of Communists, those heroic fighters for Indonesia's national independence and the interests of the working people, be stopped at once.

In the last few years, executioners have wrested from the Communist ranks many outstanding leaders. Many gallant fighters for the happiness of their peoples, for socialism have been tortured and done to death by the police. These men are immortal. They will live on in the memory of generations.

No tortures and acts of terror on the part of reactionary forces can break the Communists. We are proud of the fact that our movement produces true heroes, models of ideological devotion, civic and personal courage.

Comrades, the successes of the Communist movement are incontestable. But the Communists take a sober view of the situation. Vladimir Lenin taught us to keep count not only of victories but also of setbacks, in order to draw the right conclusions from them.

Giving leadership to the class struggle is a big and intricate art; today, it is probably more intricate than ever. The conditions in which the fraternal parties are waging the struggle vary from country to country. New social strata, whole nations, are joining the revolutionary struggle. They have different traditions, different economic conditions, and different experience of struggle. All this affects the activities of the respective Communist parties.

The experience of the revolutionary movement of the last few years confirms again that success is achieved by parties that adhere to the tried and tested Leninist principles of strategy and tactics, and take account of the existing situation. Experience shows that deviations from the Marxist-Leninist line to either right or "left" become doubly dangerous when they combine with nationalism,

great-power chauvinism and hegemonic ambition. Communists cannot but draw the necessary conclusions from this.

Comrades, you know that the world Communist movement has encountered serious difficulties over the last few years. The attitude of the CPSU on this score is well known to the Congress delegates. We regret deeply that the differences from which none but our common enemies benefit have still not been overcome. This, in our view, is not in the interest of the fraternal parties and the common interests of the world Communist movement in general. The CPSU believes that it is the duty of all Communists to work for the consolidation of the ranks of our movement. The CPSU Central Committee believes that the stronger the solidarity of all detachments of the Communist movement, the stronger will be the international anti-imperialist front and the more successfully will the world revolutionary process develop.

What concrete ways does our Party discern in the present situation for cementing the unity of the Communist movement?

In the opinion of the CPSU there is a good Marxist-Leninist platform for cementing the Communist ranks, namely, the general line worked out by the 1957 and 1960 meetings of the fraternal parties. Life has put it to a most stringent test, which it has passed with flying colors. Today, there is every reason to say that loyalty to this line is a dependable guarantee of unity and of new successes for the revolutionary movement.

Greater unity calls for the observance of the collectively defined standards governing relations between parties, those of complete equality and independence, non-interference in each other's internal affairs, mutual support, and international solidarity. The Communist parties possess vast experience in revolutionary work and no one can find the right solutions to the problems that face them better than they can themselves. The CPSU is opposed to any and all hegemonic trends in the Communist movement; it stands for truly internationalist equitable relations between all the parties.

Like the other Marxist-Leninist parties, the CPSU believes that, despite the differences, it is possible and necessary to work for united action by the Communists of all countries in the interest of the struggle against imperialism, to repel its aggressive actions more strongly, in the name of freedom and independence of the nations. The struggle to stop the U.S. aggression in Vietnam, support for the progressive forces of Africa, Asia and Latin America against imperialist encroachments, and defense of our brother Communists against reactionary terrorism in a number of countries —all these and other important issues of the anti-imperialist struggle of our time will be resolved the more successfully, the more closely united the worldwide army of Communists will be.

The conference and meetings held lately by representatives of Communist parties have advanced the effort of cementing the world Communist movement. Our Party attaches great importance to such contacts. In the last 18 months alone, we have had meeeings with more than 200 delegates from 60 fraternal parties. Further multilateral and bilateral meetings, continuous exchanges of experience, comradely discussions of current problems—this is a correct and useful practice in the relations between fraternal parties and, at the same time, a good way of cementing the Communist movement.

The Central Committee of the CPSU shares the view of the fraternal parties that international meetings of Communist parties are an important and tested form of securing the international unity of Communists, and holding collective discussions of new problems. We stand for a new meeting when the conditions for it are ripe.

The facts confirm that the overwhelming majority of the Communist parties are emphatically in favor of the internationalist unity of the revolutionary vanguard of the international working class. The objective identity of the basic interests of all the revolutionary contingents is the foundation on which the unity of Communists rests and flourishes. Today, at this Congress, the CPSU again repeats the appeal: Close ranks more solidly for the struggle against the common enemy!

Comrades,

The Communist Party of the Soviet Union is unswervingly loyal to its internationalist revolutionary duty. From the rostrum of our Congress we assure the representatives of the world Communist movement, and through them the Communists of the whole world, that:

the CPSU will work steadfastly for stronger international unity of all the fraternal parties on the basis of the great teaching of Marx-Engels-Lenin and in accordance with the line worked out collectively by the world Communist movement.

We shall continue our irreconcilable struggle against revisionism, dogmatism, nationalist tendencies, and shall promote the creative development of the Marxist-Leninist teaching.

Our Party will continue to promote the line for joint action by the Communist parties of the world in the struggle against imperialism and for the great goals of peace, democracy and national independence, for socialism and communism.

4. Development of the National Liberation Movement. Our Party's Support for the National Liberation Struggle

Comrades, all these years the CPSU Central Committee has

consistently followed a policy of giving every possible support to the struggle of the peoples against colonial oppression, of promoting all-round cooperation with the newly-free countries on a basis of equality, strict respect of sovereignty and non-interference in internal affairs.

In the past few years the cause of national liberation has made considerable progress. The world has witnessed the emergence of another 17 independent states, including the Algerian People's Democratic Republic, Kenya, Uganda, Tanzania and Zambia. Almost the whole of Asia and Africa have now shaken off the yoke of colonial slavery. This is a great gain of the peoples in their liberation struggle against imperialism.

However, there still are countries in the world today where the imperialists are seeking to preserve the shameful colonial system by force of arms. In Angola and Mozambique, in "Portuguese" Guinea and in South Arabia patriots are heroically fighting the foreign enslavers and invaders. In South Africa and in Southern Rhodesia the resistance of the people to the racist regimes is mounting. Our Party and the Soviet people actively support this struggle, render and will continue to render effective all-sided assistance to peoples fighting for their freedom and independence against foreign invaders. We firmly believe that the day is not far distant when the last bastions of colonialism will be destroyed and the peoples will raise the banner of national freedom in the liberated territories. This is the sentence passed by history, and it is irrevocable.

The peoples of the countries that have won state independence are working to abolish the grim aftermaths of colonial rule. The natural wealth of these countries is enormous. However, for the level of output per head of population they are still from 20 to 40 times behind the economically developed countries. But the peoples who have achieved independence are fully determinde to put an end to their age-old backwardness.

The new life in the liberated countries is burgeoning in fierce combat with imperialism, in a sharp struggle between the forces of progress and the forces of reaction in these countries. Some social strata, supported by imperialism, are out to direct the development of the liberated countries along the capitalist road. Others, expressing the interests of the bulk of the people, are working to promote development along the road of social progress and genuine national independence.

Experience shows that the stronger the unity of all patriotic, progressive and democratic forces in the newly-free countries, the more successful the struggle for social progress and national independence. Communists, who are selfless fighters against imperial-

ism, for the interests of the people, are active in this struggle. Unquestionably, where this is forgotten and matters deteriorate to the extent that Communists are persecuted, the cause of strengthening national independence and freedom is harmed.

It should be borne in mind that to this day many of the newly-free countries are subjected to economic exploitation and political pressure by imperialism, which has not reconciled itself to its defeats. It is doing everything it can to preserve the possibility of exploiting nations and is to this end resorting to new, more insidious methods.

The capitalist monopolies still have considerable control over the economy and resources of many of the developing countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America and continue to pillage them ruthlessly. The USA, Britain and other imperiailst powers are siphoning nearly $6,000 million a year out of these countries as profits from capital investments alone.

Wherever they can, the imperialists try to utilize the internal contradictions in the newly-free countries. They provoke clashes between various social, national and tribal groups and strive to set various politicians against each other, and advance to power those who belong to the most reactionary and corrupt circles and whose well-being depends on ties and cooperation with foreign capital. In some countries they succeed in setting up anti-popular regimes, whose representatives are not averse to being the direct accomplices of imperialism in the international arena as well.

The imperialists ignore the state sovereignty of the newly-free countries. They cynically lay claim to the right of intervening, by armed force, in the internal affairs of other peoples. An example of this is the recent resolution of the House of Representatives of the U.S. Congress on armed intervention in the internal affairs of Latin American countries, a resolution which has evoked indignation throughout the world. Essentially this is an attempt to legalize aggressive imperialist action like the recent U.S. armed intervention in the Dominican Republic.

All this is a manifestation of the policy of neocolonialism, the struggle against which the whole of progressive mankind regards as one of its cardinal tasks. There is no doubt whatever that the people who have risen to fight for independence will carry this struggle on until final victory is achieved and will give a fitting rebuff to all attempts to re-enslave them.

The CPSU Central Committee can inform the Congress that in the past few years our relations with the overwhelming majority of the independent countries of Asia and Africa have developed successfully. There has been a considerable extension of trade, economic and cultural cooperation between the USSR and these

countries. Nearly 600 industrial, agricultural and other projects are being built in Asian and African countries with the aid of our designing organizations and with the participation of Soviet building specialists. Soviet geological survey teams are working in many of these countries in jungles and sun-scorched deserts, helping the young countries to explore their mineral wealth and make it serve the national economies.

More than 100 educational and medical institutions as well as research centers have been or are being built in these countries with Soviet assistance. The number of students from Asian, African and Latin American countries studying at Soviet institutions of higher learning and technical schools has almost doubled in the past five years. The number of Soviet teachers, doctors and the specialists in the cultural field now working in 28 Asian and African countries has quadrupled. In these countries Soviet people are working selflessly, conscientiously, without sparing themselves. They are contributing greatly towards strengthening friendship between our countries. The proletarian internationalism of the Soviet people manifests itself in all this.

Our Party and government are rendering all possible support to the newly-free countries in the international arena as well. The USSR actively opposes imperialist interference in the internal affairs of the young national states. It opposes the attempts of the neocolonialists to provoke conflicts between the independent countries with the object of exhausting their strength in internecine struggle . In many major international issues we are successfully cooperating with the independent countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America. We shall continue to promote this cooperation in the interests of progress and peace.

Comrades, an important development of the past few years has been the emergence of a number of newly-free countries on the road to progressive social development. Experience has thereby confirmed the conclusion drawn by the 1960 Moscow Meeting of Communist and Workers' parties, which recorded the following in its Statement: the masses are "beginning to see that the best way to abolish age-old backwardness and improve their living standard is that of non-capitalist development. Only thus can the peoples free themselves from exploitation, poverty and hunger."

Major social reforms have been carried out in countries like the United Arab Republic, Algeria, Mali, Guinea, Congo (Brazzaville) and Burma. Foreign monopolies are being driven out. Feudal estates are being confiscated and capitalist enterprises nationalized. The state sector in the economy is being enlarged, industrialization carried out and broad social legislation adopted in the interests of the people. It goes without saying that the form and scale of these

processes differ in the different countries. The revolutionary creative work of the peoples who have proclaimed socialism as their objective is introducing features of its own into the forms of the movement towards social progress.

We have established close, friendly relations with the young countries steering a course towards socialism. Naturally, the further these countries advance towards the objective they have chosen, the more versatile, profound and stable our relations with them become. Also the relations between the CPSU and the revolutionary democratic parties of these countries are developing.

The development of the newly-free countries which have taken the road of social progress is arousing the special hatred of the imperialists, who are spinning a web of conspiracies against them. Recent developments show that the reactionary forces have become more active in the African continent. Imperialist plots have been exposed and foiled in a number of African countries. In face of the intrigues and plots of the imperialists and the machinations of the agents bribed by them, the liberated peoples are doing the only correct thing, they are resolutely repelling the enemies of freedom and progress and displaying vigilance and more vigilance. The CPSU, the entire Soviet people indignantly condemn the criminal policy of plots and subversion against independent countries.

Special mention should be made of the courageous liberation struggle of the peoples of Latin America.

Only recently the USA still regarded Latin America as a reliable bastion. Today in every country in that coneinent the people are waging a struggle against U.S. imperialism and its accomplices—the local military, feudal lords and bourgeoisie, who are linked with foreign monopolies. This struggle is headed by the working class and the Communist parties.

An important factor of our day is the consolidation of the unity of the Asian, African and Latin American peoples in the struggle against imperialism. The Afro-Asian solidarity movement, the movement for the unity of the Arab peoples and for the unity of the peoples of Africa, and the solidarity movement of the peoples of the three continents conform to the vital interests of the peoples and we actively and ardently support them.

Comrades, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union sees its internationalist duty in continuing to do its utmost to support the struggle of the peoples for final liberation from colonial and neo-colonial oppression.

Our Party and the Soviet state will continue to:

—render the utmost support to the peoples fighting for their liberation and secure the immediate granting of independence to all colonial countries and peoples;

—promote all-round cooperation with countries that have won national independence, and help them to develop their economy, train national cadres and oppose neocolonialism;

—strengthen the fraternal links of the CPSU with the Communist parties and revolutionary democratic organizations in Asian, African and Latin American countries.

The successes of the national-liberation movement are inseparably bound up with the successes of world socialism and the international working class. The firm and unbreakable alliance of these great revolutionary forces is the guarantee of the final triumph of the cause of national and social liberation.

5. Struggle of the Soviet Union Against the Aggressive Policy of imperialism, for Peace and International Security

Comrades, in foreign relations the Soviet Union has consistently pursued a policy of peace that springs from the very nature of our state, which always acts in the interests of the people. The foundation for this policy was laid by Lenin, and we steadfastly adhere to the Leninist approach to foreign affairs.

The years that have elapsed since the 22nd Congress of the CPSU have witnessed a tense struggle between two opposing trends in foreign policy, between the peace-loving and the aggressive trends. In common with other socialist countries, the Soviet Union has pursued a policy aimed at relaxing tension, strengthening peace, achieving peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems, and creating conditions in international life enabling each nation freely to advance along the road of naticnal and social progress.

On the other hand, these years have laid bare with renewed force the aggressive nature of imperialism, of its threat to peace and to the freedom and independence of nations. The imperialists have brazenly interfered in the affairs of other countries and peoples even going so far as to engage in armed intervention. As a result, there has been an exacerbation of world tension. The threat of war caused by aggressive acts of the imperialists, primarily of the USA, has increased.

Under these circumstances, the policy of the Party and the Soviet state has been aimed at resolutely rebuffing the forces of aggression, countering any further deterioration of the world situation and combating the threat of a world war. In this we have relied on the steadily growing might of the Soviet Union and the socialist world system, on the support of peace-loving forces throughout the world.

We have always sided with the peoples subjected to imperialist

aggression and have rendered these peoples political, economic and also, when necessary, military aid, and have exposed the insidious designs of the aggressors. The vigorous efforts of the Soviet Union jointly with other forces which cherish the cause of freedom and peace have time and again compelled the imperialists to retreat.

In speaking of the mounting world tension and of the threat of a world war, special mention must be made of U.S. imperialist aggression against Vietnam. In flagrant violation of the Geneva Agreements, the USA has piratically attacked the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and is waging a sanguinary war against the people of South Vietnam. This imperialist power, which poses as a champion of freedom and civilization, is using almost all known means of destruction and annihilation against a peace-loving country situated thousands of miles away from America, a country that has never harmed U.S. interests. More than 200,000 U.S. troops, aircraft carriers, huge bombers, poison gases and napalm are being used against the heroic patriots of Vietnam. Irresponsible statements threatening to escalate military operations still further are being made in Washington. Recently the U.S. State Department officially announced a "program" to destroy vegetation and crops in Vietnam with chemicals in order to deprive the Vietnamese of food sources. Such is the real face of U.S. imperialism. By its aggression in Vietnam the U.S. has covered itself with shame which it will never live down.

But whatever outrages the aggressors commit, they can never break the will of the Vietnamese people who have risen in a sacred struggle for their country, for their life and honor, for the right to shape their own destiny. Their heroic, just struggle will go down in history as a splendid example of indomitable courage, staunchness and will for victory.

A powerful movement in support of Vietnam is spreading throughout the world. The U.S. aggressors are becoming more and more isolated morally and politically. The Vietnamese people have on their side the assistance of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries and the sympathy and support of the broad masses of all countries. Protest against the war in Vietnam is growing among the American people as well. All this is a development of the best internationalist traditions of the working class.

The Soviet Union and the peace-loving peoples of the whole world are demanding that the USA stop its aggression against Vietnam and withdraw all interventionist troops from that country. Continuation of this aggression, which the American military are seeking to extend to other Southeast Asian countries, is fraught with the most dangerous consequences for world peace.

We declare categorically that if they escalate the shameful war

against the Vietnamese people they will have to contend with mounting support for Vietnam from the Soviet Union and its other socialist friends and brothers. The Vietnamese people will be the masters of their country. And no one will ever extinguish the torch of socialism which has been raised aloft by the Democratic Republic of Vietnam.

In connection with U.S. aggression in Vietnam and with other aggressive acts of American imperialism, our relations with the United States of America have deteriorated. And it is the U.S. ruling circles who are to blame for this.

As to the USSR it is prepared to live in peace with all countries, but it will not reconcile itself to imperialist piracy with regard to other peoples. We have repeatedly declared that we are prepared to develop our relations with the USA, and our stand on this has not changed. But for these relations to develop the USA must abandon its policy of aggression. The rich fruits of peaceful cooperation cannot be grown on the poisonous soil of aggression and violence. Our Party and our state categorically reject the absurd view that great powers can build up their relations at the expense of the interests of other countries and peoples. All countries, big and small, are equally entitled to respect of their sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity. And nobody is at liberty to violate this right.

Comrades, the Soviet Union is vitally interested in ensuring European security. Today West-German imperialism is the USA's chief ally in Europe in aggravating world tension. West Germany, where revenge-seeking passions are running high, is increasingly becoming a seat of the war danger. It already has a large army with officers of the Nazi Wehrmacht forming its backbone. Many leading posts in the government are occupied by former Nazis and even war criminals. The policy pursued by the Federal Republic of Germany is being increasingly determined by the same monopolies that brought Hitler to power.

The Rhineland politicians fancy that once they get the atomic bomb, frontier posts will topple and they will be able to achieve their cherished desire of recarving the map of Europe and taking revenge for the defeat in the Second World War.

One of the most ominous factors endangering peace is the bilateral military alliance that is taking shape between the ruling circles of the USA and the FRG. This factor was and remains an object of our unflagging attention.

U.S. and West-German imperialism are partners of a peculiar kind. Each wants to make use of the other for his own ends. Both seek to aggravate tension in Europe—each for his own purpose. The West-German militarists entertain the hope—unrealizable, of

course—that this will enable them to carry out their revenge-seeking plans. The USA, for its part, wants some pretext to enable it, more than 20 years after the war, to continue keeping its troops and war bases in Europe and thereby have the means of directly influencing the economy and policy of the West-European countries.

The Washington rulers count on West Germany continuing faithfully to serve the interests of U.S. imperialists in Europe, and they hope, if need be, to be able to push the West Germans first into the inferno of war. In the meantime, Bonn is hoping to involve the USA and its other NATO partners more deeply in its revenge-seeking plans and thereby secure a revision of the results of the Second World War in its favor. It is not difficult to see that all these designs are spearheaded against the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, against peace and security in Europe and the whole world.

The peoples of Europe are well aware of the threat stemming from the aspirations of the West-German revenge-seekers. In the course of half a century many European countries have twice been the victims of German aggression. Like us, the peoples of eight socialist countries know only too well the predatory ways of the German militarists. The burden of German occupation has been experienced by most of the West-European peoples. Today, therefore, the struggle against the threat of another war is the vital affair of the European peoples. Even in West Germany itself more and more people are protesting against the bellicose policy of the Bonn rulers.

The recent speech of the Federal Chancellor at the congress of the Christian Democratic Union shows that the government of the FRG intends to continue its aggressive and revenge-seeking policy. This is also evident from the FRG government's proposals to the Soviet and some other governments concerning key international issues.

The balance of forces in Europe today is by no means what it was like on the eve of the Second World War. No one will succeed in changing the present frontiers of the European countries. Even by climbing on the shoulders of their U.S. ally, the West German imperialists will not become taller. They will only be more hurt when they fall. The aggressors are now opposed by such a mighty, invincible force that if they unleash war it would bring them nothing but doom.

The unanimous and firm warning on this account issued in January 1965 by the Warsaw Treaty countries was an important step of the Soviet Union and our allies in the struggle against giving the West German militarists access to nuclear weapons.

We shall never agree to West German militarists obtaining nu-

clear weapons. If, however, this happens, the necessary measures will be taken. The responsibility will devolve wholly on the ruling circles of the FRG and on those who encourage them. Nobody has the right to forget that after the defeat of the Nazi aggressors, the participants in the anti-Hitler coalition—the Soviet Union, the USA, Britain and France—solemnly pledged themselves under the Potsdam Agreement to do everything necessary to prevent Germany from ever again threatening her neighbors and the peace throughout the world. The Soviet Union will always honor this commitment.

We highly appraise the fact that our friend and ally, the German Democratic Republic, the first socialist state of the German working people, is vigilantly defending peace in the heart of Europe. It has implemented in practice the peace-loving and democratic principles of the Potsdam Agreement and is consistently pursuing a policy of peace and advocating the strengthening of European security.

As a whole, comrades, the positions of the socialist community in Europe are now firm and reliable. This is an important factor helping to consolidate world socialism and ensure the security of all peoples.

In contradistinction to the bellicose and revenge-seeking policy of U.S. and West-German imperialism in Europe the Soviet Union is consistently advocating the strengthening of European security and peaceful, mutually advantageous cooperation among all European states.

We are deeply convinced that the conclusion of the international Communist movement on the possibility of curbing the aggressor and averting another world war remains valid. But to make this possibility a reality the broad masses must participate in this struggle; there is need for vigorous action on the part of all the peace forces, and the peace movement, trade unions, women's associations, youth leagues and other mass democratic organizations to step up their activity.

The socialist countries have a special role to play in the defense of peace. We are well aware of this, and for that reason the CPSU shows constant concern for strengthening our country's defensive might and consolidating our military alliance with other socialist countries. The CPSU sees its duty in keeping the Soviet people in a state of unceasing vigilance with regard to the intrigues of the enemies of peace and does everything to prevent the aggressors, if they try to violate peace, from ever taking us by surprise and to make certain that retaliation catches up with them inexorably and promptly.

Comrades, as we expose the aggressive policy of imperialism we consistently and unswervingly pursue a policy of peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems. This means that while

regarding the coexistence of states with different social systems as a form of the class struggle between socialism and capitalism the Soviet Union consistently advocates normal, peaceful relations with capitalist countries and settlement of outstanding inter-state issues through negotiation, not through war. The Soviet Union firmly stands for non-interference in the internal affairs of all countries, for respect of their sovereign rights and inviolability of their territories.

It goes without saying that there can be no peaceful coexistence where the internal processes of the class and national-liberation struggle in the capitalist countries or in the colonies are concerned. Peaceful coexistence is not applicable to the relations between the oppressor and the oppressed, between colonialists and the victims of colonial oppression.

As regards inter-state relations with capitalist countries we want these relations to be not only peaceful, but to include the broadest, mutually advantageous contacts in the economic, scientific and cultural fields.

At this Congress we can note with satisfaction that our peace-loving policy has achieved notable successes in the period under review. The Soviet Union has good relations with most countries of the world.

The USSR has always attached great importance to relations with neighboring countries and it gives us pleasure to note that our good-neighbor policy has yielded positive results. Our relations with Finland and Afghanistan are characterized by mutual trust, friendship and cooperation. Normal relations exist with the Scandinavian countries, although it cannot be said that there are no obstacles to their further development. Soviet people welcome a certain change for the better that has taken place in recent years in the Soviet Union's relations with Turkey and Iran.

The CPSU Central Committee and the Soviet government have paid and continue to pay much attention to improving relations with such major Asian countries as India and Pakistan, which can virtually be considered our neighbors as well. In the period under review our traditional, time-tested friendship with India and her great people has been further consolidated. There has been an improvement in our relations with Pakistan.

The Tashkent meeting of—Indian and Pakistanti leaders with the participation of the Soviet Prime Minister held in conformity with the proposal of the Soviet government was an event of world-wide significance. The very fact that this meeting did take place, the results achieved and the positive assessment of these results by world public opinion speak eloquently of the great trust that

the peoples put in the peace-loving foreign policy of the Soviet Union.

The Soviet Union has always favored the development of friendly relations with Indonesia. The Indonesian revolution made a big contribution to the anti-imperialist struggle of the peoples. The courageous people of Indonesia have every right to see that the gains achieved by them in a long and bitter struggle for independence and progress are preserved and further enhanced.

The Soviet Union supports the just struggle that Cambodia, a country friendly to us, is carrying on to preserve and strengthen her independence, neutrality and territorial integrity.

Our relations with France have registered a considerable improvement. This is a positive development. It stems from a community of interests of both countries on a number of key international issues, from the long-standing traditions of friendship between our peoples. Further development of Soviet-French relations may serve as an important factor in strengthening European security.

In recent years our relations, particularly economic relations, with such a major European country as Italy have shown definite improvement. These relations we are prepared to develop.

Activization of Soviet-British relations would undoubtedly be useful. The future will show how far British foreign policy will make this activization possible.

We can note that lately certain progress has been made in our relations with Japan with whom we are developing mutually advantageous economic ties. But we cannot disregard the fact that there are U.S. troops and war bases on Japanese territory in direct proximity of Soviet frontiers. Recently Japan and the South Korean government, a puppet of Washington, have signed a militarist treaty which we emphatically condemn. All this, of course, hampers the development of our relations with Japan.

Dismantling foreign war bases on the territories of other countries and withdrawing foreign troops from these territories has been and remains a major international issue. The imperialist powers, primarily the United States of America, have dotted the world with numerous war bases and have stationed armed contingents on the territories of other countries. These bases and armed forces are there to further interests alien to peace, for bringing pressure to bear on peace-loving countries and, more often than not, for direct armed interference in their internal affairs. The Soviet Union considers that it is high time to end this situation which threatens international peace and security, to dismantle war bases of foreign territories and withdraw foreign armed forces from these territories. We shall continue pursuing

a policy aimed at achieving this purpose in the interests of strengthening world peace and security.

In furtherance of the vital interests not only of the Soviet people but also of people in all countries the Soviet Union is working consistently to slow down and eventually stop the arms race started by the imperialists, to reach agreement on practical steps in this field, steps towards general and complete disarmament. Soviet policy on these issues has the understanding and support of many countries.

In the period under review the USSR continued to take an active part in the work of the United Nations. Admittance of many newly-free countries to UN membership has substantially changed the situation in that organization, and the change was not in favor of the imperialists. In the UN the Soviet Union invariably strives to facilitate a common stand by the countries opposing aggression, and thus enhance the role played by the UN in the struggle for universal peace and the independence of the peoples. On the initiative of the Soviet Union the UN General Assembly adopted at its latest session important resolutions against interference in the internal affairs of other countries and against the proliferation of nuclear weapons. We shall continue to regard the UN as a venue for active political struggle against aggression, for peace and the security of all peoples.

The Communist Party of the Soviet Union considers that at this stage in the struggle for a more sound international situation, stronger peace and more developed peaceful cooperation among nations it would be most important to:

—put an end to U.S. aggression in Vietnam, withdraw the U.S. and other foreign troops from South Vietnam and enable the Vietnamese people to decide their internal affairs by themselves; accept the position set forth by the government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam as a basis for the settlement of the Vietnam problem;

—ensure strict adherence to the principle of non-interference in the internal affairs of states;

—conclude an international treaty on the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons; put paid to the question of the nuclear armament of the FRG or of allowing it any form of access to nuclear weapons; live up to the aspiration of the peoples—for setting up—nuclear-free zones in various parts of the world; secure a solemn obligation on the part of the nuclear powers to refrain from using nuclear weapons first, sign an agreement banning underground nuclear tests—if implemented, these steps aimed against the threat of a nuclear war would open the road for a further advance toward complete banning and destruction of weapons;

—initiate talks on European security; discuss proposals by socialist

and other European countries on military disengagement and reduction of armaments in Europe, and on developing peaceful, mutually-advantageous relations between all European countries; convene an international conference for this purpose; continue to search for ways of settling one of the cardinal problems of European security, namely, peaceful settlement of the German problem by recognizing the now existing frontiers of the European countries, including those of the two German states, in order completely to remove the survivals of the Second World War in Europe.

Such are our proposals. Many of them have been put forward earlier. Naturally we do not regard them as all-embracing and are prepared to give our closest attention to all other proposals aimed at improving the international situation and strengthening peace.

Comrades, we have every reason to declare that the international position of our country is stable. The peace-loving foreign policy of the Communist Party and the Government of the Soviet Union reliably serves the interests of communist construction and the cause of preserving and strengthening world peace and security. The CPSU will continue to pursue this tested course.

The faster our country moves forward in building the new society the more successfully will our international tasks be resolved. By the will of history the Land of Soviets was the first in the world to raise the banner of communist construction. Led by their Leninist Communist Party the Soviet people will continue to hold this victorious banner aloft with honor.

II

THE STRUGGLE OF THE PARTY TO CREATE THE MATERIAL AND TECHNICAL BASIS OF COMMUNISM

Comrades, with your permission I shall now describe in general outline our country's internal situation and report to the Congress on the policy and the results of our Party's activities in the sphere of economic development.

The Central Committee's work of economic guidance had as its aim the fulfilment of our chief programmatic economic task—creation of the material and technical basis of communism.

The Congress is meeting at a time when the Seven-Year Plan, an important stage in the fulfilment of that task, has been completed. Allow me, then, to report briefly on the most important results of that period marked by the further growth and consolidation of the socialist economy on the basis of scientific and technological progress.

In the past seven-year period the national income, used on accumulation and consumption, increased by 53 per cent, while indus-

trial output grew by 84 per cent. The basic assets of the economy increased by 92 per cent. Industrial enterprises exceeded output targets to the tune of 46,000 million rubles. New deposits of oil, gas, iron, non-ferrous metals, chemical raw materials and other minerals have been surveyed and put to industrial uses. The fuel and power and the iron and steel industries have expanded. The main branches of heavy industry have been on the uptrend throughout these years, and there was also a substantial increase in the output of food products and household goods.

The CPSU and the entire Soviet people have every reason to be satisfied with the results of the country's development in the past period. In these years our country has increased its economic and defense might; figuratively speaking it has matured, gained in muscle and sinew.

It took the Soviet people over 40 years of labor—32 years if the war years are discounted—to create the economic and defense potential with which we launched upon the Seven-Year Plan. In the course of the past seven years, the working people of our country, led by the Party, have almost doubled their basic production assets. Thirty-two years and seven years—that comparison shows to what extent our economic development has been accelerated.

Comrades, in the last of these seven years our country celebrated the 20th anniversary of the victory of the Soviet Union in the Great Patriotic War. In this connection it is worthwhile recalling that in 1940, on the eve of the war, we produced 18.3 million tons of steel, 13.1 million tons of rolled stock, 31.1 million tons of oil, 5.7 million tons of cement, 145,400 motor vehicles, 31,600 tractors, 48,300 million kwh of electricity. This was all our people had when they rose to fight the frenzied enemy. Yet Hitler's war machine was smashed.

We suffered heavy losses in the war. Over twenty million Soviet people perished. Vast tracts of land from the western frontier to the Volga lay in ruins—razed to the ground were thousands of towns and villages, tens of thousands of factories, mines, collective farms and state farms, schools and homes. It seemed that to restore what had been destroyed would take decades.

However, the Soviet people led by the Party performed miracles of labor heroism. In 1965, the year of the 20th anniversary of victory and the last year of the Seven-Year Plan, our industry was producing 5 times as much steel as in 1940, almost 5.5 times as much rolled stock, well-nigh 8 times as much oil, practically 13 times as much cement, 4.2 times as many motor vehicles, more than 11 times as many tractors, and 10.5 times as much electric power as in 1940.

No comments are needed: the achievements of our people are so impressive that they speak for themselves.

The development of the productive forces of our country has been accompanied by an improvement in social public relations. Our social system has become still stronger and more stable. The two forms of socialist ownership, ownership by the whole people and collective farm and cooperative ownership, have been further strengthened. The public wealth of the country and the incomes of the working people have grown and important measures have been implemented to straighten out the wages system and increase remuneration for labor in all branches of the national economy. Wider use is made of democratic principles in industrial management.

The social structure of Soviet society has undergone substantial change during the past seven years. In this period the number of workers has increased by 14 million, and the number of specialists and office workers, by 7 million. Growth in the number of workers reflects the high rates of industrial growth in our country and is evidence of the increasing role of the working class, the most progressive and best organized class in our society, and, consequently, of the stability of the socialist system. Factory, office and professional workers and their families now account for 75.4 per cent of the population while the collective farm peasantry makes up the remaining 24.6 per cent. The fraternal alliance of the working class and the collective farm peasantry cements the unity of the entire Soviet people.

The organizing and educational role of the Party, its ability to arouse the people for great labor accomplishments was again demonstrated in implementing the Seven-Year Plan.

You remember, comrades, that after the 21st Congress of the CPSU, Muscovites and Leningraders, workers in the Ukraine and Byelorussia, in the Urals and Siberia, workers, collective farmers and intellectuals in all the Union Republics responded to the call of the Party and launched an emulation campaign to effect a new powerful economic upsurge.

The working class, engineers and technicians, office employees and transport workers, by their devoted labor have further increased the economic might of the country and raised it to a higher industrial level.

Collective farmers, state farm workers, agronomists and zootechnicians have also made a good showing. They have overcome difficulties and have made their contribution to the development of the country's economy so as to ensure the supply of food for the people and raw material for industry.

Builders have erected thousands of factories and plants, hundreds of thousands of dwelling houses, schools and hospitals.

Scientists, engineers, workers in the field of culture, the entire

Soviet intelligentsia contribute their share of constructive labor to the creative effort of the Soviet people.

Permit me, on behalf of the Congress, to offer hearty congratulations to the advanced workers and innovators in production, to the whole working class, to the collective farm peasantry, to our intelligentsia, to the entire Soviet people on their wonderful labor achievements!

In recent years Soviet economy has made great headway, and scored some indisputable achievements as it developed. This is very good, but it is not a tradition of our Party to close our eyes to shortcomings or gloss over them.

For a number of reasons, of which we shall speak later, we failed to reach some important Seven-Year Plan targets. This is true, first and foremost, of agriculture, the output of which increased by a mere 14 per cent. The lag in farm production began to hamper our forward movement; it had an adverse effect on the growth rates of the food and light industries and prevented the measures planned to raise the living standards of the people from being carried out in full.

Certain imbalances were observed in some branches of heavy industry. The plan targets for the output of some chemicals, coal, machines and equipment and certain consumer goods were not fully reached. In several branches of industry not all the new enterprises went into operation at the planned time and many of those built did not reach planned capacity. This resulted in the rate of growth of the national income being less than was envisaged in the Seven-Year Plan.

Comrades, the period under review was an important stage in the implementation of the Seven-Year Plan, and in the fulfillment of the tasks set by the Program of the CPSU; for this reason permit me to speak in greater detail about the work of the Party in the sphere of economic development for the period between the 22nd and 23rd Party congresses and also about the prospects for the further development of our economy. Since the figures cited at the last Congress covered the period up to 1960 inclusive, we shall examine the main index figures for the 1961—1965 period. This will make for a more graphic comparison of the results of the last five years and the draft guidelines for the next five years.

Industry and Construction

Socialist industry has great achievements to record for the period under review. This can be seen from the basic figures for the growth of industrial output over the past five years.

GROWTH OF INDUSTRIAL OUTPUT

	1960	1965	1965 in percentages of 1960
Gross industrial output (thous. mln. rubles)	155	234	151
Electric power (thous. mln. kwh)	292	507	173
Oil (mln. tons)	148	243	164
Gas (thous. mln. m^3)	47	129	274
Coal (mln. tons)	510	578	113
Steel (mln. tons)	65	91	139
Rolled stock (mln. tons)	51	71	139
Output of the engineering and metal working industries (thous. mln. rubles)	34	61	179
Textiles, all varieties (thous. min. metres)	8.2	9.1	111
Leather footwear (mln. pairs)	419	486	116
Granulated sugar (mln. tons)	6.4	11	173
Processed and packed meat (min. tons)	4.4	5.2	118
Butter (thous. tons)	737	1,073	146
Vegetable oil (thous. tons)	1,586	2,770	175
Fish, whales, marine animals and seafood (mln. tons)	3.5	5.8	163

It will be seen from these figures that a substantial increase in industrial output was achieved in the period under review, especially in the key industries. In the past five years the social product has increased by 35 per cent and gross industrial output by 50 per cent. There has been an increase in industrial output over the past five years to the tune of 79,000m. rubles. This is three-odd times the increment achieved under all the prewar five-year plans.

The Soviet Union's share in world industrial output is steadily growing. In 1965 the USSR accounted for almost one-fifth of world industrial production, whereas on the eve of the Second World War its share was less than a tenth. It should be mentioned furthermore, that the population of the USSR is only 7 per cent of the world population. The task set by the Party—to surpass the per capita output achieved by the most developed capitalist countries—is being steadily fulfilled. The difference in the levels of the industrial production of the USSR and the USA is being reduced.

Deep-going qualitative as well as great quantitative changes have taken place in our socialist economy. Scientific and technological progress has brought into being many new industries. A number of branches of the country's economy have been re-equipped. A large number of various types of machines, equipment and instru-

ments have been designed and put into operation; many of them are unique, the first of their kind in the world. Technological progress, mechanization and automation of production made it possible to increase the productivity of labor in industry by 25 per cent in the last five years.

The transport services are being technically reconstructed on a large scale. Last year electric and diesel trains carried 85 yer cent of all freights. Ever-growing quantities of fast and high load-capacity aircraft, heavy-duty motor vehicles and ships are being put to use. The building of long-distance oil and gas pipelines is conducted on a large scale, and their total length now exceeds 70,000 kilometers.

A vast construction program has been carried out. In the 1961—1965 period investments in the economy amounted to 211,000m. rubles, or roughly as much as during the preceding ten years.

Our country has never before seen construction on such a tremendous scale. There are comrades present here who have come from every corner of the Soviet Union. They will confirm that everywhere, "from Moscow to the farthest border," as the song has it, people are busy building factories and power stations, housing estates and whole towns, laying railways and pipelines. In short, no matter how far you may travel across the boundless expanses of the country, everywhere there are construction sites. Such is the typical landscape of our country.

The economy of each Union Republic has been developing successfully as part of the economy of the USSR. Production plans were fulfilled by the Russian Federation, where industrial output grew by 45 per cent in five years, by the Ukrainian SSR, which increased output by 53 per cent, and by the Byelorussian SSR, which increased it by 64 per cent. Production continued to grow in the Georgian, Azerbaijan, Armenian and Moldavian republics. In the five years production increased by 34 per cent in Turkmenia, 50 per cent in Uzbekistan, 54 per cent in Tajikistan, 63 per cent in Kazakhstan, and 67 per cent in Kirghizia. Industrial production in Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia increased at rates higher than the average for the whole country. The 25th anniversary of the re-establishment of Soviet power in these republics was recently celebrated by the whole country.

As you see, comrades, our industry has been growing and improving in the past five years—throughout the country as well as in each particular republic. Economic ties and mutual assistance between the Union republics have been expanded.

It is most gratifying to note that in recent years a very great deal has been done to promote the political equality of the Union republics and the friendship of the peoples of the USSR, won and

built up in the course of socialist construction, by levelling out their economic growth. This is very important, comrades. It is a vivid demonstration of the great vitality of the Leninist national policy, which has shown the whole world that socialism alone opens up before the peoples reliable ways of quickly overcoming economic and other backwardness and of becoming advanced, highly-industrial socialist nations. This is a reliable foundation for the further cohesion of all the peoples of our great multinational country.

When examining economic development we must mention the faults in our work as well as the positive aspects of it. In recent years such negative features have become manifest as reduced growth rates in production and in the productivity of labor, lower efficiency in the use of fixed assets and investments. A correct appraisal cannot be made without a critical approach, and without it we shall make less progress.

After the October 1964 Plenum, the CPSU Central Committee analyzed the state of affairs in the economy, laid bare the causes of these negative manifestations and indicated ways of overcoming them.

Defects in management and planning, the underestimation of the methods of running the economy at a profit and the underuse of material and moral stimuli all contributed to the lowering of economic growth rates. The forms and methods of management, planning and the use of economic stimuli employed until recently were not in accordance with the new, higher level of the country's productive forces and had begun to retard their development.

The harvest failures of 1963 and 1965 had an adverse effect on the economy and especially on the improvement of the living standards of the working people. Nor should the growing complication of the international situation be ignored. The aggressive acts of the U.S. imperialists forced us in recent years to make additional and rather substantial allocations to strengthen our country's defenses.

It must be admitted that in elaborating the Seven-Year Plan, because of the subjectivist approach, some miscalculations were made and some targets were set too high. The production expansion fixed for some branches of industry did not always accord with real possibilities.

The territorial system of industrial management divided the leadership of branches of industry among numerous economic areas; there was a violation of the uniform technological policy, research institutions were cut off from production and this held up the development and introduction of new machinery.

The interests of Communist construction and the need to surmount the difficulties that had arisen required, not individual partial

corrections, but the elaboration of a system of measures that would ensure more rational use of the gigantic productive forces that had been created in the country, a rapid rise in living standards and fuller utilization of the advantages of our system.

After the October Plenum, the Central Committee concentrated on the basic problems of improving economic relations in our society, perfecting the system of economic management, planning and stimulating production. At the March and September (1965) Plenums of the CC CPSU a new approach to economic management was evolved and the principles of our Party's economic policy at our present stage of development were defined. These principles consist in giving a greater role to economic methods and stimuli in running the economy, radically improving state planning, granting more economic independence and initiative to factories, collective and state farms, and making factory personnel more responsible for and materially more interested in the results of their work.

The pursuit of this economic policy will facilitate the creation of the conditions necessary to accelerate technical progress, ensure greater efficacy of social production, and help to develop the productive forces.

It will be remembered that all-Union and Union-republican ministries have been set up for the purpose of improving the leadership of branches of industry and accelerating scientific and technical progress. They have been made responsible for the state of affairs in the relevant branches, for a high technical level of production and the satisfaction of the country's need for industrial goods, for the implementation of the economic reform.

The newly created centralized management of branches of industry combines well with the substantial extension of the rights of the Union republics, factories and amalgamations and with the strengthening of economic methods of leadership—this is the advantage of the new system of industrial management. We should like to warn those working in the ministries against attempts to revert to the narrow departmental approach—that was a frequent fault of the old ministries.

There is still much to be done to implement in full the new system of planning and economic stimuli; this is one of the most important tasks for the next few years.

The success of our cause, comrades, now depends to a considerable extent on the initiative, acumen and efficiency of executives, engineers and technicians, on bold approach to the solution of the intricate problems of economic development, on the ability to mobilize factory staffs to fulfill plans and achieve the maximum efficiency of production.

We are sure that Party organizations and executives in the economy, who have considerable experience of socialist construc-

tion and are politically mature, factory directors, shop and department managers will, in close contact with scientists, engineers and technicians, be fully able to cope with the task set by the Party.

The decisions of the March and September plenums have been widely commented on abroad. Our friends have assessed them corrrectly and our enemies, as usual, try to distort them. The reactionary bourgeois press has said quite a lot recently about a "crisis" in the Soviet economy. Some people even imagine that our latest economic measures represent a retreat from socialism.

What can one say about this?

These assertions are ridiculous from beginning to end. It is obvious to anybody that our unshakable foundation always has been and remains public ownership of the means of production. We are not only retaining but are improving the principle of planning in our economy.

The strengthening of the centralized planning leadership of the economy is now combined with the further development of the initiative and independent work of enterprises; this means that the socialist principles of economic management are being applied more correctly and efficiently. Since socialism is a social and economic formation whose principle is paying for labor according to its quantity and quality, this presupposes the operation of economic stimuli, of material incentive and the drawing of millions of working people into the management of the country's economic life.

The product of a socialist enterprise is the result of the concerted efforts of the entire staff. It is, therefore, quite regular, in addition to giving a material stimulus to each worker in accordance with his own personal labor, to give the entire staff a material interest in the end results of the factory's work. This will make it possible more fully to combine personal and public interests.

The decisions of the March and September plenums of the CPSU Central Committee met with the unanimous support of the entire Soviet people. We hope that the measures for the improvement of leadership in the economic life of our country that these plenums adopted will also be approved by the delegates to the 23rd Congress.

Comrades, our Congress has to examine and endorse the Directives for the new Five-Year Plan. Since the Congress will hear a report on that question by Comrade A. N. Kosykin, allow me to dwell only on the main features of that plan, features which mirror the fundamental ideas and political propositions which the CPSU Central Committee has considered necessary to use as the basis for the new Five-Year Plan.

First of all, it must be said that the Five-Year Plan for 1966-70

is a further important stage in the Soviet people's effort to build the material and technical basis of communism. The CPSU Central Committee has defined the *cardinal task* of the new Five-Year Plan. *This task is to make the utmost use of the achievements of science and technology, of the industrial development of the whole of social production, of the increase in its efficiency and the rise of labor productivity to ensure a further considerable growth of industry and high, stable rates of development in agriculture and, as a result of this, to secure a substantial rise of the standard of living and a fuller satisfaction of the material and cultural requirements of all Soviet people.*

In the next five years further steps will be taken to resolve problems like eradicating the essential distinctions between town and country and between mental and physical labor. The fulfillment of major economic and social tasks will still further strengthen the political and material basis of the alliance between the working class and the peasantry. The fraternal alliance of the peoples of our country is to be further developed.

The tasks in the Five-Year Plan thus mirror the intrinsic unity between the development of the material and technical basis and the growth of the living standard, the quantitative growth of the resources of the economy and the further deep-going qualitative changes in the economy, the enhancement of the productive forces and the improvement of social and economic relations.

The main targets of the new Five-Year Plan also take into consideration the need to further strengthen our economic relations with the fraternal socialist countries and the developing states.

As a whole, the draft Directives express the aspiration to make better use of all our potentialities to ensure a faster rate of economic growth and fuller satisfaction of the material and cultural requirements of the entire people.

Provision has been made for *high rates of growth* of social production and the national income during the next five years. The total output of all branches of material production, i.e., the gross social product, will increase by an average of more than 7 per cent annually as against a little over 6 per cent during the preceding five years. At this point it should be mentioned that during this five-year period the annual average absolute increment in industrial output will amount to 22,000—23,000 million rubles as against 15,800 million rubles during the preceding five-year period. It is planned to increase the volume of industrial output during the coming five-year period by approximately 50 per cent and of agricultural output by 25 per cent.

Investments in the national eocnomy will amount to approximately 310,000 million rubles, i.e, 50 per cent more than during the preceding five years. This will ensure the development of all

branches of the national economy and of all the Union Republics, accelerate the growth of key industries and remove both inter-branch and inner-branch disproportions which in recent years have hindered the harmonious development of our economy.

Prime importance is attached to the development of agriculture. The task is being set of boosting this major sphere of material production and thereby satisfying the country's requirements in farm produce more fully. It is planned to increase labor productivity in agriculture through mechanization, chemicalization and electrification, and consistently, step by step, to bring the technical facilities and organization of production in agriculture to the level obtaining in industry.

An important feature of the coming five-year period is that *the gap between the rates of growth in the production of the means of production (group A) and the production of consumer goods (group B) will be considerably narrowed down.*

This is one of the most important economic and political tasks whose fulfilment conforms with the interests of millions of people. Under the new five-year plan the Party, which holds the welfare of the people above all else, devotes great attention to it.

There was a time when to achieve high rates of development in heavy industry we had deliberately to restrict our requirements. Now we have mighty productive forces, which enable us to develop those branches of social production which directly satisfy the material, cultural and other requirements of the people at a faster rate. This line of the Party is given expression in the Five-Year Plan measures to narrow down the gap between the rate of development of the production of the means of production and the production of consumer goods, between the rate of development of agriculture and industry.

For that reason, while in the preceding five-year period group A was increased by 58 per cent and group B by 36 per cent, in the next five years we plan a 49-52 per cent increase in the production of the means of production and a 43-46 per cent increase in the output of consumer goods.

As these figures show, the Party will continue the policy of giving priority to the development of heavy industry, ensuring a faster growth of the production of the means of production. At the same time, due to the successes that have been scored in developing heavy industry, we have, in the new five-year period, the possibility of investing much larger resources into industries producing consumer goods. This will allow increasing the country's industrial might still further and, simultaneously, implementing far-reaching social and economic measures aimed at further improving the material welfare of the people.

In the next five years special attention will be given to extremely

important economic and political tasks *of accelerating scientific and technical progress and raising the efficacy of social production.*

The efforts of research and designing organizations and material and monetary resources must be concentrated on the main, cardinal areas of science and technology. Research must be tied up closely with the further development of production; strict specialization of scientific and designing organizations must be ensured, personal responsibility enforced, and duplication eliminated.

The task is to secure a high rate of growth of labor productivity and of the profitability of production. Party and economic bodies, scientists and specialists and all workers in industry must devote their energy to the fulfilment of this task.

The growth of labor productivity must spring primarily from a rise of the technical level of production through the development and broad application of comprehensive mechanization and automation, introduction of new machinery and modern technological process, greater specialization and an improvement in the production cooperation of enterprises.

Comprehensive mechanization and automation is a most important means of increasing productivity and making labor easier. Much is being done in this sphere in our country. But the gap between the levels of mechanization of basic and auxiliary processes is still wide. Although enterprises are well equipped with modern machines the share of manual labor is shrinking slowly. This is becoming a grave hindrance to the further growth of labor productivity and the profitability of production. All economic bodies and Party organizations at enterprises must perseveringly steer a line towards the integrated mechanization of production processes, consistently reduce the share of manual labor and utilize manpower more rationally.

Today it is particularly important to organize production and labor scientifically. Naturally, it is important to equip all branches of the economy, all production sectors with new machinery. It is just as important to have skilled personnel able to make the fullest use of this machinery. These problems were successfully resolved by the Party during the period of socialist construction. Soviet industry has moved into a leading position in the world as regards the technical level of production and the level of training of workers and specialists.

However, many of our enterprises, unfortunately, are still seriously lagging behind in organizing production in such a way as to combine machinery and people in a smooth production process. The introduction at all enterprises of scientifically organized production and labor in line with modern scientific and technological progress has therefore been put forward as one of the cardinal economic tasks.

The Party considers that one of the most pressing tasks is to achieve a *radical improvement in the quality of goods.* In speeding technological progress special attention must be paid to improving the quality of goods, lengthening the service life of machines and making them more reliable in work. The better the quality of goods, the more effective and more productive will the whole of social labor become. This task is important for other considerations as well. Today, we have entered the world market on a large scale and are competing with the leading capitalist countries, it is very important for Soviet machines, lathes, equipment—in short, the entire output not only to match foreign goods in quality but to be superior to them.

The technical maturity of our industry has already reached a level where we can ensure the output of machines, appliances, apparatus and other items whose technical and economic specifications fully conform with the growing requirements of the national economy and the world market.

The Five-Year Plan devotes much attention to *improving the structure of industrial production and eliminating bottlenecks.* The priority development of the power engineering, machine-building, chemical and electronics industries is retained.

A pressing task is to eliminate the shortage of fuel, particularly in the European part of the country. Provision is made for the further accelerated development of the oil and gas industries. At the same time there must not be, as was the case in the past few years, any neglect of the coal industry, which continues to play an important role in supplying the country with fuel.

Radical steps are being planned to mend matters in the development of the metal-making industry. Experience has disproved the viewpoint that in our day, when polymeric materials have appeared, the demand for metal will shrink greatly. This viewpoint has negatively influenced the development of the metal-making industry.

I should like to dwell especially on the manufacture of automobiles, tractors and farm machinery. The shortage of automobiles and tractors is increasingly affecting the economy; few passenger cars are being manufactured. To meet the requirements of the economy more fully the new Five-Year Plan envisages a considerable increase in the output of automobiles, for which purpose the existing factories are to be reconstructed and new factories built. There will be an increase in the output of large and specialized lorries as well as tractors, particularly plough tractors. The quality of all farm machines is to be improved.

The question of *correctly distributing the productive forces* is of immense economic and political importance to our huge country with its diversity of natural conditions and uneven density of

population. Further reclamation of the natural wealth of the country's eastern regions is planned. To develop the economy of Siberia and the Soviet Far East faster, a number of social and economic measures have to be carried through in the next five years. In particular, these measures will help to retain the labor force already there and to attract new people. This is an important Party and state matter.

The attainment of the Five-Year Plan targets of promoting the growth of industrial and agricultural production as well as the solution for major social problems depend to a large extent on the *successful fulfillment of the program of capital construction.* A considerable share of the increment will come from the production capacities which must be commissioned in the next five years.

We shall have to build hundreds of factories, mines, power stations, new towns, state farms, collective farm premises, irrigation systems, power transmission lines, millions of flats and houses thousands of schools, kindergartens, nurseries and hospitals.

This enormous volume of industrial, housing and cultural construction will require a further increase in the capacity of the building industry and an enlargement of the technical facilities of building organizations.

Industrialization has been and remains the main trend in the development of the building industry. A radical speed-up of construction and a reduction of its cost can be achieved only through further industrialization. Pre-fabricated parts and elements and other effective materials and structures will continue to play an important role here, But the recent practice of ousting so-called "non-industrial" materials—brick, tiles, natural stone and timber—and their replacement by reinforced concrete, even where this was economically unjustified, was wrong. These materials must not be underestimated, particularly in rural areas.

The question of speeding construction and improving its quality, and increasing the efficiency of capital investments acquires particular importance. A resolute end must be put to the pernicious practice of scattering capital investments and material and technical resources among numerous projects, because this delays construction and freezes investments. The slow commissioning of capacities brings large losses to the country.

The CPSU Central Committee and the Government consider it necessary to take steps to perfect planning in the building industry and provide it with greater economic incentives so as to speed up construction, improve its quality and reduce costs. In planning and assessing the work of building organizations the main criterion must be how quickly and how well production capacities are placed

in operation. Greater material encouragement must be given to individual workers and collectives of building organizations for the timely commissioning of projects.

The Central Committee of the Communist parties of the Union Republics and the Party territorial, regional, town and district committees must devote constant attention to problems of construction and secure a more rational utilization of state capital investments, the timely commissioning of capacities and an improvement of the quality of construction, and show concern for the working and living conditions of builders, who form a large contingent of the working class of our country.

The Directives for the new Five-Year Plan lay emphasis on the development of all forms of *transport*. This branch of the economy must ensure the uninterrupted turnover of material values in the economy and provide access to new natural resources and undeveloped areas. The plan targets for the growth of the technical facilities of transport and an improvement of the correlation between its various types must become one of the major factors helping to enhance the efficiency of social production.

Comrades, the new Five-Year Plan sets cardinal tasks in the development of industry, transport and construction and reflects the vital interests of the Soviet people and their high material and cultural requirements. Soviet people approve the Five-Year Plan, calling it a people's plan. This is gratifying to the Party, which regards the nation-wide support for the new plan as confirmation that its policy is correct.

We are confident that the new program for boosting the industrial might of our socialist country, to be endorsed by the Congress, will be successfully carried out.

Agriculture

Comrades, in the period under review, the Party Central Committee and all local Party and Government bodies have devoted a great deal of attention to *agriculture, which is an important branch of our economy*. Despite difficulties, our collective and state farms continue to grow and develop steadily, their economy is becoming stronger, their material and technical facilities are expanding and the living standards and cultural and technical level of agricultural workers are rising.

The following figures show the output of staple farm products (in all categories of farms):

	1961-65		1956-60	
	Average annual output	Percentage of growth compared with the preceding five years (in terms of one year)	Average annual output	Percentage of growth compared with the preceding five years (in terms of one year)
Grain, million tons	121.5	6.5	130.2	1.4
Industrial sugar-beet, millions tons	45.6	13.7	59.0	5.2
Raw cotton, million tons	4.4	2.3	5.0	2.7
Sunflower seed, million tons	3.7	8.4	5.1	6.7
Vegetables, million tons	15.1	6.1	16.7	2.2
Potatoes, million tons	88.3	4.9	81.5	a drop of 1.6
Meat, slaughter weight, million tons	7.9	6.8	9.3	3.4
Milk, million tons	57.2	8.6	64.7	2.5
Eggs, thousand million	23.6	8.3	28.7	4.1
Wool, thousand tons	317	7.0	361	2.7

This table indicates that the output of key farm products is increasing in our country. However, the rate of increment in the last five years has been considerably lower than in the preceding five-year period. The result of this, as we have already pointed out, was that in agriculture the targets of the Seven-Year Plan were not fulfilled. The Central Committee could not but take note of this situation in agriculture.

Delegates to this Congress know that this question was examined at the Plenary Meeting in March 1965, and that the Central Committee found that the slow development of agriculture was chiefly due to violations of the requirements of the economic laws of production, of the principles of providing material incentive and correctly combining public and personal interests. There were other reasons, of course.

Serious shortcomings in the system of producing farm products hindered the planned management of agriculture. The purchasing prices of many farm products did not reimburse the actual expenditures and gave the collective and state farms little incentive to expand production. Agriculture was allocated insufficient funds and material and technical resources.

An increase in output was also hindered by the unjustified reorganization of agricultural bodies, the imposition of stereotyped

recommendations from above and the undersetimation of science and the experience of long years of practice.

After the March Plenary Meeting, the Central Committee and the government undertook a series of important measures to improve planning and provide greater incentives in order to boost agricultural production. A fundamentally new system of purchasing farm products has been instituted. Collective state farms have been given realistic, fixed plans of purchases covering a period of five years. The purchasing prices of many farm and animal products have been raised and higher prices have been introduced for the sale of staple grain to the state over and above plan. At the same time, there has been a reduction in the sale prices of many types of machinery, equipment and material and also in the cost of electric power for collective and state farms. In the countryside the prices of manufactured goods and foodstuffs have been lowered to conform with the corresponding prices in towns.

These steps have yielded beneficial results. Despite last year's severe drought that hit many regions, particularly regions producing marketable grain, the total output of farm produce added up, in comparable prices, to 55,300 million rubles, which exceeds the value of the output of any preceding year. In 1965 the collective and state farms had good harvests of most crops, with the exception of grain.

Special mention, comrades, must be made of the fact that last year a fine job was done by cotton-growers, sugar-beet-growers and livestock breeders. They have every right to be proud of the results of their work.

A noticeable improvement has also been achieved in livestock-breeding. Here are figures to illustrate this.

Livestock Population and Productivity at Collective and State Farms and Other State Enterprises

	1961	1962	1963	1964	1965
Cattle million head at the end of the year	58.2	62.5	61.3	62.1	65.5
Cows	20.1	21.8	22.3	22.6	23.5
Pigs, million head	49.4	53.9	27.7	38.3	41.3
Sheep and goats, million head	109.1	110.9	108.4	100.2	103.1
Poultry, million head	152.0	154.5	97.7	127.8	140.2
Average milk yield per cow, kilograms	1,851	1,785	1,599	1,700	2,006

The table shows that the collective and state farms have surmounted the difficulties that arose in 1963 and achieved an in-

crease in the number of cattle, including cows, and also of pigs and poultry, although the pig and poultry popu'ation is still below the 1962 figure. Last year the average milk yield per cow increased by 306 kilograms. In 1965 the collectiye and state farms considerably increased their output and fulfilled the state purchasing plan for all products of animal husbandry.

We must devote more attention to this important, though still lagging, branch of agriculture. Under the new Five-Year Plan the task is to develop animal husbandry both by enlarging the livestock population and, chiefly, by increasing its productivity. This approach will make it possible considerably to step up the output of animal produce in the immediate future and raise its profitability. The further growth of the gross grain output, effective utilization of meadows and pastures, a higher level of mechanization of farm work and an improvement of the breeds of livestock will help us to carry out this task:

With the object of enlarging the fodder resources the Party Central Committee and the Council of Ministers of the USSR have taken steps to expand the industry and also industries producing feed proteins, microelements and antibiotics. It has been found expedient to build and develop a new branch—the microbiological industry.

Comrades, we have all grounds for saying that the decisions of the March Plenary Meeting are beneficial to the development of agriculture. The people have seen for themselves that the economic policy worked out by the Party for the countryside is correct, and are supporting it actively, and that is the main thing.

A key task of our Party and people is to secure an upsurge of collective and state farm production. The Central Committee considers it necessary to implement a number of measures in agriculture with the purpose of creating the conditions for the further growth of the productive forces in the countryside and abolishing the disproportion in the development of industry and agriculture. The draft Directives for the Five-Year Plan outline the prerequisites for the solution of this task. Capital investments in agriculture are to be almost doubled. In the next five years, as compared with the previous five-year period, agriculture is to receive 700,000 more tractors, 680,000 more lorries and 4,000 million rubles' worth more farm machinery. In agriculture consumption of electricity is to increase by approximately 200 per cent. The collective and state farms are to be supplied with more mineral fertilizers; in 1970 they will be supplied with twice as much mineral fertilizer as in 1965.

An increase in grain production remains one of the most important tasks. Formerly this problem was resolved chiefly by enlarging

the crop area. To some extent, the collective and state farms will continue to enlarge the area sown to grain by making more rational use of arable land, primarily ploughland. *But the main thing is to increase the per hectare crop yield to the utmost.* This is the decisive condition for stepping up the rate of development of agriculture in general and of grain production in particular. A considerable expansion is planned of the area sown to rice and groats in order to satisfy the country's requirements in these products quickly and fully. Provision is also being made to further increase the output of such staple crops as potatoes and other vegetables, cotton, flax, sugar-beet, sunflower seeds, tea, fruit and grapes.

Work to *increase soil fertility and the efficiency of agriculture in all zones* is to be conducted on a nationwide scale during the next few years.

Our soil and climatic conditions vary according to regions. In some areas, crops are periodically affected by disastrous droughts and in others they suffer from excessive moisture. To ensure stable bumper harvests in zones with unfavorable natural conditions, the Central Committee and the government consider it necessary to carry out an extensive program of land improvement, primarily in the central zone of the European part of the USSR, Byelorussia, the Baltic region, the south of the Russian Federation and the Ukraine, Kazakhstan, the Central Asian Republics and some other areas. One of the next plenary meetings of the Party Central Committee should perhaps be devoted to this question.

The soil is an immense source of wealth for our society and the foundation of agricultural production. The preservation of this wealth, its productive utilization, the enhancement of soil fertility, wind and water erosion control and, where necessary, afforestation must be regarded as matters of state importance.

The Central Committee considers it necessary to draw attention to yet another problem, that of utilizing machinery at collective and state farms. The countryside is steadily receiving an increasing number of tractors, lorries, harvester combines and other machines. Farm labor is becoming more and more industrialized. Yet in recent years, there has been a drop in many key indices of the utilization of the fleet of machine and tractors. Machine operators tend to leave their jobs, causing fluidity in the labor force. All this creates difficulties. The facilities for repairing farm machinery must be enlarged to the utmost, the Selkhoztekhnika enterprises and the collective and state farms supplied with modern equipment, and machine operators given better training and greater material incentives. Under present conditions the task of increasing agricultural production cannot be successfully carried out without constantly

stepping up the flow of machinery to agriculture, radically resolving the question of repairing and servicing this machinery, and improving the training of machine operators of the most diverse qualifications.

In order to develop the productive forces of agriculture it is necessary further to *improve social relations in the countryside.* The experience of many years has convincingly confirmed the vitality of both the collective and state farm form of agricultural production. However, in recent years there have been unjustified attempts to reorganize many collective farms into state farms. The March Plenary Meeting has remedied this situation.

As you know, it has been decided to convene the Third All-Union Congress of Collective Farmers, which will examine the new Rules of the Agricultural Artel. This congress will be a major political event in collective-farm development and will help to consolidate the collective-farm system still further.

The collective farms have now become economically strong, large, highly mechanized undertakings, their relations among themselves and with state bodies have broadened out considerably, and the political and cultural level of the collective farmers has risen immeasurably. We should like to have your advice as to whether elective collective-farm cooperative bodies should be set up in the districts, regions, territories, republics and in the center. This democratic form of management would enable us to make fuller use of the advantages of cooperative farming in the further development of agricultural production, considerably to expand inter-collective-farm production and economic relations, to utilize natural, material, technical and labor resources most rationally and to improve the organization of processing and selling products.

In making this recommendation we are taking past experience into consideration. As you know, during the first years of collective-farm development there was a system of managing collective farms which consisted of collective-farm unions in the localities and a Collective-Farm Center. These bodies enjoyed prestige among the peasants.

This would be an additional way of implementing and developing the ideas of Lenin's cooperative plan, promoting the further democratization of the collective-farm system, and drawing the masses of the collective farmers and members of other cooperatives into economic, cultural and social activity.

At the same time, the role of the state farms as state enterprises in the countryside must be still further enhanced. Each state farm must in all respects become a model of large-scale socialist farming.

Thus, at the present stage the task is to do everything possible

to promote the development and prosperity of both state and collective farms.

Comrades, the Party is fully aware that it is no simple matter to ensure an upswing in agricultural production. It would be a mistake to think that now, when huge material and technical resources are being allocated for the development of agriculture, everything will come about by itself.

It is the duty of Party, government and agricultural bodies, of all workers in agriculture, to make the most skilful, economical, effective use of each hectare of land, of every invested ruble, of every machine and every ton of fertilizer.

The fulfilment of the plans in agriculture will depend on the creative initiative and energy of rural workers, on the correct organization of labor and on the efficiency of those who head collective and state farms of agronomists, livestock and mechanized-farming experts, and economists.

In the further progress of agriculture an extremely important role is to be played by science and by the utilization of its achievements in production. We are certain that scientists and specialists will bend every effort to resolve modern problems of agricultural and biological science and economics, and will make a worthy contribution towards the promotion of agriculture.

Regional, territorial and district Party committees must show constant concern for strengthening all sectors of production with skilled cadres and rendering them more practical assistance. Organizational and educational work must be raised to a higher level, the work of Party organizations at the collective and state farms improved and their activity enhanced.

Allow me, on behalf of the Congress, to express profound confidence that the Party, local government, agricultural, trade union and Komsomol bodies in the republics, territories, regions and districts, all collective farmers and state-farm workers, workers in industries supplying the collective and state farms, scientists and specialists will, with the energy and perseverance inherent in Soviet people, enthusiastically undertake to resolve the great tasks set by the Party to advance agriculture, and that they will carry out this work with honor..

Comrades, we note with satisfaction that the new Five-Year Plan is welcomed and supported by the peoples and Parties of the fraternal socialist countries as well. This gives us more strength, added encouragement and confidence. The new Five-Year Plan is approved by Communists and all our friends in the capitalist countries, who regard it as yet another victorious step on the road to communism. Even ill-wishers and undisguised enemies of Soviet power are compelled to admit that our plans are realistic.

The implementation of the political line mapped out by this Congress and the practical program of economic and cultural development will still further enhance the economic and defense might, prestige and influence of the Soviet Union. It will deal imperialism yet another blow and will be a political and economic victory of world significance for the Communist Party, the socialist state and the Soviet people.

The main thing today is to pool all our efforts for the fulfilment of the Five-Year Plan. In the new conditions the Party organizations bear greater responsibility than ever for the work of production collectives, for the economic development of districts, towns, regions, territories and republics. They must oganize the fulfilment of the plans drawn up by the Party, promote the creative initiative and the emulation movement of the masses, and give every encouragement to the movement for communist work.

The Party sets Party workers and economic executives the extremely important task of mastering modern scientific knowledge in the sphere of technology, economics and organization of production. All executives in industry, agriculture, construction and transport must perseveringly learn the art of directing production under the new conditions and ably resolve questions concerning the organization of labor. There must be a fundamental improvement in the training and re-training of personnel engaged in the management of production.

Party organizations must do everything to facilitate the consistent implementation of the new system of economic management so as to utilize its potentialities to the utmost.

What are the most important conclusions to be drawn from the above?

Firstly, during all these years the Soviet economy has been developing at a rapid rate and important qualitative changes have taken place in its structure. This has created the necessary prerequisites for the solution of the immediate, more complex tasks set in the draft Directives for the new Five-Year Plan.

Secondly, the period under review has shown that the Communist Party of the Soviet Union creatively and boldly resolves the most complex problems of economic management and discards everything failing to stand the test of time and hindering our onward movement. The Central Committee considers that the recent Plenary Meetings worked out the correct way to resolve basic economic problems which will accelerate the rate of our development.

Thirdly, the Soviet Union has continued to strengthen its positions in the economic competition with the leading capitalist countries. The experience of past years has confirmed that the

steady expansion of production at a high and, what is most important, stable rate is the law of development of socialist economy in our country. Such development is beyond the reach of the capitalist countries. This is an indisputable advantage of socialism over capitalism.

Comrades, a socialist emulation movement has been under way throughout the country—a fitting tribute to the 23rd Party Congress. Numerous reports of labor achievements have been sent to the Congress from all parts of the country. The plan for the first quarter of the first year of the new Five-Year Plan had been fulfilled by the workers in industry by the day the Congress opened. The country will be supplied, over and above plan, with large quantities of metal, electric power, coal, mineral fertilizers, cement, rubber, automobile tires, machines and other equipment, clothing, knitted garments, leather footwear and foodstuffs.

By March 20 workers in agriculture had overfulfilled the quarterly plan for the sale of meat, milk, eggs and other animal husbandry products to the state. The repair of tractors and other farm machines has, in the main, been completed. Spring sowing is in progress in the southern regions. Collective farmers, machine operators and state-farm workers are carrying on the sowing with great efficiency.

May the banner of socialist emulation, raised by our heroic working class at the dawn of Soviet power, continue to be carried high throughout the struggle of the Party and people for the fulfilment of the new Five-Year Plan of our country's economic development.

The Party is positive that the Soviet people, whose energy and enthusiasm are inexhaustible, will achieve ever more remarkable progress as they strive for their great goal, communism.

III

RISE OF THE PEOPLE'S LIVING STANDARD, DEVELOPMENT OF SCIENCE AND CULTURE

Comrades, by ensuring the accelerated development of the economy, of the productive forces, the socialist system has created most favorable conditions for a steady rise in the living standards of the workers, peasants, the intelligentsia and all the working people. Only under socialism is it possible to apply the fair principle of distribution of material benefits according to the quantity and quality of labor, thanks to the predominance of public ownership, the absence of exploitation of man by man, and the equality of all members of society in relation to the means of production.

The well-being of every working person is rising in step with the growing social wealth. The national income of the Soviet Union is one of the biggest in the world. It is rising continuously, and the incomes of working people are rising with it. In the last five years the national income increased 33 per cent and last year exceeded 190,000 million rubles. Nearly three-fourths of this sum, all of 141,000 million rubles, was spent on satisfying the requirements of Soviet people.

The Party and the Soviet Government make the most of the successes in economic development to do everything necessary to improve the living conditions of the people. In the period under review, the average wage of factory and office workers increased 19 per cent. Wages have been raised for people employed in branches directly concerned with services for the population, including educational, health, cultural and trade workers and people employed in the sphere of housing and municipal services.

At the same time prices were reduced on woollen, silk and linen textiles, some articles of clothing, ready-made children's clothes, clocks and watches, bicycles, cameras, medicines and some other consumer goods.

In our country public funds play an important part in raising the people's standard of living. Payments and benefits received by the population out of the public consumption funds amounted to 41,500 million rubles in 1965 against 27,300 million rubles in 1960. These funds were spent on raising pensions and on the additional benefits granted to Great Patriotic War invalids and the families of soldiers and officers killed in the war. The introduction of pensions for collective farmers was an important social measure. More than 70 million people study free of charge in general, vocational, secondary and higher educational establishments, schools and courses. The number of hospitals, polyclinics, sanatoria and holiday homes is increasing with every year. More than 4 million doctors and other health workers stand guard over the people's health. The number of children at pre-school institutions has nearly doubled and totals about 8 million.

We speak of these major social measures with pride, because they are possible only in a socialist country where everything is done in the interests of the people.

The Central Committee of the Party and the government have paid constant attention to expanding housing construction. In the last five years, dwellings totalling 393 million square meters of living space were built in the cities, workers' settlements and on state farms, and more than 2,000,000 new houses were built in the villages. Town improvement has made good headway.

We are building much, but the housing problem is still very

acute. Attaching prime importance to this problem, the Party considers it necessary to increase allocations for housing construction, to expand construction facilities and to improve the quality of housing. Alongside state-financed building, house-building cooperatives should be extensively promoted. In the coming five years it is planned to build houses totalling 480 million square meters of living space in the cities, workers' settlements and on state farms. This means that 100 million square meters more will be built o state money and the funds of housing cooperatives than in the previous five years. Besides, the rural population and the collective farms will build 2 to 2.5 million houses. More than 45,000 million rubles are to be spent on housing and municipal construction against the 35,000 million spent in the past five years.

Party, government, economic and trade-union bodies must see to it that the housing plans are fulfilled and give more attention to the maintenance and repair of houses; they must make the procedure of distributing housing efficient and foolproof, and see to it that the public knows what is being done.

The CPSU Central Committee holds that we can no longer tolerate the lag in rural construction. Regrettably, attention to house building in the countryside, and to proper planning and improvement of villages, has been lax for many years. House-building and the construction of cultural and service facilities in villages should be expanded. The collective and state farms should be far more active in this matter.

Comrades, in the last few years the Central Committee of the Party and the government devised a number of new measures to improve the supply of food and consumer goods to the population and to extend Soviet retail trade. In 1965, retail trade totalled 104,600 million rubles, exceeding the 1960 figure by 34 per cent.

The Congress delegates know that we have made notable headway in this sector. There were no interruptions in the supply of bread, pastry, macaroni, milk and dairy products, eggs, butter vegetable oil, sugar, confectioneries and other products. More of these products were sold last year than in any previous year.

For all this, the supply of some items is still behind the demand. Here and there, the assortment of meat products is limited. Although the supply of milk is ample, not enough sour-milk products and cheeses are being put out; the assortment of dietetical products is too meagre, and the demand for buckwheat and rice is not fully met. In the new Five-Year Plan the Central Committee has set high agricultural targets, whose fulfilment will make it possible better to meet the mounting food demand.

The growth of people's money incomes has considerably stimulated the demand for consumer goods in the last few years. In 1965,

industry produced more than 9,000 million meters of fabrics and 486 million pairs of leather shoes. The sale of household appliances and goods has increased. As many as 3,300,000 TV sets, 4,800,000 radio receivers, nearly 1,500,000 refrigerators, more than 3,000,000 washing machines, etc., were sold to the population last year. This is not so bad, comrades.

Yet the working people have good cause to complain about the work of the light industry and the other industries producing consumer goods. So far, the market is not getting enough of certain necessary commodities. It is not always possible to buy attractive clothes for children, the desired dress, suit or overcoat, or choose a pair of shoes to your liking. Not all the factories making consumer goods take account of the increasing demand or the taste of the customer. Many articles made by the clothing, textile and shoe industries are of low quality.

We shall have to work hard, comrades, and remedy this situation. What we need is to ensure fuller satisfaction of the mounting consumer demand within the coming five years. Special attention will have to be paid to improving the quality and appearance of goods.

It is planned to expand sharply the construction of factories in the light, food, chemical and other industries producing consumer goods. Some 15,000 million rubles, or nearly twice as much as was spent in the previous five years, are to be allocated for this purpose in 1966-1970. The technical re-equipment of the light and food industries, retail trade and the communal services will have an important bearing on the expansion of consumer production and the improvement of the quality of consumer goods.

Party and government bodies, ministries, industrial amalgamations and factories must treat consumer goods production as a task of state importance. The existing opportunities for increasing consumer production not only at factories of the light and food industries, but in all other industries as well, should be used much more fully. Considerable amounts of additional goods may be obtained by more rational use of the manpower and raw materials available in the villages, and this without any particularly large capital outlays. Production of diverse kinds of goods and processing of farm surpluses, wild fruits and berries and local natural materials should be promoted on collective and state farms.

It is planned to build more shops, cold-storage facilities, warehouses, bunkers and other trade and ancillary enterprises. Trade workers in town and countryside and the employees of consumer cooperatives play the decisive part in improving retail services, for it is up to them to develop and improve new forms of trade most convenient for the population.

It is essential radically to improve public services in both the towns and the countryside, to increase the number of catering establishments, laundries, barber shops, dry-cleaning establishments, tailoring and repair establishments, and furnish the service sphere with imaginative, enterprising personnel.

If all these measures are carried out, we shall be able to improve the supply of food and manufactured goods and increase retail sales.

Comrades, our Party attaches immense importance to improving the material welfare of the Soviet people. It strives to make use of all the economic levers stimulating economic development. By increasing production, raising the productivity of labor and increasing the national income, we shall achieve a further improvement of the Soviet people's standard of living in the next five years. *Real income per capita is expected to increase by about 30 per cent in these five years.*

The CPSU Central Committee holds that higher wages for factory and office workers and higher remuneration for work done by collective farmers should be the chief means of raising incomes. The wage question is a major political and economic issue. Its solution has a bearing on the vital interests of millions of people.

In these five years it is envisaged to raise the minimum wage in the national economy to 60 rubles monthly. About 12,500 million rubles will have to be spent annually to cover this new minimum and the wage and salary rises in the medium pay bracket. This is a huge sum.

Wage additions and benefits for people working in the Far North, Far East and Siberia will be increased. It is also planned to invest more heavily there in the building of houses, schools, hospitals, pre-school and other cultural and public service facilities, which will help much towards developing those highly important economic regions.

Special mention should be made of remuneration at collective farms. The current procedure of distributing collective-farm incomes often creates fluctuations in payments for the collective farmers' labor; at many collective farms permanent earnings are not guaranteed. Guaranteed monthly payments are to be introduced gradually in the coming five years, pegged to the wages of state-farm workers for corresponding jobs and work rates. This will be an important new stage in the development of collective farming and in improving the collective farmers' standard of living.

Besides raising and adjusting wages, retail prices are to be reduced as the output of goods increases and the productivity of labor grows. This, too, will contribute to raising the standard of living.

Comrades, lately we gave permission to a number of enterprises

in the Ivanovo, Perm, Dnepropetrovsk and some other regions to go over experimentally to a five-day working week with two days off. Where appropriate organizational and technical adjustments have been made, the performance of these enterprises has improved perceptibly.

On the strength of this experience and in response to numerous suggestions coming from working people, the Central Committee considers it possible to go over to a five-day working week with two days off, with the 41-hour week remaining in force. The transition of work to this new scheme must be gradual, depending on the preparedness of the respective enterprises, so that the people and our country gain from it.

The introduction of a five-day working week will have a far-reaching effect on our society, since it will create added opportunities for improving working conditions and a rational use of their leisure by factory and office workers. There will be more time for recreation, bringing up children, combining study and work, for raising the cultural level, and improving technical knowledge.

Comrades, concern for the welfare of people who devoted the larger part of their lives to labor and have now retired is an obligation the socialist state must unfailingly fulfil. In contrast to the capitalist countries, pensions in the Soviet Union are paid entirely out of state and public funds. At present, we are annually spending on pensions about 11,000 million rubles, which claims a substantial part of the national income.

In the next five-year period the pension scheme is to be further improved. It is envisaged in particular:

—to raise the minimum old-age pension for factory and office employees;

—to apply to collective farmers the old-age pensioning procedure defined in the Pension Law for factory and office workers, which sets the pensionable age for women at 55 years and for men at 60 years;

—to raise the minimum old-age pension for collective farmers and to apply to them the pension-setting procedure established for factory and office workers;

—to improve the disability benefits scheme for factory workers and all other working people.

Reduction and abolition of taxes on the incomes of factory and office workers will continue.

It is an important feature of the new five-year plan that it envisages new, far-reaching measures to bring the living standards of the rural and urban populations still closer together while raising the general standard of living in the Soviet Union. We shall thus have done good work in bringing nearer the time when the essential

distinctions between town and country and between mental and physical labor will disappear. The political effect of all these measures lies chiefly in giving added strength to the unbreakable alliance of the working class and the peasants, to the monolithic unity of the whole Soviet people. They will constitute a new remarkable achievement of our Party and the Soviet state.

Comrades, unprecedentedly rapid *scientific* progress is an outstanding feature of our time. Science increasingly influences all aspects of material and cultural life. In our time, it is impossible to secure a high rate of growth of the productive forces and rapid technical progress without extensive scientific research and the timely application of its results in production. The fact that science has become a direct productive force is radically changing man's labor. Under socialism science is not only re-shaping the nature of man's labor, it is also altering the material and cultural pattern of life.

The Communist Party and the Soviet people have trained a whole army of remarkable scientists, devoted to the communist cause, and able to cope with the most complex scientific problems of our time. Today, more than 660,000 scientific workers are employed in the country's 4,650 research institutions and in higher educational establishments. They comprise one-fourth of all the scientific workers of the world.

We pride ourselves on the Academy of Sciences of the USSR. The Party and people show it every attention and care. It serves our country and world civilization selflessly and loyally. The great conquests of Soviet science, which have added glory to our country, are bound up directly with the work of the Academy.

In the time under review the academies of sciences and other scientific institutions of the Union republics continued to expand and gain strength. They now have many scientists who are taking an active part in solving the economic problems, promoting cultural progress and training research personnel in the national republics. The establishment of the Siberian Branch of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR was an important step forward in our scientific development.

Soviet scientists have helped to introduce in production new highly efficient techniques, build up a powerful atomic industry and atomic power engineering, tap immense mineral resources and raise high-grade varieties of farm crops. Major advances have been made in mathematics, physics, chemistry, biology, medicine, geology and other sciences.

The whole world acknowledges the outstanding achievements of Soviet science in studying the Universe and exploring outer space. The Soviet Union holds priority in such phases of space

exploration as the launching of the world's first artificial earth satellite, the first manned space flight, the first group flight, the world's first space flight by a woman, and, last but not least, man's first walk in outer space.

The soft landing on the Moon of the automatic station Luna-9 has been an important step forward in the exploration of space and the development of interplanetary travel. The world's first photographs of a moonscape, transmitted by the Soviet station, are of tremendous scientific value.

The flights of the automatic stations Venus-2 and Venus-3, which yielded a wealth of scientific information and delivered to Venus a pennant with the coat-of-arms of the Soviet Union, were a fresh Soviet scientific accomplishment.

Permit me, from the rostrum of this Congress, to extend once again hearty congratulations to the Soviet scientists, designers, engineers, technicians and workers, and our glorious cosmonauts, on these Soviet scientific triumphs.

Soviet science has won great prestige and has incontestable major accomplshments to its credit. However, mention should also be made of the deficiencies that hold up its development. The gravest of these is the slow introduction of the results of scientific research into production. There is an unjustifiable gap between theoretical research and its technological development. Often, years pass before a discovery is applied in production, and this is a dead loss to the economy and to science itself. Poor use of electronic computer techniques is one example of this. Modern computer and control techniques revolutionize not only production methods, but also economic management, planning, accounting, designing and drafting, and scientific research itself.

The reorganization of management of industry and the establishment of branch ministries have created favorable conditions for the rapid introduction of scientific achievements into production. But favorable conditions are not yet a guarantee of success. The ministries and Party and government bodies must therefore pay more attention to science and the introduction of its achievements into the economy. The work of academic and specialized research institutes, of the designing organizations and the factories, must be better coordinated and they must be given a chance to work together in order to reduce to the minimum the terms for the introduction of scientific achievements. At the same time, the scientists themselves, the Academy of Sciences and the Science and Technology Committee must see to it that the results of scientific research are speedily applied in production.

The rates of technological progress in the economy will be all the higher the more fruitfully science supplies the economy with new

ideas, new techniques and new technology. What we need is bold creative search in this field and a broad perspective in our technological policy.

The problems Soviet science has still to solve are truly immense. The construction of a new society calls for a range of scientific knowledge unprecedented in history, both in order to develop the productive forces and to re-model all social life. It is the purpose of science to multiply the material and cultural riches of the people, to make the life of Soviet people still more prosperous, and to help the Party and the people build communist society successfully.

Comrades, the *schools and the specialized secondary and higher educational establishments* play an immense role in political, economic and cultural development, and in the moulding of the new man. Our Party prides itself on having instilled a thirst for knowledge and education in Soviet people. There are 214,000 general schools in the country with a total enrolment of more than 48 million. It is planned to build over 22,000 new schools in 1966-1970.

The interests of communist construction require that we continue to improve the work of the schools, extend their material basis and improve teaching methods. The Soviet school must develop as an institution of general learning, as a school that teaches rising generations to work, as a polytechnical school. It must equip its pupils with a sound knowledge of the fundamentals of science and instil in them the materialist outlook and communist morality; it must prepare the youth for independent life, for a conscious choice of profession.

The teacher plays a cardinal role in the fulfilment of this task. Today our schools have more than 2,400,000 teachers. The teachers constitute one of the biggest contingents of the Soviet intelligentsia. The Party and the people accord the Soviet teacher, who devotes his efforts and knowledge and all the warmth of his heart to the training and education of children, the deepest respect and solicitude.

The immense program of industrial and agricultural development confronts the Party with the task of continuously reinforcing the working class and the labor force on the farms with skilled personnel. This responsible job falls to the vocational schools.

There are more than 4,000 such schools in the country today, attended by more than 1,500,000 young men and women. In the coming five years the vocational schools are to train over 6,000,000 skilled young workers. The Party, trade-union and Komsomol organizations, and all the ministries and departments concerned must give them daily help in coping with this task. We are sure that the instructors and teachers, and all the other people employed in vocational training will fulfil their duty with honor.

Comrades, more than 12 million specialists, including about 5 million with a higher education, are employed in the different branches of the economy and culture. The higher school has splendid accomplishments to its credit. The Party will continue to show constant concern for the development of higher and specialized secondary education, because in our time the demand for competent specialists has increased immeasurably. In the coming five years the number of college students will increase by almost 1,000,000.

Personnel for economic, Party, government, diplomatic, military and social work is selected chiefly from among specialists trained in our higher schools, our specialists must not only have complete mastery of their profession, but must also know the laws of social development, domestic and foreign policy, and have a broad outlook. We cannot conceive of a good Soviet specialist without a sound knowledge of Marxist-Leninist theory and a clear understanding of Party and government policy. To meet this challenge, instruction in social science at higher schools has to be improved considerably.

Comrades, the Communist Party has always highly valued the role of the artistic intelligentsia, the workers in *art and literature*. Soviet art literature, imbued with the lofty spirit of Communist partisanship and inspired by the ideal of service to the people's cause, have become a powerful medium of communist education.

Works of art and literature have been put within reach of all people in our country. The all-round education and high level of culture of the Soviet people and their position as the master of the country have created splendid conditions for the development of Soviet art and literature. The best works of art and literature enrich not only the treasure-store of Soviet culture and literature, but also world art, the progressive culture of mankind.

Quite a number of good novels and poems, songs, paintings, films and plays have appeared in our country over the past few years, winning the acclaim of readers and audiences. Many of them were awarded Lenin prizes, but the number of writers, sculptors, stage directors and actors, film-makers, musicians and artists whose works enriched the spiritual life of the people in this period, naturally by far exceeds the list of prize-winners.

It is a very important development that contemporaneity, the problems of communist construction in our country have become dominant in Soviet literature, the cinema, the theatre, painting, music and sculpture.

Artists of different generations are striving to comprehend our contemporary more deeply and portray him more vividly. A persevering search is under way, and there are setbacks alongside creative triumphs. It is only natural that we want setbacks to be as few as possible. We believe the earnest of the successful devel-

opment of Soviet culture lies in our creative intelligentsia being guided by the same aims and tasks as the rest of the Soviet people and their Communist Party.

In the past few years many gifted works by art workers of the Union republics have appeared on the Soviet—and the international—scene. Each of our republics has outstanding talent and splendid achievements to its credit in this or that field of art and literature. The national, and therefore multiform, cultures of the peoples comprising the fraternal family of nations of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, constitute a culture single in its socialist content, imbued with the spirit of communist construction and a common concern for the welfare and prosperity of our great multinational country.

The Communist Party of the Soviet Union has always shown, and will continue to show, concern for the development of art and literature. The Party has always guided, and will continue to guide, the activities of artistic organizations and give them every possible support and assistance. The Party is opposed to the issue of directives and arbitrary solutions in matters related to art literature.

At the same time, we undeviatingly adhere to the principle of the Party approach in art, to the class approach in assessing developments in the cultural sphere. We always remember Lenin's words that "literature must become *part* of the general proletarian cause."

The Party will always encourage art and literature that assert faith in our ideals and fight irreconcilably against all manifestations of alien ideology.

Socialist art is profoundly optimistic. It quickly perceives the new and progressive elements of our life, and ably and vividly portrays, the beauty of the world we live in and the grandeur of the ideals of the men of the new society. To be sure, this does not mean that writers should only write about what is good. As you know, we have many difficulties and shortcomings, and honest criticism of them in works of art is useful and necessary, for it helps Soviet people to combat them.

Regrettably, there are also hacks who make it their business to fling mud at our system and slander our heroic people, instead of helping them. They are very few, of course, and they certainly do not express the sentiment and thoughts of our creative intelligentsia, who are linked unbreakably with the people and the Party. These renegades scorn what is most cherished by every Soviet citizen—the interests of their socialist country. It is only natural that the Soviet people cannot close their eyes to the disgraceful activities of these people. The Soviet people treats them as they deserve.

Mindful of the requirements of the intelligentsia, the Party has always supported its unions and societies. An atmosphere of high exactingness, adherence to principle and the artist's civic responsibility to his people must be created in the art organizations and institutions, publishing houses, theaters and film studios. An important role in development of art and literature is played by Marxist-Leninist critique.

The Soviet artist is an active fighter for the revolutionary reconstruction of the world. May our art and literature, perfecting the forms and methods of artistic endeavor, continue truthfully to portray the various aspects of our life and inspire the Soviet people in their titanic labor and their struggle for our lofty ideals.

Comrades, everything done in our country to raise the living standard and culture of the Soviet people, to promote science and education, literature and art, bears out the simple truth that socialism's supreme goal is man's welfare, man's all-round development. We have now reached a level where we can speed up our progress towards this goal, tackling still greater tasks.

There must be no unrealistic targets in our plans for the future. They must be based on the possibilities of the Soviet economy, on the level already achieved in the development of the country's productive forces. What we must do now is make the most effective use of these possibilities, and continuously increase the material and spiritual values needed by man. The Party will not stint any effort to this end. At the head of the people and hand in hand with the people, the Communists will do their utmost for the life of Soviet people to become ever richer and fuller. It is this that we consider our supreme duty. It is in the name of this that we are building communism.

IV

THE GROWING ROLE OF THE CPSU IN DIRECTING COMMUNIST CONSTRUCTION

1. Consolidation of the Party and Improvement of its Organizational and Political Work

Comrades, the period under review witnessed further growth of the Party's role in the life of Soviet society, consolidation of its ranks, improvement of forms and methods of work and the strengthening of the Party's bonds with the masses. Our Leninist Communist Party is the leading and guiding force of Soviet society. Uniting the more advanced members of the working class and all other working people, our Party is guided by Marxism-Leninism,

the militant revolutionary ideology of the world working class. Confidently leading the Soviet people forward along the road of communist construction, it directs and organizes the life of socialist society and successfully fulfils its role of teacher, organizer and political leader of the entire people. The political and organizational work of the Party among the masses and the devoted labor of the Soviet people have ensured a new rise in the country's economy and in the living standards of the Soviet people, and have made it possible to make our socialist state stronger than ever and enhance the Soviet Union's international prestige.

An important stage in the life of our Party was marked by the October (1964) Plenary Meeting of the CPSU Central Committee which expressed the determination of the Party to develop and strictly observe Lenin's standards of Party life and principles of leadership. Defects in the sphere of economic development and Party building, errors due to the unjustifiable reorganizations of Party, Government and economic bodies are being corrected on the basis of the decisions adopted by the October Plenary Meeting.

The October Plenary Meeting had a beneficial effect on all aspects of the life and work of the Party, the socialist state and all Soviet society. It was clear evidence of the monolithic unity of the Party, its political maturity and ability to push aside boldly and decisively everything that hinders our progress. The Communist Party of the Soviet Union, armed with the great theory of Marxism-Leninism and with profound faith in the creative potentialities of the masses, is confidently leading the Soviet people along the road to communism.

The Central Committee notes with great satisfaction that the Party meetings, conferences and congresses held prior to the 23rd Congress fully approved the decisions of the October and subsequent Plenary Meetings of the Central Committee.

The Party meetings, conferences and congress were conducted on a high political level and were marked by great activity on the part of the Communists. Almost 2,300,000 members and candidate members of the Party spoke at meetings of primary Party organizations alone. As a rule their speeches were noteworthy for concreteness, a profound analysis of the results achieved and of defects in the work, and for the growing demands they make of leading Party bodies and officials.

The Party annual meetings were a vivid demonstration of the close cohesion of the Communists behind the Central Committee of the CPSU and their full awareness of their lofty tasks and duties.

Further evidence of the growth of the activity of the Communists and the interest of non-Party people in all aspects of the work of the Party is provided by the tens of thousands of letters that have been sent to the CPSU Central Committee and the 23rd Congress, letters in which people greet the delegates to the Congress, wish

them success in their work, express their gratitude to the Party for its solicitude for the welfare of the people, and make proposals and offer advice and criticism on a wide range of questions pertaining to the life of the Party and the state. One is deeply moved by these sincere messages in which people write about their innermost thoughts and aspirations.

Many proposals and wishes expressed by the working people have been used or taken into consideration when preparing material for the Congress. In the course of their further work the leading Party bodies and Government, economic, trade union and Komsomol organizations must put into effect the useful proposals, advice and comments from Communists and non-Party people.

Comrades, permit me to express on behalf of the Congress, sincere thanks to the Party organizations, groups of working people, men of the Soviet Army and Navy, rank-and-file Communists, all Soviet people who have sent letters to the Congress, and to assure them that the Party will pay the greatest attention to their criticism, proposals and advice.

Comrades, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union has today 12,471,000 members and candidate members. In the period under discussion the Party has been joined by 2,755,000 new members. The increase in the membership of the CPSU is indicative of the high prestige enjoyed by the Party and of the faith Soviet people have in it.

We are proud of the millions of our fellow-Communists who in all fields of communist construction carry the ideas of the Party to the masses and march in the first ranks of the working people of our country. The multi-million army of Communists is devoting all its efforts, knowledge and organizational ability to increasing the might of our country, to our great revolutionary cause.

Now allow me to report to you on the composition of the Party.

COMPOSITION OF THE CPSU
(Percentages on January 1, 1966)

a) social status		26—40 years	46.8
workers	37.8	41—50 years	24.9
peasants (collective farmers)	16.2	over 50 years	22.1
office employees and others	46.0	**d) education**	
b) length of Party membership		higher and incomplete higher education	18.2
under 10 years	47.1	secondary education	30.9
10—30 years	47.3	incomplete secondary education	27.5
over 30 years	5.6	primary education	23.4
c) age group			
under 25 years	6.2		

As can be seen from the above figures, workers and collective farmers constitute the majority of our Party memmbership. In recent years the percentage of workers admitted into the Party as candidate members has increased. Between the 20th and 22nd Congresses, workers made up only 40.6 per cent of those accepted as candidate members, whereas in the period under review they constituted 47.6 per cent. In the future, too, the working class must maintain its leading position in the social composition of the Party.

Among the office and professional employees who are in the Party, over two-thirds belong to the technical intelligentsia. Half of all Communists have either a higher, incomplete higher or secondary education.

The composition of the Party according to length of membership is noteworthy. Here we see the veterans of the Party who have been through three revolutions, Communists who were steeled in the struggle for the industrialization of the country and the collectivization of agriculture, for the great socialist transformation of our country; we see here, too, those who linked up their fate with the Party in the difficult years of the Great Patriotic War and who, after the war, raised their Soviet country from ruins and ashes. All of them in a single army of political fighters are now actively building communist society.

The composition of the Party gives a good picture of the combination of old and young Communists. Today more than half the Party membership are people under 40 years of age. Vladimir Ilyich Lenin was always proud that young people join our Party, he saw in this an expression of the close link between the generations, the continuity of the Party's revolutionary spirit and militant traditions.

The historic role played by the CPSU in the great victories of socialism, and its high prestige inspire, naturally, many Soviet people and devote themselves to the revolutionary effort to transform society, to achieve the victory of communism. The high demands made of every person who joins the Party are dictated by the Party's tremendous responsibility to the Soviet people.

The Central Committee has recently checked up on the work of a number of Party organizations and has found that in some of them lowered demands have been made of those entering the Party. Certain Party committees directed their primary organizations to speed up the enrolment of new members with the result that in some cases unprepared, immature people found their way into the Party. This is now being corrected.

It must be a principle of Party life, a law for all Party organizations that they show concern for the purity of the Party's ranks, that every Communist justifies and bears worthily his lofty title of member of the Leninist Party. Lenin said it is better for ten who work not to call themselves Party members than for one

chatterbox to have the right and opportunity to be a member of the Party.

The further consolidation of the Party imperatively demands higher efficiency on the part of the primary organizations that constitute its foundation. The primary Party organizations with their ramified network of shop organizations and Party groups play a decisive role in implementing Party policy and in educating Communists; they are the link between the Party and the masses, they function where creative activity is actually under way. In the Party today there are 320,000 primary organizations; they are to be found in almost all enterprises and offices.

The whole life of the Party, its achievements and its shortcomings, everything that gives us pleasure or sorrow—all of this is reflected in the activities of the primary Party organizations. They usually produce much that is new and that often becomes the possession of the whole Party; at the same time, they come up against negative phenomena and struggle against them. The primary Party organizations should take account of the individual characters of people and of their needs, demands, abilities and attitude to their work. This accounts for the diversified nature and intricacy of the work of primary Party organizations and of the great contingent of Party activists—the secretaries of primary Party oganizations and Party group organizers.

It is the duty of all Party bodies to exercise constant solicitude for the primary organizations. Party committees must be in constant contact with primary Party organizations and the officials of district, town and regional committees and the Central committees of the Communist parties of the Union republics should regularly visit primary organizations, talk with Communists, listen to their advice and deliver reports to them.

The activities of primary organizations must be directed towards educating Communists and non-Party people ideologically, fostering in them a conscientious attitude to obligations and a profound understanding of the policy of the CPSU. Party organizations must raise political and organizational work among the masses to a still higher level, they must promote the creative activity of the people in the struggle to fulfil the new Five-Year Plan and ensure better working and living conditions for workers, collective farmers and office and professional employees.

Everybody knows how great is the role of the territory, regional, city and district Party committees in the practical implementation of Party policy and Party measures in the localities. At this Congress we can note with satisfaction that the November 1964 Plenary Meeting of the CPSU Central Committee re-united the regional industrial and agricultural Party organizations into single bodies, thus re-establishing Lenin's principles of Party structure and eliminating

the serious mistakes that had been made in this sphere. Rural district Party committees have also been restored and in a short time have regained their position as militant and authoritative proponents of Party policy in the countryside.

Comrades, the Party and all its leading bodies must strictly observe inner-Party democracy and ensure its consistent development. The Central Committee of the CPSU has recently taken a number of important steps in this direction. The development of the principle of democratic centralism has found expression in the further consolidation of the principle of collective leadership at the center and locally, in enhancing the role of the plenary meetings of the CPSU Central Committee and local Party bodies, in showing full confidence in the membership and in improving inner-Party information.

It is essential that the members and alternate members of the Presidium, the Secretaries and members of the CC, CPSU, members of the government, ministers and other leading officials speak regularly to the Party activists, rank and file and to all working people on current problems of economic and cultural development, on the country's internal affairs and on the international situation.

It is essential to pay greater attention to and respect the opinions and proposals of Communists, create conditions for extensive criticism and self-criticism so that Party organizations can at any moment correct any Communist who has deviated from the Party Rules and prevent faults in the work from developing. Those who suppress criticism must be made liable to the severest penalties.

The development of inner-Party democracy presupposes a simultaneous improvement of inner-Party discipline. These two are inseparably bound together. Complete democracy, freedom of opinion in discussing all questions, and iron discipline when a decision has been taken in accordance with the will of the majority of Communists—such is the inviolable law of the Party. And we must demand its unwavering observation by all Communists, no matter where they may work or what posts they may hold.

The task is one of enhancing the sense of responsibility of each member for the state of affairs in his organization and in the Party as a whole, to be exacting to all Party members and not permitting liberalism in respect of those who contravene Party and state discipline, who forget their duty to the Party and think that Party membership gives them certain privileges.

The all-round development of inner-Party democracy will promote the further consolidation of the Party, extend its ties with the masses and give it still greater prestige.

Comrades, economic and cultural development is now on a greater scale than ever before, and foreign policy problems have become more complicated. Under these circumstances the correct

promotion and training of leading Party and the state officials assumes greater importance.

The Party has educated and promoted to leading points an army of many millions of ideologically tempered, well-educated and energetic officials who are carrying out the Party line on the scope and in the business-like manner that is typical of our system. In recent years the composition of our leading cadres has greatly improved. Most of the Party officials are experienced people who have been through a good school of political and organization work. This is one of the Communist Party's gains, and the Party is justly proud of its cadres.

However, frequent reorganizations of Party, government and economic bodies that have taken place in recent years have had an adverse effect on the selection, promotion and training of cadres. As a rule these changes were accompanied by an unjustifiable shifting and changing of officials and this gave rise to a lack of confidence among them, prevented them from making full use of their abilities and paved the ground for irresponsibility.

At the present time we have every possibility of seeing to it that Party, state and economic bodies and mass organizations are headed by competent organizers who have a profound knowledge of their business and have authority among both Communists and non-Communists. The interests of communist construction demand the bolder promotion of young, energetic people. In doing so it is essential to remember the need to maintain a correct proportion of old and young executives. Comrades who have been through a big school of practical work in the localities should be more actively promoted to work at the top.

The selection and education of cadres must be regarded as a major Party and state affair. We must concentrate the attention of all Party bodies, from top to bottom, on the main tasks—the selection, promotion and education of cadres, the verification of the fulfilment of Party directives, the improvement of the work of Party organizations and government bodies.

The training and re-training of officials for Party, government and economic bodies should be seriously improved. A wide network of permanently functioning courses to raise the qualification and improve the ideological knowledge of leading officials must be set up at the center and locally, and the work of Party educational establishments must be perfected.

Life also demands of the Party and state bodies to improve the allocation and utilization of specialists in the economy.

The selection and promotion of cadres is inseparable from the day-to-day verification of the way they carry out Party and Government directives, how they cope with the jobs entrusted to them. Well organized verification of fulfilment is an important means of

correctly training cadres. Verification must be regular, it must help rectify mistakes and find better, more correct solutions to problems posed. Regional and territory committees and the Central committees of the Communist parties of the Union republics must make regular reports to the CPSU Central Committee; district and city committees must report to the regional and territory committees and to the central committees of the Communist parties of the Union republics. The Party Control Commission of the CPSU Central Committee and the Party commissions of local Party bodies must play a greater part in verifying the observance of Party and state discipline by the Communists.

Comrades, the strength of the Communist Party lies in its close bonds with the people. The Party sees its duty in strengthening its ties with the masses, in developing socialist democracy, and improving the work of state and public organizations.

The socialist democracy of our state system is best embodied in the Soviets of Working People's Deputies that are both organs of state power and the biggest mass organization of our people. The local Soviets are called upon to improve education, health services, social maintenance, trade and catering, and the provision of cultural and other amenities for the people; they must be more active in improving towns, villages and settlements and in building roads and dwelling houses.

The improvement of the work of the Soviets must be based on their further democratization. The sessions of Soviets of Working People's Deputies must play a still higher role, local Soviets must be given greater independence in settling economic, financial and land issues, in guiding local industrial enterprises, in the provision of social services and public amenities for the people; the work of Standing Committees must be activized and there must be regular reports by deputies to the electorate. It must become the practice for the Council of Ministers of the USSR to report to the sessions of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, and for the Council of Ministers of Union republics and territory, regional, city and district Executive Committees to report to sessions of the relevant Soviet of Working People's Deputies. The most important bills and other acts should be submitted for a nationwide discussion.

The Supreme Soviet of the USSR and the Supreme Soviets of the Union republics are to step up the development of Soviet legislation, to verify the fulfilment of laws, and put on the agendas of sessions a broader range of questions concerning economic, social, cultural and state building. The work of deputies to the Supreme Soviet of the USSR and of deputies to the Supreme Soviets of Union republics must become more lively. This could possibly be facilitated by the formation of new standing committees of the two chambers of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR.

Party committees must completely eliminate petty guardianship of the government bodies and the practice of overriding them, which gives rise to irresponsibility and inertness on the part of the latter's officials. It is the duty of Party organizations to develop the activity of the Soviets in every way, support their initiative and exercise constant care for the selection and promotion of people for work in the Soviets and for the observance and further development of the principles of socialist democracy.

Success in the work of the Soviets depends to a large extent on drawing the masses into their work. In this respect the People's Control bodies are of major importance. Party organizations must daily guide their work and give them all-round assistance and support.

In developing the democratic principles of state organization the Party proceeds on the ground that all the activities of government bodies and the extensive creative participation of the people in running the country's affairs should be based on the strict observance of socialist legality. Soviet laws are the embodiment of norms of socialist justice that have been tested in practice, and hence they express the will of all working people. They are permeated with solicitude for the people and reliably protect our social system and the interests and rights of Soviet citizens. The militia bodies, the procurators' offices and the courts are doing much for the further consolidation of socialist legality. The state security bodies and the border guards are vigilantly doing their duty of exposing and counteracting imperialist intelligence services and their agents.

Comrades, constant strengthening of our country's defense potential and the might of our glorious Armed Forces is an important task of the Soviet state. The Soviet Army both in the Civil War and in the ordeals of the Great Patriotic War of the Soviet people, showed that it is a worthy offspring of the working class, peasantry and intelligentsia of our country. Soviet troops heroically defended the freedom and independence of our country.

The achievements in economic development, in the development of science and technology have enabled us to equip the Army and Navy with the latest nuclear-missile weapons and other armaments. The armaments of the Soviet Armed Forces are on a level with modern requirements and their striking power and fire power are sufficient to crush any aggressor.

We should never forget the possibility of future trials that may again fall to the lot of the Soviet people. In the present strained and complicated world situation we are duty bound to maintain untiring vigilance. The Party deems it essential to ensure the further development of the defense industry, to improve nuclear missile weapons and all types of armaments. This is essential to the security of our country. We must perfect civil defense, improve

military-patriotic work among the people, especially the youth, increase the patronage of the enterprises, educational establishments, state and collective farms over army formations and units, and do more for the officers and men of the Soviet Army and their families. This is a matter for the entire Party and for all the Soviet public.

The Communist Party, the Soviet Government and our entire people highly appreciate the honorable and hard labor of the soldiers, sailors, sergeants, NCO's officers, general and admirals, show great love for their Armed Forces and are proud of their glory won in battle. The Party will in the future too work to strengthen in every way the defense potential of the Soviet Union, increase the might of the Armed Forces of the USSR, and maintain the troops at a level of preparedness that will reliably safeguard the peaceful labor of the Soviet people.

Comrades, an important role in solving the tasks of communist construction belongs to the *trade unions* which have a membership of about 80 million. Under present-day conditions, the functions of the trade unions as a school of communism are being given a new content.

The extension of the rights and economic independence of enterprises, the consistent use of incentives make the trade unions considerably more responsible for the fulfilment of the state plan, for the technical perfection of production, and for invention and rationalization on a mass scale. They have a growing role to play in developing the creative activity of the people, in drawing the workers into the management of production, in developing socialist emulation and the movement for communist labor.

The attention of the trade unions must be focussed on the political education of the working people, problems of improving the organization and remuneration of labor, and training workers in higher skills; they must take care of industrial hygiene and safety measures at enterprises. The trade unions must take a daily interest in public amenities for the people and in the fulfilment of plans for housing and the building of nurseries and kindergartens.

For the work of the trade unions to reach a higher level. Party guidance of them must be improved and Party organizations must pay still greater attention to the selection and training of trade union functionaries; they must give greater support to proposals put forward by trade union organizations.

The *Leninist Young Communist League* (Komsomol) with its membership of about 23 million young men and women, and the splendid Soviet youth it heads are an active creative force in Soviet society. The Party is proud of having educated whole generations of people in the spirit of boundless loyalty to the great ideals of communism. It regards the Komsomol as the militant vanguard of the Soviet youth and the Party's reliable reserve. At all times, at all

stages of the development of our society, the Komsomol has held sacred and continued the tradition to follow the Communist Party in all things and be its loyal and reliable assistant.

Komsomol members, Soviet young men and women, display a high sense of responsibility and consciousness in their attitude to the destiny of the people and the state. The continuity between generations and the great strength of revolutionary traditions are brought out clearly in the practical work of young people, in their lofty ideals. The labor exploits of young people—the builders of mammoth power stations, railways and new towns, the conquerors of virgin lands and the pioneers of space research—have added glorious pages to the history of the Soviet Union.

The years will pass and our descendants will extol the heroism of the present generations and their clarity of purpose in the struggle to affirm socialist ideals in the world.

The young people are our future. We want them constantly to see the continuity of our revolutionary traditions, learn to see life in all its depth and complexity and be aware of their role in and responsibility for the building of communism. Soviet young people are imbued with revolutionary romance, with the romance of labor heroism, the nobility of man, lofty ideals, and preparedness to defend their country against all encroachments by its enemies.

The Party and the entire people have faith in the creative strength of young men and women. We want to see the life of young people filled daily with concrete work for the good of our country. Soviet young men and women enthusiastically respond to all calls of the Party and the government.

The realities of life, furthermore, make great demands on the content of Komsomol activities, and on all work among the youth. There are many organizations and institutions in the country which are called upon to educate the rising generation. In their activities, however, they are frequently isolated from one another. It must not be forgotten that our country is, speaking figuratively, a country of the youth, half its population being under 26 years of age. It is, therefore, extremely important for the Party, the Komsomol and all other organizations to pay greater attention to the upbringing of the youth. An important task of the Party and the Komsomol is to raise the level of ideological and educational work among the youth and enrich its content and forms. It is excellent that Komsomol members and other young people are working enthusiastically on building sites and are participating in the solution of economic problems. Nevertheless, the cardinal feature of Komsomol work—the upbringing of the youth—must not be overlooked.

We have to admit that there are shortcomings in the ideological and educational work among young people. There are cases of certain Party and Komsomol organizations not taking account of

the fact that the present generation of young people has not gone through the stern school of revolutionary struggle and tempering that fell to the lot of the older generation. Some young people want to keep aloof from the ferment of life, tend to remain the dependents of others, demand much from the state but forget their duty to society, their duty to the people. Our enemies, the bourgeois ideologists, seek out and try to make use of these weaklings who are susceptible to pernicious ideological influences.

The ideological and political work of the Party and the Komsomol must foster and strengthen a Marxist-Leninist awareness among the young generation, develop in them a class approach to all phenomena of life, and loyalty to the cause of the Communist Party. That is the mighty force that will make young people still more responsible for their country and for the defense of the great gains of socialism, and will serve as a sharp weapon against the influence of bourgeois ideology and ethics.

Party organizations should improve their leadership of the Komsomol, painstakingly and attentively train Komsomol cadres and pass on to them their political and organizational experience. We should strengthen the Party nucleus inside Komsomol organizations. It is clearly understable that out of the two and a half million Communists under the age of 30, only about 270,000 are working in the Komsomol. Young Party members must be drawn more actively into the work of the Komsomol and must regard that work as an important Party assignment. Higher demands must also be made of the content of the work of the Komsomol organizations themselves. Organization and discipline must be strengthened in the Komsomol and the forms and methods of its educational work must be improved. The Komsomol must also step up its work among children, and take measures to improve the Young Pioneer organization. Trade union, sports, cultural organizations, and the management of enterprises and construction sites, state and collective farms must, alongside the Komsomol, pay considerably greater attention to the upbringing of the youth.

The Party has confidence in the strength and capabilities of the Leninist Komsomol and the entire Soviet youth, and has entrusted them with big and important tasks and will continue to do so in the future.

It is a matter of honor for the entire Party to educate young people, to be worthy of our revolutionary times. Like a mother who carefully nurtures her children, the Party must educate the young generation, the hope and future of our great country, bring them up to be people strong in spirit, staunch and devoted fighters for our great causes.

2. Some Changes in the Rules of the CPSU

Comrades, the Rules of the CPSU adopted at the 22nd Congress conform to the standards of Party life, the demands of the time and the tasks of communist construction. Yet the experience of the past few years showed that it is necessary to make a few amendments and addenda. A number of proposals to this effect was made at Party general meetings, conferences and congresses of the Communist Parties of the Union republics, and in letters to the CC, CPSU. In the main, their aim is to raise still higher the name of Party members, extend inner-Party democracy, ensure a further development of the initiative and activity of Party organizations, and enhance the responsibility of Party members for the work of their organization and the Party as a whole.

On summing up the practical experience gained in the period between the congresses, as well as the proposals of local Party committees and members, the Central Committee considers it necessary to submit for the consideration of the Congress the following amendments and addenda to the Rules of the CPSU. Allow me, comrades, to put them before the Congress.

In order to make admission to Party membership more exacting, it is proposed that young people under 23 years of age be admitted to the Party only through the YCL. This will enhance the role of the Komsomol as the Party reserve and will help us select for the Party the most active section of young people schooled in the ranks of the YCL.

We agree with the organizations and comrades who believe that the right to give recommendations for admission to the Party should be extended to Communists with at least a five-year Party record, and not to Communists with a three-year record, as provided for in the Rules at present.

It is suggested that it be put down in the preamble to the Rules that the Party purges its ranks of persons who violate the Program and Rules of the CPSU, and who discredit the lofty name of a Communist by their behaviour.

It is suggested that a procedure be introduced whereby the decision of a primary Party organization expelling a member from the Party should enter into force as soon as it is endorsed by a district or city committee of the CPSU. It will be as final as their decision concerning admission to the Party. This will enhance the responsibility of district and city committees of the CPSU in examining misdemeanours of Communists. This procedure will not prejudice the rights of Communists, because they will be able, as before, to appeal to any higher Party body, all the way up to the CC, CPSU. It stands to reason that the regional and territory Party committees, and the Central committees of the Communist parties

of Union republics, will be obliged, as they are now, to exercise control over the way the district and city Party organizations handle the cases of Party members.

It appears undesirable to continue to penalize infractions by reducing a Party member to the status of candidate member. This measure has not justified itself in practice. The Party organizations have a sufficient choice of other educational measures. If a Communist is not worthy of the lofty name of Party member, the Party organization should deliberate his continued membership in the CPSU.

Some amendments and addenda concern the section of the Rules dealing with the higher Party bodies.

In view of the ever-increasing tasks and the growing role of the Party in communist construction the need may arise in the period between congresses to discuss the more important political problems at representative Party forums broader than the Plenary Meetings of the CC, CPSU. In Lenin's lifetime, and right up to 1941, all-Party conferences were held in such cases. It should be put down in the Rules that, whenever necessary, the Central Committee may convene all-Union Party conferences, and that the Central committees of the Communist parties of Union republics may convene republican Party conferences.

There is a motion to accept the proposals of the Central committees of the Communist parties of Union republics concerning the convocation at equal intervals of the congresses of the Communist parties of Union republics, and that such congresses be convened not less that once every four years.

In many letters, Communists propose that the Presidium should be renamed the Political Bureau of the CC, CPSU. The motivation for these proposals is that the Party had a Political Bureau of the Central Committee for a long time both during Lenin's lifetime and later. The name Political Bureau reflects more fully the nature of the work done by the supreme political body of our Party, which guides the activities of the Party between Plenary Meetings of the CC, CPSU. We support this proposal.

The opinion has been voiced that the Bureau of the CC, CPSU for the RSFSR is redundant at the present time. All important matters related to the work of the territorial and regional Party organizations of the RSFSR are handled by the Presidium and the Secretariat of the CC, CPSU despite the existence of the Bureau of the Central Committee for the RSFSR. It is therefore unnecessary to have another, parallel body of the CC, CPSU for the Russian Federation. The CC, CPSU concurs with this opinion.

In view of the fact that the CC, CPSU and the 23rd Party Congress have received many proposals concerning the provisions governing the renewal of Party organs and their leading cadres,

we shall have to consider whether it is advisable to keep these provisions in the Party Rules. The principle of systematic renewal and continuity has existed in our Party for a long time. And it is a good principle. The Party has always sought to promote new competent cadres to leading Party and government offices.

As for the provisions now governing this process, life has shown that they have not justified themselves. At times, formal considerations have taken precedence in the election of Communists to leading Party organs over the principle of selecting cadres according to their general ability and political qualifications. As a result, able functionaries who could still have done good work in Party committees have often been compelled to step down from elective organs.

The obligatory restriction of the term of office for secretaries of primary Party organizations to two years has resulted in great fluidity of these Party cadres. Previously, 30-35 per cent of the secretaries of primary organizations were replaced each year, while of late the percentage has risen to 60.

What is more, two-thirds of the secretaries have had to step down merely because the term defined in the Rules had expired. This has begun to have a negative effect on the work of the primary Party organizations.

The provision in the Rules requiring the renewal in every regular election of at least one half of the area, city and district Party committees and the Party committees and bureaus of primary Party organizations has also caused an unjustifiable reduction of the contingent of mature and experienced people eligible for election to Party committees.

In view of this, the above provisions in the Rules of the CPSU should be examined at this Congress. It would seem more expedient to retain in the Rules only the programatic provision that the principle of systematic renewal and continuity of leadership be observed in the election of all Party organs from primary organizations to the Central Committee, and to delete from the Rules the provisions restricting this process. It would be more correct and democratic for the Party membership to decide for themselves whether this or that member of the Party is fit to serve in a leading Party body by virtue of his political qualities and general ability.

It is proposed to formalize in the Rules the existing practice of granting the powers of a district committee to the committees of large Party organizations and to establish that such committees are elected for a term of two years.

The Central Committee of the CPSU is convinced that the suggested amendments and addenda to the Rules of the CPSU will serve to raise still higher the level of organizational Party work and to improve the functioning of the Party.

3. Ideological and Educational Work of the Party

Comrades, theoretical work and the ideological and political education of Communists and all working people is a most important element in the activities of the Communist Party. Our Party has always held aloft the all-conquering banner of revolutionary Marxist-Leninist theory. Loyalty to this revolutionary teaching and irreconcilable struggle against its enemies has always been the guiding principle of the multiform activity of the Party.

Lenin repeatedly urged the members of the Party to work untiringly to master the revolutionary theory of Marxism and develop it creatively. He set us a great example of how to approach theory creatively by his unsurpassed theoretical and practical solutions of many basic questions related to the development of the socialist revolution and the building of a new society. His ideas, his blueprints and his counsel exert an inestimable influence to this day on all our daily social, political and economic life.

All the great victories socialism has scored in our country are based on the Marxist-Leninist teaching. In vain do our enemies hope for the ideological degeneration of the Communist Party and the Soviet people. This will never happen. No force on earth can undermine or weaken our unshakeable faith in Marxism-Leninism.

The theoretical legacy of Marx-Engels-Lenin is the most cherished possession of our Party and the entire world Communist movement. We have every right to say that the creative development of the scientific Marxist-Leninist theory and its organic fusion with the revolutionary practice of the working class and all the other working people is the strongest and the most striking feature of our Party's activity throughout its history.

In the present circumstances, the scale and tasks of our theoretical work are still greater. In no society has scientific theory played such an important role as in socialist society. Hence theory must continue to blaze the trail for practice and ensure a strictly scientific approach to the guidance of economic and cultural life. Extensive theoretical work should be the beacon lighting the way for our Party. The Party considers the further creative development of Marxist-Leninist theory as a cardinal task and a necessary condition for success in the building of communism.

The social science on which the Party has always pinned great hopes and imposed great responsibility are called upon to play a big role in developing Marxist-Leninist theory. The most important task of Soviet social scientists is to tackle important problems in economics, politics, philosophy, sociology, history, law and other social sciences in the close relation to the practice of communist construction; to investigate thoroughly such problems as the trend and character of the formation of communist social relations, im-

provement of the state system and the development of socialist democracy, the forms and methods of economic management, the scientific organization of labor, the content and methods of communist education and other urgent issues.

It is high time to root out the notion, current among some of our cadres, that the social sciences serve a purely propaganda purpose, namely, to explain and elucidate practical experience. It is just as important to develop the social sciences and apply their recommendations in practice as it is to utilize the achievements of all branches of the natural sciences in the sphere of material production and the spiritual life of the nation.

Combating bourgeois ideology, revisionism, dogmatism and reformism is of the utmost importance. We should never lose sight of the fact that imperialism is our class enemy. It conducts subversive activities against the socialist system, its principles, its ideology and its ethics. The giant propaganda machine of imperialism corrupts the individual and attempts to distract the people from politics. In all circumstances, the struggle against bourgeois ideology must be uncompromising, because it is a class struggle, a struggle for man, for his dignity and freedom, a struggle to strengthen the positions of socialism and communism, in the interests of the international working class.

It is the honorable task of our scientists to create works devoted to the 50th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution and the 100th anniversary of the birth of Lenin.

Marxism-Leninism took shape and developed as a science in irreconcilable struggle against all manner of distortions, against the ideology of the exploiting classes. It has always deeply analysed objective historical processes and the class struggle, worked out the theory and tactics of revolution on this basis, and lighted the way for the building of a new society. In this lies the vital force, the immortality of the great communist teaching.

Realization of the great ideas of Marxism-Leninism is inseparably linked with the creative endeavors of all sections of the people, with their active participation in communist construction, and this can be achieved by the extensive and purposeful organizational and ideological work of the Party.

The moulding of the new Soviet man is the greatest result of many years of work by the Party in the sphere of ideology. Carrying on the revolutionary traditions of the generation of fighters who founded the world's first workers' and peasants' state, the Soviet man built socialism, withstood and defeated fascism in deadly combat, safeguarded the great gains of our revolution, and is now the first in history to be building communism. The working class, the collective farmers and the Soviet intelligentsia are producing models of lofty socialist consciousness and heroic labor.

With the victory of socialism a profound change has taken place in the consciousness of Soviet people.

The main thing now is to raise still higher the standards of the Party's ideological work at all levels. We must remember Lenin's counsel that communist education is inconceivable outside the sphere of conscious labor and social activity. All ideological work must be closely associated with life, with the practice of communist construction, for otherwise, as Lenin repeatedly stressed, it becomes mere political phrase-mongering. It is the purpose of the Party's ideological work to marshall the working people for the successful fulfilment of all tasks related to laying the material and technical base of communism, to mould their scientific world outlook, to instil communist morality in all members of society, and to ensure the harmonious all-round development of the individual.

The Soviet people are tackling the greatest social task in the history of mankind—the building of communism. Tens of millions of people are participating in this creative process. We must teach first the majority, and then all of the working people to work as well as our splendid front-rank workers do today. This is quite feasible. The foremost workers and innovators of today are ordinary people. But they stand out because they have mastered technology, they serve society consciously, they possess lofty ethical and moral qualities, they are imbued with the collectivist spirit, and they perform their duty to the people selflessly and to the utmost of their ability. In a manner of speaking, they are men of the future. They work as everyone will work in the communist society. This has an immense bearing on the success of our ideological work. We have the example, the model that others should follow, that others can learn from. The Party organizations must see to it that every Soviet citizen finds the program for his own work in the targets of the new Five-Year Plan, and that he contributes to its fulfilment to the full extent of his ability.

Our Party has always attached prime importance to instilling a sense of discipline in all members of society. Far from conflicting with the democratic basis of the Soviet system, good labor discipline and the requirement to observe the laws and rules of socialist society unconditionally, promotes the development and extension of Soviet socialist democracy. The substance of socialist democracy lies in good socialist organization of society as a whole for the sake of each individual and in the socialist discipline of each individual for the sake of the whole society. It is the task of the Party to maintain a high sense of discipline and organization in all the links of the Party and government.

Instilling thriftiness and concern for the maintenance and expansion of public wealth in all Soviet people should occupy an important place in the work of Party organizations. Already today, Soviet

society possesses immense national riches. But the country's riches must be ceaselessly multipled and used with thrift and care. Unfortunately, there are still cases of extravagance and misuse of material wealth. How much richer and stronger our country would be if we learned to treat every kilo of metal, coal, cement and petroleum, and every public ruble with thrift and care. Teaching thrift should be just as prominent a task in the Party's ideological work as teaching people to be conscientious about their work.

Comrades, our country, the great Soviet Union, rests upon the fraternity, friendship and cooperation of all the peoples of our land, on their common socio-economic system, political system and common socialist ideology. The economic and cultural ties of the peoples of the USSR are becoming closer and more varied. The great process of the coming together of peoples, the strengthening of the unbreakable bonds of their friendship and fraternity, unity and cohesion, is well under way.

For nearly half a century, the Party worked tirelessly to forge, invigorate and perfect this union, until it became the unconquerable and powerful force of our state that the friendship and fraternity of the Soviet peoples represents today. Time and again, our enemies attempted to disrupt and shake this friendship by force of arms and the venom of their bourgeois ideology. But all their designs were foiled, while the friendship of the Soviet peoples is gathering fresh strength, flourishing, expanding and developing.

The Communist Party of the Soviet Union is a living embodiment of the idea of proletarian internationalism, of the friendship and fraternity of the peoples. The finest sons and daughters of the 131 nations and nationalities of our country are represented in it. We take pride in the fact that all the national contingents of our Party merge, like rivers in a huge ocean, in the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, a union of like-minded Leninism, united in purpose and ideology.

Our Congress is a splendid example and proof of this. Look around you in this hall, comrades; members of many nations and nationalities of our country are present here. Each of them is the son of his socialist nation, and at the same time the son of the Party, its fighter, a Communist and internationalist to whom the interests of his own people and those of any other people of the Soviet Union are equally dear and understandable. In this lies the strength of our Party, the strength of our multinational Soviet people.

The Party and every Communist, irrespective of nationality must go on working continuously to ensure that the peoples of the Soviet Union draw closer together, that their friendship and fraternity become stronger, that their economic, cultural and spiritual links become closer and more varied. In solving any problem of the

political, economic or cultural development of our country, the Party will continue to take into account the interests and national features of every people and instil in all Soviet men the spirit of proletarian internationalism, of unfailing devotion to the fraternity and friendship of the peoples of the USSR. This is the only correct national policy. The entire experience of the Soviet Union's development attests the vitality and correctness of this policy.

It has always been, and always will be, a most important task of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union to cement the friendship and unity of the multi-national Soviet people and to promote their relations with the fraternal peoples of the socialist countries, with the Communist parties and the working people of the world.

Comrades, we are faced with great tasks in improving ideological and political work in the countryside. The psychology of the rural worker has undergone a radical change in the course of the socialist reorganization of agriculture. He has become more educated and cultured and the alliance between the working class and the peasants has become more solid. Nevertheless, there are serious shortcomings in cultural and educational work in the countryside. Over a long period the problem of expanding the network of rural clubs, libraries, cinemas and sports facilities failed to receive proper attention.

Party, local government, trade-union and Komsomol organizations and all ideological institutions should concern themselves with eliminating these shortcomings. They should radically improve the political and cultural education of rural workers, and the countryside should get more help from urban cultural and educational institutions, theatres, and creative associations and organizations. This work should be carried on along a wide front. A higher level of culture and a better life in the countryside will undoubtedly step up the development of the productive forces on collective and state farms.

Comrades, the scale of ideological and educational work among the people is closely linked with improvement of the theoretical and political knowledge of Communists. Furthermore we must consider the fact that our Party has grown numerically. Nearly a quarter of the membership are Communists of up to three years' Party standing or candidate members.

The Party has ample experience of organizing theoretical studies for its members. While carefully preserving all the best that was accumulated in the past, it continues to improve Party education. The Central Committee has worked out and is putting into effect a new, more harmonious system of Party education, which takes into account the differences in the theoretical training of the cadre and is aimed at bringing the entire army of Communists into active agitation and propaganda work among the population.

Today, when the Party is working on important political and economic tasks, it is the duty of every Communist to keep in step with life, master the great theory of Marxism-Leninism, cultivate its Bolshevik ideology and principles, learn to support everything that is new and progressive and show intolerance of inertness and hide-bound routine. Communist ideology is the source of the strength of our cadre, of its staunchness in carrying out the Party's policy.

The tasks we have to fulfil in the ideological field are important and difficult. They require a radical improvement of Party guidance. Today Soviet man is an active participant in the struggle for the Party line, a real master of his country. His interests and cultural requirements range far and wide. All this should be taken into consideration in ideological work.

We have considerable material resources for the further promotion of educational work among the masses. A total of 7,700 newspapers and nearly 4,000 magazines are published in the country. Their circulation in the period under review has risen to 74 million copies, i.e., by 60 per cent. More than 1,250 million copies of books and pamphlets are printed annually. We have more than 70 million radio receivers and radio rediffusion sets, and 120 TV stations. According to the Directives for the Five-Year Plan, there will be 40 million TV sets in the Soviet Union in 1970.

The Party has skilled propagandists, agitators, journalists, and TV, cinema, radio and theatrical workers. This is truly a golden fund, which the Party should cherish, carefully build up and properly use.

We must resolutely discard the erroneous idea that ideological work is the business society of specialists in this sphere of Party activity. This view runs counter to the Party's traditions and narrows the front of its ideological influence. Ideological work is the task of our entire Party, of all Communists. We should remember that the ideological effect on the masses, the efficacy of all agitation and propaganda, depends directly on the power of personal example set by Party members and leaders. The identity of word and deed is a most important Leninist requirement that should continue to be a law in all the work of our Party, of every Communist and every leading functionary.

Party organizations should steadfastly improve all forms and media of ideological and political education, carry on their ideological work methodically and purposefully and achieve a better coordination of the efforts of all contingents of the ideological front. The work must be organized in such a manner as to put Party propaganda, mass agitation, culture, education—in short, all media —in the service of the great cause of shaping the Marxist-Leninist

consciousness of Soviet people, in the service of the great cause of building communism.

Comrade delegates, the 23rd Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union is taking place on the eve of two great anniversaries. Next year we shall mark the 50th anniversary of the victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution and the establishment of the Soviet Union, the world's first socialist state. And 1970, the last year of the new Five-Year Plan period, will witness the 100th anniversary of the birth of Vladimir Ilyich Lenin, the greatest genius in history, the founder and leader of our Party and state. There can be no doubt that all Soviet people will mark these anniversaries with new outstanding successes in communist construction.

These memorable events give the Five-Year Plan special coloring and significance. The vast effort of the Party and the people to fulfil the new Five-Year Plan will be illumined, as it were, by the bright light of these two historic anniversaries.

The political, economic and social significance of the new Five-Year Plan and the effort to implement it extend far beyond the boundaries of our country. Our new plan of economic development is a practical embodiment of the unshakeable fidelity of the Party and the Soviet state to the Leninist principles of proletarian internationalism, to their internationalist duty towards the socialist world system, the world Communist and working-class movement and the national-liberation movement. The successful fulfilment of the Five-Year Plan will go a long way towards promoting the unity of the socialist world system; it will increase the Soviet Union's economic and defensive might and enhance its international prestige.

That is why, comrades, we must set out to fulfill the assignments of the Five-Year Plan with the greatest energy and perseverance, as befits Communists.

In devoting all their strength to the building of the future, our Party and all Soviet people proudly look back on the incredible but glorious road they have travelled during the past half century.

We have much to be proud of, comrades. No other nation in the history of mankind has accomplished such deeds of unique greatness in building a new society and in developing the economy, science and culture of the country within such a short span and in such incredibly trying conditions as our Soviet people. The herioc 50-year history of the world's first socialist society will be fittingly crowned with what has already been done through the efforts of the Communist Party and the Soviet people, and with our new achievements and feats.

Today we can see more distinctly than ever the difference between what our socialist state was at its inception and what it has become since then.

Permit me to recall an episode from our history. Early in March 1918, when the Soviet government was moving from Petrograd to Moscow, Lenin wrote his famous article "The Main Task of Our Day" in a train at night, in the dim light of a tiny lamp.

Those were grim days for our socialist motherland. German imperialism had savagely attacked the young socialist state. Many members of the Party were gripped by despair, by a sense of hopelessness. But Lenin was not the kind of person to become panic-stricken and lose his head even for a fleeting moment. In his article he called upon the Party and the people to display unbending determination, to advance to socialism, to build up a solid foundation for socialist society stone by stone, to work indefatigably to create a modern engineering industry, build up discipline, promote law and order, efficiency, and cooperation on a nation-wide scale. He ended his article with a brilliant forecast, Listen carefully to these words, comrades: "This is what the Russian Soviet Socialist Republic needs to put an end to its poverty and weakness and once and for all to become powerful and prosperous."

This forecast has become true. Yes, there is such a powerful and prosperous socialist country in the world! it is our Soviet homeland, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. Its might is truly irreversible economically, militarily and in every other respect. This is solely due to the fact that year after year the Party and the people moved steadily along the road mapped out by Lenin.

Our multinational socialist state will mark its 50th anniversary in the full bloom of its power, glory and might. In the past half-century it has been brutally attacked by the imperialists more than once, but each time our people crushed their enemies in hard and sanguinary battles and continued their triumphant advance. The immense gains of which Soviet people are rightly proud have been achieved by them under the leadership of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

Our Party has immortalized its name by having been able to organize and inspire the people to accomplish great feats. All the progress made by our country has been made under the Party's leadership. The Party, for its part, has been able to achieve this progress solely thanks to the devoted effort and wholehearted support of the people.

The heroic working class, the glorious collective-farm peasantry, our talented intelligentsia, men, women and young people are the ones who have been carrying out the Party's great plans. They smelted metal, minced coal and ore, sowed grain, built and multiplied the country's wealth and, when necessary, fought to defend her against enemy invasion. Our Party is boundlessly proud and happy that a great and heroic people like the Soviet people have for a half century now entrusted their destiny and their future to it.

On behalf of this Congress, which represents our entire Communist Party, allow me to address the Soviet people and warmly to thank them for their great trust and support, for their great effort, for their wisdom, courage, perseverance and valor in the struggle for the cause of Lenin, for the cause of the Party.

The Soviet people regard the Party as their leader and guide, as, the organizer of all their successes. They have seen and see in daily practice that the Party's foreign and home policy is the only correct policy, and that the road along which the Party is leading them is the only correct, Leninist road.

On behalf of the Congress, which represents every contingent of our millions strong Communist Party, allow me to assure the working class, all working people, all the peoples of our multinational country, that the Communist Party will continue devoting all its strength to the struggle for the happiness of the people and the prosperity of our country, for communism, and that by its practical work it will be worthy of the great trust reposed in it by the Soviet people.

Long live the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the Party of Lenin!

Long live the glorious, hard-working and heroic Soviet people!

May our great multinational country, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, live and prosper!

Long live the mighty community of socialist countries!

May the world Communist and working-class movement develop and grow stronger!

May Marxism-Leninism live through the centuries!

Long live communism!

RESOLUTION*

ON THE REPORT OF THE CPSU CENTRAL COMMITTEE

Having heard and discussed the report of the First Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, on the work of the Central Committee of the CPSU, the 23rd Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union has resolved:

—fully to approve the political line and practical activity of the Central Committee of the CPSU;

—to approve the proposals and conclusions contained in the Report of the Central Committee of the CPSU.

In the period under review, the Party's policies took guidance from the line defined by the 20th-22nd congresses and were aimed at fulfilling the Program of the CPSU, building the material and technical basis of communism, perfecting socialist social relations and extending the communist education of the working people.

In this period, good headway was made in economic and cultural development and in improving the standard of living of the people. The political foundations of Soviet society—the alliance of the workng class and the collective-farm peasantry, the friendship of the people of the multi-national Soviet Union, and the solidarity of all working people with the CPSU—have grown stronger. The membership of the CPSU has increased, and its political and organizational role in Soviet society grown. The Leninist principles of inner-Party life have taken firm root in the Party.

Guided by Lenin's teaching, the Party improved the forms and methods of economic management, casting aside all that failed to stand the test of practice and became an impediment to our advance. The October 1964 Plenary Meeting of the CPSU Central Committee has been of cardinal importance for the activity of the Party and the advancement of our society to communism.

The growth of the economic and politico-military potential of the USSR has given added weight to its international positions. The CPSU has always applied, and now applies, every effort to safeguard the peaceful labor of the Soviet people; it is working actively for the maintenance of world peace and waging a determined struggle against imperialist aggression. The USSR has been constantly rendering support to the liberation struggle of the peoples against imperialism, colonialism and neocolonialism, and making an increasingly bigger contribution to the fight of the working people in

*Pravda, April 9, 1966.

all countries for peace, national independence, democracy and socialism.

I

1. World developments have confirmed the conclusion of our Party and of the entire Communist movement that the main trend of the historical process in our epoch is determined by the socialist world system, the forces fighting against imperialism, for the socialist reconstruction of society.

In the period under review, the socialist world system has become considerably stronger; its international prestige has grown, and so has its influence on the destiny of mankind. This period is highlighted by the fact that the relations between the socialist countries and the fraternal parties of these countries have strengthened on the basis of Marxism-Leninism, the principles of socialist internationalism, equality, non-interference in internal affairs, respect for each other, and the independence of the parties and states. Relations between the Soviet Union and other socialist countries have become richer in content, closer and more cordial in the past few years. Political consultations and exchange of opinions between the leaders of the fraternal socialist countries is a regular occurence today.

The economic cooperation of the socialist countries has expanded. The role of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance is continuously growing.

The system of treaties and agreements between the Soviet Union and other socialist countries has been enhanced. It embodies the fraternal friendship of our peoples. The military cooperation of the socialist countries has become broader. The mechanism of the Warsaw Treaty is being strengthened and improved.

Congress instructs the CPSU Central Committee to continue developing and strengthening politico-ideological contacts with the Communist and Workers' parties of all socialist countries along the principles of Marxism-Leninism, to promote in every way the cohesion of the socialist community, to enhance its might and influence, to extend economic, technical, scientific and cultural cooperation, and to cultivate in Soviet people the spirit of friendship and internationalist solidarity with the peoples of the fraternal countries.

The working-class movement in the capitalist countries is engaged in major class battles against the monopolies. In a number of countries the proletariat has won new positions for a further offensive against the exploiting system. Over the past few years, good prospects have appeared in some countries for united action by different contingents of the labor movement. Other social groups

battling against the monopoly oppression are rallying more and more behind the working class.

Congress considers it imperative to continue extending and strengthening the bonds of comradeship and fraternity, the revolutionary solidarity of the Soviet people and the Soviet Communists, with the working class and all the other working people in the capitalist countries, and with their democratic organizations.

The national-liberation movement continued to develop in the period under review. Another 17 countries have won independence in struggle against imperialism. Many of the newly-independent countries have entered upon a new stage—the stage of struggle for economic independence against the neocolonialist attempts by the imperialists to regain lost positions and obstruct the social progress of these countries.

Imperialism stands on no ceremony, and often goes to the length of using armed force, in interfering in the internal affairs of the young states. Lately, the imperialists have stepped up subversion, particularly against the governments of those countries where deep-going social reconstruction is under way.

The new life in countries that have thrown off the colonial yoke takes shape in hard-fought battles with the treacherous imperialist enemy and the forces of domestic reaction, which leans for support on imperialism in its efforts to embark the young states on the capitalist path. However, the peoples are coming more and more resolutely to associate the consummation of the national-liberation revolution, elimination of their age-old backwardness and improvement of their living conditions with the non-capitalist path of development. Some young states have already embarked on this path, and the Soviet Union bases its relations with them on complete equality, friendship and mutual support.

Congress instructs the CPSU Central Committee to continue supporting the peoples fighting against colonial oppression and neocolonialism, to develop all-round cooperation with the newly-independent countries, to promote in every way the consolidation of the anti-imperialist front of the peoples of all continents, and to extend its contacts with the Communist and revolutionary-democratic parties of the young national states.

2. Taking guidance from the Marxist-Leninist general line worked out by collective effort at the 1957 and 1960 meetings, the world Communist movement has, in the period under review, consolidated and extended its positions as the most influential political force of our time.

In the period under review, the international activities of the CC, CPSU were invariably aimed at enhancing fraternal solidarity with the Communist and Workers' parties, working together with

them for the implementation of the general line of the world Communist movement and promoting the unity of the great army of Communists all over the world.

Congress considers it necessary to continue steering a course towards cementing the world Communist movement, promoting united action by all fraternal parties in the struggle against imperialism, their common enemy, for the victory of peace, democracy, national liberation and socialism.

Congress believes that multilateral and bilateral meetings of fraternal parties, regular exchanges of opinion and comradely discussions of current issues constitute a useful practice, which has proved its worth, and at once, a good way of cementing the unity of the Communist movement. Like the majority of the fraternal parties, the CPSU considers it desirable to convene a new international conference of Communist and Workers' parties when the conditions for it are ripe.

Congress approves the line and practical measures of the CC, CPSU aimed at adjusting the differences in the world Communist movement on the principled basis of Marxism-Leninism, the 1957 Declaration and the 1960 Statement.

Congress approves the activities of the CC, CPSU and the concrete measures aimed at adjusting the differences with the Communist Party of China on the principled basis of Marxism-Leninism. Congress expresses confidence that our parties, and the peoples of our countries will eventually overcome the difficulties and march shoulder to shoulder in the struggle for the common great revolutionary cause.

Strict observance of the norms of relations between the parties, of the principles of equality, independence and non-interference in each other's internal affairs, as defined in the 1960 Statement, in an imperative condition for the cohesion of Communist ranks. The CPSU opposes hegemonic trends in the Communist movement and advocates genuine equality and fraternal relations between all parties stemming from the principles of proletarian internationalism.

The politico-ideological cohesion of the Communist ranks, for which the CPSU will continue to work perseveringly, presupposes uncompromising struggle by the Marxist-Leninists against Right-wing and "Left-wing" revisionism. Deviations to "left" or right from the Marxist-Leninist line are doubly dangerous when associated with nationalism and hegemonic ambition.

It is a most important factor conditioning further progress of world communism that the new problems arising in world development and in the practice of the revolutionary movement should be worked out creatively on the basis of Marxist-Leninist theory.

3. The balance of forces in the world keeps changing in favor of

socialism, and the working-class and national-liberation movements. At the same time, the period under review is marked by an expansion of imperialist aggression and greater activity by the reactionaries. The deepening of the general crisis of captalism, and the exacerbation of its contradictions impel imperialism to greater adventurism and increase the danger it presents to the peoples, to peace and social progress. More and more frequently, imperialism seeks an escape in armed provocation, all kinds of conspiracies and outright armed intervention.

The period under review has confirmed the conclusion of the Moscow 1957 and 1960 meetings that the aggressive nature of imperialism has not changed. Recent events show that the imperialists have stepped up their subversive activities against countries that have taken the path of social progress. U.S. imperialism is the chief reactionary force of our time and it has assumed the role of world policeman. It interferes brazenly in the internal affairs of many countries and peoples in Africa, Asia and Latin America, scorning their sovereignty, seeking to crush the national-liberation movement by force of arms and restore the colonial order, and persists in its provocations against revolutionary Cuba. The aggressive nature of U.S. imperialism is manifested most clearly in its criminal war against the people of Vietnam. The U.S. aggressors brutally bomb peaceful towns and villages in the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, and use napalm, poison gas and other means of extermination against the population of South Vietnam.

West Germany, where the forces of revanchism and militarism are growing with the encouragement of the U.S. imperialists, has become a dangerous seat of international tension. These forces stubbornly seek access to nuclear weapons in order to use them for their own revenge-seeking aggressive ends.

The international situation calls imperatively for the unity of all anti-war, anti-imperialist forces, and in the first place for the unity of the socialist world system, all the contingents of the world Communist, working-class and national-liberation movement, the peace-loving nations and states, and all champions of peace, irrespective of their political views and world outlook. To prevent a further aggravation of international tension, to secure lasting peace and the free development of peoples, it is essential that broad sections of the people in the peace-loving countries, all political parties and public movements, repel the aggressors firmly.

4. The Communist Party of the Soviet Union proceeds in its foreign policy from the basic interest of the Soviet people, its internationalist revolutionary duty to the fraternal socialist countries and the working people of all countries. The foreign policy of the Soviet Union, together with that of other socialist countries, is

aimed at securing favorable international conditions for the building of socialism and communism; cementing the unity and cohesion, the friendship and fraternity of the socialist countries; supporting the national-liberation movements and maintaining all-round cooperation with the young developing countries; upholding consistently the principle of the peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems, repelling firmly the aggressive forces of imperialism and delivering mankind from a new world war.

To consolidate and protect peace, it is necessary to build up continuously the might of the peace-loving forces, to promote their activity and enlist the cooperation of the broad masses in the struggle for peace. The socialist countries have a special role to play in safeguarding the peace. Our Party is convinced that the conclusion of the world Communist movement that it is possible to bridle the aggressor and avert a new world war, is correct.

The Soviet Union has always favored, and will continue to favor, normal relations with all countries and the settlement of international issues by negotiation, not by war. It should be emphatically stressed, however, that the principle of peaceful coexistence does not apply to relations between the oppressor and the oppressed, between colonialists and the victims of colonial oppression.

The CPSU gives full support, and will continue to do so, to the just struggle of liberation waged by the heroic people of Vietnam. It will continue to render the people of Vietnam political, material and moral support. It is the firm and consistent stand of the CPSU, of the Soviet people as a whole, that the U.S. aggression in Vietnam must be ended, that U.S. troops must be withdrawn from South Vietnam and that the people of Vietnam must be given the right to settle their domestic affairs on their own.

Considering that the aggressive forces of imperialism are aggravating international tension and creating seats of war, the CPSU will continue to enhance the vigilance of the Soviet people, and reinforce the defense potential of the USSR, so that the Soviet Armed Forces should be ever ready to reliably defend the gains of socialism and administer a crushing rebuff to any imperialist aggressor.

Congress fully approves the activities of the Central Committee of the CPSU and the Soviet Government in the field of foreign policy, and supports the program of measures advanced in the Central Committee Report, measures designed to settle the key problems of world politics in the interest of the peoples, to strengthen world peace and international security.

II

1. Congress notes with satisfaction that in the period under review, implementing the historic tasks set by the CPSU Program, the working class, the collective-farm peasantry and the intelligentsia have achieved major progress in economic and cultural development and in improving the people's living standard. Having fulfilled the Seven-Year Plan, the country made an important step forward in building the material and technical basis of communism.

Industrial output has grown substantially. Key branches of the economy have been retooled. The power, chemical, oil and gas, engineering and instrument-making industries have been developing at priority rates. The output of foodstuffs, manufactured consumer goods, domestic appliances and cultural wares has registered a considerable increase. The greater interest working people take in production, the introduction of new machines, instruments and means of mechanization and automation in all branches of industry, have made for a considerable increase in labor productivity. Thanks to the achievements of science and industry, the Soviet Armed Forces have been equipped with the latest weapons. It is essential to continue improving the production of means of defense, so that the Soviet Army should have the most modern and powerful weapons.

The Soviet Union's share in world industrial output has grown. The Soviet Union has consolidated its positions and scored fresh victories in the economic competition with the capitalist countres. The past years have confirmed that extended reproduction in our country, maintained at high and stable rates, is a law-governed feature of the socialist economy.

The living standard of the working people has improved. Major steps have been taken to adjust and raise wages and salaries in all branches of the economy. Taxes have been abolished or reduced for a large section of the working people, benefits and pensions have been raised for certain population brackets, and pensions have been introduced for collective farmers. A seven-hour day, and a six-hour day for some categories of the labor force, has been introduced. Almost as much housing has been built in seven years as in all Soviet years up to 1958.

Imposing headway has been made in the fields of culture, education and health. The number of people with a higher or secondary education has grown by nearly 50 per cent, and the number of research workers has more than doubled.

The measures taken by the Party, particularly after the October 1964 and subsequent plenary meetings of the CC, CPSU, are conducive to the rapid economic and cultural advancement of all the

Union republics, extension of economic bonds and mutual assistance between them, and further consolidation of the friendship of the peoples of the USSR. All this again shows graphically to the whole world that socialism alone assures possibilities for the all-round development of the peoples.

Congress notes that, despite major successes in the development of the socialist economy, some of the targets of the seven-year plan were not reached. Assignments were not carried out for the output of some chemical goods, machines and fuel. There is a lag in agricultural output, which had an adverse effect on the rate of growth of the light and food industries, preventing the realization to the full extent of the planned measures aimed at raising the people's standard of living.

The rate of growth of production and labor productivity has slowed down somewhat in recent years. Returns from production assets and capital investment have diminished. There were delays in starting up new enterprises in some branches, and many of the newly-built factories have not attained their rated capacity. As a result, the rate of growth of the national income fell short of the Seven-Year Plan target.

These shortcomings are due to deficiencies in economic management, the underestimation of scientific methods of management and of cost accounting, incomplete use of material and moral stimuli, certain miscalculations in planning and a subjectivist approach to some economic problems. The bad harvests in 1963 and 1965 also had an adverse effect on our economic development. It should also be noted that the aggravated international situation necessitated additional outlays for defense.

2. Congress fully approves the decision of the March and September 1965 plenary meetings of the CC, CPSU, which pinpointed the reasons for the deficiencies in economic development and worked out a new approach to economic management. The new system of management creates more favorable conditions for the rational use of the country's gigantic productive forces, for a rapid rise of the nation's well-being and the full utilization of the advantages of the socialist system.

Congress instructs Party, government and economic organizations to adhere consistently to the principles of the economic policy elaborated by the Party, providing for a combination of centralized branch management with the extension of the rights of the Union republics, the accentuation of economically efficient methods of management, radical improvement of planning, the extension of the economic independence and initiative of enterprises and their employees and the stimulation of their material interest in the results of their work. The realization of the new system of planning

and economic stimulation is one of the most important tasks for the immediate future.

Under the new conditions, it is also necessary to lay greater stress on the moral stimuli of production, on strengthening labor discipline, cultivating the attitude that labor is a patriotic duty and instilling in every employee a sense of personal responsibility for the state of affairs at his factory, building project or office, and to make most of the extensive opportunity offered for this by the new system of economic stimulation of production.

Congress instructs the industrial ministers to ensure a more rapid application of scientific and technical achievements in production, stronger ties between factories and research and designing organizations, and utmost development of specialization and cooperation in production. Party, government and economic bodies must work perseveringly to strengthen state discipline, root out bureaucratic methods of management and extirpate a narrow departmental approach and parochialism.

3. The Five-Year Plan for the economic development of the USSR in 1966—1970 is an important stage in the effort of the Party and the Soviet people to build the material and technical basis of communism, and further to strengthen the economic and defense potential of the country. Congress considers that the main economic task of these five years is to secure a further considerable growth of industry and high stable rates of agricultural development through the maximum utilization of scientific and technical achievements, the industrial development of all social production, the enhancement of its efficiency and of the productivity of labor, and thereby a further substantial rise in the living standard and cultural level of the people.

In the new five-year period it is essential to make better use of all available opportunities of securing higher rates of economic growth. The productive forces built up by the heroic labor of the Soviet people make it possible, while continuing to develop heavy industry, to extend more rapidly those branches of social production which cater directly to the material and cultural needs of the people.

Congress considers it necessary in the new five-year period to secure:

—more rapid growth of social production, the national income and the real incomes of the urban and rural population than in the preceding five years;

—an approximation of the rates of growth of the production of means of production and the production of consumer goods;

—continued rapid development of industry, which priority to power, metallurgy, engineering, chemicals and electronics;

—a considerable increase in the output of farm products;

—faster scientific and technological progress and a higher efficiency of social production;

—further retooling of transport and communications;

—an increase of approximately 50 per cent as against the preceding five years in capital investments in the economy, including a 100 per cent increase in investments by the state in agriculture; greater returns from investments and a substantial improvement of basic proportions in the economy through more effective use of the material resources and funds allocated for economic development;

—a considerable extension of construction, an increase in the capacity of the building industry, a reduction in building schedules, an improvement in the quality of building and assembly, and a reduction in building costs;

—an improvement in the distribution of the productive forces and a comprehensive development and specialization of the economies of the Union republic and economic regions; accelerated development of the economy of the eastern parts of the country;

—further consolidation of economic ties with the fraternal socialist countries and the developing states; promotion of mutually advantageous trade with the capitalist countries.

4. Congress attaches prime importance to the development of agriculture on the basis of the system of economic measures worked out by the March 1965 Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee. The chief means of increasing the output of farm products is to consistently intensify farming on the sound basis of mechanization, electrification and chemicalization, coupled with large-scale land betterment schemes in areas with unfavorable natural condition.

As before, the most important task in agriculture is to increase the production of grain. Raising per-hectare yields is decisive for speeding up the rate of agricultural development in general, and of grain production in particular. This calls for measures to increase soil fertility and improve farming practices both on a nation-wide scale and by each collective farm and state farm.

Quick progress in animal husbandry is to be ensured by boosting the output of field-farming and increasing the productivity of pastures.

Congress considers that both the collective and state-farm organization of socialized economy should be further strengthened and promoted in order to attain the plan targets for the growth of agricultural output. More importance should be attached to state farms as model socialist enterprises in the countryside. Congress instructs the Central Committee to examine the question of setting up collective-farm and other cooperative bodies in the districts, regions, territories, republics and in the center.

5. Congress considers that in the coming five years a further rise of the standard of living must be ensured by raising wages and salaries, increasing incomes from work at collective farms, establishing guaranteed payment for labor at all collective farms, increasing cash payments and benefits from social funds, further improving the pension scheme for industrial and office workers and collective farmers, and considerably improving utility and cultural services for both the urban and rural population.

As the output of consumer goods grows and commodity and financial resources accumulate, measures must be taken to reduce state retail prices of various foodstuffs and manufactured goods, primarily children's goods.

Congress sees it as one of the central tasks to go on expanding the construction of houses and public-service and cultural establishments in town and country.

To create better conditions for work and leisure, a working week with two days off without any reduction of the existing weekly number of working hours shall be gradually introduced as enterprises become ready to operate under the new system.

6. A top-priority task of Party and economic organizations, of all workers in industry, transport, agriculture and construction is to ensure a high rate of growth of labor productivity through the technical re-equipment of all branches of the national economy, broad utilization of advanced methods of work, and fuller use of latent resources. Scientifically organized production and the application of the latest achievements of science and technology must create increasingly favorable conditions of raising the productivity of labor of all workers. Economic bodies and Party organizations at enterprises must perseveringly steer a line towards the overall mechanization of production processes, consistent reduction of the share of manual labor, a more rational utilization of manpower, and broad introduction of scientific organization of labor.

Congress considers that Party, government, economic, trade union and Komsomol bodies must concentrate on boosting the efficacy of production, particularly on improving the utilization of production assets, on bring new factories and shops to full capacity operation quicker.

Congress sets it as one of the most pressing tasks to improve radically the quality of goods, prolong the service life of machines and increase their reliability, insofar as our industry has already attained a degree of technical maturity where it can manufacture machines, instruments, apparatus and other items whose technical and economic specifications fully accord with the growing requirements of the national economy and the world market.

7. Congress emphasizes that at a time when our country is build-

ing communism on a broad front, increasing importance attaches to the all-round education of the new man, to the further development of public education and culture.

Steps must be taken to achieve a marked expansion of the material basis of culture, raise the standard of all forms of cultural activity and improve the work of clubs, Houses of Culture and libraries. More stadiums and other sports amenities should be built, particularly at collective farms and state farms. This must become a concern of the whole Party, of all its organizations, of local government bodies, trade unions, the Komsomol, and all working people in town and country.

The transition to universal secondary education for young people is to be completed, in the main, in the next five years. The quality and content of general, vocational and polytechnical instruction should meet modern requirements. Schools must inculcate communist moral principles in children, and improve the aesthetic and physical education of the rising generation. The standard of the pedagogical science should be raised. It is necessary to supply schools with more facilities, provide them with modern equipment and ensure that the funds allocated for public education are used judiciously and fully.

The improvement of the general cultural and technical knowledge of the people is inseparable from the further development of higher and specialized secondary schools. At the present stage their prime task is to improve the training of specialists. Soviet specialists should be armed with Marxist-Leninist theory, keep abreast of the latest achievements of science and technology, have the necessary economic training and be able competently to solve the problems of scientific and technological progress, of the scientific organization of labor and production management.

Fuller use should be made of the press, radio, television and cinema in order to mould the Marxist-Leninist outlook of the Soviet people and to promote their political and cultural development. National and local newspapers and magazines and publishing throughout the country should be improved.

8. Congress attaches great importance to the development of Soviet science, which is increasingly coming forward as a direct productive force of society. The work of our scientists should be directed towards solving further pressing problems of modern science, towards speeding scientific and technological progress, towards introducing research findings into the national economy as early as possible and achieving higher rates of growth of labor productivity.

In the social sciences, one of the most important tasks is to study problems of economy, philosophy, sociology, history and law

in close connection with the practice of building communism.

9. Communist construction in the USSR and the all-round improvement of Soviet socialist society are the main contribution made by the CPSU and the Soviet people as a whole to the world revolutionary process, to the struggle of the peoples against imperialism, for peace, national independence, democracy and socialism.

The international significance of communist construction in the USSR is that it increases the economic, political and defense might of the whole socialist system and helps to spread and assert the ideas of socialism throughout the world.

III

1. The Communist Party of the Soviet Union came to its 23rd Congress united and equipped with vast experience in directing communist construction and the home and foreign policy of the country. The CPSU is the leading and guiding force of Soviet society. Armed with the Marxist-Leninist doctrine, it confidently leads the Soviet people in communist construction, successfully accomplishing its role of organizer and political leader of the entire Soviet people. It is linked by close bonds of internationalist solidarity with the fraternal Marxist-Leninist parties and the revolutionary democratic forces.

The 23rd Congress notes with satisfaction that the Central Committee, expressing the will of the Party, has been resolutely enforcing strict observance of the Leninist standards of Party life and the principles of collective leadership. In this respect the October and November 1964 plenums of the Central Committee were of fundamental importance. The Party corrected the mistakes springing from a subjectivist approach to the solution of important economic and political problems, from unjustified reorganizations of the Party, government and economic apparatus.

2. Congress approves the measures worked out by the Central Committee with a view to improving the Party's organizing work, intensifying ideological work among Communists and other working people, and promoting inner-Party democracy, and considers that these measures should be consistently implemented. Criticism and self-criticism should be encouraged. The development of inner-Party democracy should go hand in hand with the tightening of Party discipline and increased responsibility on the part of Communists for the state of affairs in their organizations and in the Party as a whole.

Congress considers that a scientific approach, team work and efficiency in directing communist construction and in pursuing the home and foreign policy of the Soviet state, which have become

an established method of the Central Committee, should continue to underlie its activities.

3. Congress notes that the growing prestige of the CPSU increases the striving of Soviet people to tie up their lives with the Party ideologically and organizationally, to join its ranks. At the same time Congress considers that some Party organizations were wrong in violating the principle of individual selection, in putting smaller demands on those joining the CPSU. Congress makes it binding upon all Party organizations to take a more thoughtful approach to enrolment in the Party. Eligible for Party membership are foremost and politically conscious workers, collective farmers and intellectuals active in communist construction, who should be admitted into the CPSU in strict accordance with the Party Rules. In the Party's social composition, workers should continue to hold the leading position.

It is a law of Party life, of every Party organization, to maintain the purity of the Party ranks, to ensure that every Communist worthily bears and justifies the name of member of the Leninist Party. The Party will continue to free itself from unworthy people, from those who infringe the Party Program and Rules, who by their behavior compromise the name of Communist.

4. Congress considers that all Party organizations should focus their attention on work for the successful fulfilment of the new Five-Year Plan of economic development. Party organizations must see to it that the principles of socialist economic management, the new principles of planning and economic stimulation of production evolved by the March and September plenums of the CPSU Central Committee, are consistently implemented. However, they should use the organizational and educational methods typical of them, allowing no substitution for or petty patronage of local government or economic bodies.

Congress notes with satisfaction that the rural district Party committees, which have been reinstated as full-fledged political bodies, have firmly regained their position as militant and authoritative executors of Party policy in the countryside.

Special importance attaches to enhancing the militancy of the primary Party organizations. Party committees should firmly rely on these organizations for support and should help them to organize inner-Party activity and carry on political work among the masses.

5. Congress emphasizes that the growing magnitude and complexity of the problems of communist construction require a more exacting approach to the selection, promotion and education of personnel. Leading positions should be assigned to people who are devoted to the ideas of communism, know their job, are always in eouch with the masses and know how to organize them for the

fulfilment of the tasks in hand. Young energetic people should be promoted boldly and their energy should be properly combined with the experience of older personnel. The adoption of the new system of socialist economic management makes it imperative for people in leading positions to master methods of economic guidance.

6. Congress attaches great importance to the correct organization of control and verification of fulfilment of the decisions of the Party and the government. Party organizations must direct the work of People's Control bodies and render them all the necessary assistance. The role of the Party Control Committee of the CPSU Central Committee and the Party Commissions of local Party bodies in making Communists more aware of their responsibility for the implementation of Party policy should be enhanced.

7. Congress underscores the importance of strengthening the Soviet state and carrying forward socialist democracy. A task of special importance is to increase the role of the Soviets of Working People's Deputies, so that they can fully exercise their powers in economic and cultural development and in verifying fulfilment, show more initiative in settling planng, financial and land questions, in directing local industries and social, cultural and everyday services for the population. The Soviets must enhance the responsibility of executive bodies, deputies and officials to the people, make their sessions more active and submit to them a wider range of questions.

Congress considers that the trade unions should play a bigger role in solving problems of economic development, that they should take a more active part in drawing up state plans and in managing production. The duty of the trade unions is to extend socialist emulation, improve educational work among the people and do more for the organization of the labor and living conditions of industrial and office workers.

Congress instructs Party organizations to pay special attention to the communist education of Komsomol members and other young Soviet people. One of the key tasks is to educate Komsomol members and other young people on the basis of the revolutionary, labor and battle traditions of the Soviet people and the Communist Party. It is necessary to continue educating young men and women in the spirit of lofty ideological conviction and of loyalty to the cause of the Party, in the spirit of love of the socialist Motherland, of preparedness to defend her, of fraternal friendship with the working people of socialist countries, of international solidarity with all exploited and oppressed peoples. The Komsomol should play a bigger part in economic and cultural development, and in the country's political life. The Party nucleus in Komsomol organizations should be strengthened, and more Communists of Komsomol

age should work there and regard this as their most important Party assignment.

8. The CPSU maintains that further progress in communist construction largely depends upon the scale and standard of the ideological and political work of the Party among the people. The efficacy of the Party's ideological influence is inseparably linked up with its entire activity as the leading force of Soviet society. Ideological work should center on educating the people in a spirit of profound political awareness and a communist attitude to labor. A prime task of ideological work it to mobilize the working class, the peasants and the intellectuals for the energetic fulfilment of the Five-Year Plan of economic development, for the building of communist society in our country.

That the peoples of the Soviet Union have united in one fraternal family is a great achievement for the Communist Party and the Soviet Government. Congress instructs all Party committees to continue steadfastly implementing the Leninist national policy, educating all Soviet people in the spirit of Soviet patriotism and of respect for the best, progressive national traditions of the peoples of the USSR, in the spirit of friendship with the peoples of all fraternal socialist countries, with the working people of the whole world, and relentlessly combating all manifestations of nationalism and chauvinism.

9. Congress considers it a pressing task of Party organizations radically to improve the Marxist-Leninist education of Party members, to strengthen their ideological conviction, particularly that of young Communists. Greater emphasis should be laid on the ideological and political training of the Party cadre.

The entire system of Party education should be raised to the level of the tasks facing us at the present stage in communist construction. Congress makes it binding upon the ideological bodies of the Party and the corresponding government offices greatly to improve the teaching of Marxism-Leninism at institutions of higher learning and other educational establishments, raise the ideological and theoretical standards of the training of students and ensure that this training is closely linked up with present-day problems of social development, with the latest achievements in science and technology.

The dissemination of Marxist-Leninist ideas is the foundation of the entire ideological work of the Party. In all of the Party's activities, it is vastly important to carry forward Marxist-Leninist theory in a creative spirit, on the basis of the experence of communist construction and the development of the world revolutionary movement and to combat all manifestations of bourgeois ideology.

10. Congress attaches great importance to the development of

literature and art based on socialist realism. The Party expects creative artists to produce new noteworthy works that would have a strong appeal thanks to their discerning and truthful portrayal of life, the force of ideological inspiration, high craftsmanship, help actively to form the spiritual make-up of the builders of communism, and help to instil in Soviet people great moral qualities, devotion to communist ideals, a sense of civic duty, Soviet patriotism and socialist internationalism.

It is necessary to ensure that the creative unions play a bigger role in strengthening the link between art and the life of the people, in increasing the responsibility of Soviet artists before society for their work, in educating them in a spirit of fidelity to the Leninist principles of partisanship and service in the people's cause.

11. Congress instructs Party organizations seriously to improve political work among the masses. It is necessary to explain Party policy thoroughly and in popular terms; no acute problem should be avoided, the desires and cultural requirements of the people should receive sympathetic attention and the improved cultural and educational standards of Soviet men and women taken into account. Political agitation should be based on extensively and systematically informing the population about the country's political, economic and cultural life and the international situation. Party functionaries, statesmen, economic executives and other public figures should speak regularly before the people on questions of the home and foreign policy of the Soviet state, the work of Party, government and public organizations. Leaders of the local Soviets and executives of public education and health agencies, trade organizations, the municipal economy and the service industry should also speak before the people.

Indifference to political issues, the survivals of private ownership mentality and philistine sentiments, and manifestations of a nihilist attitude to the ideals and gains of socialism must be consistently combated.

Congress draws the attention of Party organizations to the fact that ideological work is being conducted in an atmosphere of sharp class struggle between the two opposing socio-political systems of the world. The interests of socialism and communism require greater revolutionary vigilance on the part of Communists and other Soviet people, and the exposure of the ideological subversive activities of imperialism against the Soviet Union and other socialist countries.

★ ★ ★

The 23rd Congress of the CPSU has demonstrated the monolithic unity and high morale of the Party, Bolshevik loyalty to

principle, efficiency, intolerance of shortcomings, and readiness to do everything to accomplish the far-reaching new tasks in hand.

Congress calls upon all Soviet Communists, workers, collective farmers and intellectuals to mark the coming great events—the 50th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution and the 100th anniversary of the birth of Vladimir Ilyich Lenin — with a nation-wide socialist emulation movement, a movement for communist work, with further achievements in communist construction, with a fitting contribution by our country towards strengthening the power of world socialism, to the cause of the victorious development of the world revolutionary movement.

Congress is confident that the new plans drawn up by the 23rd Congress will be successfully put into practice and that our country will take a further giant stride towards communism.

Forward to the triumph of communism under the invincible banner of Marxism-Leninism!

RESOLUTION*

ON PARTIAL CHANGES IN THE CPSU RULES

The 23rd Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union resolves to introduce the following amendments in the CPSU Rules:

1. In order further to improve the qualitative composition of those admitted to the CPSU and to raise the responsibility of Party organizations for admission into the Party of new members, to establish that:

a) young people up to the age of 23 inclusive join the Party only through the Lenin Young Communist League. Members of the LYCL joining the CPSU submit a recommendation of a District Committee or a City Committee of the LYCL which is equivalent to the recommendation of one Party member;

b) those recommending to the Party must have a Party standing of not less than five years;

c) a ruling of the primary Party organization on admission to the Party is regarded as adopted if not less than two-thirds of the Party members attending the meeting have voted for it.

2. Proceeding from the tasks of further strengthening Party discipline and raising the responsibility of Communists for the fulfilment of the duties prescribed by the Rules:

a) add to the introductory section of the Rules a clause to the effect that the Party purges itself of individuals who violate the Program, the Rules of the CPSU, or by their behavior compromise the lofty title of Communist;

b) establish that a decision of a primary Party organization on the expulsion of a Communist from the Party takes effect after endorsement by a District Committee or by a City Committee of the Party;

c) abolish the practice of reducing Party members to the status of candidate members as a Party penalty.

3. Heeding the proposals of many Party committees and Communists, and taking account of the fact that during elections the composition of Party Committees is regularly renewed with due regard for concrete local conditions and professional and political qualifications of candidates, and that in practice regulation on these questions had not justified itself, regard as inexpedient the retention in the Rules of the CPSU of the clauses which deter-

*Pravda, April 9, 1966.

mine the norms of renewal and the principle of changing the composition of Party committees and secretaries of Party organizations. In this connection, omit Clause 25 of the Rules. Make an addendum to Clause 24 that during elections to all Party committees, from the primary organizations to the Central Committee of the CPSU, there shall be observed the principle of systematic renewal of their composition and the principle of continuity of leadership.

4. Supplement the section of the Rules concerning primary Party organizations with a new clause establishing that Party committees of primary organizations numbering more than 1,000 Communists may, with the permission of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of a Union Republic, be granted the rights of a District Party Committee on issues concerning admission to the CPSU, registration of Party members and candidates, and examination of cases of violation of Party discipline by Communists. Within these organizations, if necessary, Party committees may be set up in shops, while Party organizations in production sections may be granted the rights of a primary party organization. Party committees enjoying the rights of a District Party Committee shall be elected for a term of two years.

5. Supplement Clause 57 of the Rules with the provision that Party Committees may be established in state farms numbering 50 Communists and more.

6. Acting on the suggestion made by some Party organizations to the effect that the Rules of the CPSU should determine in a more differentiated way the periodicity of meetings in primary Party organizations, depending on the conditions of their work, structure and membership, establish that in the primary Party organizations with as many as 300 members where there are shop branches, general Party meetings shall be held at least once every two months.

7. Establish in the Rules that Communist Party congresses in all Union Republics shall be held at least once every four years.

8. Make provisions in the Rules that in the period between Party congresses the Central Committee may, when it deems necessary, convene an All-Union Party conference to discuss urgent issues of Party policy, while the Central Committees of the Communist Parties in the Union Republics may convene Republican Party conferences.

Procedures of an All-Union Party Conference shall be fixed by the CPSU Central Committee, while those of a Republican Party conference, by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the respective Union Republic.

9. Make provisions in the Rules that the Central Committee of

the Communist Party of the Soviet Union elects a Political Bureau for guiding the work of the Party between Plenums of the Central Committee; a Secretariat for supervising the current work, mainly in the field of selecting personnel and verifying the carrying out of Party resolutions. The Central Committee elects the General Secretary of the CPSU.

Omit the provision in Clause 39 of the Rules stipulating that the Central Committee sets up a Central Committee Bureau for the Russian Federation.

10. Omit mention about economic councils in Clause 59 of the Rules.

STATEMENT*

ON U.S. AGGRESSION IN VIETNAM

Expressing the will and sentiments of Soviet Communists, of the Soviet people as a whole, the 23rd Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union emphatically condemns the brutal aggression of the United States of America against the fraternal people of Vietnam.

By waging a sanguinary war in Vietnam, the U.S. imperialists strive to suppress the national-liberation struggle of the people of South Vietnam and the other peoples of South-East Asia, and infringe openly upon the sovereignty of a socialist state, the Democratic Republic of Vietnam. Flouting the elementary standards of international law, the U.S. military have recourse to the most savage and inhuman means of warfare. The U.S. aircraft bomb and strafe North Vietnamese towns and villages, destoying factories, homes, schools and hospitals, and sowing death among the civilian population.

Some 250,000 U.S. troops are taking part in the criminal war against the South Vietnamese patriots. By involving in their aggression their allies in military blocs, the U.S. imperialists create an immediate and grave threat to the security and sovereignty of other countries; they brazenly interfere in the affairs of Laos, endeavor to exert political and military pressure on Cambodia, and add to international tension.

The U.S. rulers want to disguise the true meaning of their acts with hypocritical assertions that they "defend freedom," counteract "communist expansion," and so on and so forth. But nobody will believe this. By its aggression in Vietnam, the United States has covered itself with shame, which it will never be able to live down. The Vietnam adventure of U.S. imperialism is severely denounced by all progressive, democratic forces of the world. Increasingly broader sections of the world public join the campaign in support of the just cause of the people of Vietnam. Protest against this aggressive war and political isolation of the aggressor is becoming more and more obvious.

The Soviet Communists and our entire people pay the tribute of admiration to the courage and fortitude of the Vietnamese patriots. They are confident that no matter what atrocities the

*Pravda, April 9, 1966.

interventionists may resort to they will never succeed in breaking the will of the Vietnamese people, who are waging a sacred and just struggle for freedom, independence and unity, for the right to shape their own destiny. Their heroic and just struggle will go down in history as a splendid example of unbending courage, endurance and the will to win.

The Soviet Union, the other socialist countries and the international working-class and Communist movement have always rendered, and continue to render, extensive and all-round help and support to the Vietnamese people. On behalf of the whole Party, of all Soviet people, the 23rd Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union strongly demands that the U.S. aggression against Vietnam be stopped and all interventionist troops be withdrawn from that country. A continued aggression, which the U.S. militarists want to extend also to other South-East Asian countries, is fraught with most dangerous consequences for world peace.

Congress earnestly declares: in escalating the disgraceful war against the people of Vietnam, the aggressor will encounter increasingly greater support for Vietnam from the Soviet Union and its other socialist friends and brothers. The people of Vietnam shall be the master of the whole of their homeland. Nobody will ever succeed in extinguishing the torch of socialism held high by the Democratic Republic of Vietnam.

The 23rd Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union considers that the Vietnamese question can be solved only through recognition of the just demands of the Government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam:

The United States must forthwith cease bombing the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and end its other acts of aggression against the DRV;

The troops of the United States and its allies must be withdrawn from South Vietnamese territory;

The National Liberation Front of South Vietnam must be recognized as the sole lawful representative of the South Vietnamese population;

The U.S. Government must stop all interference in the internal affairs of Vietnam and undeviatingly observe the 1954 Geneva Agreements.

The 23rd Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union solemnly declares its fraternal solidarity with the heroic Vietnamese people, the Working People's Party of Vietnam and the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam; it calls on all Communist and Workers' parties to work still more persistently for

united action in the struggle against the U.S. aggression in Vietnam and rendering effective aid and support to the embattled Vietnamese people.

The Soviet people also express their solidarity with the peoples of Laos and Cambodia, and demand that the United States strictly observe the Geneva Agreements of 1954 and 1962.

It has never been more important than today for the socialist countries and all Communist parties to show their sense of internationalist responsibility in full measure and to join hands in united action, rallying all progressive, democratic and peace-loving forces to their side in order to stop the imperialist aggression.

May all the Communists of the world, all champions of progress and democracy, all honest men and women who cherish peace, justice, freedom and the independence of the peoples, raise their voice in protest, and act still more vigorously, against the aggressive actions of the U.S. imperialists in Vietnam! May the movement in protest against the U.S. aggression, and in support of the struggle of the Vietnamese people for independence, freedom and the salvation of their country, spread in length and breadth to all corners of the globe!

United in a single front, the forces of peace and progress can and must halt the U.S. aggression in Vietnam.

Hands off Vietnam!

The just cause of the Vietnamese people shall triumph!

DECISION*

ON THE DRAFT OF THE 23RD CPSU CONGRESS ON THE FIVE-YEAR PLAN OF ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT OF THE USSR FOR 1966-70

Having heard and discussed the report of Comrade A. N. Kosygin, Chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, on the Directives of the 23rd CPSU Congress on the Five-Year Plan of Economic Development of the USSR for 1966-70, the 23rd Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union resolves:

Approve the Directives for the Five-Year Plan of Economic Development of the USSR for 1966-70.

Entrust the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers with working out a Plan of Economic Development of the USSR for 1966-70 on the basis of these Directives.

In the process of working out the Five-Year Plan of Economic Development of the USSR for 1966-70 consider the proposals made at Party Congesses in the Republics and conferences in Territories and Regions, at meetings of primary Party organizations and public meetings of the working people, and also proposals submitted by individual workers, collective famers, specialists and scientists.

COMMUNIQUE*

ON CPSU CENTRAL COMMITTEE PLENARY MEETING

A Plenary Meeting of the Central Committee of the CPSU, elected by the 23rd Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, was held on April 8, 1966.

The Plenary Meeting elected the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the CPSU, composed as follows:

Full Members of the Political Bureau—Comrades L. I. Brezhnev, G. I. Voronov, A. P. Kirilenko, A. N. Kosygin, K. T. Mazurov, A. Y. Pelse, N. V. Podgorny, D. S. Polyansky, M. A. Suslov, A. N. Shelepin, P. E. Shelest.

Alternate Members of the Political Bureau—Comrades V. V. Grishin, P. N. Demichev, D. A. Kunayev, P. M. Masherov, V. P. Mzhavanadze, S. R. Rashidov, F. D. Ustinov and V. V. Sherbitsky.

The Plenary Meeting elected Comrade L. I. Brezhnev General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee; Comrades Y. V. Andropov, P. N. Demichev, I. V. Kapitonov, A. P. Kirilenko, F. D. Kulakov, B. N. Ponomarev, A. P. Rudakov, M. A. Suslov, D. F. Ustinov and A. N. Shelepin were elected Secretaries of the CPSU Central Committee.

The Plenary Meeting elected Comrade A. Y. Pelse, Chairman of the Party Control Committee of the CPSU Central Committee.

IN THE CENTRAL AUDITING COMMISSION OF THE CPSU

The Central Auditing Commission of the CPSU met on April 8 and elected Comrade G. F. Sizov as its Chairman.

THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE SOVIET UNION ELECTED BY THE 23rd CONGRESS

Members of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union

1. Abrasimov, P. A.
2. Alexandrov, A. P.
3. Andropov, Y. V.
4. Antonov, S. A.
5. Aristov, A. B.
6. Askarov, A.

*Pravda, April 9, 1966.

7. Afanasyev, S. A.
8. Akhundov, V. Y.
9. Bagramyan, I. Kh.
10. Baibakov, N. K.
11. Basov, A. V.
12. Batitsky, P. F.
13. Beisebayev, M.
14. Beloborodov, A. P.
15. Benediktov, I. A.
16. Beshchev, B. P.
17. Bodyul, I. I.
18. Borodin, A. M.
19. Borodin, P. D.
20. Brezhnev, L. I.
21. Butoma, B. E.
22. Vasilyev, N. F.
23. Vatchenko, A. F.
24. Vashchenko, G. I.
25. Vershinin, K. A.
26. Volkov, A. P.
27. Voronov, G. I.
28. Voronov, F. D.
29. Voroshilov, K. E.
30. Gaganova, V. I.
31. Galanshin, K. I.
32. Garbuzov, V. F.
33. Georgiyev, A. V.
34. Gorshkov, S. G.
35. Goryachev, F. S.
36. Grechko, A. A.
37. Grishin, V. V.
38. Grishin, K. N.
39. Grishmanov, I. A.
40. Gromyko, A. A.
41. Grushetsky, I. S.
42. Grushin, P. D.
43. Danialov, A. D.
44. Degtyarev, V. I.
45. Dementyev, P. V.
46. Demichev, P. N.
47. Dzhavakhishvili, G. D.
48. Dymshits, V. E.
49. Yegorychev, N. G.
50. Yelyutin, V. P.
51. Yepishev, A. A.
52. Yefremov, L. N.
53. Yefremov, M. T.
54. Yeshtokin, A. F.
55. Zhigalin, V. F.
56. Zakharov, M. V.
57. Zveryev, S. A.
58. Zimyanin, M. V.
59. Zolotukhin, G. S.
60. Zorin, V. A.
61. Ignatov, N. G.
62. Kavun, V. M.
63. Kazanets, I. P.
64. Kalmykov, V. D.
65. Kalnberzin, Y. E.
66. Kapitonov, I. V.
67. Katushev, K. F.
68. Keldysh, M. V.
69. Kirilenko, A. P.
70. Kirillin, V. A.
71. Kiselev, I. I.
72. Kiselev, T. Y.
73. Klimenko, V. K.
74. Kovalenko, A. V.
75. Kovanov, P. V.
76. Kozhevnikov, E. F.
77. Kozlov, V. I.
78. Kokarev, A. A.
79. Komyakhov, V. G.
80. Konev, I. S.
81. Konovalov, N. S.
82. Konotop, V. I.
83. Korneichuk, A. E.
84. Korotchenko, D. S.
85. Korytkov, N. G.
86. Kospanov, S. K.
87. Kostousov, A. I.
88. Kosygin, A. N.
89. Kochinyan, A. E.
90. Krakhmalev, M. K.
91. Krylov, N. I.
92. Kuznetsov, V. V.
93. Kulakov, F. D.
94. Kulichenko, L. S.
95. Kunayev, D. A.
96. Kurbanov, R.
97. Kebin, I. G.
98. Lapin, S. G.

99. Lesechko, M. A.
100. Lomako, P. F.
101. Lomonosov, V. G.
102. Lutak, I. K.
103. Mazurov, K. T.
105. Malinovsky, R. Y.
106. Manyakin, S. I.
107. Matskevich, V. V.
108. Masherov, P.M.
109. Mzhavanadze, V. P.
110. Mikoyan, A. I.
111. Mikhailov, N. A.
112. Monashev, L. G.
113. Moskalenko, K. S.
114. Nasriddinova, Y. S.
115. Nikolayev, K. K.
116. Nikolayeva, T. N.
117. Novikov, V. N.
118. Novikov, I. T.
119. Nuriyev, Z. N.
120. Ovezov, B.
121. Organov, N. N.
122. Pavlov, V. Y.
123. Pavlov, S. P.
124. Patolichev, N. S.
125. Paton, B. E.
126. Pegov, N. M.
127. Peive, Y. B.
128. Pelse, A. Y.
129. Podgorny, N. V.
130. Polyakov, I. E.
131. Polyansky, D. S.
132. Ponomarev, B. N.
133. Popov, G. I.
134. Popova, N. V.
135. Pospelov, P. N.
136. Pritytsky, S. O.
137. Promyslov, V. F.
138. Puzanov, A. M.
139. Pysin, K. G.
140. Rasulov, D.
141. Rashidov, S. R.
142. Rodionov, N. N.
143. Romanov, G. V.
144. Rudakov, A. P.
145. Rudenko, P. A.
146. Rudnev, K. N.
147. Rumyantsev, A. M.
148. Ryabikov, V. M.
149. Semichastny, V. E.
150. Sinitsa, M. S.
151. Skochilov, A. A.
152. Slavsky, E. P.
153. Smirnov, L. V.
154. Snechkus, A. Y.
155. Sobol, N. A.
156. Sokolov, T. I.
157. Solovyev, L. N.
158. Solomentsev, M. S.
159. Spiridonov, I. V.
160. Stepakov, V. I.
161. Struyev, A. I.
162. Surganov, F. A.
163. Suslov, M. A.
164. Tabeyev, F. A.
165. Titov, V. N.
166. Titov, F. E.
167. Tikhonov, N. A.
168. Tokarev, A. M.
169. Tolstikov, V. S.
170. Trapeznikov, S. P.
171. Ustinov, D. F.
172. Usubaliyev, T.
173. Fedoseyev, P. N.
174. Florentyev, L. Y.
175. Furtseva, E. A.
176. Khitrov, S. D.
177. Kholyavko, V. V.
178. Chervonenko, S. V.
179. Chernyshev, V. E.
180. Chuykov, V. I.
181. Churayev, V. M.
182. Shvernik, N. M.
183. Shevchenko, V. V.
184. Shelepin, A. N.
185. Shelest, P. E.
186. Shibayev, A. I.
187. Sheetikov, A. P.
188. Shkolnikov, A. M.
189. Shokin, A. I.
190. Sholokhov, M. A.
191. Shcherbitsky, V. V.

192. Shchetinin, S. N.
193. Yunak, I. Kh.
194. Yakubovsky, I. I.
195. Yasnov, M. A.

Alternate Members of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union

1. Abdurazakov, M.
2. Avramenko, S. S.
3. Alexeyevsky, E. E.
4. Alikhanov, E. N.
5. Amelko, N. N.
6. Angelyev, D. D.
7. Antonov, A. K.
8. Antonov, V. I.
9. Afanasyev, P. Y.
10. Bazovsky, V. N.
11. Bakayev, V. G.
12. Bannikov, N. V.
13. Belskikh, R. A.
14. Bochkarev, A. P.
15. Bratchenko, B. F.
16. Brekhov, K. I.
17. Bubnovsky, N. D.
18. Budyonny, S. M.
19. Bulgakov, A. A.
20. Vader, A. P.
21. Vladychenko, I. M.
22. Voronina, P. A.
23. Vorotnikov, S. I.
24. Vsevolozhsky, M. N.
25. Gapurov, M.
26. Georgadze, M. P.
27. Gerasimov, K. M.
28. Getman, A. L.
29. Golovchenko, F. P.
30. Gorodovikov, B. B.
31. Goryunov, D. P.
32. Gribachev, N. M.
33. Grushevoy, K. S.
34. Gustov, I. S.
35. Dementyeva, R. F.
36. Demchenko, V. A.
37. Denisov, G. Y.
38. Diorditsa, A. F.
39. Dobrik, V. F.
40. Dobrynin, A. F.
41. Doyenin, V. N.
42. Drozdenko, V. I.
43. Drygin, A. S.
44. Yegorov, A. G.
45. Yezhevsky, A. A.
46. Yelistratov, P. M.
47. Yeryomenko, A. I.
48. Yermin, L. B.
49. Zhuravlyova, M. I.
50. Zhurin, N. I.
51. Zarodov, K. I.
52. Zakharov, M. E.
53. Zotov, V. P.
54. Isayev, V. Y.
55. Islyukov, S. M.
56. Ishkov, A. A.
57. Kabaloyev, B. E.
58. Kazakov, M. I.
59. Kalchenko, N. T.
60. Kandrenkov, A. A.
61. Karlov, V. A.
62. Karpova, E. F.
63. Kakharov, A.
64. Klauson, V. I.
65. Klepikov, M. I.
66. Klimov, A. P.
67. Koval, I. G.
67. Kowal, I. G.
69. Kozlov, G. I.
70. Kozlov, N. T.
71. Kozyr, P. P.
72. Kolchina, O. P.
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RESOLUTION* OF THE 11TH CONGRESS OF AKEL

The 11th Congress of AKEL sat in Nicosia from March 3 to 6, 1966. After hearing and discussing the CC and CCC report the Congress unanimously approved it and adopted the following resolution.

THE WORLD POLITICAL SITUATION

The world political situation is characterized above all else by the tense struggle going on between the forces of peace and peaceful coexistence, of people's freedom and progress, on the one hand, and the forces of war, enslavement and regress, on the other. In an attempt to prevent the collapse and disintegration of the colonial system and to stop the people's fight for national freedom and progress, the imperialists headed by the USA brazenly interfere in the internal affairs of other countries, and engineer conspiracies and military coups against newly-independent states.

Open imperialist aggression, particularly by the USA, against the Congo, the Dominican Republic and Vietnam has aggravated the world political situation and increased the danger of the destruction of mankind through a thermonuclear war.

Furthermore, the imperialists have lately inspired and organized coups and overthrown the lawful governments in a number of countries. As for those countries where they cannot overthrow the government or interfere openly in national affairs, they try to penetrate into them by neo-colonialist methods, by investing capital and securing monopoly privileges that would enable them to continue robbing those countries of their wealth and to make them politically dependent, to prevent their socio-economic progress.

In Greece the imperialists and their agents, alarmed by the victory of the progressive and democratic forces which was opening up the prospect of democracy triumphing completely and becoming stabilized, engineered the July 15 coup, with the result that the lawful government elected by the people was overthrown and supplanted by a government of puppets of imperialism. The whole Greek people rose against the coup inspired from without. They put up unprecedented resistance to the infamous designs of the imperialists and their agents. The democratic forces of Greece,

*Slightly abridged.

carrying forward the heroic democratic traditions of the people, are rallying to uphold democracy and strike powerful blows at neo-fascism.

Despite the grave danger of unlawful, dictatorial solutions, Congress is convinced that the democratic people of Greece, joining their forces under the leadership of their most consistently militant forces, will in the end bring about new, free elections, the restoration of democracy and the resumption of normal democratic development.

The forces of peace, national freedom and social progress are fighting with increasing resolve against aggression, which imperils peace, and against neo-colonialist penetration. The peoples of the world, including the American people, are outraged by and condemn the U.S. imperialists' dirty war in Vietnam and brazen intervention in the Dominican Republic and elsewhere. They insist on ending imperialist activities that endanger the peoples and world peace.

The peoples and governments of the newly-independent countries are realizing more and more the necessity for rallying in a single front to defend their freedom and peace, their lives and future against imperialism, that sworn enemy of mankind. More and more, they are awakening to the danger of neo-colonialism, and are striving to free themselves from the foreign monopolies, from political, economic and military dependence, by developing their national economies, rejecting foreign bases and imperialist interference in their internal affairs and promoting their links and cooperation with the non-aligned and the socialist countries.

The socialist community headed by the mighty Soviet Union is making a decisive contribution to the fight of the peoples for national freedom, the safeguarding of the independence of the newly-free countries, peace, and human progress. The steady progress of the socialist countries, primarily of the Soviet Union, in every sphere—production, economy, science and technology—and the continuous strengthening of their defenses are a decisive factor for the development and the very destiny of human society. Thanks to the achievements and power of the socialist community, increasingly favorable conditions and new opportunities are being provided for the peoples fighting for national freedom, peace, democracy and progress. This enables the newly-independent countries, however small they may be, to foil imperialist intrigues thanks to the fraternal solidarity and support of the anti-imperialist camp, as the experience of the UAR, Cuba and Cyprus shows.

The socialist world system is winning more and more victories in the peaceful competition with capitalism. The immense economic and military power of the socialist countries, first of all of the Soviet Union, and their superiority over the imperialist forces

are a guarantee of frustrating the adventurous plans of imperialism, preserving world peace and saving mankind from the mortal danger of a thermonuclear war.

Whereas the imperialist camp headed by the USA—a camp which is being rent and undermined by internal contradictions of unprecedented gravity— is in permanent crisis, the anti-imperialist camp is going from strength to strength. Alongside this, the struggles of the working class and other working people in the capitalist countries against monopoly power, against brutal exploitation and the militarist, adventurous policy of imperialism, for genuine democracy and social progress contribute in decisive measure to the weakening of imperialism, speeding mankind's historical advance to freedom, democracy and socialism.

In the present situation, which is crucial for mankind there is a need for the greatest unity of the world Communist movement and of the socialist camp, the vanguard of the anti-imperialist movement throughout the world. Whatever the differences over questions of theory and tactics, the interests of all peoples, make it imperative to end division and to achieve unity of action of the socialist countries and of the world Communist movement against the U.S. imperialist aggression in Vietnam and elsewhere, for the freedom and social progress of peoples, for peace.

This unity can be brought about on the basis of the Declaration and the Statement of the Moscow meetings of 1957 and 1960. The stand taken by the CPC leadership, which is continuing its vicious polemics against the Soviet Union and other socialist countries and the Communist parties remaining loyal to the Declaration and the Statement, is the chief obstacle to the unity of the socialist camp and of the world revolutionary forces. The peoples' fight against imperialism is particularly affected by China's rejection of the proposal for a united front of action against imperialist aggression. Any split in the socialist and anti-imperialist camp encourages imperialism and helps it to carry out its adventurous plans. Congress therefore regards it as the supreme duty of every Communist and Workers' party to work hard for unity of action, for fraternal mutual understanding and cooperation between parties and socialist countries. AKEL will work to the best of its ability for world Communist unity and for a single anti-imperialist front of the Communist and Workers' parties.

THE FOREIGN POLICY OF CYPRUS AND OUR TASKS

As a result of the support and practical aid we have been receiving in our struggles from the socialist and non-aligned countries, and thanks to the exposure of the role of the Anglo-

American imperialists and NATO in creating the Cyprus crisis, the Republic of Cyprus has adopted international issues, such as the abolition of colonialism and neo-colonialism, disarmament, the prohibition of atomic weapons and of their stationing on foreign soil, the prohibition of racial discrimination, non-interference in the internal affairs of other countries, the campaign for peace and peaceful coexistence, the reinforcement of the UN, the abolition of military bases on foreign soil, etc.

A clear-cut, consistently anti-imperialist policy is a prerequisite for Cyprus to receive more widespread international support and for frustrating imperialist plans against Cyprus. It is within this framework that Cyprus should shape its foreign policy along the following lines:

(a) promoting relations of friendship and solidarity with every country in the anti-imperialist camp, the non-aligned and the socialist countries; frustrating imperialist attempts to isolate Cyprus from its natural allies;

(b) campaigning for the abolition of foreign imperialist bases, which are a mortal danger to our people, the friendly neighboring peoples, and world peace;

(c) solidarity with and active support for the peoples fighting against colonialism, neo-colonialism and imperialist interference.

Our Party will continue to promote its links with the fraternal peoples fighting for national freedom, democracy, peace and social progress.

THE SITUATION IN THE PARTY AND THE LINE OF AKEL

During the last two years the Anglo-American imperialists, intent on striking at our national-liberation fight and bringing Cyprus under NATO control, have organized a rebellion of Turkish Cypriot extremists and chauvinists and made a special effort to impose their subversive plans on our embattled people, taking advantage of even the national sentiments of our people.

Congress reaffirms that in the national-liberation fight AKEL stands as firmly as ever for complete independence and sovereignty, the territorial integrity of Cyprus and the abolition of foreign bases on our soil. Only by implementing this line will the Cyprus people be able to decide the question of their future freely and without any outside interference or pressure whatsoever, on the basis of the universally recognized principles of self-determination. *Enosis** with Greece in keeping with this line—a development to which our people seeking national rebirth legitimately aspire—will be a result not of coercion or imposition of any kind, but of the desire of the people themselves, who should express their will

*Unification.—**Ed.**

freely, without compulsion, when they have thrown off their fetters.

The imperialists and pro-NATO forces, opposing this line and exploiting the Cypriots' national sentiments, are advocating "immediate" *Enosis*, that is, *Enosis* by the coup method, as a solution to the Cyprus problem. Our Party is emphatically against a policy accepting this kind of *Enosis*, for that would mean imposing an unacceptable, NATO settlement of the Cyprus question on our people, a dismemberment of Cyprus subordinating the country to the aggressive NATO bloc.

In view of the activity of the imperialists and pro-NATO forces, the Eleventh Congress of AKEL calls on our people to be vigilant in order to foil the enemy's insidious plan for enslaving Cyprus. Congress holds that the line aimed at complete independence and sovereignty and free self-determination is the only correct anti-imperialist line truly leading to national liberation and fully according with the real interests of the national-liberation fight of our people, the general interests of peace and the cause of the peoples.

In upholding this line, Congress calls on the Party to support it firmly and unfailingly and to continue fulfilling its vanguard role in the national-liberation struggle, devoting all its strength and energy to this struggle.

UNITY IS THE GENERAL TACTICAL LINE OF THE PARTY

During the period under review our Party, striving for national liberation and the solution of the problems agitating the masses, has been invariably loyal to the patriotic policy of unity and has directed its fire against imperialism, the chief enemy of our people. Firmly upholding its line, our Party has steadfastly sought unity and cohesion of all the patriotic forces of the people bar none in order to resist the insidious plans of imperialism with the utmost determination and to carry on the national-liberation struggle.

Congress hails the tremendous contribution made by the Party and all patriots to the fight for unity of action in our national-liberation movement. It hails national unity and cooperation, which have become the rule in every section of the people, and calls on all Party members to safeguard and uphold the gains achieved in the sphere of national unity, to consolidate these gains and to carry them forward through energetic work. To bring about the establishment and proper organization of a united patriotic front, our Party must use flexible tactics without compromising on matters of principle. This front should comprise every single patriot of Cyprus — Greeks, Turks, Armenians, Maronites*, men and women alike, irrespective of their political, ideological or other

*Christians hailing from Lebanon.—**Ed.**

distinctions. The working class and the backbone of the front — the worker-peasant alliance, which should be promoted and strengthened in every way—should become, by virtue of its devotion to the struggle and of its vanguard role, the main force, the pivot, of the national-liberation, anti-imperialist front.

THE ATTITUDE OF AKEL TO THE GOVERNMENT

The attitude of our Party to the Makarios government is part of the policy of national unity.

Our Party consistently supports the government without entering into it and without pursuing any economic or partisan aims. It is convinced that this is in the interest of the national-liberation struggle and the entire cause of the Cypriots. The Party supports the government not because it always agrees with what the government does, with its policy on every issue, but because it agrees with the government on the important thing, which is to follow a national policy for complete independence and free self-determination.

Congress fully approves this policy toward the government and calls on the Party to continue supporting the government as sincerely as it has done so far, on the basis of the declared general line aimed at complete independence and free self- determination.

At the same time our Party must persist in guiding itself by the interests of the national-liberation fight. It must offer constructive criticism of the government over any decision or action the government takes, or fails to take, if the Party believes that the stance of the government is at variance with the interests of the people.

THE ECONOMIC FRONT

Congress considers that the economic front is very important for the success of our national-liberation struggle.

The economy of Cyprus, which during the past two years has stood rugged tests thanks to the unflagging effort of the people and the government, must not be allowed to become unstable and lose strength. Despite the burden of mobilization and military spending, there are opportunities of bringing about a new economic uptrend, increasing the national income and improving the balance of payments. Following are some of the measures to be carried out for the purpose:

(a) pushing on and speeding the fulfilment of the main assignments of the five-year development plan, giving priority to the

development of the national economy and the growth of the national income;

(b) granting short- and long-term loans to peasants for the expansion of production, and deferring payment on arrears by peasants who are in straits financially;

(c) helping the country's industry to promote and expand production. To this end it is necessary to ensure that the national economy is granted low-interest credits and to safeguard it against competition on the part of foreign monopoly capital, which penetrates into our country with the sole aim of making superprofit. The encouragement of foreign monopoly investment in our country not only spells economic danger but prejudices our national-liberation fight owing to the direct links the monopolies maintain with the imperialists;

(d) increasing our export trade and expanding our commercial relations, making a special effort to sell our agricultural produce on a stable basis and at advantageous prices. The foreign trade deficit should be reduced by restricting the import of luxuries, cars and other commodities;

(e) to obtain the funds it needs, the government should secure loans on the easiest possible terms from countries which are willing to grant them without any political stipulations or other shackling terms, and without demands for reciprocity.

The adoption of all these and other measures furthering our economic progress will lead to full employment, a higher national income, a higher standard of living, and an intensification of the Cypriots' struggle for national freedom.

In addition to these measures, which are bound to strengthen our economic front, the government should take steps toward a more equitable distribution of the national income, so that everyone can contribute to the state budget according to his ability and that the standard of living of the poorest sections of the working people can be improved.

THE MASS MOVEMENT

The aid which the mass movement has been giving to the national struggle and to the solution of major economic problems of the people is of decisive importance.

The trade unions, rural professional organizations and cooperatives, the youth, women's and peace movements, and various research, cultural and educational associations showed in the crucial periods of our fight that they are prompted by supreme patriotic interests and are advanced contingents in our fight. The establishment of the Coordinating Committee of Cooperating Or-

ganizations expresses the strong desire of the people and their mass organizations to fight in a united front in order to foil the imperialist conspiracy and carry the fight through to a victorious finish.

The trade union movement has moved into the forefront of the fight against the imperialist conspiracy and subversive activities, against disastrous NATO solutions. The attitude of the wage-earners and salaried workers and their organizations to the problems arising from the foreign-inspired rebellion and to the national-liberation struggle is characterized by patriotism and selfless devotion.

At the same time, the trade unions have not neglected the problems of the working people. They have protected the rights won, and in many cases have achieved better working conditions and higher pay for wage-earners and salaried workers. Thousands of workers have secured the establishment of a social security, holiday and recreation fund. Trade unionists belonging to AKEL have been playing an active part in all the economic and national battles of the working class.

AKEL will continue to support the trade union movement along the same political lines. This support may be summed up as follows:

(a) strengthening and imparting an increasingly mass character to the trade union movement by organizing the unorganized; protecting the interests of wage-earners and salaried workers, rallying them against imperialism and encouraging them to take a more active part in the national-liberation struggle; educating the working people properly, on the basis of the experience and objectives of the working class and with due regard to the historical role it must play in the socialist development of society;

(b) promoting the unity of wage-earners and salaried workers according to jobs and trades; promoting the unity of all working people's organizations by setting up a Trade Union Congress or a similar organization which the unions concerned may find advisable. AKEL believes that the association of all trade unions under the direction of a single central body would promote our national struggle and play a decisive role in solving the problems of the working people.

The peasants' participation in the struggle in all its sectors, in defence, in the struggle on the economic front and in the nation-wide actions has been of decisive importance. Together with the working class the peasants form the main force of our national-liberation struggle.

Furthermore, the peasant movement has put forward major problems in every important branch of agriculture, and more general

problems of the countryside. The spirit of unity and cooperation has been developing among the peasants and in their organizations on the basis of the national struggle, in connection with professional, communal and other issues.

The policy of AKEL on the peasant movement is the following: rallying all peasants in peasant organizations; cooperation of these organizations in solving agricultural problems and carrying forward the national-liberation struggle; providing proper conditions for amalgamating the peasant organizations in one powerful association.

The *worker-peasant alliance* forms the base of the national-liberation front of the people, a force which must play the decisive role in winning complete freedom for our people and in assuring their all-round progress.

The *cooperative movement* has been developing, furthering the solution of serious economic problems of the producer classes, particularly the peasants. A revision of the undemocratic stipulations of the colonialist Cooperative Law, and the formation of a broad democratic confederation of the cooperative unions of Cyprus would foster the unity and activity of the cooperative movement.

The *women's movement* has been making a substantial contribution to the national-liberation struggle. AKEL will help women's organizations to extend their activity and play a greater role in solving the complex socio-economic problems facing the women of Cyprus. The tasks of organizing working women and strengthening the unity of the women's movement are particularly important.

The *youth of Cyprus* and its organizations have been participating in the national struggle with devotion. Our young people have borne the brunt of the effort against the offensive of reaction and have made the greatest sacrifices on the altar of freedom.

As they continue to rally and educate the new generation in the spirit of the anti-imperialist, national-liberation struggle, youth organizations should seek solutions to the fundamental problems of our youth, which are of immense importance for the future of our people as a whole. They should give special attention to problems of the education, professional training and employment of youth.

Training in occupation techniques should be expanded and extramural work launched by setting up students' clubs, interest groups, film-projecting centers, etc.

The contribution which *our scientists and other intellectuals* have been making to the national struggle and the progress of our country is most valuable. AKEL supports the efforts of their

organizations toward solving professional problems and providing conditions for our intellectuals to play a greater creative role.

The *handicraftsmen and artisans* make up a sizeable section of our population and play an impotrant role in socio-economic life. Consolidating the organizations of the middle strata will help to solve their problems and to strengthen our economic front. It will further the national struggle.

The professional, cultural, educational, sports and other mass organizations of the Cypriots, which have been playing so important a role in solving working people's problems, in the social progress and national-liberation fight of our country, will play an even greater role in the future by rallying the patriotic forces of the people for freedom, peace and the welfare of our country.

The *peace movement* shows a further uptrend. In the period under survey the Cypriots have stepped up their effort for peace, nuclear disarmament, the abolition of foreign bases in Cyprus and all other countries, an end to imperialist aggression and to the war in Vietnam.

The campaign for peace and the abolition of foreign bases is of fundamental importance and is inseparable from our people's fight for complete independence and free self-determination.

FOR A BIGGER, MORE SOLIDLY UNITED AND MORE MILITANT PARTY OF THE WORKING PEOPLE

AKEL enjoys great prestige and influence among large sections of the people. It owes this to its correct, patriotic policy and tactics and to the consistency with which it has been pursuing this policy.

In the period under survey our Party has done a great deal of organizing work, with the result that the activity of leading Party bodies and the Party groups has improved and expanded.

Congress approves the policy of massive recruitment of new members which the CC has been following in line with the decisions of its 4th plenum.

Congress welcomes the progress made and states that there are even greater opportunities of improving organizing work and of removing weaknesses and shortcomings.

The task of the leading bodies and the Party as a whole is to work still more perseveringly, methodically and systematically in order to raise the standards of political organization and to bring it into complete harmony with the political line, with the requirements and development of the political situation. By improving political organization, we will enable the Party to play its vanguard role in the national-liberation struggle and in other battles of the Cyprus people still more effectively.

In accordance with the decisions of the 4th plenum of the CC and CCC (June 1964), we must take every practical step to improve political organization.

Specifically, we must make our Party more of a mass organization by recruiting new members from every section of the working people, and ensure that the Party takes root wherever men of labor are active—in factories, workshops, offices, in town and country.

Let us improve the functioning of the Party group, which forms the base of the Party, as well as the work of leading bodies. More initiative, a keener sense of responsibility, a more exacting application of collectivist principles and a more thoughtful distribution of the tasks on hand are some of the factors that will help us to improve the work of the Party group.

Let us show greater resolve in combating sectarianism and bureaucratic practices wherever they manifest themselves in our work. Let us extend collective work in all Party organizations, foster their activity, and intensify constructive criticism and self-criticism.

Let us raise inner-Party democracy to a higher plane and always stimulate free, democratic discussion in the Party.

Let us promote still more boldly able young people skilled in various fields. Let us apply in this matter the correct policy formulated by the Party and make the best use of meetings of active members at local and national level.

Let us heighten our political vigilance still more steadfastly. Let us cherish the solid unity of the Party from top to bottom as the apple of our eye.

Let us improve our ideological and theoretical work, so as to help the whole Party the better to equip itself ideologically and theoretically. Let us organize special schools and lectures, and encourage self-education. Let us improve our agitation and propaganda work, and disseminate more widely printed matter serving our movement, particularly *Charavgi*. Let us steadily improve the Party's finance, which is indispensable for the smooth and normal functioning of the Party apparatus.

The 11th Congress greets all members and workers of the Party. It calls on the whole Party to fight with still greater enthusiasm and energy for a more numerous, more solidly united and more militant Party that can mobilize and lead the masses in the national-liberation fight, in the fight for a peaceful, democratic and happy future, more actively and effectively.

The 11th Congress addresses to all patriots, to the heroic National Guards, to the whole people of Cyprus this patriotic appeal:

Forward! Let us join efforts in establishing a mighty, solid front

of the people, the armed forces and the government to carry on the common anti-imperialist fight for our national freedom, for peace, demilitarization, democracy and economic progress, for a new and happy life.

RESOLUTION* OF THE CC, BCP

The Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party approves the activity of the Party delegation which attended the 23rd Congress of the CPSU, and the report on the Congress submitted by Comrade Todor Zhivkov, head of the delegation.

The CC, BCP assesses the 23rd Congress of the CPSU as an event of vast importance for the Soviet Union and for social progress all over the world.

The Congress reaffirmed the correctness of the political line of the CPSU and carried it forward in accordance with the exigencies of the situation.

The scientific approach of the Congress to the problems of Communist construction in the Soviet Union will create favorable conditions for a new uptrend in economy, culture and the standard of living. It will enhance the vanguard role of the CPSU in every sphere and guarantee the all-round development of the Soviet social system and the strengthening of the defense potential of the Soviet state. This will be a new important contribution by the CPSU and the Soviet people to the triumph of peace, freedom, democracy and communism on earth.

The keen sense of internationalism shown by the CPSU and the Soviet people at the Congress is bound to promote unity, fraternal cooperation and mutual assistance between the countries in the socialist world system, and rally the revolutionary forces of the world even more closely for the national and social emancipation of the peoples enslaved by imperialism.

The Marxist-Leninist approach of the Congress to the issue of unity of the world Communist and working-class movement, and the reaffirmed allegiance of the Soviet Communists to the 1957 Declaration and the 1960 Statement are a major contribution on the part of the CPSU to the rallying of the fraternal Communist and Workers' parties on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism.

The appreciation of the activity of the CPSU both at home and on the world scene which delegates from the Communist and Workers' parties and the revolutionary-democratic and socialist parties of 86 countries voiced shows how greatly the prestige and role of the CPSU in the world Communist movement have increased. The heartfelt gratitude they expressed for the all-round support which their parties and countries have been receiving from the

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*Rabotnichesko Delo, April 16, 1966. The CC, BCP met on April 15.

CPSU and the Soviet Union is a further indication that the Leninist Communist Party of the Soviet Union acquits itself honorably of its internationalist duty to brother parties and the international working class, that the Soviet Union is the most powerful support of the peoples striving for peace, national independence and a just social system.

The CC, BCP expresses once again its fraternal solidarity with the CC, CPSU and its unshakable resolve to foster and carry forward political, economic and ideological cooperation between the People's Republic of Bulgaria and the Soviet Union, between the BCP and the CPSU. The BCP and the Bulgarian people wish the Soviet Communists and the Soviet people great new achievements in their effort for peace and communism.

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of Bulgaria fully approves the estimations of the state of the world Communist movement and the international situation given in Comrade Zhivkov's report, and endorses the conclusions made in the report about the direction of the further international activities of the BCP and the People's Republic of Bulgaria.

POSITION OF THE CC, SUPG, ON THE DECISIONS OF THE 23RD CONGRESS OF THE CPSU

RESOLUTION* OF THE 12TH PLENUM OF THE CC, SUPG

The Central Committee approves the activity of the delegation of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany led by Comrade Walter Ulbricht, and the report on the 23rd Congress of the CPSU presented by Comrade Erich Honecker. The CC thanks its First Secretary and all the delegation members for the work they have done.

The results of the 23rd Congress of the CPSU are of decisive importance for the Soviet Union, the international working-class movement, the national-liberation movement, world peace and human progress. They are of primary importance for the successful realization of the program of full-scale socialist construction adopted by the 6th Congress of the SUPG and for the safeguarding of peace in Europe and Germany.

The CC instructs all Party organizations and leading bodies to make a careful study of the problems dealt with by the 23rd Congress of the CPSU, and creatively to apply the lessons of the Congress in the practical work of our Party, on the basis of the decisions of the 12th Plenum.

I

The CC, SUPG signifies its full agreement with the Leninist general line of the CPSU adopted at the 23rd Congress. The Congress holds a prominent place in the history of the CPSU and the world Communist movement. It showed the important progress made by the CPSU in every sphere since the October 1964 plenum of the CC. It was characterized by Marxist-Leninist firmness of principle, scientific creativity, and a realistic, militantly revolutionary spirit.

The vast international significance of the 23rd Congress of the CPSU consists in the following:

1. An accurate Marxist-Leninist appraisal of the international situation, the class struggle in the world and the outlook for the development of the balance of world forces, an appraisal which contains highly important conclusions of general value for the

*Abridged from **Neues Deutschland**, April 30, 1966.

struggle of the USSR, of the world socialist system, of all the forces opposing imperialism and striving for the socialist reorganization of society.

The proposals for achieving a healthier international climate put forward in the Central Committee report by Comrade L. Brezhnev are in the best interest of all nations and add up to a specific program of action for the peace forces of the world.

2. The Directives for the eighth five-year plan of the USSR approved by the 23rd Congress mark the beginning of a new important stage in communist construction in the Soviet Union.

Fulfilment of the new five-year plan will increase the political, economic and defense power of the USSR. It will stress the role of the Soviet Union as the strongest and most progressive power in the socialist commonwealth and throughout the world, and will enhance the world-wide appeal and influence of the socialist system. With the successful fulfilment of the Soviet five-year plan the balance of world forces will shift even more in favor of peace and socialism. The advance of the revolutionary forces of the world will be speeded.

3. The 23rd Congress was the most important contribution to the unity and cohesion of the world Communist movement since the Moscow meeting of Communist and Workers' parties in November 1960. It developed into a great demonstration of proletarian internationalism, of the Communist movement's will for unity and capacity for action, a demonstration indicating the course of the further progress of the movement.

4. The 23rd Congress demonstrated fidelity to principle and continuity in CPSU policy, which have been particularly evident since the October 1964 plenum of the CC, CPSU. This Leninist line of the CC, unanimously approved by the Congress, will undoubtedly lead to a further tremendous growth of the creative forces of the Soviet people. It is a guarantee that the USSR will successfully realize its far-reaching plans and that the fraternal relations between the socialist countries will become closer still. With increased force and energy the Soviet Union will fight against imperialism, for peace, and carry forward its policy of peaceful coexistence. All this will help to sober the West German revenge-seekers and the U.S. reactionaries and to foil their attempts at splitting the family of socialist countries.

II

The CC, SUPG fully shares the appraisal of the international situation given by the 23rd Congress, which stated that the situation is characterized by the steady growth of the forces of peace,

democracy, national independence and socialism, and at the same time by the aggravation of the general crisis of capitalism that increases all capitalist contradictions and prompts the imperialists to step up their political activity and military aggression.

The coincidence of the political points of view of the SUPG and the CPSU is also seen in an identical political estimation, according to which the balance of world forces has by no means changed in favor of imperialism, and imperialism has become more aggressive but not stronger.

The SUPG fully approves of the conclusions of the CPSU about the growing role of the socialist world system, the need to strengthen the unity of the socialist commonwealth of nations and to increase its economic, political and military power. The SUPG stresses the vastly important thesis of the 23rd Congress that economic cooperation between the socialist countries has reached a new stage. This objectively confronts the CMEA with a more exacting task, that of meeting the requirements of the revolution in science and technology, and of advancing more rapidly in the economic competition with capitalism, by judiciously coordinating economic plans and concentrating on decisive research, development and production objectives in the main branches of the economy. In this way the socialist countries can retain and further their complete superiority in economic development rates, and use the advantages of the socialist mode of production in the national and international interests of the socialist countries.

The 23rd Congress decisions on reinforcing the defense alliance of the Warsaw Treaty countries accord with the vital interests of the German Democratic Republic and with the necessity for safeguarding peace in Europe. At a time when the international situation has deteriorated and the war danger has increased, the SUPG is more aware than ever of its duty always to take proper political, moral and material measures in order to strengthen the defenses of the first peace-loving German state.

In this connection the SUPG calls the attention of West Germany's workers, intellectuals and patriotic-minded bourgeoisie to the stern warning sounded in the CC, CPSU report, to the effect that West Germany has become a second seedbed of the war danger after Vietnam, as a result of the imperialist policy of aggression and the formation of the Washington-Bonn axis. The persistent warning given to West Germany, primarily to its rulers, by the 23rd Congress of the CPSU should be taken into account by every citizen of the West German Federal Republic. It had to be given because the Bonn government is carrying its policy of revenge and its arms race too far. In view of this, the peoples should not allow themselves to be misled by official Bonn's recent protestations of

"peaceful intent." The Soviet Union, linked with the GDR by relations of close friendship and fraternal cooperation, wants normal business relations with West Germany as well. The 23rd Congress of the CPSU made it clear enough that the West German government should renounce its adventurous policy of revenge and make a concrete contribution to the cause of peace.

The CC, SUPG calls on the peace-loving population of West Germany to take account, in its own interests, of the stern warning given by the 23rd Congress of the CPSU to the aggressive circles of the FRG, and to realize at last, and fully, its own tremendous responsibility for the maintenance of peace. Remembering the national mission of the GDR, which is never to allow a war to be launched from German soil, the SUPG calls first of all on the West German workers, Social Democrats and trade unionists, the non-affiliated and the Christian workers: stop the politicians who are headed for atomic armament and revenge, do not let them bring a new, terrible disaster on Germany and Europe!

The anti-imperialist forces must show greater unity and be more active if they want to make the possibility of avoiding a new world war a reality. Our Party regards this message of the 23rd Congress of the CPSU as an important obligation for the GDR, but above all for the peace forces in West Germany.

The CC, SUPG expresses its heartfelt thanks to the CPSU and the Soviet people for their firm and consistent support of the courageous people of Vietnam. The undertaking to help Vietnam which the 23rd Congress of the CPSU gave out of a keen sense of solidarity, shows that the U.S. aggressor has no room for intrigue and no chance.

III

The targets of the new five-year plan adopted by the 23rd Congress truly command admiration. For the first time in history the socialist Soviet Union, which in the forty-nine years since it came into being has risen, thanks to the consistently Leninist policy of the CPSU, from the ranks of the most backward countries to the stature of the foremost and mightiest power of the world, is now the only country in the world that can achieve such rates of growth in economy, science, the arts, the standard of living, socialist democracy and human progress.

The 23rd Congress confirmed "the simple fact that the good of man, his all-round development, is the main objective of socialism . . . The Communists, marching in the van of the people and together with them, will do everything for the lives of Soviet people to become better, richer and more cultured from year to year. In

this we see our supreme duty, and it is for this that we are building communism" (L. Brezhnev).

Of great theoretical and practical importance for the peoples taking the socialist road are the creative application and elaboration in the 23rd Congress decisions of the Marxist-Leninist doctrine of communist construction, the socialist economy, the socialist state, and scientifically sound guidance of the entire social process. The Congress linked up the fulfilment of the main assignments of the new Soviet five-year plan with the promotion of the revolution in science and technology. It stressed the unity of the tasks of promoting centralized planning, which is being steadily improved, and of encouraging the creative activity of the people. Its recommendations and decisions speak of the unity of economy, politics, ideology and culture in building communist society.

The reports presented by Comrades Brezhnev and Kosygin, and the Congress resolutions contain new important theoretical propositions and specifications regarding communist construction, the development of the productive forces and of relations of production, the role and development of classes, the growing role of the Party and the state in communist construction. The CC, SUPG agrees with the 23rd Congress thesis that today the role of the Marxist-Leninist party and its ideological activity is increasing and so is the importance of the Marxist science of society.

IV

The fact that the 23rd Congress of the CPSU was attended by delegations from the Communist and democratic parties of 86 countries and that they identified themselves with the CPSU and the Soviet people turned the Congress into an exceedingly important action furthering the unity and cohesion of the Communist and Workers' parties and rallying all the anti-imperialist forces of the world.

The Congress showed that what characterizes the world Communist movement is not the serious differences existing at present, but its consolidation on Marxist-Leninist lines, on the principles of the 1957 Declaration and the 1960 Statement, and acceptance of the fundamental ideas of the 23rd Congress by the world Communist movement. Thus the Congress confirmed the accuracy of the estimation made in the CC report, which says that the world Communist movement is strengthening its positions as the most influential political force of today.

The SUPG, like the CPSU, considers that unity of action of the Communists of all countries for socialism, against imperialism and the war danger, can and must be achieved. The CC, SUPG sets

much store by the manifold and useful efforts which the CC, CPSU has been making, particularly since October 1964, for Communist unity on Marxist-Leninist principles. The SUPG will continue to work for the unity of the Communist movement through bilateral and multilateral meetings, through consultations and exchange of experience with brother parties. It fully supports the opinion of brother parties that a world conference of all the Communist Parties is a tried and indispensable method for preserving the unity of our movement, for examining and solving by collective effort problems posed by reality. With this aim in view, the SUPG favors a new conference when conditions are ripe for it.

The 23rd Congress of the CPSU brought out the immense validity of the view expressed by Ernst Thaelmann and Georgi Dimitrov, who said that the attitude to the Soviet Union, to Lenin's Party, is a most important touchstone of proletarian internationalism. The SUPG, inspired and fortified by that historic Congress, will continue to do all in its power for closer cooperation between the SUPG and the CPSU, and for closer German-Soviet friendship, as a major guarantee of every achievement and every future victory.

11TH PLENUM OF THE CC, MPRP*

On April 25, 1966, the CC of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party held its Plenum to discuss the following questions:

1. The results of the 23rd Congress of the CPSU. Report by Comrade Y. Tsedenbal, First Secretary of the CC, MPRP, head of the MPRP delegation to the 23rd Congress.)
2. Draft Program of the MPRP.
3. Draft directives of the 15th Congress of the MPRP for the Fourth Five-Year Plan for the economic and cultural development of the Mongolian People's Republic in 1966-70. (Report by Comrade T. Ragcha, member of the CC, Vice-Chairman of the Council of Ministers, Chairman of the State Planning Committee.

The meeting adopted resolutions on all these questions.

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RESOLUTION ON THE RESULTS OF THE 23RD CONGRESS OF THE CPSU

Adopted unanimously.

Having heard and discussed the report of Comrade Y. Tsedenbal, 1st Secretary of the CC, MPRP, on the results of the 23rd Congress of the CPSU, this plenary meeting notes:

The 23rd Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, held at the end of March and the beginning of April this year, was an outstanding historical event of vast importance for the great Soviet people, the peoples of the other socialist countries and the entire world Communist Communist movement.

The Congress vividly demonstrated the monolithic unity of the CPSU, its unbreakable links with the people and firm loyalty to the great banner of Lenin. The decisions of the Congress and the directives approved by it for the Soviet Union's Five-Year Plan for economic development in 1966-70 contain a scientifically substantiated program of activities of the CPSU in the coming period of development of Soviet society.

Implementation of the far-reaching tasks the Congress has set before the Soviet people will undoubtedly constitute a new major step forward in the building of Communist society in the Soviet Union and an outstanding contribution to the consolidation of the socialist world system, to the struggle for peace, democracy and socialism the world over.

*A release by Montsame, the Mongolian news agency.

The Congress has shown that the CPSU is steadfastly fulfilling its internationalist duty, steadily steering a course toward rallying the world Communist movement, and consistently work for the unity of all the fraternal parties in the struggle for the common cause. The participation of delegations of 86 foreign Communist Workers', national-democratic and Left Sociailst Parties in the work of the Congress demonstrated anew the fraternal solidarity of all the revolutionary forces of today with the great Party of Lenin, and convincingly proved the solidity of the bonds linking the Communists and revolutionaries of all countries.

The fruitful work of the 23rd Congress of the CPSU, as well as the entire activity of the CPSU, characterized by a genuinely Leninist approach to the problems and development of Marxist-Leninist theory and by sincere concern for the strengthening of the positions of socialism and communism in the world arena, is the best example for the Marxist-Leninist parties, the MPRP included.

The MPRP, bound with the CPSU by common views and goals, will persevere in strengthening the relations of genuine fraternity between our two parties, and in promoting friendship and cooperation between our countries.

This plenary meeting resolves:

1. To approve the activities of the delegation of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party to the 23rd Congress of the CPSU.

2. To instruct all Party organizations to launch large-scale work among the working people with a view to acquainting them with the results of the 23rd Congress of the CPSU, and to organize a profound study by Party members and candidate members of the materials of the Congress as documents of great international significance.

RESOLUTION ON THE DRAFT PROGRAM OF THE MPRP

Adopted unanimously

Having discussed the draft Program of the MPRP presented by the Political Bureau of the CC, this plenary meeting resolves:

1. To approve the draft Program of the MPRP.

2. To publish the draft in the press for general knowledge and for discussion by Party members and candidate members.

3. To instruct the regional and city Party committees to organize an extensive discussion of the draft program of the MPRP by primary Party organizations and regional and city Party conferences.

RESOLUTION ON THE DRAFT DIRECTIVES OF THE 15TH CONGRESS OF THE MPRP FOR THE FOURTH FIVE-YEAR PLAN FOR THE ECONOMIC AND CULTURAL DEVELOPMENT OF THE THE MPR (1966-70)

Adopted unanimously

This plenary meeting resolves:

1. To approve the draft Directives of the 15th Congress of the MPRP for the Fourth Five-Year Plan for the economic and cultural development of the MPR (1966-70).

2. To instruct all Party organizations to conduct an extensive discussion of the draft in Party organizations, at public meetings and in the press.

PLENUM OF CC, CP OF CZECHOSLOVAKIA*

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia held a plenary meeting in Prague on April 21 and 22. The meeting was an important component of the preparations for the 13th Congress of the CPC. The discussion centred on the draft guidelines for the Party's economic policy in the next period and on the main targets of the economic plan for 1966-70. The draft was presented by Comrade O. Cernik, Chairman of the State Planning Committee.

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The Central Committee discussed the progress made in implementing the decisions of its December plenary meeting. After analyzing current trends in the national economy the CC found it necessary to restore the balance of the basic relationships and proportions between production and the utilization of resources and ensure a better functioning of the system of planned management. It also set assignments for completing the drafting of the 1966 plan and for continuing work on the guidelines for the Party's economic policy in the Fourth Five-Year Plan period. In its work the Central Committee proceeded also from the decisions of its March meeting, which discussed the concept of further progress and management methods in agriculture, as well as ways of stepping up the activity of local government bodies and increasing their financial and economic independence.

In line with the tasks set by the Central Committee, the State Planning Committee has worked out a draft economic plan for 1966-70 which envisages the following measures to ensure the growth of economic resources: creating prerequisites for the early introduction of the new system of planned management; speeding the reorganization of the system of pricing and of financing investment; establishing closer links between production and the home and foreign markets; introducing uniform systems of deductions by economic organizations; providing conditions for the encouragement of the working people's initiative, for the improvement of skills and educational standards, and for the stimulation of interest in skilled jobs.

Further economic development should be based on structural changes, increased research facilities, and more active inclusion of the country's economy in the system of international division

*Rudé Právo, April 22, 1966.

of labor. The main lines of the economic policy of the Party should be implemented with the help of active and purposeful political work by its organizations, the trade unions, local government bodies and the public bodies engaged in ideological and political work among the masses.

The growth of economic resources should be fully ensured through raising the productivity of social labor. Industry should account for three-fourths of the increase in the national income, tentatively set at 22 to 24 per cent. The development of agriculture is an important component of harmonious economic progress.

The chief guidelines for economic policy are aimed at making full use of reserves in the economic progress, so that they should effectively help to increase the national wealth and to raise the standard of living. Shorter working hours and the resulting extension of leisure time are to play an important part in stimulating the utilization of reserves and in improving the standard of life. Given adequate economic progress, it should be possible by 1970 or in the next few years to reduce the working week to 40 hours in deep mines and at enterprises with arduous and unhealthy conditions and to 42 hours for all other working people.

With a view to providing material incentives and to raising the standard of living, a series of measures are to be implemented for a fuller satisfaction of demand on the home market. All this will encourage the working people to improve their skills. Professional people should be enabled in full measure to exert progressive influence on economic development.

Improving the living conditions of the population is connected with problems of housing. The draft of the fourth five-year plan envisages the provision of conditions for the gradual completion of improvement projects in communities and for further integrated housing construction, the expansion of the municipal services, and the simultaneous improvement of housing standards. The aim is to build 460,000 new flats in the current five-year period and from 105,000 to 115,000 flats annually from 1970 onwards. This number of flats would not only meet growing requirements, but also help to improve housing conditions. A special effort will be made to promote housing construction in the more important cities and localities, specifically in the capital, and substantially to extend opportunities for individual and cooperative house building.

The measures planned in the field of economic management ensure the most effective combination of the functions of the market and the plan. The plan, which specifies the economic policy of society and is the chief source of information about the aims, trends, means and instruments of this policy, will remain the chief tool for running the socialist economy.

Attention is focussed on questions of the organization and

management of production. The steady rationalization of labor must be an organic part of the management system in both the productive and the non-productive branches, at all organizational levels. Economic progress can be greatly hastened through raising the effectiveness of scientific and technological achievement, which already has a quantitatively powerful base.

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Comrade A. Novotny told the Central Committee about the work of the 23rd Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. The 23rd Congress was undoubtedly an event of great international significance. Its deliberations and decisions evoked a widespread response all over the world. This is added proof of the growing influence and prestige of Soviet foreign policy, the importance of Soviet economic progress, and the recognition of the CPSU as the vanguard contingent of the world Communist movement. The Congress reaffirmed the solid unity of the Party ranks, the Soviet Communists' full agreement with the policy of the CC CPSU and fidelity to the fundamental line of the 20th, 21st and 22nd congresses of the CPSU.

The Congress demonstrated the vigorous all-round progress made by the Soviet Union since the previous congress and in the Seven-Year Plan period. The Soviet Union's share in industrial output, which before World War II was less than one-tenth of the world total, came close to one-fifth in 1965. The economic successes achieved in the past seven years made it possible to effect a number of measures aimed at improving the standard of living. These successes constitute the basis of the Five-Year Plan approved by the 23rd Congress. This plan envisages a considerable growth of industry, a rapid and stable rate of agricultural progress, and improvement of the standard of living on this basis. Specifically, the Soviet comrades give priority to promoting the living standard. Under the new Five-Year Plan, the gross national product is to grow by 40 per cent, the national income by 38 to 41 per cent, and real incomes per head of the population by 30 per cent. Industrial output is to increase by about 50 per cent. Much attention will be paid to the development of agriculture. The increase in agricultural output is to reach 25 per cent, which is a very formidable task, considering that in the past seven years agricultural output went up by 14 per cent.

Of great importance for Czechoslovakia, which in its economic development relies first and foremost on cooperation with the Soviet Union, is the principled attitude of the 23rd Congress to the extension and strengthening of the economic cooperation of the socialist countries, to the promotion of international division of labor and specialization.

At the same time the Congress paid much attention to pressing international problems and the foreign policy of the CPSU in connection with the onslaught launched by the aggressive imperialist forces. In the first place, the Congress stated in no uncertain terms the Soviet Union's attitude to the aggression against the people of South Vietnam and the Democratic Republic of Vietnam. Stern words were spoken at the Congress about the policy of West German imperialism, which is aggravating tension in Europe and reaching out for nuclear weapons. Those who resort to new aggressive gambles were told outright that the CPSU will do everything to ensure immediate retaliation against those who try to violate peace. While giving serious warning to the forces of aggression, the Congress stressed that the foreign policy of the Soviet Union will continue to uphold the principles of peaceful coexistence.

The 23rd Congress was, without doubt, an outstanding event in the world Communist movement, in the struggle to promote its unity and fighting capacity. It was attended by representatives of Communist and Workers' parties as well as national-democratic and Socialist parties of 86 countries. The congress was inspired by proletarian internationalism and the desire for world Communist unity. By attending and addressing the Congress, the overwhelming majority of the representatives of the Communist and Workers' parties paid high tribute to the role of the Soviet Union in the furtherance of the world revolutionary process, in the struggle for world peace, democracy and socialism. The foreign participants in the meeting voiced unqualified support and approval of the home and foreign policy of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, its principled and well-considered position in the world Communist movement.

All the fraternal Communist paries and the delegations of national-democratic parties applauded the adoption by the Congress of a resolution on Vietnam. Thereby representatives of the overwhelming majority of the fraternal Communist parties reaffirmed at the Congress, before the whole world, the decisive role of the Soviet Union in supporting the national-liberation movement generally and the heroic struggle of the Vietnamese people in particular. The effort of the CPSU to promote the unity and fighting capacity of the world Communist movement has created favorable conditions also for the solution of some urgent problems of the socialist community.

In his speech at the congress Comrade Novotny described the numerous meetings the CPC delegation had had with delegations of fraternal parties and its cordial meetings with Soviet people. At all these meetings Soviet people extended heartfelt greetings to the Czechoslovak working people and the Communist Party of

Czechoslovakia, and spontaneously demonstrated the solidity of Czechoslovak-Soviet friendship.

In the conclusion of his address at the meeting Comrade Novotny stressed that the work and decisions of the 23rd Congress of the CPSU, which charted the further dynamic development of Soviet society, fortified our confidence that in building socialism in Czechoslovakia we can firmly rely on all-round cooperation with the Soviet Union. The ideological unity of our parties, the alliance of our countries and the unbreakable friendship of our peoples are a reliable guarantee that cooperation between the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics will go on developing successfully for the good of socialist and communist construction in both countries.

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The Central Committee approved the draft guidelines for the Party's economic policy in the period till 1970 and the proposals for the further introduction of the improved system of planned economic management as the basis for discussion at the 13th Congress of the Party. The plenary meeting set the following tasks: to finalize the draft and the proposals as the main document for the economic part of the decision of the Congress, which will determine the new principles of the economic policy of the Party and the state for the next period; and to continue, on the lines set, the drafting of the national economic plan for 1966-70, as well as work on further measures introducing the improved system of planned management as from January 1, 1967.

The Central Committee approved the report of the CPC delegation to the 23rd Congress of the CPSU presented by Comrade Novotny.

The Central Committee also discussed proposals of the CC Presidium on amendments to the Party Rules, and a report on the results of the discussion of these amendments at district and regional Party conferences, and decided to submit the proposals to the 13th Congress of the Party.

NHAN DAN EDITORIAL*

The 23rd Congress of the CPSU was in session from March 29 to April 8, 1966. It heard the CC CPSU report presented by Comrade Brezhnev and Comrade Kosygin's report on the draft directives for the five-year economic development plan of the USSR (1966-70), and unanimously approved the two important documents. It elected the new Central Committee of the CPSU, and then the CC elected its Political Bureau and Secretariat. L. Brezhnev was elected General Secretary.

The Congress passed a resolution on measures for the construction of the material and technical base of communism in the Soviet Union to ensure that the power of the Soviet Union grows from day to day and the Soviet people live increasingly happy lives, and to make an active contribution to the reinforcement of the entire socialist community and to world peace.

The Congress devoted much attention to the situation in Vietnam. L. Brezhnev and A. Kosygin stressed in their report the support which the Party, government and people of the Soviet Union are giving to the Vietnamese people fighting against U.S. aggression, for national salvation. Delegates from many regions and republics of the Soviet Union, soldiers, diplomats and economists spoke at the Congress in support of the Vietnamese people and protested against the actions of the U.S. aggressor. The delegates of all the brother parties attending voiced their support for the Vietnamese people and condemned aggressive U.S. imperialism.

The most stirring fact was that the Congress unanimously approved at its closing sitting a Statement on Vietnam pointing out that Congress "emphatically condemns the brutal aggression of the United States of America against the fraternal people of Vietnam."

The Statement condemns the cruel, inhuman methods used by the U.S. aggressor in Vietnam. It says that the U.S. imperialists' war of aggression in Vietnam is aimed at putting down the liberation struggle of the people of South Vietnam and other peoples of Southeast Asia, and is a direct encroachment on the sovereignty of a socialist state, the Democratic Republic of Vietnam. The Statement vigorously denounces the U.S. imperialist aggression against Laos and America's military and political pressure on Cambodia—developments increasing tension in Indochina and throughout the world.

The Statement refutes the U.S. rulers' false allegations, designed to justify the U.S. policy of aggression in Vietnam. It notes that

*April 10, 1966.

the war of aggression in Vietnam is increasingly disgracing the United States, and is condemned more and more emphatically by the peoples of the world, by the Americans themselves.

The Statement expresses high esteem for the fight of the Vietnamese people.

"The Soviet Communist and our entire people admire the courage and fortitude of the Vietnamese patriot. They are confident that no matter what atrocities the interventionists may resort to they will never succeed in breaking the will of the Vietnamese people, who are waging a sacred and just struggle for freedom, independence and unity, for the right to shape their own destiny. Their heroic and just struggle will go down in history as a splendid example of unbending courage, endurance and the will to win."

The Statement, which sets forth the position of the Party, government and people of the Soviet Union, expresses the heartfelt sentiments of the Soviet people, who stand by the Vietnamese people, actively helping and supporting them to defeat the U.S. aggressor.

"The 23rd Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union considers that the Vietnamese question can be solved only through recognition of the just demands of the Government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam," it said.

The Congress demanded the following:

"The United States must forthwith cease bombing the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and end its other acts of aggression against the DRV;

"The troops of the United States and its allies must be withdrawn from South Vietnamese territory;

"The National Liberation Front of South Vietnam must be recognized as the sole lawful representative of the South Vietnamese population;

"The U.S. Government must stop all interference in the internal affairs of Vietnam and undeviatingly observe the 1954 Geneva Agreements."

In conclusion the Statement calls on the progressive forces and peoples of the world which cherish peace, justice, freedom and national independence to step up their fight and to render still greater aid to the people of Vietnam, to intensify their fight against the U.S. imperialist aggression in Vietnam and at the same time to extend their fight against U.S. acts of aggression elsewhere.

The Statement of the 23rd Congress of the CPSU on the U.S. aggression in Vietnam, like the statement on the Vietnam question made by various Congress delegates, was an instance of the vigorous and sincere support which the Communist Party and the people of the Soviet Union are giving to the people of Vietnam in the spirit of proletarian internationalism. This support, like that of dele-

gates from the other brother parties attending the Congress, will be a source of inspiration to the armed forces and the people in either part of Vietnam who will fight against the U.S. aggression, for national salvation, even more actively.

The support given by the 23rd Congress of the CPSU and by other brother parties is evidence of the close connection between the Vietnam people's fight against the U.S. aggression, for national salvation, and the fight of the peoples of the world for peace, national independence, democracy and socialism.

For the brother peoples of Laos and Cambodia, the Statement of the 23rd Congress of the CPSU is a valuable source of inspiration. It encourages them to continue their fight against the U.S. imperialists and their hangers-on, for national independence, unity, peace and neutrality.

Our Party and people greatly appreciate the tremendous and valuable assistance they are receiving from the Soviet Union, the Chinese People's Republic and other fraternal countries and parties. The Communists and all the people of Vietnam, drawing on their own resources, which is the most important thing to do, and on effective aid from the Soviet Union, the Chinese People's Republic and other fraternal countries, are bending all their energies to step up the fight against the U.S. aggression, for the salvation of their country, for an honourable victory, for the defense of North Vietnam and the liberation of South Vietnam, for the unification of the country. They are resolved to contribute to the defense of the socialist community, to world peace, to the national-liberation and democratic movements all over the world.

THE 23RD CONGRESS OF THE CPSU*

Recently the gaze of people the world over was riveted on Moscow, where the 23rd Congress of the CPSU was in session. The Congress commanded the attention of the entire world working-class movement, the forces of national liberation and public opinion in all countries. This is due to the role the USSR plays as a bulwark and champion of freedom, to its striving for socialism and peace, to the international prestige of the CPSU, which leads the Soviet peoples in their historic advance to communism.

In the almost two weeks of its work the Congress dealt with a wide range of internal and international problems facing the CPSU and the working-class movement as a whole, the forces of freedom, progress and universal peace.

Those who followed the Congress and familiarized themselves with its documents were aware of the close connection between the atmosphere and style of the Congress and the political practice of the CPSU in recent years: firm adherence to principle and a sense of responsibility for what is said, thorough preparation of every decision, collective discussion, respect for the opinion of specialists in different fields, attention to local opinion and to the proposals of Party organizations, taking full stock of the objective conditions in which the Party and the state operate. All this was unanimously approved by the delegates and is appreciated by the fraternal parties and all friends of the Soviet Union.

"In common with other socialist countries," Comrade Brezhnev declared in the CC report, "the Soviet Union has pursued a policy aimed at relaxing tension, strengthening peace, achieving peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems, and creating conditions in international life enabling each nation freely to advance along the road of national and social progress."

Defense of peace, the pivotal problem of our time, figured prominently at the Congress in accordance with the Soviet Union's role in the struggle to free mankind from the spectre of a new war. The Congress stressed that the peace policy line charted by the previous congresses is yielding good results, which expresses itself, in particular, in the good relations the Soviet Union has established with most countries of the world, and in the international recognition won by the Soviet Union's peace policy.

"As we expose the aggressive policy of imperialism," Comrade Brezhnev said, "we consistently and unswervingly pursue a policy of peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems. This

*Trybuna Ludu, April 1966.

means that while regarding the coexistence of states with different social systems as a form of the class struggle between socialism and capitalism the Soviet Union consistently advocates normal, peaceful relations with capitalist countries and settlement of outstanding inter-state issues through negotiation, not through war. The Soviet Union firmly stands for non-interference in the internal affairs of all countries, for respect for their sovereign rights and the inviolability of their territories.

"It goes without saying that there can be no peaceful coexistence where the internal process of the class and national-liberation struggle in the capitalist countries or in the colonies are concerned. Peaceful coexistence is not applicable to the relations between the oppressor and the oppressed, between colonialists and the victims of colonial oppression."

Comrade Gromyko said from the rostrum of the Congress: "Together with the fraternal socialist countries the Soviet Union resolutely opposes all attempts to deprive the peoples of the right to choose the social system they wish, the right to defend their choice —by force of arms if necessary. . . . The fact that we advocate and strictly adhere to the principle of non-interference in the affairs of any state or people does not mean tolerance or indifference towards interference by others." This stand was fully expressed in the case of the Vietnam problem, which has become the greatest direct threat to peace through the fault of the U.S. imperialists.

Comrade Brezhnev said: "We declare categorically that in escalating the shameful war against the Vietnamese people the aggressors will have to contend with mounting support for Vietnam from the Soviet Union and its other socialist friends and brothers. The Vietnamese people will be the masters of their country."

The Vietnam problem was touched upon time and again in the speeches of all the delegations of Communist and Workers' parties (there were eighty-six of them at the Congress) and by almost all other speakers; moreover, it became the subject of a special statement by the Congress.

Comrade Gomulka, who was the first to greet the Congress, said: "The policy of force, of armed intervention in the international affairs of other countries, must be ruled out in international relations. Today it is clear to all that the attempt to resolve the issue of Vietnam by means of bombs, napalm and terror is doomed.

"Our Party and the people of Poland are at one with their Vietnamese brothers. Together with the other socialist countries Poland has extended and will continue to extend moral and material aid to embattled Vietnam."

The problems of European security were prominent among the many international issues dealt with at the Congress of the fraternal Soviet Party. The report contains a brief but convincing description

of the policy of West German imperialism and its bilateral alliance with U.S. imperialism, and warns against the threat of the Bonn revenge-seekers gaining access to nuclear weapons.

The Congress reaffirmed the integrity of the existing European state borders and renewed, one might say, the guarantee of the integrity of the borders of the GDR, Poland and Czechoslovakia, against which the revisionist dogmas of Bonn's policy are spearheaded. Comrade Gromyko said: ". . . not a single frontier post on European soil needs the blessing of those who are displeased with the results of the war. The question of European borders has been settled once and for all. The state frontiers of our friends and allies are locked as safely as our own frontiers."

Comrade Brezhnev emphasized in his report that the Soviet Union, a member of the anti-Hitler coalition, will honor the pledge "to do everything necessary to prevent Germany from ever again threatening her neighbors and the peace throughout the world." These words are inseparably linked with the Congress arguments regarding the power of the Soviet Union and the entire socialist community. Behind these arguments stand the growing economic potential, the rapid progress of science and technology, the intrinsic unity and socialist consciousness of the peoples; behind them stands the defense power so eloquently described at the Congress by Marshal Malinovsky.

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Unity of the world forces of socialism, of the Communist parties and the socialist states is a need directly arising from the present tasks of the struggle for peace and the security of the peoples. The report and the debate emphasized strict observance of the Leninist principles of unity in Party and state activities, the firm determination of the CPSU to go on strengthening relations through business-like contacts, consultations and exchanges of opinions and with due regard to the experience of fraternal parties and countries.

As regards the painful problem of divergencies in the world working-class movement, the Congress again displayed the sincerity, consistency and goodwill with which the fraternal Soviet party is striving to restore the unity and strengthen the solidarity of all the Communist parties, avoiding steps that might aggravate the difficulties. Comrade Brezhnev reiterated the readiness of the CPSU leadership at any moment to re-examine existing differences with the leadership of the CPC in order to find ways of overcoming them on Marxist-Leninist principles.

The same idea was expressed, on behalf of our Party, by Comrade Gomulka: "More than ever before the international situation calls for unity and cohesion of all socialist forces and socialist countries,

of all Communist and Workers' parties in the struggle against imperialism in the international arena.

"This unity has been the basic condition for the success of our activity, of our peace effort, the main lever of action and of influence of the socialist countries on world developments. . . . Our Party welcomes and approves the resolve expressed in Comrade Brezhnev's report to work for the unity of all anti-imperialist forces. . . ."

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The Directives for the eighth five-year plan, presented in the report of Comrade Kosygin, Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR, were a highly important part of the internal problems dealt with at the Congress, one which is closely connected with international tasks and above all with the development of fraternal cooperation with socialist countries. In accordance with the Directives, the Soviet Union intends, without restricting the development of all the key branches of the economy, to make considerable headway in meeting the everyday requirements of the population. This calls for a substantial reduction of the gap between the rates of development of Group B and Group A.

In heavy industry, priority is clearly given to the new branches which form the backbone of technological progress in the entire economy, such as electronics, atomic power, synthetics, automation, and others. In the engineering industry, the stress will be laid on quality, which is to conform to the highest world standards. These intensions were symbolized, as it were, by the placing of a Soviet sputnik in orbit around the Moon, which was added proof of the Soviet Union's lead in space exploration and at the same time an expression of "cooperation at the highest level" by many branches of Soviet science and technology.

In the coming five years Soviet agriculture will receive substantial help in the form of capital investments and deliveries of industrial goods. At the same time it will undergo an organizational and economic reshaping aimed at strengthening self-management at the collective farms and at providing greater material incentives. This will make it possible to increase agricultural output by 25 per cent.

The eighth five-year plan is characterized by the precision of its estimates, realism and a judicious approach to forecasts and prerequisites. This feature of the plan was stressed by Comrade Kosygin, who said that the tasks of raising the standard of living through all-round economic progress were far-reaching but were not the limit and that promoting the initiative of the masses could lead to a much greater growth of real incomes than planned.

Observers the world over took notice of the following passage in Comrade Brezhnev's report: "There must be no unrealistic targets

in our plans for the future. They must be based on the possibilities of the Soviet economy, on the level already achieved in the development of the country's productive forces."

The Directives adopted by the Congress fully meet this prerequisite.

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We shall return to the results of the Twenty-Third Congress again and again, shall study its documents and follow with fraternal interest the Soviet people's efforts to implement the important decisions adopted by the Congress. The role the CPSU plays in our movement, in the community of the socialist countries and in the whole world of today determines the exceptional importance of the Congress of the great Party of Lenin.

Comrade Gomulka, Secretary of the CC of our Party, said at the Congress: "Our two parties are closely linked by bonds of fraternal friendship and cooperation. The deep friendship and alliance welding our peoples are products of the revolutionary traditions of struggle of the working class of both countries. They were sealed in victorious battles against the fascist invader and further strengthened through fraternal cooperation and mutual aid over more than twenty postwar years."

We hail the decisions of the 23rd Congress of the CPSU as a new and important step forward in the all-round development of the first socialist state and in the consolidation of the forces of the entire socialist camp, the mainstay of our security and of European and world peace.

WORK FOR COMMUNISM THE LENIN WAY

SPEECH* BY N. YEGORYCHEV

Comrades, the Soviet people have many fine holidays. But we always celebrate the anniversary of the birth of Vladimir Ilyich Lenin with particular warmth. On this day Communists and other working people in all countries pay their tribute of love and respect to the great man, revolutionary and thinker with whose name the rise of a new era, the era of remaking the world along socialist lines, is associated.

The importance of Lenin's ideas and their revolutionizing power were conclusively demonstrated by the 23rd Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. The Congress showed the solid unity and great political maturity of the CPSU, which solves problems of communist construction with Leninist realism, thoroughness, adherence to principle, and efficiency.

The cause of Lenin, his doctrine, has now become the banner of all progressive mankind. The internationalist nature of Leninism is evident from the activities of the CPSU and other contingents of the world Communist movement. In their speeches and messages of greeting delivered to the 23rd Congress, delegates from 86 Communist and Workers' parties, and also national democratic and Left socialist parties voiced warm, fraternal solidarity with our Party and the Soviet people. They presented an impressive picture of the achievements of world socialism, of the struggle for social and national liberation going on in all continents.

A remarkable process is under way. Social development is putting forward new, ever more intricate problems and tasks, but the Leninist doctrine does not age, it marches on in step with the times, increasing its influence on the minds and destinies of people.

Builders of the new society in the socialist countries, fighters for the case of the working class in the capitalist countries, and progressive leaders of the national-liberation movement today look for and find in Lenin's teachings the answers to the questions agitating them.

"Physically he is no more," Maxim Gorky wrote of Lenin, "but his voice is ringing out more and more loudly and triumphantly for the working people on earth, and today there is no corner on it where his voice does not rouse the will of the working people for revolution, for a new life, for the construction of a world of equals."

*Delivered at meeting on the 96th anniversary of Lenin's birth, Moscow, April 22, 1966.

The everlasting youth of the Marxist-Leninist doctrine stems from its profoundly scientific nature and inseparable bonds with life. Marxism-Leninism is steadily progressing and growing richer in content as it illumines the road to revolutionary practice.

Communists, Lenin said, should apply theory creatively, taking into account the new conditions and the accumulated historical experience. There is every ground for saying that it is this approach to solving problems of communist construction that was the most characteristic feature of the 23rd Congress of the CPSU.

It expressed itself in the program elaborated by the Congress for economic and cultural advance and for the development of social relations, a program whose implementation will signify another important step of the Land of Soviets along the road to communism.

It manifested itself in the Congress carrying forward the Leninist propositions on the style, forms and methods of the organizing and political work of the Party.

It was embodied in the Congress decisions defining the tasks of Soviet foreign policy and the ways of carrying on the effort for strengthening the unity of the socialist commonwealth and the world Communist movement, against the imperialist policy of aggression, for lasting peace, national liberation, democracy and socialism.

The decisions of the 23rd Congress are inspired by one idea, and launch one fervent call: to carry the banner of Lenin high, to work for communism the Lenin way.

THE LENINIST ECONOMIC POLICY OF THE PARTY

Comrades, of the entire range of complex problems the Party had to solve after the victory of the socialist revolution, Lenin attached prime importance to the development of the national economy. He stressed that the successful building of the new society depended above all on the formulation of a correct economic policy, on the ability to mobilize the people's creative energy to carry it out. Moreover, Lenin never proceeded from abstract patterns. He outlined the forms and methods of economic construction on the basis of a profound study of the actual situation and in conformity with the country's real possibilities.

You will recall, comrades, how promptly and accurately Lenin assessed the changing situation and worked out a concrete program of action. Only a few months after the October Revolution, Lenin wrote his famous theses, *The Immediate Task of the Soviet Government*, in which he charted the ways of laying the foundations of a socialist economy. Came the civil war and intervention, and Lenin insisted that everything be subordinated to the defense of the young

Soviet Republic. He formulated an economic policy ensuring utmost centralization and the concentration of all forces and resources in the hands of the state. After the conditions for peaceful labor were won Lenin elaborated the New Economic Policy, which envisaged the wide use of commodity-money relations in the interest of building socialism. With conviction and fervor he urged the Party, government bodies and the trade unions "to learn—with less stir but more attentively, thoughtfully and earnestly—how to build up the economy, how to manage economic enterprises." (*Collected Works,* Vol. 44, p. 492.)

Lenin taught us that we must coordinate each step, each plan and undertaking both with the immediate requirements of the day and with the long-range tasks of the struggle for the victory of communism. Lenin's presentation of the question serves to this day as a model of approach to economic guidance. Now that the ideas and plans of the 23rd CPSU Congress, which has just ended, are uppermost in the minds of the Soviet people, we note with deep satisfaction that the Congress decisions are in perfect accordance with Lenin's precepts.

The Congress creatively applied Lenin's ideas about socialist economic management and planning and about popular initiative to the present stage in the country's life. Its decisions are aimed at fulfilling a major program assignment—providing the material and technical base of communism. They determine the Party's long-term economic policy, a policy expressing the vital needs of the further progress of Soviet society.

In outlining the immediate economic and political tasks, the Party proceeds from the qualitatively new conditions which have shaped in the country as a result of the tremendous growth of production, of the all-round development of socialist relations in society. How these conditions have changed in comparison with what they were in Lenin's time!

In his report to the 4th Congress of the Communist International on the results of the first five years of the October Socialist Revolution, Lenin could mention only the modest figure of 20 million gold rubles, which had been saved for the development of heavy industry. But behind this figure, which was insignificant even in those days, Lenin visualized the future industrial upsurge of our country. His vision has been translated into reality. The Soviet Union now contributes about one-fifth of world industrial output. Our industry has advanced to first place in the world in the production of iron ore and coal, cement and steel pipes, sawn timber and metal-cutting machines, sugar and butter. Last year the Soviet Union produced 507,000 million kwh of electric power and 91 million tons of steel. No state can measure up to us in scale of housing

construction. The national income of the USSR today amounts to a huge sum—over 190,000m. rubles annually. This is what the Soviet people have achieved under the leadership of the Leninist Party, this is what we have to our credit as we celebrate the 96th anniversary of Lenin's birth.

The country's economic power, its remarkable achievements in science, technology and culture are a result of the devoted effort of several generations of Soviet people—those who in the early years of Soviet power fought gallantly on the Civil War fronts and combated economic dislocation, who laid the foundations of a modern industry and of the collective-farm system; those who upheld the gains of socialism and defeated the nazi invaders in the Great Patriotic War, rehabilitated and carried forward the economy under the postwar five-year plans; and, of course, those who worked on the assignment of the Seven-Year Plan and who are now building the material and technical base of communism. Our remarkable Soviet people—workers and peasants, specialists and scientists—are the country's greatest wealth. Their devotion to the ideas of communism, and their knowledge and experience are a guarantee of the successful accomplishment of the tasks confronting us.

Planning has been and remains an immense advantage of the Soviet economy. Lenin stressed that it is impossible to work properly without a plan calculated for a long period and aimed at achieving important results. For 40 years now the staffs of our enterprises, Party and government organizations, all Soviet men and women have been working on the basis of long-range economic plans reflecting the Party's fundamental principles and economic policy.

The Directives of the 23rd Congress for the new Five-Year Plan provide an extensive program for the economic and cultural development of every Union republic, for the promotion of the Soviet Union's economic potential and defense capacity and a substantial rise in the standard of living.

Lenin said more than once that attaining a productivity of social labor higher than under capitalism was the decisive requisite for the victory of the communist system. This proposition of Lenin's has now acquired special meaning and has become the motto of all our economic activity. The point is that we can carry on capital construction on a vast scale, strengthen the country's defenses and at the same time substantially improve the standard of living only if the efficiency of production is rising steadily.

In line with the changed economic conditions, the Party has begun to carry out a set of measures ensuring the most judicious use of the country's immense productive forces. It is envisaged

to bring closer together the growth rates in the industries producing capital means and in those producing consumer goods, while preserving the priority development of heavy industry, to establish optimum economic proportions and speed the growth of progressive branches of the economy.

The 23rd Congress of the CPSU made a big contribution to elaborating a policy and specific measures aimed at promoting agriculture at a stable rate. The Party's policy is designed to develop proper material and technical facilities for the collective and state farms, intensify agriculture production, consistently apply the Leninist principle of material incentive and steadily raise the living standard of the rural population, bringing it closer to that in the city. This creates real conditions for eliminating the lag in the development of agriculture and for raising the efficiency of all social production.

Accomplishment of the economic development tasks set by the 23rd Congress involves consistent introduction of the new system of planning, management and stimulation of production, the basic principles of which were laid down by the CC CPSU in March and September.

What is characteristic of the methods of economic leadership the Party is so persistently applying today? First, a scientific approach to all economic problems and to planning; second, enhancement of the role of economic stimuli in socialist production and of economic methods in management; third, proper combination of material and moral stimuli, development of emulation and the movement for communist labor, encouragement of the initiative and creative activity of the personnel of enterprises and of each worker, making them more interested in and responsible for observing the interests of the entire people. The Party has cleared the ground for the fuller application and further development of the Leninist principles of economic management, discarding all that has not stood the test of time and has become an impediment to our advance.

The pivot of the economic reform now being implemented is to properly apply the Leninist principle of democratic centralism, to organically combine planned guidance by the state with the extension of the initiative and powers of enterprises on the basis of complete cost-accounting.

Lenin regarded operational autonomy of enterprises and trusts and their financial responsibility for production results as a major prerequisite for economic or, as he also put it, commercial accounting. One has only to turn to his works giving the reasons for the New Economic Policy, such as the outline of his proposed article "Commercial Organization of Business," to see how Lenin's ideas developed, how he explained cost-accounting in terms of theory,

proving its need for organizing accounting and control, for increasing accumulations and, ultimately, for the transition to communism. Addressing the Moscow Gubernia Party Conference on October 29, 1921, Lenin said: "Only on this basis—commercial accounting—can the economy be built. This is hampered by prejudice and by recollections of what was yesterday." (Vol. 44, p. 220.)

The Leninist line of the Party's economic policy, based not on reorganizations of the top structure of the economy, but on deep economic influence on production, is beginning to bear fruit.

The first results of work in the new way, since the March 1965 Plenary Meeting of the CC, CPSU, show that the labor effort of the collective farmers, state farm workers and agricultural specialists has risen substantially. Last year this made it possible to achieve a bigger increase in total agricultural output than in any preceding year, and this despite the drought and the considerable decrease in the grain crop it caused. Now it is clear to all what an economically sound approach to directing agriculture can produce.

The new system of planning and material stimulation is already being applied in different forms and to a differing degree in industry, construction, transport, trade and the urban public utilities. By mid-year it will embrace a group of enterprises employing more than one million people. In those enterprises that have adopted the new system, labor productivity increases faster, resources are put to better uses, the efficiency of production rises and wages grow.

To advance in economy and politics, Lenin pointed out, it is necessary always to keep abreast of contemporary knowledge, to take account of world experience and scientific and technical achievements. The successful building of communism greatly depends on the organic fusion of production and science, the conversion of science into a direct productive force. Never before have questions of the development of science and technology, and the prompt and wide application of their achievements been so closely linked with the implementation of the Party's program principles. This applies both to the natural sciences and, in no less a degree, to the social sciences. These sciences facilitate the planned development of socialist society, the use of modern manaegment methods and the obtaining of maximum results with the least outlays of social labor. It is the steadfast line of our Party to create the most favorable organizational and economic conditions for scientific and technological progress, for the creative work of the Soviet intelligentsia.

The Party and all Soviet people hail the decisions of the 23rd CPSU Congress. These decisions have won unanimous approval at meetings of active members of republic, regional, district and city Party organizations, and at thousands of mass meetings.

Our people have made the plans drawn up by the Congress their own. This is the surest guarantee that the new Five-Year Plan will be carried out successfully, that the Land of Soviets will come to 1970, the year of Lenin's birth centenary, with new outstanding victories in every area of communist construction.

FOR THE LENINIST STYLE OF WORK

Comrades, the 23rd Congress has given the Soviet people a clear-cut, scientifically sound program of action, and the task now is to carry it out. Lenin always linked up the shaping of a policy with measures for putting it into practice. Unity of theory and practice, of objectives and methods are a distinguishing feature of Leninism.

The 23rd Congress emphasized that in view of the tremendous scale and complexity of communist construction and the growth of the people's political consciousness and activity, a new approach, a better style of work, is required of Party, government and economic bodies, of public organizations, of all our cadres.

The key to this is given by the time-tested Leninist principles of Party and government leadership, which form an important part of the ideological legacy of our leader and teacher.

The Party wants the fullest possible use in our work of such important elements of the Leninist style as:

—a scientific approach to political issues and the settlement of these issues on the basis of a study of objective processes and practical experience, with due regard to the historical perspective;

—a close link with the people, promotion of their initiative and activity, the ability to persuade and lead them;

—development of democracy on an extensive scale and, at the same time, strict observance of Party and state discipline, combining collective leadership with personal responsibility;

—efficiency, organizational ability, proper selection and training of personnel, and systematic verification of the execution of decisions;

—a realistic assessment of achieved results, the encouragement of criticism and self-criticism, intolerance of everything that is stagnant and obsolete, of everything that hinders our onward movement.

The experience acquired by the Party shows that successful progress to communism is possible only if these Leninist principles are steadfastly observed and carried forward.

Today everyone is aware of the benefits of the creative and business-like atmosphere brought into being in the Party and country after the October Plenary Meeting of the CC CPSU. The Leninist style of leadership provides vast scope for popular initia-

tive. Party organizations are becoming more militant, local government bodies, trade unions and the Komsomol are becoming more active, and democratic principles are being promoted in our entire life.

This fruitful trend is asserting itself not spontaneously but in the course of the Party's struggle against worthless but, regrettably, extremely tenacious methods and habits. Mere show instead of efficiency, idle talk instead of competence, and conference bustle, fruitless writing of papers and circulars instead of practical work are still frequent occurrences. Red tape and other bureaucratic practices have yet to be completely uprooted. The Party insists on removing this kind of shortcomings with a firm hand.

Enhancement of the leading and guiding role of the CPSU is a decisive prerequisite for the establishment of the Leninist style in all our work, a condition for the further progress of the Soviet people.

The Party is at the center of the country's social life. It is the political leader and organizer of the people, and directs the advance of Soviet society to communism. It shapes policy and organizes its implementation on the basis of a scientific analysis of reality and of the interests of the whole people.

The 23rd Congress of the CPSU called upon Party organizations to step up popular activity in creating the material and technical base of communism, in administering the affairs of society. The Congress resolution stressed that they should apply organizing and educational methods appropriate to them, without doing the work of local government and economies bodies for them and without exercising petty patronage. It would be wrong for Party bodies to engage in administrative activity. Obviously, they would only weaken themselves as organs of political leadership if they did so, and would be unable to exercise effective control.

In enhancing the responsibility and autonomy of government bodies and mass organizations, the Party sees its task in ensuring that they work smoothly and perform their functions precisely. It calls upon Party organizations to concentrate on key problems of the development of economy, culture and socialist democracy and on the education of the masses, and to mobilize and unite the people for the fulfilment of practical tasks through the active participation of every Communist, no matter where he works, in the implementation of the Party line.

The role and prestige of Party organizations are inseparably bound up with the consistent application of the principle of collective leadership. The vital importance of such leadership is self-evident. It is only by the eflorts of many people drawing, in turn, on the experience and opinion of the masses that complex problems can be solved in the best way and mistakes in work brought down

to a minimum. This is why the Central Committee is bent on creating throughout the Party favorable conditions for collective work, for comradely discussion and criticism.

Lenin always lent ear to the opinions and arguments of his associates. He willingly and carefully listened to the opinions of workers, peasants and experts, and took their suggestions and experience into account. One day, having heard that a Deputy People's Commissar for Agriculture was in the habit of getting rid of efficient workers who disagreed with him, Lenin wrote to him, saying that people who could stand on their own feet and who approached their work differently should be valued and not regarded as a nuisance.

Genuine collective leadership materializes when each Communist, especially a member of an elected body, takes an active part in the discussion of problems and expresses view prompted by knowledge, experience and Party conscience. This increases the collective and individual responsibility of all members of the elected body for a collective decision and for its fulfilment.

A man of action and an enemy of empty words and bombast, Lenin held that collective responsibility must be combined with personal responsibility. He educated people in a spirit of revolutionary efficiency and impressed on their minds the importance of bringing work that has been started to completion. "A business-like approach to work and efficiency as a slogan," he wrote in his notes for the article *The Immediate Tasks of the Soviet Government.* And in a letter on the functions of the People's Commissariat for Justice under the New Economic Policy, he emphasized: "What the People's Commissar must secure, and prove that he can secure, is not a division into 'departments' followed by bureaucratic slumbers, but the personal responsibility of each *Communist* in the collegium for such and such real revolutionary work." (Vol. 44, p. 400.)

This precept of Lenin's remains as valid as ever. It is no secret that even today some organizations operate along lines of "all-round irresponsibility," and if a failure occurs somewhere there is no one to call to account.

The experience of the CPSU shows that each person will really bear the responsibility for his work only when an exacting attitude and verification of fulfilment are not in the nature of an episode or a campaign but are a permanent element of leadership at all Party levels.

The style of work depends primarily on how properly people are selected, placed and trained. Here as in other walks of life, Lenin's example and approach are highly instructive.

Lenin had deep faith in the intelligence and creative energy of the masses and knew better than anyone else how to find talented people in their midst. He promoted them without hesitation, train-

ed them carefully and backed them, and brought them up to be statesmen. Our Party's work of selecting and training personnel is founded on Lenin's recommendation that "the selection of the best workers in the economic field, of administrators and organizers who can handle work of special, general, local or national importance must be organized on a broad plan basis, systematically and openly." (Vol. 43, p. 280.)

It is fair to say, comrades, that the problem of personnel now is in the focus of Party work. In the Central Committee report to the 23rd Congress, Comrade Brezhnev, General Secretary of the CC, CPSU, said that the selection and training of personnel should become the concern of the whole Party and state.

Today, when the management of production and the guidance of other aspects of social life are being placed on a consistently scientific footing, the Party sets the task of radically improving the system of training and promoting personnel, putting greater demands to them and taking greater account of the opinion of Party organizations and of public opinion when questions bearing on personnel are being decided. This is the only way to rule out subjective and accidental elements and to meet the requirement of the 23rd Congress of the CPSU that leading positions should be assigned to people who are devoted to the ideas of communism, know their job well, are always in touch with the masses and know how to organize them for the fulfilment of the tasks facing them.

Lenin sharply denounced unreasonable, to say nothing of callous, attitudes to personnel, and insisted that they be valued and properly treated.

A genuinely Leninist approach to personnel is becoming the established practice both at the center and elsewhere. Ordering about and harassment, which created a nervous atmosphere, made people diffident, and sometimes generated attitudes of time-serving and servility, are receding into the past never to return.

The Central Committee insists on Party organizations exercising strict control to ensure that no injustice is done to cadres and that there are no unwarranted reshuffles.

Of course, it often happens that someone who for various reasons can no longer cope with his job but can be useful on another job has to be transferred. The Party teaches us properly to assess and utilize the ability of everyone and to help him show his worth. On the other hand, it expects us to be firm and, when necessary, promptly to replace a weak and inefficient worker if we do not want to cause harm to the job.

Trust and respect combined with a most exacting attitude are among the main principles of the Party's policy toward personnel.

We all know of Lenin's friendly, tactful and unassuming attitude to people. According to the testimony of all who worked with

him, he never humiliated anyone even if he had to scold him but, on the contrary, strengthened his faith in himself, in his ability to rectify his mistakes. Although he was immersed in work, Lenin always found the time to show concern for his associates, for their health and personal requirements. But he never shrank from breaking with people he had respected or even liked if they became a hindrance to the implementation of the Party's policy.

Lenin became adamant when he encountered inaction, slovenliness, red tape and bureaucracy. He was particularly intolerant of those who sabotaged measures taken by the Soviet government, and showed no mercy to its enemies.

At the 23rd Congress it was stressed that one of the most important tasks in the work among the cadres is to educate them in the spirit of communist ideology, conviction and principle. These qualities were valued by Lenin and we must develop them in everyone. We must see to it that all our cadres improve their theoretical grounding and master Leninism and the experience of the CPSU.

The *Complete Works* of Lenin, published by decision of the Central Committee of the CPSU, are of great importance for ensuring a profound study of Lenin's ideological legacy. The 55 volumes that have been published contain the entire wealth of Lenin's ideas, and more than a thousand works and documents have been printed for the first time. This publication is an outstanding event in the ideological and political life of our Party and of the whole international Communist movement.

To master Leninism means mastering the substance of Lenin's doctrine, its method and spirit, to learn to apply this doctrine to practical affairs and not to engage in thoughtless, noncommittal quotation-mongering.

It is very important for cadres to acquire economic knowledge and learn the new methods of management. Today it is impossible to direct any sector of the economy without this knowledge.

Lenin valued the ability of executives to "win the hearts" of people. He used to say that with regard to a serious political question it is difficult to rely on a person using only arm-chair methods. The Party demands that today every executive be not only an organizer but also an educator, that he carry Lenin's teachings to the masses and by personal example, work and behavior justify the trust of the Party and the people.

Today, when the creative initiative of the people is so very important, it is the direct duty of Party organizations to continuously instil in our leading cadres the Leninist sense of the new, and the readiness to give vigorous backing to every valuable suggestion.

By promoting the initiative and activity of the masses, the Party brings millions of working people into active creative work, and inculcates in every Soviet citizen a keen sense of responsibility

for the common cause. Life and the direct experience of the struggle for communism are the best school of communist education.

Ideological staunchness and political consciousness are moulded under the beneficial influence of the socialist system. The more fully and consistently socialist principles are implemented in all areas of life and the more resolutely everything incompatible with the nature of our society is rooted out, the more effective our ideological work will be.

The principal task of the Party's ideological work is to educate the new man, the active builder of communism firmly convinced of the correctness of Lenin's ideas. The Party is educating Soviet people in the spirit of political consciousness and a communist attitude to work, in the spirit of the Leninist friendship among nations, of Soviet patriotism and proletarian internationalism, organization and discipline, thrift and concern for increasing the national wealth.

Today the attention of Party organizations is focussed on explaining the documents and decisions of the 23rd Congress of the CPSU and the Directives for the new Five-Year Plan to the people, and on mobilizing the people for the fulfilment of these decisions and directives. We shall have to considerably increase the scale of propaganda and agitation and raise their standard, and must bring the Party and local government cadres into this work. As was emphasized in the CC, CPSU report, ideological work is a matter for our entire Party, for every Communist.

Firmly establishing Lenin's style in this work, the Party expects Communists to heed the opinion and ideological requirements of the people, to speak to them honestly and frankly, not to evade delicate questions, and ably to repudiate erroneous judgments and views. Communist political consciousness is fostered in a determined struggle against alien influences and various survivals, against indifference to politics and nihilism in the attitude to the great gains of socialism.

The Congress called on the Party to intensify the fight against bourgeois ideology, anti-communism and anti-Sovietism. It is not for us Marxist-Leninists to be on the defensive. The truth of life and the most advanced ideas of this age are on our side. The whole of progressive mankind sides with us. The future belongs to us.

UNDER THE BANNER OF LENIN, FORWARD TO NEW VICTORIES IN THE STRUGGLE FOR PEACE, DEMOCRACY, NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE AND SOCIALISM

Comrades, Lenin, a great patriot and internationalist, considered the victory of the October Revolution and socialist construction in the USSR an integral part of the world revolutionary process, and

our Party one of the militant contingents of the world Communist movement.

Having perceived this objective interrelation, Lenin defined the creation of favorable conditions for the building of the new society in the USSR, support of the revolutionary movement in other countries and a steady effort for peace as the basic tasks of the foreign policy of the Party and the Soviet state.

The principled and flexible foreign policy conducted under Lenin's leadership was one of the important factors that enabled the world's first socialist state to break the blockade, establish economic and diplomatic relations with many countries and assume an equal place in world affairs.

Today the Soviet Union has an immense economic potential and great military power. It has dependable allies and enjoys exceptional prestige and influence in the world. But even today, in the new historical context, Lenin's principles of foreign policy are still as important to us as ever, because our people are striving for the same great goals as in the early years of Soviet power. This was reaffirmed by the 23rd Congress of the CPSU.

All sorts of forecasts appeared in the bourgeois press long before the Congress, concerning allegedly imminent changes in Soviet foreign policy. Some claimed there would be a turn "towards isolationism"; others predicted a revision of the policy of peaceful coexistence. All sorts of things were said.

The bourgeois ideologists, who have their own yardstick for everything, cannot understand that the main direction of Soviet foreign policy is unchangeable. It is determined by the nature of the socialist state, the vital interests of our people and their internationalist revolutionary duty to the fraternal socialist countries and the working people of the world. The decisions of the 23rd Congress epitomized the Party's firm resolve to carry on the policy of strengthening the world socialist system, supporting the national-liberation movements, fully cooperating with the young developing countries, upholding the principle of peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems, and averting world war.

The Soviet Union is uncompromising in its opposition to the forces of reaction and war, and seeks a better international climate, the settlement of disputes by negotiation, and closer economic, scientific, technical and cultural relations with all countries. The Central Committee report to the Congress contains a clear-cut and constructive program for the promotion of peace and international security.

Our Party's approach to international problems bears all the Leninist features—firmness of principle, realism and a keen sense of responsibility for the future of peace and social progress. Today, too, the Soviet people can say with a clear conscience in Lenin's

words: "We have betrayed nothing and no one, we have neither sanctified nor cloaked a single falsehood, and have never refused whatever help we could give to any friend and comrade in need." (Vol. 36, p. 80.) This earns our policy the war approval and support of the fraternal parties and all progressive mankind.

From the rostrum of the 23rd Congress our foreign friends spoke with deep feeling about the Leninist internationalist policy of the CPSU and the role of the Soviet Union in the fight of the peoples against colonial tyranny and imperialist aggression, for freedom and independence, for the sacred right to shape their own fortunes.

Those who were present at the Kremlin Palace will never forget the enthusiastic ovation that greeted the delegations of the Party of the Working People of Vietnam and the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam. In their speeches, the envoys of the heroic Vietnamese people stressed the vast importance of our assistance for their fight against the U.S. aggressor and thanked the Soviet people, the peoples of all the socialist countries, and the Communist parties for their solidarity.

Anger and indignation is running high all over the world against the U.S. imperialists. Mankind cannot reconcile itself to fist law governing international affairs, to foreign invaders imposing their will by force or arms, barbarously bombing towns and villages, destroying the fruits of peaceful labor, killing women, old men and children.

End the U.S. aggression, stop the bombing of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, withdraw the U.S. troops from South Vietnam and let the Vietnamese settle their own domestic affairs—these are the main points of the firm stand taken by the CPSU, as set out in the unanimously adopted Statement of the 23rd Congress. It is also the stand taken by all the fraternal parties. There is no doubt whatever that the just cause of the Vietnamese people will triumph.

The events of recent years show once again that imperialism is a strong and perfidious enemy of the peoples. The aggravation of the general crisis of capitalism and the growth of capitalist contradictions make the monopoly bourgeoisie more reckless than ever. In an effort to retain its positions in the class struggles and wherever possible, to retrieve what it has lost, world reaction headed by U.S. imperialism commits dangerous provocations and crimes. The U.S. imperialists interfere brazenly in the internal affairs of many African, Asian and Latin American countries, organize anti-popular conspiracies and coups, and encourage revanchism and militarism in West Germany, which is increasingly becoming a dangerous seedbed of war.

All this calls for unflagging vigilance. The Party and the Soviet people are strengthening our country's defense potential, drawing

proper conclusions from the fact that aggressive imperialist groups are increasing international tension. The Armed Forces of the Soviet Union are ever ready to defend and uphold the gains of socialism by striking down any aggressor.

Lenin foresaw that the revolutionary liberation movement would have to gain its every position in grim struggle and acute class battles. He taught us to have unwavering faith in the historical justice of the socialist cause, soberly to appraise the results achieved, taking account of the gains as well as the setbacks, and to find the most correct course of action in each particular situation.

The Communists of the world hold that the present situation calls for greater activity of the revolutionary forces on every front of the anti-imperialist struggle, for greater cohesion and unity of action. That is the only way to paralyze the more aggressive imperialists, to prevent them from suppressing the liberation struggle of the peoples, and to avert a thermonuclear war. It is the only way to advance the great cause of democracy, national independence and socialism.

The report of the Central Committee and the Congress decisions called once more for maximum effort in rallying the revolutionary forces against the common enemy.

Our enemies, who banked on an exacerbation of the polemics and a split in the Communist movement, do not conceal their disappointment. They refer, with an obviously provocative purpose, to what they describe as the "Christian forbearance" of the Soviet Communists, who, they say, refuse to react to the attacks made on them and keep on calling for unity.

Yes, Communist unity on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and the decisions of the 1957 and 1960 Moscow meetings is a principle of the policy of our Leninist Party. The CPSU adheres to this principle because it is aware of the Party's rightness and strength and of its responsibility for the fortunes of socialism and the world Communist movement.

Unity of action of the Communists, of all revolutionaries and champions of progress and peace is an imperative demand of the times, which places immense responsibility on every contingent of the Communist movement. The 23rd Congress of the CPSU showed that our Leninist Party fully realizes its responsibility.

Practice has always been the supreme criterion of the correctness of policy. The consistent implementation and development of the line of the 20th-22nd congresses of the CPSU both in domestic and international affairs have borne splendid fruit. The steady growth of Soviet economic power, the consolidation of the Soviet social and political system, and the increased prestige and influence

of the Soviet Union in world affairs are all indications of our Party's political maturity and wisdom.

The 23rd Congress reaffirmed the unchanging desire of the CPSU to promote its fraternal solidarity with the Communist and Workers' parties and to work with them for the implementation of the general line of the world Communist movement. Ideological and political unity of the Communists of the world implies an uncompromising fight by the Marxist-Leninists against Right and "Left" revisionism, against the distortio nof Leninist strategic and tactical principles.

The unanimous support of this policy, voiced by delegates from fraternal parties at the Congress, is the best possible proof of the fact that it meets the basic interests of the socialist community, and of the entire revolutionary and liberation movement.

Comrades, the socialist world system is the leading force of the international revolutionary movement. The achievements of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries are an inspiring example for the working people of the world. They add to the political weight of the working class in the capitalist countries and create a still more favorable situation and new stimuli for the peoples' struggle for their vital interests and progressive ideals. This is why the effort to increase the might and unity of the socialist commonwealth is one of the primary concerns of the foreign policy of our Party and the Soviet state. In keeping with the line laid down by the 23rd Congress, we shall continue to promote the political, economic and cultural bonds of the Soviet Union with other countries of the socialist world system and to do our utmost to promote its unity, strength and influence.

Shortly after the October Revolution Lenin said that the peoples would henceforth judge socialism not only by Marxist books and the programs of working-class parties, but above all by its practice. The dedicated labor first of our people and later of the peoples of other countries that took the socialist path has furnished practical evidence that socialism has incontestable advantages over capitalism, that it makes for rapid economic and cultural progress and develops a new type of relations between peoples and between states. One of the great and truly revolutionary tasks of our time is to use the creative possibilities of socialism more and more fully to enhance, let alone maintain, its superiority in furthering production, and steadily to improve the living and cultural standards of the people.

In complete accordance with Lenin's behests, our Party sees it as its prime internationalist duty to work for the all-round progress of the world's first socialist society. The building of communism in the USSR is the main contribution of the Soviet people to the world revolutionary process.

The fraternal parties say: The successes of the Soviet people are our successes as well. Every new Soviet achievement in communist construction is a blow to imperialism and anti-communism, and yet another victory for Leninism. This high appraisal inspires the Communists and all Soviet people to further achievements in the name of the triumph of our great cause.

Comrades, in a few months we shall enter the 50th year of the new era ushered in by the Great October Socialist Revolution.

The world has changed beyond recognition since the October Revolution. The formation and development of the socialist world system, the collapse of colonialism and the growth of the world Communist movement into the most influential political force of our time all show how very correct Leninism is.

We have passed important stages on the road to communism, our supreme goal, under Lenin's banner. We shall make more progress along this road in the new five-year period.

The Party firmly believes that the Communists and all the working people of our country will greet the 50th anniversary of the October Revolution and the 100th anniversary of Lenin's birth with new important achievements. For us Soviet people, to fight for Lenin's cause and to live the Lenin way means giving all our strength and knowledge to the fulfilment of the decisions of the 23rd Party Congress.

Long live the great Soviet people and their militant vanguard, the glorious Communist Party founded by Lenin!

Long live Marxism-Leninism, an ever-living, all-conquering revolutionary doctrine, a powerful weapon in the struggle for peace, democracy, national liberation, socialism and communism!

MOSCOW'S MESSAGE TO THE PEOPLES OF THE WORLD*

Janos Kadar

An unrelenting struggle is going on all over the world between the forces of progress and reaction, between socialism and capitalism, between imperialism and the peoples fighting for freedom, between the forces of war and the forces of peace. The international situation has worsened as a result of the imperialists' anti-popular, aggressive actions in Vietnam and the Dominican Republic, of coups aimed against the freedom of peoples and the independence of countries, of the massacres carried out by the reactionaries in Indonesia and the crimes committed by the racialists in South Africa and Rhodesia. This makes it particularly clear why the 23rd Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union riveted the attention of friend and foe alike, of the whole of world opinion. Everyone wanted to know what the Party of Lenin would say to the Soviet people, to the international working class, what the strongest member of the socialist world system, the Soviet Union, would say to the peoples of the world in the present complicated international situation. The world forces of social progress, national independence and peace looked trustingly to the Moscow Kremlin. Nor could the international bourgeoisie remain uninterested, for, as the West German bourgeois newspaper *Die Tat* put it, "no statesman and no government can ignore the decisions of this congress."

Being fully aware that the Soviet Union, the main force of the socialist world, presents the biggest danger to their predatory system, the biggest insurmountable obstacle to their aggressive designs, the imperialists are trying to dislodge it from its firm positions, to shake its resolute policy. What the enemies of communism had expected of the Congress was sabre-rattling, an "exoneration" of Stalin, a "spectacular split" in the world Communist movement, and other sensations of that sort. *That* would have suited them. The imperialists vilely and rather skilfully tried to capitalize on the exposure of Stalin's errors. With reference to the decision of the October (1964) Plenary Meeting of the Central Committee and Khrushchov's removal from office, they questioned the consistency and constancy of the policy of the Soviet Union. They are now try-

*Népszabadsàg, April 17, 1955.

ing hard to benefit by the anti-Soviet statements of splitters of the world working-class movement.

The 23rd Congress was a party assembly which proceeded in a calm atmosphere and was free from subjectivism. It was marked by realism, determination, unity, cohesion with the people and confidence in the future. Representatives of 86 foreign Communist, Workers' and democratic parties demonstrated at it their resolve and unity in the struggle against the imperialists, on the one hand, and their firm solidarity with the Soviet comrades, on the other.

The various militant contingents of the international working class, the Communists and Workers' parties of the world fighting in different conditions and independently but not without reliance on one another, awaited the 23rd Congress of the CPSU as a great event. Inasmuch as the class struggle is being waged on a world scale, the struggle of each Communist party has international significance as well. This applies above all to the first Marxist-Leninist revolutionary party of the world, the CPSU, in whose life and struggle even a purely "internal" event is of vast international importance from the point of view of the struggle of all the Communist parties. The peoples building socialism, the Communist and Workers' parties, the exploited masses in the capitalist countries, the peoples suffering from imperialist oppression expected the congress of our Soviet friends to equip them with ideological and political weapons, to give them support and hope, nor were they disappointed.

It was a great honor for us who had the opportunity to attend that remarkable forum to represent at it the Hungarian Communists and all our people, who are building socialism. The Hungarian delegation realizes that those who are interested in the congress must make a careful and thorough study of its wealth of material. Nevertheless, it regards it as its duty familiarize the members of our Party and the Hungarian public, if only in rough outline, with the experience acquired by it, with the work that has been done.

The 23rd Congress strengthened and carried forward — and we regard this as the important thing—the general line of the Twentieth and Twenty-Second congresses and re-emphasized its fidelity to the decisions of the Moscow meetings of 1957 and 1960. In other words, at home the Communist Party of the Soviet Union proceeds with the constructive effort to build the material and technical foundations of Communist society, and in the international arena it is fighting for the purity of Marxism-Leninism, against the spirit of Right and "Left" opportunism, for the unity of the socialist countries and of the world Communist movement, for the cohesion of all the progressive forces. The CPSU comes out resolutely against any imperialist aggression, for assistance to its victims. At

the same time it is doing its utmost to prevent a new world war, to safeguard peace. The CPSU continues to adhere to the view formulated at the 20th Congress that war is not necessary for the triumph of communism. The world forces of socialism regard preservation of peace as one of their central tasks. In our time war can be averted. At the present historical stage, with socialist and capitalist countries existing side by side, the CPSU champions, as before, the principle of the peaceful coexistence of these countries. This conforms to the interests of all peoples, of entire mankind. At the same time it does not hamper but facilitates the achievement of our everyday class objectives and of the victory of socialism on a world scale.

This principled stand of the 23rd Congress of the CPSU, the consistent pursuit of a policy which has proved correct constitutes in the present conditions the most important contribution to the efforts of the international working class, of the fighters for independence and peace. Precisely this was expected of Moscow, and today it is the best message to the people of the world. The stand of the 23rd Congress helps the struggle of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, the socialist constructive labor of the Hungarian people, the efforts of our people's state at home and its foreign policy. Therefore our delegation, speaking on behalf of our Party and people, expressed in Moscow, before the whole congress, its agreement and solidarity with the CPSU and the entire Soviet people and wished them success in implementing the decisions of the 23rd Congress.

Comrade Brezhnev stressed in the international part of the Central Committee report that in recent years the power and influence of the Soviet Union and the entire socialist world system have increased, the peoples fighting against colonial oppression have won new victories, working-class struggles in the capitalist countries have gained in intensity and the world Communist movement has grown and become stronger. He also pointed out that the general crisis of capitalism has deepened in the same years. In these conditions, the imperialists have begun to resort to provocative actions and even to military ventures, with a resulting aggravation of the international situation.

The Soviet comrades emphasized that this increased aggressiveness of imperialism is indicative of the greater difficulties that beset the capitalist world system. But nothing will help imperialism to stem historical development. The revolutionary forces continue their offensive; the struggle of the peoples against imperialism is mounting.

At present international imperialism is on the defensive historically and strategically; it is struggling for existence. At the same

time, from the viewpoint of today, it is carrying on a local, tactical offensive. It can achieve transient local and temporary successes, but this in no way affects the objective trend of social development, the fact that history cannot be stopped, that in the clash with the combined forces of the international working class and the peoples the imperialists are doomed to defeat.

The 23rd Congress reaffirmed the basic lines of Soviet foreign policy; promotion of cooperation of the socialist countries and consolidation of their unity; solidarity with the international working class and with the peoples fighting for freedom and independence; assistance to and fruitful cooperation with the peoples and governments of former colonial countries; implementation of the principle of peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems; support of the struggle of the peoples for peace, against a world war.

The 23rd Congress was an impressive demonstration of international solidarity with the Vietnamese people. Let the imperialists know that the Vietnamese people will be given whatever support they may need for complete and final victory. At the Congress the person most competent to speak on this matter, the head of the delegation of the Party of Working People of Vietnam, stressed the tremendous importance of Soviet assistance. It was an unequivocal reply to all who question or belittle the importance of Soviet assistance to the Vietnamese people. Friends and enemies alike could hear a reaffirmation of the clear-cut stand of the CPSU on the most coraplicated international problem of today. Soviet-Vietnamese friendship and fraternity, and readiness to fight jointly for the victory of the Vietnamese people found expression at the Congress.

The Congress paid much attention to the problems of European security. It made it absolutely clear that the state borders established as a result of the defeat of Hitler fascism in World War II are inviolable, and that those who dream of changing them are battering their heads against a wall. European security cannot be guaranteed without curbing the chief myrmidon of U.S. imperialism—West German militarism—and settling the German problem in the interests of al the peoples of Europe. The sole realistic approach to this problem is to recognize the historical fact of the existence of two German states. We are loyal allies of the German Democratic Republic, an indispensable factor of European peace and a better future for the German people.

The Soviet Union and its Communist Party, which stand on guard for peace in Europe and the world over, have always done much to strengthen the Soviet armed forces. In view of recent international developments due attention was paid to this question at the 23rd Congress as well. The Soviet armed forces play a unique role in safeguarding the gains in economy and culture and ensuring

communist construction in conditions of peace. The growing military power of the Soviet Union is very important to the community of socialist countries, to the forces fighting for freedom and independence, to the entire peace-loving mankind.

Comrade Gromyko, the Foreign Minister, gave a lucid account of the foreign policy of the Soviet Union. Marshal Malinovsky, reporting to the Congress on the combat readiness of the Soviet armed forces, spoke of the successful completion of a round-the-world cruise by Soviet atomic submarines, which did not surface for six weeks. His report contained no threats, but everyone could see from it that the Soviet Union's peace policy does not stem from its weakness. By building up its defense capacity, the Soviet Union fulfils also its international duty to the other socialist countries, to all the forces of socialism, national independence and peace.

The Congress paid proper attention to the question of unity of the world Communist movement. It stressed that which the fraternal parties have in common, despite the existing disagreements and disputes. The position of the fraternal party of Soviet Communists is characterized by calmness, patience and a striving for unity. As you know, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China declined the invitation to the Congress of the CPSU. We can only approve of the fact that despite this the CC, CPSU in its report to the Congress put aside all disputed issues, restrained its feeling of offence and, proceeding from an internationalist standpoint, from the interests of the unity of our ranks and our common struggle against imperialism, renewed its proposal to the CC, CPC to meet, exchange opinions and cooperate. This stand, which has had a favorable effect on the international Communist movement and plainly disappointed the enemies of communism, is an expression of a hope based on a realistic appraisal of the situation, and of the conviction that the unity of our international movement can be restored. The position of the CPSU is of great help to all the fraternal parties, including those with which we have contradictions at present.

The Hungarian Communists are most gratified by being at one with the CPSU. This unity gives us political and moral strength in our international activities. We have fresh evidence of the correctness of the view—we have held from the outset, that the differences in the world Communist movement are differences of principle, that they are not a dispute between two parties but between the decisive majority of the Communist and Workers' parties, on the one hand, and the leaders of the Communist Party of China, on the other.

It follows that we cannot remain indifferent towards the state and destiny of the world working-class movement. It is an inter-

nationalist duty of every party to work vigorously, on the basis of the principles of Marxism-Leninism, for the good of our common cause, to do everything in its power for closer unity and cooperation. The Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party will go on doing its utmost to help restore the unity of the world Communist and working-class movement and achieve anti-imperialist unity of action.

Representatives of the Communist and Workers' parties of five continents met at the Congress in Moscow. All of us have to do a great deal to strengthen unity, and in this we are greatly helped by the position of the Congress, of the representatives of all fraternal parties, who spoke out at the Congress for the early restoration of unity. A valuable contribution was made by the speeches of the representatives of the Party of Working People of Vietnam and the patriots of South Vietnam, and by the thesis of Comrade Voog, General Secretary of the Swiss Party of Labor, that there exists only one Marxism-Leninism and that there can be no specifically European, Asian or African Marxism-Leninism — a thesis approved by all. All the representatives of fraternal parties who addressed the Congress adopted a common stand on the question of the struggle against imperialism and solidarity with embattled Vietnam and the Soviet Union, on the question of unity. We are convinced that the 23rd Congress of the CPSU strengthened the striving for the unity of the world Communist movement.

In keeping with the requirements of communist construction, the Congress paid much attention to the problems of economic development. They were dealt with in a special report delivered by Comrade Kosygin. Without exaggeration and conceit, but with legitimate socialist national pride the report listed the achievements of the Soviet Union. The facts reflected in numerical comparisons with different periods of the almost half-a-century long history of Soviet power irrefutably prove the strength of the socialist system, its superiority and great advantages over the capitalist system.

The targets of the Seven-Year Plan for 1959/65 in industry and in other fields were exceeded. The Soviet Union has so far carried out seven five-year plans, each of which signified a new stage in the heroic history of the land of socialism, new great victories of the Soviet people.

The chief economic task set by the new five-year plan for substantially to increase industrial output and expand agriculture 1966/70 is by utilizing the achievements of science and technology and by raising the efficiency of production and the productivity of labor, and on this basis considerably to improve the living standard of the people, to satisfy more fully the material and cultural requirements of the population.

The Soviet comrades have set themselves important tasks in se-

curing a simultaneous growth of accumulations and public consumption. The new plan provides for a rapid retooling of the entire national economy, a progressive modification of its structure, the replacement of obsolete products by new and better ones.

The recent aggravation of the international situation has affected the formation of the real incomes of the population. Imperialist aggression in Vietnam and other regions, and international tension compelled the CC, CPSU and the Soviet Government to increase defense spending and assistance to those who are fighting. The apologists and sycophants of the leading capitalist powers which have been exploiting other peoples and whole continents from generation to generation and have amassed colossal riches often boast that the standard of living in those countries is still higher than in the socialist countries. But speaking of the working people of the Soviet Union, one must recall how much they have done and what selfless sacrifices they have made in the five decades of Soviet power for the good of other peoples, for the good of mankind. The destruction of nazism saved the peoples of Europe from new medieval barbarity, and the brunt of the war as regards both human and material losses was carried by the Soviet people. Since its very inception the Soviet Union has helped the countries fighting for their freedom, the free socialist countries laying the foundations of their economy, and other peoples.

By adopting the directives for the 1966-70 plan, the Congress equipped the entire Soviet people with a concrete program of action. The quantitative indices of the plan testify to a realistic approach. Under the new five-year plan ending in 1970, the national income is to go up by 38 to 41 per cent, industrial output by 47 to 50 per cent, agricultural output by 25 per cent, and real incomes by 30 per cent. During the plan period the reform of economic management will be initiated in the Soviet Union as well.

Important provisions are made for raising the standard of living. The planned increases in minimum wages and pensions for factory and office workers and collective farmers and in allocations for social needs, medical care and cultural purposes, and the introduction of two days-off per 41-hour week will considerably improve the conditions of life of the Soviet working people.

The Congress discussed the role and importance of ideological problems, public education and science at the present stage in communist construction. It took note of the successes achieved in literature and art and resolutely criticized the shortcomings. During the discussion of problems of culture emphasis was laid on the role of literature and art in the education of the Soviet people, and especially young men and women. Comrade Brezhnev noted in his report that the CPSU has been guiding the activities of creative organizations and institutions and rendering them every support.

He stressed that the Party opposes administrative measures and arbitrary decisions on problems of literature and art, but holds that art is never neutral and every work of art should therefore be appraised from the class point of view. Creative people were urged to engage more widely in both the artistic portrayal of events of the heroic past, of the half-a-century long history of Soviet power, and an exacting elaboration of the manifold problems of today.

It is undeniable that the Soviet Union spends more than any other country on public education and science. It is far ahead of all other countries as regards the training of scientific and technical personnel. The Soviet research establishments and higher schools employ more than 660,000 scientific workers, or one-fourth of the world total. The Congress examined the work of the entire system of public education, from secondary to higher school, in terms of its adequacy to the requirements of life, of communist construction. The economic tasks of today and tomorrow call for more and more trained people, from skilled workers to engineers capable of conducting scientific research. It is considered important that the quality of instruction should be more in keeping with the demand of constructive labor than it has been so far.

The 23rd Congress devoted much attention to the internal position of the Party and to specifying future tasks. At present the fraternal party of Soviet Communists has 12 million members, a figure which speaks for itself. More important still, it is a party which has done more since it was founded than anyone else for its people, for the international working class, for mankind. The CPSU enjoys the complete confidence and support of the 232 million Soviet people, of the 131 nations and nationalities of the mighty Soviet land.

The Congress also dealt with problems of the development of Soviet democracy. It decided that an important current task is to promote the autonomy of local government bodies, especially in solving economic and financial problems and in meeting the requirements of the population from local resources. The Congress stressed the need for stimulating the activity of the masses in public affairs and for providing ample scope for local initiative. Soviet law and order will be developing in close connection with the development of democracy.

The internal political importance of the Congress stems from the role the CPSU plays in the life of the Soviet people. There is complete mutual confidence and unbreakable unity between the Party and the people. Owing to the prestige enjoyed by Communists and to the successes achieved under their guidance, the world of the Party and its decisions serve as a beacon for the people, they teach them and become a law, a voluntarily assumed political and moral obligation. Vivid proof of the mutual confidence and unity

of the Party and the people was furnished by the nation-wide labor emulation in honor of the Congress, by the 90,000 telegrams and letters received in the Kremlin while the Congress was in session, by the attention and interest the Congress aroused throughout the vast country.

The international significance of the Congress is self-evident from the fact that delegations of eighty-six foreign Communist, Workers' and democratic parties took part in its work. The presence of representatives of these parties is indicative, first and foremost, of the tremendous international prestige of the CPSU in all continents. All the representatives of these parties without exception spoke with great appreciation of fraternal contacts with the Soviet Union, and voiced solidarity with the CPSU.

On instructions from our Central Committee, the Hungarian Party delegation which took part in the work of the 23rd Congress greeted the fraternal party of Soviet Communists and stated our Party's views on the main problems of the international political situation and the world working-class movement. Our speech and what we said in it about the political importance of a principled attitude to the Soviet Union were received at the Congress and throughout the Soviet Union with approval and respect. The Soviet Union is the world's first state of workers and peasants. Working-class power there has never been shaken even for a moment. The means of production have been socialized, the building of socialism has been completed, and now the construction of the material and technical basis of communist society is under way. The Soviet Union is a country where Marxist theory has been carried forward, where the theoretical propositions and ideas of communism have for the first time been translated into reality. We therefore regard anti-Soviet communism as perfect nonsense and repeat with profound conviction what we said at the Congress: there has never been, there is not and there will never be anti-Soviet communism.

The speech of the Hungarian Party delegation at the 23rd Congress evoked international comment among both friends and enemies. We declared for all to hear the stand of our Party on one of the crucial problems of our time. A far-sighted economic policy calls for stockpiling reserves. The military science demands the establishment of both front-line positions and reserve positions, a second line needed in case of retreat. This, in our view, does not apply to the cardinal issues of the international working-class movement. There can be only one correct stand on such issues. As our Party sees it, the attitude to the Soviet Union is one of these fundamental issues. Accordingly, we have no reserve positions, and we adhere and will continue to adhere to the principle of Soviet-Hungarian friendship, unity and cooperation.

It so happened that the 23rd Congress coincided with the great national holiday of our people, April 4, which tens of thousands of Soviet people celebrated as well — far from our country but nevertheless together with the Hungarian people. Thus the Hungarian Party delegation's activity outside the Congress became a demonstration of Hungarian-Soviet friendship. This found expression in the meetings held in Moscow, Minsk and elsewhere, in other direct contacts with Soviet people, in the numerous telegrams and letters our delegation received from workers and collective farmers, from teachers and students. The 23rd Congress gave us an opportunity to see how deep are those roots of the friendship of our parties and peoples, roots which go back to the historical past and which today live in the hearts of millions. Friendship between the CPSU and the Hungarian Communists is of the same age as our Party, founded in November 1918. Complete unity has always existed between our parties over almost half a century.

Our Party and our people have had not only victories but also many tragedies. The suppression of the Hungarian Soviet Republic, the reign of Horthyite fascist terror over a quarter of a century, the terrible years of World War II, the years of socialist construction when the personality cult gained the upper hand in our country as well, and lastly, the counter-revolution of 1956 were all severe trials for the Hungarian Communists. Nor were we free from mistakes, but even in periods of trial the Hungarian Communists' friendship for the Soviet Union, and the solidarity and unity of our parties stood the test of time. Over almost half a century, even in the most difficult conditions, our Party remained staunch in its loyalty to friendship with the Soviet Union. The Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party are bound together first and foremost by a community of principle which does not depend on chance, the political juncture or individual persons. Loyal to Lenin's behests, the CPSU consistently represents the Marxism-Leninism of our epoch in both theory and practice. And since our Party, too, is a Marxist-Leninist party, this constitutes the root, and this will keep our parties, governments and peoples bound together.

Our national interests fully coincide with our proletarian internationalist goals, with the interests of Soviet-Hungarian friendship. Soviet-Hungarian economic, scientific and cultural cooperation, and the military alliance of our countries strengthen our friendship. But the chief guarantee of this friendship lies in the community of principles. This is what constitutes the basis of our unity. We are friends of the Soviet Union because we are proletarian internationalists.

In our time proletarian internationalism does not consist in beating one's chest hardest of all as proof of being a great revolution-

ary, or in cursing the imperialists loudest of all. This proletarian internationalism of a party is judged above all by the way the tasks set before its working class are being carried out, and how effectively it participates, on the side of the Soviet Union, the other socialist countries and all the fraternal parties, in the realization of common international tasks. To be a revolutionary in our time means showing by actual deeds solidarity and unity with the CPSU, with the world Communist and working-class movement, with the revolutionary forces fighting for freedom and independence. The successes of our people in socialist construction and the promotion of our unity with the world Communist and working-class movement and with the Soviet Union are in this sense a contribution of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party to the struggle for socialism, national independence and peace.

In the opinion of the Hungarian Party delegation, the 23rd Congress of the CPSU renders political assistance to our Party and enriches us with valuable experience. We utilize what is of fundamental significance and what can be essentially useful to us. Avoiding imitation, taking into account the differences in conditions in our countries, analyzing our problems and drawing proper conclusions from them, we are preparing for the Ninth Congress of our Party.

Back home, we once again wholeheartedly congratulate our Soviet comrades upon the great success of the 23rd Congress and wish the Soviet people outstanding achievements and new victories in implementing the decisions that have been adopted. Once again we thank all the delegates to and participants in the Congress, the working people of Moscow and Minsk, Soviet workers, peasants, intellectuals, servicemen, young people, woman—all whom we met, for their sincere hospitality, for the unforgettable impression of the Congress, for those wonderful days of Soviet-Hungarian friendship.

Our delegation takes this opportunity to convey to the members of the HSWP, the Hungarian working class, the entire people of Hungary warm fraternal greetings and good wishes from the Soviet Communists and working people, who expressed them to us during our stay in the Soviet Union. Our people fittingly celebrated Liberation Day, they summed up the results of the 1960/65 Fve-Year Plan. Our foremost working people have initiated a large-scale emulation in honor of the Ninth Congress of our Party. May the inspiring example of the 23rd Congress of the CPSU, proletarian internationalism, and Soviet-Hungarian friendship, which has received further impetus in these remarkable days give us all fresh energy and lead to still more vigorous effort for the good of our socialist construction.

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COMMUNIQUE*

OF THE CONFERENCE OF REPRESENTATIVES OF THE COMMUNIST PARTIES OF EUROPEAN CAPITALIST COUNTRIES

A conference of the Communist parties of European capitalist countries met from May 9 to 11 in Vienna. The meeting issued the following communique:

"Representatives of the Communist parties of the capitalist countries of Europe met in Vienna on May 9-11 at the invitation of the Communist Party of Austria. The agenda included an exchange of views on the new opportunities for building the unity of the working class and the democratic forces in the fight against monopoly, for democracy and social progress. Delegations were present from the parties of Belgium, Denmark, FRG, Finland, France, Greece, Italy, Luxembourg, Norway, Austria, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, West Berlin and Cyprus. The Portuguese Communist Party submitted its views in written form.

"In the course of the discussion the results of the social and political struggle in the various countries were summed up. The progress made in this struggle facilitates the building of a broad mass movement uniting the working class with the other anti-monopoly forces. The conference considers that this alliance can be further broadened so as to effect reforms essential for restricting the political and economic power of the monopolies, introducing genuine democracy in social life, and paving the way to socialism.

"The participants note that in the different countries positive trends are in evidence in a wide range of issues—in the struggle for social demands, for defense and extension of democratic freedoms, for preservation of peace, and also for the establishing of new relations between Communists and Socialists and other anti-monopoly forces, first and foremost in the trade unions. Conference also expressed satisfaction at the signs of mutual understanding being achieved with a considerable part of the Catholic world and its representatives. Political and ideological differences should not be an obstacle to the opening of new areas of mutual understanding and joint effort.

"Conference recognized the value of initiatives towards cooperation and joint effort of the Communist parties and other democratic anti-monopoly forces arising from the new conditions that

*Pravda, May 17, 1966.

have developed—the crisis of NATO and the EEC, and the U.S. monopoly penetration into the economy of European capitalist countries—the complexity of which has become patent to many.

"The Communist parties are advancing constructive proposals, and are striving to achieve understanding in their realization. They lay particular emphasis on the possibility of genuine economic cooperation between countries as an alternative to monopoly integration, as well as on the need for new relations between the countries of our continent based on a system of European security which would facilitate solution of complex world problems. In the same spirit, the conference underlined the need for the unity of all the peace-loving forces against the threat to peace engendered by the U.S. aggression in Vietnam and the claims of German imperialism.

"The cordial and fraternal atmosphere that prevailed at the conference was indicative of the feeling of solidarity uniting the Communist parties despite the different conditions obtaining in their particular countries."

PROBLEMS OF THE TRANSITION FROM CAPITALISM TO SOCIALISM*

Waldeck Rochet

I would like to make a few comments on the Socialist-Communist dialogue on ideological matters.

It is true that both the Communists and the Socialists aspire to a better society, socialism. The Socialist Party says in its Rules and its fundamental Program, as do we Communists, that its goal is to abolish social classes, to do away with the exploitation of one class by another, by socializing the principal means of production and exchange and by reorganizing capitalist society into a collectivist, or communist, society.

However, there are differences over the ways and means of going over from capitalism to socialism. They are due, in particular, to the fact that we Communists, being Marxists, are revolutionaries, whereas the Socialists are generally inspired by a reformist ideology.

In view of the deep-going changes in the balance of world forces in favor of socialism, our Party's determination to do everything to provide favorable conditions for a peaceful transition to socialism in France is an important factor for a Socialist-Communist rapprochement.

But one of the more important ideological issues that have lately been an object of controversy is whether we French Communists consider the existence of one party, as in the Soviet Union, to be indispensable for the transition from capitalism to socialism. Obviously, this issue is decisive for the development of Communist-Socialist relations, for everyone knows that the Socialists reject the idea of one party during the transition to socialism.

The 16th and 17th congresses of the French Communist Party removed this obstacle by stressing the need for a "lasting agreement" between Communists and Socialists, in particular with a view to winning power and building socialism. The point is that, as we see it, the conditions for the transition to socialism in France today differ greatly from those prevailing in Russia in 1917. The fact that there is only one leading party, the Communist Party, in

*Excerpts from speech to Conference of the Bouche-du-Rhône federation of the FCP. Abridged from **France Nouvelle,** May 4, 1966.

the Soviet Union is due primarily to the historical conditions in which the October Revolution of 1917 took place.

At the beginning of the Russian revolution Lenin admitted of several parties being represented in the government bodies. Indeed, in December 1917, representatives of the Left Socialist Revolutionaries entered the Council of People's Commissars on the proposal of the Bolsheviks (Communists), who had the overwhelming majority in the local government bodies. But the Left SRs resigned in March 1918 and somewhat later, in July, they organized, in complicity with foreign diplomatic missions, a rising in Moscow aimed at overthrowing Soviet power.

The rising was put down in a few hours. It exposed and fully discredited the Russian SRs and Mensheviks. In the course of this struggle, in which the very existence of the socialist revolution was at stake, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union became the only party of the revolution enjoying the confidence of the working class and the people.

Although the CPSU legitimately became, by virtue of the historical conditions of the Russian revolution, the only leading party, Lenin had not advanced any theory saying that events in any country and at any time must come about in identical conditions.

That is why our 17th Congress eliminated the main obstacle to a Communist-Socialist agreement.

I stress that this is not a view held by the FCP alone, for the idea of lasting cooperation between the Communist and the Socialist parties with a view to winning power and building socialism is clearly expressed in the 1960 Statement, which says: "In the struggle for the improvement of the living conditions of working people, the extension and preservation of their democratic rights, the achievement and defense of national independence, for peace among nations, and also in the struggle to win power and build socialism, the Communist parties advocate cooperation with the Socialist parties."

Our Party, in deciding to seek durable cooperation with the Socialist Party, declared in no uncertain terms for a multi-party system under socialism. Some people, such as Defferre, put a biased interpretation on our declaration about a multi-party system and caricatured our position, alleging that we planned to turn the Socialist Party and other democratic parties into "satellites" of the CP.

That is absolutely wrong. Once the thesis of one party has been rejected in favor of a multi-party system, it goes without saying that there will be more than one party in power and that the parties working to build socialism will be able to share power on an equal footing, and will have equal opportunities.

We know that, along with the multi-party system, the parliamentary system and local liberties are important factors in French

political life. With the transition to socialism, the task will be to strengthen and democratize all these institutions, which implies the exercise of freedom of thought, assembly and association, the right to strike, and all the other political rights for the democratic parties in power and for those that may find them themselves outside the government but accept the laws of the new, socialist system.

Which party will play the biggest role? This will depend on the devotion of the parties concerned to the interests of the people, and above all, on the confidence the working class will place in the parties engaged in socialist construction.

Needless to say the FCP, as vanguard of the working class guiding itself by Marxist-Leninist principles, will strive to accomplish its role in the spirit of the theses of its 17th Congress. Naturally, the Communists believe, first and foremost, in their Party and in the historical mission of the working class, or they would have been no members of the CP. This does not, however, rule out the existence of many parties. Indeed, it is by organizing close Socialist-Communist cooperation and the broadest cooperation with all socio-political forces striving to contribute to the building of socialism that our Party will play its role in full measure.

What we have just said should not be taken to mean that the advance to socialism under a multi-party system is an easy matter. On the contrary, it will take persevering effort over a long period to achieve working-class unity, for whereas our Party is fully convinced of the need for this unity, the Socialist Party still shows reticence and puts up serious resistance.

To provide conditions for a real and successful fight for socialism, it is first of all necessary to win the support of all Socialists for the idea of fighting in common with the Communists, to ensure that they turn away from the Rightist elements bent on involving them in the policy of collaboration with the reactionary bourgeoisie.

When we speak of the possibility of peaceful transition from capitalism to socialism under a multi-party system and of the utilization of a genuine parliament, we do not mean that it is possible to arrive at socialism without class struggle, without rallying all the forces of the working class and of its allies, the middle classes in town and country. It should not be forgotten that the reactionary big bourgeoisie will never relinquish power of its own free will. This is why a peaceful transition to socialism calls in any case for the winning of political power by the working class and its allies, which presupposes the unity of the working class and the unification around it or on its side of all democratic and progressive forces, that is, the winning over of the majority of the people.

Furthermore, the working class and its allies, after coming to power—which is the primary condition—will have to establish their political power, a state capable of ensuring the socialist reshaping

of society. It is this new power of the working people that Marx and Engels described as the "dictatorship of the proletariat."

It is undeniable that because of the different uses made of the term *dictatorship,* it sometimes acquires in current usage a derogatory meaning opposed to the scientific meaning Marx and Engels gave it. But while the phrase "dictatorship of the proletariat" may invite different interpretations, the important thing to bear in mind as far as the Marxian scientific doctrine of the state is concerned, is the class content which the new state of the working people must have.

Actually, the forms of the new working-people's state vary according to the conditions prevailing in the countries concerned. But in any case—that is, also when this state connotes a multi-party system—it must meet two major conditions:

First, guaranteeing the broadest democracy to all working men and women, to the whole people, in order to enlist their participation in building socialism and managing—in various forms—public affairs.

Secondly, defending the new system, socialist democracy, against subversion organized by the exploiter classes of the past in an attempt to regain their lost power and restore capitalism.

The working class and its allies would be unable to build socialism if, immediately after coming to power by democratic procedure, they enabled former adherents of capitalism and the enemies of socialism to see every means, including force, to thwart the socialist reorganization of society and to re-establish capitalist power. We therefore hold that the new state of the working people, and the cause of building socialism should be protected and defended, under the provisions of socialist laws, by all the democratic parties advocating socialism and representing the majority of the people.

The partisans of reformism give out that it is possible to build socialism without injuring capitalist interests. Yet in those countries where they have been in power they have never engaged in socialist construction but have merely managed the affairs of the capitalists.

To be sure, we stand for an effective multi-party system, for guaranteeing the fundamental rights of every citizen, for respecting the rights of the minority as they will have been defined by socialist legislation. Nevertheless, the law of the majority will have to be applied by all. We say so because we Communists do not want to come to power in order to manage the affairs of the big bourgeoisie, but, on the contrary, in order to end the domination of monopoly capitalism and build socialism, which will abolish the exploitation of man by man.

To close the subject, I want to answer a question I have been

asked. It reads: "Why doesn't the French Communist Party propose to the Socialist Party founding a single working-class party now by merging the Communist and the Socialist parties?"

In answer to that I say that we favor working-class unity within one party on Marxist-Leninist principles. If we do not yet propose such a merger to the Socialist Party, it is simply because the conditions for this are lacking. In fact, the Socialist Party wants no merger with the Communist Party on Marxist-Leninist principles. We Communists, for our part, do not regard organizational unity achieved at a time of confusion as desirable and positive, for it would result in a hybrid party that would be neither Social-Democratic nor Communist and would inevitably be rent by discord and by warring factions and trends.

We think it more realistic to seek loyal and lasting cooperation between the two parties representing the working class, in both the immediate fight against personal power and for democracy, and in the future advance to power and to the joint building of socialism. Afterwards, in the course of socialist construction, when the Communists and Socialists have collaborated over a definite period, it will no doubt be possible to found a single working-class party in order to continue building socialism and advance to communist society.

I would like to add that if today we can envisage, in a country like ours, the possibility of going over to socialism by peaceful means, this is due, first and foremost, to the victory of the Great October Revolution and to the formation of the socialist world system. In other words, it is thanks to the fact that socialism has been built in the Soviet Union and other countries—a development which has considerably weakened world capitalism—that we can today choose an easier road to socialism than that which the Russian Communists had to follow in another historical situation. For the same reason it is now possible to overcome the differences separating Communists and Socialists, provided both really want to fight for socialism.

The new theses put forward by our Party tend to remove all obstacles to Socialist-Communist unity.

STATEMENT BY LUIGI LONGO*

Luigi Longo, Secretary General of the Italian Communist Party, made the following statement to the press:

We shall report amply on the importance and significance of the decisions taken by the 23rd Congress of the Soviet Communist Party; they deserve attentive consideration not only because of their significance in the life and further development of the Soviet people in the construction of a communist society, but also for their future influence on the international situation.

In this connection we should like to emphasize at once the significance of the participation in the Congress of 86 delegations from communist and working-class parties and from national liberation movements from all over the world.

This vast international participation is an eloquent indication of how the policy of the Soviet Union is well liked and finds solidarity in many countries. The demonstrations of solidarity, by the 23rd Congress, with the struggle of the Vietnamese people for national freedom and independence expressed the high internationalist spirit that breathes through progressive and working-class movements in the entire world.

The firm determination to help, by all possible means, the peoples holding out against American aggression and fighting for indepenpendence, as it was expressed in the speeches of the Soviet leaders and other delegates, was received with great favor.

Particularly, the Soviet Union's decision to contribute, within the framework of its peaceful coexistence policy, to creating new relations of economic, cultural and political cooperation among the different States opens up new prospects and possibilities to overcome the world's division into opposite blocks and build a system of collective security in Europe.

It is our opinion that the decisions of the 23rd Congress of the Soviet Communist Party represent an important contribution to the struggle for peace and against the dangers that the American aggression in Vietnam brings threateningly over the whole of humanity.

The Soviet Union's will for peace is evident not only from the ample discussion devoted to the problems of international politics, but also from the objectives which the Soviet Union puts forth through the new five-year plan, which is destined to effect a further

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rapid development of the whole economy, to overcome the present lack of balance and to raise the standard of living.

Only a country which works firmly for peace can put forth these objectives in the economic, cultural and social field.

Within this framework, special stress must be laid on the intense development of commercial, cultural and even political relations with Western European countries.

Ample possibilities exist in this field as far as Italy is concerned, as it is shown by the significant increase of commercial exchanges between the Soviet Union and our country and by Foreign Secretary Gromyko's forthcoming visit to Italy at Hon. Fanfani's invitation.

THE POLICY OF THE SYRIAN COMMUNIST PARTY*

AFTER THE EVENTS OF FEBRUARY 23, 1966

Since 1965 Syria has been advancing along a road of progress which has already led to the nationalization of all big capitalist enterprises and the establishment of state control over foreign trade. Our Party directly supported these measures of the government and urged all progressive patriotic forces to follow suit. It also declared its readiness to cooperate in *all fields without exception* so as to ensure the success of these measures and to consolidate them, and also to defend the gains of the people and Syria's independence against the conspiracies ofthe imperialists and reactionaries.

Our Central Committee stressed already in its 1954 Manifesto addressed to the working class that in the present situation the Communists are called upon to play an imporant role in steering the country along a progressive road of development.

Despite difficulties and obstacles, the Syrian Communist Party has unswervingly pursued its line, which implies, on the one hand, ensuring a profound understanding of the role of the Party and, on the other, supporting every progressive initiative, whatever its source. All our Party is convinced of the correctness of this line and considers that its implementation fully conforms to the present situation in the country as well as to creative Marxist-Leninist principles.

In the effort to implement this line our Party had to overcome some erroneous trends.

First, the Right revisionist view that the Communist Party is no longer needed, that Communists have nothing to do in the process of progressive development, for there exist other, non-Communist forces which support and work for this development.

Second, the Left dogmatic attitude denying any importance of other progressive forces in the struggle for socialism and of progressive economic and social reforms if carried out by progressive nationalist, i.e., non-proletarian elements.

Third, the views expressed with hostile intentions (imperialist propaganda is their chief source), according to which the Communists' call for unity and mutual assistance is merely a maneuver to push aside all other progressive forces

*Editorial in **Nidal el-Shaab**, central organ of the SCP, beginning of April 1966.

Our Party firmly adhered to its principles, openly acting in political life and before the masses as an independent patriotic and internationalist organization, as a class party inspired by scientific socialism. At the same time the policy of our Party, its positions, its practical activity proved the sincerity of the Communists' appeal for unity and mutual assistance with the sole aim of ensuring the success of progressive experience in Syria.

Subsequent developments and life itself convinced many progressive, Left Baathists included, that our appeal conforms to the interests of objective progress in the present-day conditions and that mutual assistance between progressive forces consolidates the internal situation and strengthens Syria's positions in the Arab progressive and popular circles as well as in the world arena.

Thus there began to develop, despite countless difficulties, cooperation between Communists and Left Baathists. But it cannot be said that we shall overcome these difficulties easily.

After the events of February 23, as a result of which several rightists (Aflak, Bitar and others) were removed from the Baath leadership, this cooperation materialized, though not in full, in the composition of the government formed at the beginning of March 1966.

The decision to take part in the government was adopted by our Central Committee unanimously and it was approved by all Party branches.

Our stand on this issue is clear. In keeping with its slogans, our Party considered it its duty to fight in *all sectors,* i.e., both in and outside the government, for the implementation of patriotic and progressive tasks, for the success of progressive experience in the Syrian Arab Republic.

This does not mean that our Party agrees with everything that is taking place in the country and unreservedly supports any initiative of the government. Nor does this mean that we automatically endorse any stand of the government on this or that issue.

For instance, we insist on all progressive forces sincerely devoted to socialism participating in the government. Mutual assistance between progressive forces should not be confined within governmental limits, it should be realized in every area of mass activity as well as in the different fields of political, economic and social life. In other words, the government in Syria should rely on an alliance of all the progressive and patriotic forces—Left Baathists, Communists, Arab socialists, independent socialists and all citizens not opposed to socialism as the goal and will of the masses. This alliance can take the form of mutual assistance within a broad progressive national front, or any other form conforming to the realities of the country. This alliance is an alternative which can effectively mobilize all efforts of the people to frustrate the conspiracies

of imperialism and reaction, consolidate the successes achieved, and overcome the difficulties. It will enable us to advance confidently in the realization of the great task facing the country—to effect economic, social and political measures necessary for Syria's entry upon the road of socialist construction.

While campaigning for the popular front it is necessary to insist, at the same time, on respect for the dramatic freedoms of the workers, peasants, all working people and all progressive forces. This means freedom of the press, political associations, and meetings and free elections to trade union, peasant, student and women's organizations, which should not be the exclusive privilege of any one party.

We proceed, not from narrow partisan interests, but from a striving to secure success of progressive Syrian experience, to ensure a progressive and stable regime in the country.

Experience shows that we cannot adopt as universal the theory of one-party system in the period of transition to socialism, especially at the present stage of the country's development. States which embarked on socialist construction 20 years ago still have, along with Marxist-Leninist parties, other parties as well, such as the Peasant Party in Bulgaria, The Peasant and Democratic Parties in the GDR, etc., which possess the necessary facilities, print their newspapers, and so on. The French and Italian Communist parties, each of which is one of the biggest parties in their countries, have declared that they do not belong to the advocates of the one-party system in the period of transition to socialist construction. In the course of decades of historical process there have formed several progressive parties in Syria. It would be wrong and nonsensical to claim that the existence of some of them is not needed any longer or has become pointless.

The Rightist elements in the Baath party now removed from the government, such as Aflak, Bitar and others, realized that they alone cannot govern the country. Therefore they decided to "turn face" to the other Right forces. It is a great credit to the Baath Left that it succeeded in thwarting this maneuver and that its representatives proceed, although very slowly, towards the establishment of cooperation with the Left. The Syrian Communists hail this line, which accords with the interests of progress in our country. The Communists would not like to think that there is even one upright progressive-minded citizen, whether Baathist or not, who considers this cooperation to be merely of a temporary tactical character due to internal or external circumstances. This opinion not only testifies to the short-sightedness of its proponents, but is also an obstacle to the achievement of their own aims, whether in or outside the country. The efforts of all the other Left forces in order to continue and extend the steps aimed at consolidating all

progressive forces and to destroy all obstacles to this alliance, ignoring the howls heard from the camp of imperialism and reaction and the blackmail on its part.

Working patiently and purposefully for the establishment of a stable progressive regime in the country, the Syrian Communists at the same time fight for the earliest adoption of progressive economic and social measures which are the demand of the time.

The interests of the country call for the speediest completion of the agrarian reform. This can be achieved by hastening the distribution among the peasants of the already confiscated land of feudals and landowners. To prevent red-tape, the peasants themselves should take part in effecting the reform. The experience of the socialist countries shows that this method is correct.

The second top-priority task in Syria today is to strengthen and expand the state sector through the realization of new economic projects and above all the construction of the Euphrates dam, which can be done only with the help of the Soviet Union. It is necessary to work out and put into effect a plan for the development of the state sector in the economy. An end must be put to the situation when all enterprises, all factories are isolated from one another, do not maintain any production contacts and have no clear prospect as regards output and marketing even for a year in advance. Along with introducing scientifically substantiated planning, we shall also have to create conditions for encouraging the initiative of the masses. The working class must play an important role in managing industry.

The third pressing task facing Syria is to pursue a correct and judicious policy towards the petty bourgeoisie and other middle strata, who should be convinced by facts, not merely words, that the economic and social reforms directed against the feudals and the big bourgeoisie do not run counter to their interests.

Frustrating the conspiracies engineered by the American, British and West German imperialists, such as the Islamic pact, calls for the solidarity of all the anti-imperialist forces of the Arab world and for their cooperation with the forces of socialism and freedom all over the world, above all with the Soviet Union, their vanguard.

On the plane of ensuring inter-Arab solidarity, the Syrian and Communist Party urgest first of all the establishment of friendly and fraternal relations between Damascus and Cairo on the basis of equality and non-interference in each other's internal affairs. This would help strengthen the positions of the Arab liberation movement as a whole.

Progressive experience in Syria can and must be crowned with success. This success will signify important progress in the development of the entire Arab world and promote the establishment of

Arab unity on the principles of progress and democracy. Only such unity can be viable.

We Communists will do everything possible for this experience to succeed in the interests of the workers, peasants, revolutionary intelligentsia, all progressives.

THE 23RD CONGRESS, A BASIS FOR NEW VICTORIES*

The 23rd Congress of the CPSU and its decisions continue to attract the attention and win the approval of the masses, of the progressive and patriotic forces in Lebanon and the world. These forces know that every congress of Lenin's Party is an event of great international significance having a strong direct impact both on the world revolutionary movement and on the solution of mankind's pressing problems.

Today the working people and all the revolutionary and progressive forces are convinced that every Soviet advance in economy, science or other fields weakens the positions of imperialism and colonialism and facilitates the development of the world revolutionary movement, bringing its victory nearer.

The approved Directives for the new five-year plan, which will usher in a new stage in Soviet economic development and in the building of the material and technical foundations of communist society, will give added strength to the forces of freedom, progress and socialism and will constitute the best internationalist support for the liberation struggle of the peoples.

The 23rd Congress paid particular attention to the present international situation, seriously aggravated by the aggressive activity of international imperialism, the United States in the first place, against the countries and peoples that have embarked on the road of peace and social progress. This aggresive activity takes on a particularly revolting form in the brutal war against the heroic Vietnamese people waged on an ever-greater scale by the United States. The provocations of the U.S. imperialists evoked alarm and condemnation. People looked to the Kremlin, where the CPSU Congress was in session, and the reply was clear-cut, frank and firm as always. The Congress reaffirmed the Soviet Union's resolute solidarity with the people of Vietnam and its intention to go on rendering them military, material and political assistance in their struggle for a just cause. The Congress also stated the Soviet Union's support of the liberation struggle of the peoples against imperialism, colonialism and neocolonialism, and their efforts to safeguard their gains and build a new life.

Thus the 23rd Congress and its decisions reaffirmed that the CPSU proceeds in its foreign policy from the principle of internationalist solidarity with all peoples and all working men and wo-

*Al-Akhbar, April 18, 1966.

men for peace, democracy, national liberation, and socialism. In view of the community of the aims and destinies of the world revolutionary movement in face of the growing recklessness of imperialism, the Congress, keenly aware of its responsibility, stressed the need for the socialist countries, all the contingents of the world Communist movement and the national-liberation movement to unite in a single front in order to resist the aggression of the imperialist powers against any people and to thwart their provocations and their wanton interference in the internal affairs of other countries. The presence at the Congress of representatives of 86 countries was a vivid expression of the community of aims, actions and aspirations of all the forces of progress and freedom.

In face of the brazen imperialist offensive and conspiracy against the independence and freedom of the newly-free Arab countries, camouflaged as "defense of religion," the Lebanese people, who are at one with the fraternal Arab peoples, realize the great importance of the unity and solidarity of the Arab patriotic and progressive forces with the revolutionary and progressive forces of the world and with their vanguard, the Soviet Union and the socialist camp. This solidarity with the world forces of freedom is the best guarantee that imperialist attacks on our country will be repelled and that it will advance to the better future our people are striving for.

LONG LIVE MAY DAY*

THE DAY OF STRUGGLE OF WORKING PEOPLE FOR THEIR DEMANDS, FOR UNITY, PROGRESS AND DEMOCRACY

On this May 1 our working class celebrates its holiday of labor for the tenth time since independence. It does so in conditions of struggle not only for its own demands and for its unity within the framework of the Moroccan Labor Union, but also for the demands of all the popular masses. At the same time it expresses solidarity with all the working people of the world engaged in struggle.

After ten years of independence won thanks to the sacrifices made by all our people and particularly the proletariat, the toilers of town and country still await an improvement of their condition. The wages remain at the same low level although the cost of living has increased half as much again—this despite the law stipulating wage increases whenever the prices go up 5 per cent. The government itself caused the prices of sugar to double by introducing a new tax. At the same time it cuts taxes on the employers. Unemployment keeps growing, with 40,000 workers having been dismissed in the course of only one year. Now the Somaca enterprises face the danger of being closed.

The earnings of workers remain unequal. Despite the increase in the family allowances, which are restricted, as before, to six children in a family, uncertified state employees are paid the same old rate of 16 dirhams.†

The reactionaries in power proclaim their intention not to make primary schooling universal and to limit the access to secondary schools to a small number of young people. This means that children of less well-to-do families will encounter ever new obstacles, while those from the privileged strata will enjoy, as always, the best terms.

The persecutions against the fighting working people as well as students and other progressives continue. The employers always find zealous defenders, while striking workers and trade union leaders are imprisoned or victimized.

Trade union rights are constantly flouted. Dismissals, penalties and denial of promotion were among the sanctions taken against postal and other employees for participation in the strikes of November 1963. Now deprivation of the right to organize threatens the customs employees. The government is intent on restricting this

*Slightly abridged from **Al-Kifah al-Watani** (Morocco) special issue of May 1, 1966.
†One U.S. dollar is equivalent to 5.1 Moroccan dirhams.—**Ed.**

sacred right won through courageous struggles of the working people.

It is for ten years now that the feudal lords and the reactionary bourgeoisie, who have appropriated the fruits of independence, have been incessantly attacking the working class to make it shoulder the brunt of their policy of exploitation and stagnation. They have unsuccessfully tried to split its ranks and have been doing their utmost to split the national movement and sow discord among the patriots. They have attempted to arrest the mounting workers' movement through repression. But the working class fights on and actively resists the exploiters' onslaught.

This year, too, has seen numerous big strikes. The Sigogne enterprise was for several months occupied by the workers. Stubborn resistance was put up by the workers of Filroc. Victorious strikes took place in different mining centers. The workers of food, metal-making, textile and some other industries demonstrated their militancy by holding short strikes.

These struggles have not been futile and brought about certain increases in the wages or benefits and the reinstatement of victimized workers. The strikes of 1964-65 wrested from the authorities higher family allowances.

On November 12 and 13, 1965, responding to the appeal of their trade union center, the Moroccan Labor Union, the working class held a general strike to show its resolve to defend democracy against the ultra-reactionaries.

The political crisis which has gripped our country for several years now and which had found a tragic outlet in the events of March 1966* is a constant threat to the future of our country. The crisis results from the profound contradiction between the interests of the exploiter classes and the neocolonialist monopolies, on the one hand, and those of the masses, on the other. This contradiction finds expression in the reactionary policy of the authorities. The travesty of parliamentary elections was followed by the proclamation of a state of emergency. Democratic freedoms, such as the freedom of the press, which is unlawfully subjected to censorship, are being restricted. Progressive newspapers like *Al Kifan al Watani* are often seized. Court sentences for the "circulation of leaflets" are a common occurrence. The advocates of an even more "authoritarian" regime are growing increasingly active.

At the same time, the government is departing more and more from a policy of genuine national independence and drawing closer to the imperialist West, especially the United States, which is enlarging its military presence, and there is even talk about restoring its military bases closed as a result of the popular struggle. The

*Mass actions ruthlessly suppressed by the reactionaries.

self-seeking recommendations of the International Bank of Reconstruction and Development are taken into consideration, and it is even intended to sell to the imperialist monopolies such state owned enterprises as the Safi complex.

It is the logic of capitalism that breeds economic stagnation, political regress, the misery of the people and subordination to foreign interests. The working people have already spoken out for a different road, that of nationalization of key branches, industrialization, the agrarian reform and promotion of education to help the country out of the impasse, improve the life of the masses and advance to socialism.

This calls for power to be exercised by the people through their elected representatives and a government accountable to the latter, in conformity with a democratic constitution to be drafted by a constituent assembly.

Such are our basic demands of the day, to which should be added a 30 per cent wage increase, extension of the social security system, and measures to combat unemployment.

The time is ripe for deep-going political changes in our country. Our people are mustering the forces needed for this. The working people must do everything to unite in a National Democratic Front, the sole effective weapon capable of stopping the reactionary offensive and paving the way for progress.

The working class has been able to preserve its unity. It will fight for stronger unity of the working people of all trends in their Moroccan Labor Union, which is growing ever more militant and democratic.

SPEECH BY HO CHI MINH*

This session is taking place at a time when our people are waging a bitter war against the aggression of U.S. imperialism, for national salvation, and are scoring more and more glorious victories in this war.

Having sustained a telling defeat in the South of our country, the U.S. invaders have committed 250,000 troops of their own and of their satellites, and are recklessly escalating their war of aggression. They carry out large-scale punitive operations and have gone as far as to employ "scorched earth" tactics. They use napalm bombs, war gases and poisonous chemicals for the mass destruction of our fellow-countrymen and raze whole villages to the ground. They expect to succeed in defeating fellow-countrymen in South Vietnam by means of barbaric weapons. But they have not succeeded, and never will succeed, in shaking the morale of our heroic compatriots in South Vietnam. The U.S. aggressor's heinous crimes merely pour oil on the flame, making everyone in our country hate them still more. With unexampled determination and persistence, the valiant army and people of South Vietnam continue to deal staggering blows at the enemy troops on every front. They have already destroyed tens of thousands of U.S. aggressors and hundreds of thousands of officers and men of the puppet army. Our compatriots in South Vietnamese cities and towns are also rising to fight the enemy. The courageous attacks and tremendous victories of the army and people of South Vietnam are a source of inspiration to all our compatriots and to our friends in all five continents.

In an effort to pull themselves out of the quagmire in which they are sinking deeper and deeper, and somehow to make up for their setbacks in South Vietnam, the U.S. imperialists are steadily expanding their destructive air war against North Vietnam, For more than a year now they have been sending hundreds of aircraft daily to bomb and shell North Vietnam. They expect their bombs and shells to shake the resolve of our people in the North. But the troops and civilians of North Vietnam continue the war, displaying unparallelled heroism. To date they have shot down 793 American planes and captured several enemy pilots.

The army and people of North Vietnam have a high morale and great military strength enabling them to defend their beloved country and the cause of socialism and to help their brothers in the South. Our civilians and servicemen alike perform heroic feats

*Delivered to the National Assembly of the DRV. Slightly abridged from **Nhan Dan**, April 26, 1966.

and display exemplary courage both in work and in the fight against the enemy. The revolutionary spirit is steadily rising, and emulation is developing at a rapid pace. Old men and children, but above all young men and women are taking an active part in the emulation to make a fitting contribution to the struggle against the U.S. aggression, for national salvation.

We have won glorious victories, but these are only our first victories. The U.S. invaders and the Vietnamese traitors have yet to be defeated completely. They still hatch many insidious plans against us. The greater the number of the barbaric crimes they commit, the more importunate is their talk of "peace" and negotiations." And although the war of resistance will go on for a long time to come and there are great difficulties in store for us, our people are determined to fight on to the final victory. Our people cherish peace, but genuine peace can be won only if there is genuine independence and freedom.

The army and people of North Vietnam have already exerted great efforts, and subsequently they have to exert still greater efforts, to march boldly on, to promote emulation in production and in the destruction of the enemy, to step up the fight against the U.S. aggression, for national salvation, to strengthen the people's defense. We must put all our life and work on a war footing. We must do our utmost in defending and strengthening North Vietnam. must fully support the cause of liberating South Vietnam and become the great rear of the great front in the Southern part of our country.

Under the able guidance of the National Liberation Front, our compatriots in towns and country, in the mountain areas and the valleys of South Vietnam are rallying closer together as they fight to free the South and contribute to the defense of the North, so as to bring about the peaceful reunification of the country afterwards.

Our people have the great honor and responsibility of fighting on the forefront of the struggle of the peoples of the world against aggressive U.S. imperialism. In the name of the independence and reunification of our country, in the name of the security of the socialist camp, in the name of the revolutionary cause and peace for all nations, the people of our whole country have rallied together and are resolved to carry out the difficult but lofty mission of defeating the U.S. aggressor.

The peoples of all the countries in the socialist camp and progressives the world over follow our great war of resistance with admiration and are giving our embattled people increasing help and support in winning one victory after another. To fulfil their honorable internationalist duty, our people must raise their revolutionary morale still higher. They must march boldly on and win complete victory.

Using this opportunity, I again express, on behalf of our people, the National Assembly, the Government and the Party of the Working People of Vietnam, deep gratitude to all the fraternal socialist countries and progressives all over the world for the sincere assistance and support they give us in our struggle against the U.S. aggression, for national salvation. I warmly greet also the progressive men and women in the United States who are campaigning courageously against the brutal war of aggression the U.S. government is waging in Vietnam.

The only correct way of ending this war is indicated in my message to the heads of state and government of many countries. It is indicated also in the statement of the National Liberation Front, the only legitimate spokesman of the people of South Vietnam.

We declare once again to President Johnson that if the United States really wants peace it must withdraw its troops and those of its satellites from South Vietnam and end its war of aggression there. It must also discontinue, immediately and without any conditions, its destructive war against North Vietnam. The problem of Vietnam's reunification will be settled by the Vietnamese people themselves, without outside interference, in accordance with the Geneva agreements.

WORLD-WIDE IMPORTANCE OF 23RD CONGRESS OF THE CPSU*

The decisions of the 23rd Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union have a major international significance. The great successes in implementing the seven-year plan, the tasks set in the plan for 1966-70, the economic consolidation and expansion, the tremendous growth of the cultural level, the growth of the defense potential, the unconquerable force of proletarian internationalism, the cohesion of the socialist world system, the appeal for still greater unity in the Communist movement, the solemn reaffirmation of the policy towards the national states that have emerged as a result of liberation from the colonial yoke and towards the anti-imperialist liberation struggle of the peoples, a policy based on rendering extensive support and assistance with no strings attached —such are some of the factors which multiply the Soviet Union's influence on international affairs, first and foremost as regards the defense of the cause of peace and disarmament. These factors enhance the outstanding role the Soviet Union is playing in the world revolutionary movement. To the Latin American peoples, the 23rd Congress of the CPSU is a confirmation that their struggle for social and national emancipation enjoys and will always enjoy the sympathy of the Soviet working people, who display and will go on displaying solidarity with this struggle.

The imperialists have been frustrated in their wild hopes. On the one hand, the 23rd Congress of the CPSU by no means became a rostrum for exacerbating the polemic. Quite the reverse, it served as an effective and conscious instrument of unity of action of the Communists of the whole world. On the other hand, instead of engaging in economic "revisionism" as predicted by the imperialists, it outlined directives for the achievement of new decisive successes in building the material base of communist society. The emergence of differences of opinion should not be an obstacle to rendering practical help to the Vietnamese people, should not prevent others from rendering this aid, should not be used as a pretext for non-fulfilment of the highly important internationalist responsibilities shouldered by all the Communist parties. All this ought not to be forgotten by the leaders of the Communist Party of China. The participation of all the Communist parties of the world, with few known exceptions, and of the movements of the newly-free peoples in the work of the Congress turned it into the platform of

*Slightly abridged from **Nuestra Palabra**, organ of the CP of Argentina, May 4, 1966.

the international unity of the revolutionary movement. It was stressed, at the same time, that in view of the peculiarities of each country, each party bears exclusive responsibility for the orientation and political line in the country concerned. Therefore any interference from outside, and actions which can infringe the independence of Communist parties are impermissible. The economic achievements of the seven-year plan are indisputable: in the seven years industrial output in the Soviet Union went up by 84 per cent, growing at an annual rate of 12 per cent. The Soviet Union accounts for 7 per cent of the world population and 20 per cent of industrial output. The fact that in 1940 the Soviet Union's share in world industrial production was a mere 10 per cent shows how rapidly the socialist economy is developing. Agriculture lagged in development, and its production in seven years grew by 14 per cent. That was partially—only partially—due to unfavorable climatic conditions. It was pointed out at the Congress that the possibilities for growth were greater than the results achieved. The inadequate utilization of these possibilities was due to the fact that the habitual methods of planning had become obsolete. At one time these methods did correspond to the state of economic development reached, but they proved inadequate in the conditions of the subsequent tremendous expansion of industrial capacities. The proposed changes in economic management conform to the new state of things. The average annual increase in oil extraction and power output in the past seven years was 17 per cent. Compare this to 7 per cent in the developed capitalist countries, and you will see that the Soviet rate is twice higher. In 1966-70 the annual increase is to be more than 13 per cent.

The basic targets of the five-year plan ending in 1970 give a clear idea of its scope. Capital investments will be of the order of 310,000 million roubles (about 341,000 million dollars). Industrial production will be growing at an average annual rate of 10 per cent. The development of remote regions will be intensified. For instance, in 1970 Siberia is to produce 140,000 million kilowatt-hours of electricity (in 1959 the whole of Latin America produced 62,000 million kwh, and a UN project envisages about 200,000 million kwh in 1970). The five-year plan provides for the development of all kinds of transportation facilities. Goods carriage by rail will grow by 23 per cent; 7,000 km of new track will be built and 10,000 km. will be electrified. As before, Soviet society is free from unemployment, inflation and budgetary deficit, which testifies to the excellent health of this society. In Argentina, inflation is a permanent feature of life, while the budgetary deficit has reached 360,000 million pesetas in the last decade. In accordance with the law of development of socialist society which presupposes constant improvement of the living standard in keeping with the growth of production, the

plan provides for further substantial progress in the field of wages, housing and welfare services. In the past five years the wages grew by 19 per cent. In 1966-70 they are to go up by another 20 per cent. New housing with a total floor space of 400 million square meters is to be built.

Looking at the Soviet Union, the Latin American peoples can gauge the real magnitude of the backwardness to which imperialism and the local oligarchies condemn them. As regards the housing problem, the situation here is as follows. Argentina needs two million housing units, a shortage affecting 36 per cent of the population. The Department for Housing has planned a modest task of building 60,000 dwellings annually. According to the Pan-American Union, Latin America is short of 19 million housing units, which means that at least 45 per cent of the Latin Americans live in squalid, primitive conditions. And what about the notorious "Alliance for Progress"? In the first five years of its program, the Pan-American Union estimates, 305,439 flats were built, covering only 1.6 per cent of the shortage. It will be recalled that under the seven-year plan the Soviet Union built 18 million flats. What we have said about the housing problem applies to the state of things in public health and education.

The 23rd Congress of the CPSU is a historic landmark in the life of the people building communist society. The Congress also points to the growing might of the Soviet Union, which is a guarantee for the peoples who have already won liberation or are marching towards it. The Congress is a tremendous boost to the unity of the world Communist movement. Vietnam, Cuba, the Dominican Republic, all the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America can confirm that the Soviet Union is rendering immense support to the cause which inspires them. Jointly with all the socialist countries the Soviet Union forms an insurmountable obstacle to imperialist conspiracies. To us, working people of Argentina, just as to the working people of the world, the Soviet Union's economic succeses are a great stimulus inspiring us in our struggle for liberation. The 23rd Congress of the CPSU makes us stronger.

CONGRESS OF VICTORY, UNITY AND ANTI-IMPERIALIST SOLIDARITY*

Eduardo Viera

After examining the results of the fulfilment of the Seven-Year Plan, the 23rd Congress of the CPSU adopted the Directives for the new five-year plan. It discussed the main problems of the international situation, concerning itself above all with Vietnam and with the need to help it in its gallant struggle. Lastly, it made an important contribution to Communist unity and to the establishment of an anti-imperialist world front.

The imperialists and their misinformation agencies had alleged that the Congress would produce disastrous results, that the split in the Communist movement would be aggravated, that there would be surprises of various kinds. These forecasts were echoed by certain other agencies which are not exactly reactionary but are always willing to do their bit in any anti-Soviet game. But they were disappointed. It would be an understatement to say that the hopes of world reaction were dashed, for the Congress, being one of victory and advance, struck imperialism a telling blow. The Congress was a great rallying center of the anti-imperialist forces of the world.

Those who had looked forward to the "disaster" of Moscow were faced with the "miracle" of Moscow, for the Congress was attended by almost all the Communist parties of every continent. Besides, it was attended by liberation movements—the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam, the African Independence Party of Senegal, the African Independence Party of "Portuguese" Guinea and Cape Verde, and the Liberation Movement of Angola—as well as by democratic parties building a new life in Africa, namely, the ruling party of the UAR—the Arab Socialist Union—the National Revolutional Movement of the Congo (Brazzaville), the Democratic Party of Guinea, the Sudanese Union of Mali, the African Union of Tanganyika and the Afro-Shirazi Party of Zanzibar. The Congress was addressed by a spokesman of the Italian Socialist Party of Proletarian Unity, and received a message of greeting from the Socialist Party of Chile.

The "miracle" of Moscow really consisted in the recognition of

*Abridged from **El Popular**, April 11, 1966. Eduardo Viera is the editor of this newspoper, published by the CC, CP of Uruguay.

the historic role of the Soviet Union and the Leninist Party, and of the international appeal of the USSR in the fight for peace, democracy and socialism and in the matter of assisting the peoples fighting for liberation.

It will soon be a hundred years since Lenin's birthday. This date will coincide with the completion of the five-year plan to guidelines for which were adopted by the Congress. The Soviet people and the CPSU have a legitimate right to say that they have fulfilled Lenin's behest. The Soviet Union is building communism. Its might, Comrade Brezhnev said, is truly the decisive factory economically, militarily and in any other respect. This is due to the fact that the Soviet Union has for years been steadfastly following the path shown by Lenin, overcoming immense difficulties and beating off fierce attacks by strong and treacherous enemies.

The USSR is winning one victory in space after another. In 1928 its steel output equalled 8 per cent of America's. Last year it equalled 75 per cent of America's and considerably exceeded output in Britain, France and West Germany put together. The Soviet Union is also carrying out Lenin's behest concerning electrification. It will soon achieve a new victory in this field by putting into operation in the first turbines at the Krasnoyarsk power plant, the world's greatest.

All this is being done with the broad participation of the masses. Comrade Sysoyeva, a state-farm worker, told the Congress about her controversy with certain U.S. Senators. She said Soviet democracy was genuine democracy because she, a milkmaid, was a deputy to the Supreme Soviet of the Russian Federation. As we listened to her we recalled Lenin's famous statement that the masses would take part in managing the affairs of the Soviet state, and that ordinary cooks would have the opportunity to learn the art of government.

The CC report to the Congress spoke of the new man of socialist society in the broadest sense of the word, in terms of morality and cultural advancement. The Congres decisions will do much to overcome the essential distinctions between physical and mental labor, and between town and country. The road has been difficult but glorious. Comrade Arismendi, who conveyed our Party's message of greeting to the Congress, said that this period of history cannot be cut up into parts at will, for all of it is a record of the revolution of our time, the making of a radiant future free from the dirt and blood of capitalism and feudalism.

In discussing the Directives of the new five-year plan, the Congress summed up the results of the Seven-Year plan. These results are impressive. The rate of scientific and technological progress has increased and the USSR has gained in international standing. In some fields, such as electric power and oil, the growth achieved

under the Seven-Year Plan equalled and even exceeded output under six five-year plans. Almost the same result was attained in steel output. Gas output increased fourfold. The standard of living improved visibly. A striking indication of this is that during the last five years alone 54 million people have moved into new homes or thoroughly improved their housing conditions. However, the subjectivist mistakes analyzed by the CC CPSU in October 1964 and in March and September 1965, caused lags in agriculture and in the rate of growth of labor productivity.

The new five-year plan provides for a substantial increase in industrial production and for a higher and more stable rate of development in agriculture, which will make it possible the better to meet the material and cultural requirements of all Soviet people By using achievements in science and technology to the utmost while continuing to give priority to capital goods production, the gap between this kind of production and the production of consumer goods is to be narrowed. The level of agriculture is to be brought closer to that of industry through greater use of technical facilities and through better organization Further improvement in the standard of living in town and country will be secured. The adoption of various measures will raise the standard of living of the rural population to reach that of the urban population. All this will be achieved by raising technological standards and combining material and moral incentives more effectively, by carrying out the economic reform aimed at encouraging the initiative of socialist enterprises. Fulfilment of this plan will undoubtedly increase the Soviet Union's defense power, a fundamental factor for peace.

The Congress endorsed the firm line pursued by the CPSU in international politics, in view of the U.S. imperialists' acts of aggression and their complicity with the West German revanchists in Europe. Comrade Brezhnev stressed in his remarks closing the debate that the foreign policy of the CPSU and the Soviet state is aimed at creating more favorable conditions for communist construction, increasing the might of the socialist system, fully supporting the struggle of the peoples for national and social emancipation, promoting peace and preventing a new world war, that is aimed at maintaining the Leninist principles of peaceful coexistence.

Vietnam, the crucial theme at the Congress, found expression in emphatic statements by Soviet leaders, in the warning given to the imperialists, in Soviet citizens' offers to fight, in the Congress resolution which speaks of increasing aid to Vietnam, in the speeches of delegates from fraternal parties, and in the Vietnamese representatives' words of heartfelt gratitude to the Soviet Union.

The appeal for Communist unity, with regard to which the CPSU reaffirmed its correct and principled line and its patient methods

based on the 1957 Declaration and the 1960 Statement, was closely linked with the necessity for common action against imperialism, in particular, for solidarity with the people of Vietnam. Close the ranks to fight the common enemy—this was the call which the Congress addressed to every Communist, to every party which is aware of its responsibility. And all the Communist parties present at the Congress responded to this appeal in a most positive spirit at that assembly itself.

We Latin Americans, too, know that Communist unity and a anti-imperialist front will be invaluable for the defense of Cuba, for solidarity with the Dominican Republic, for each of our countries.

As we have said, Comrade Brezhenv's report and the Congress as a whole were a veritable tribute to communism, to the firmness, courage and heroism of Communists. No amount of torture or terror on the part of reaction can break the Communists. The Congress laid great emphasis on solidarity with Indonesia's Communists, who are being foully persecuted, and protested emphatically against the crimes perpetrated in that country. It expressed solidarity with political prisoners in Portugal, Spain, West Germany, Greece, the South African Republic and Latin American countries. The announcement that Comrade Faria, wrested from the clutches of Venezuela's jailers shortly before, was present at the Congress was greeted with cheers.

Communism offers mankind, not only the best ideals, but very tangible achievements already realized in the socialist countries. As for anti-communism, it offers nothing but repressive measures against the people, poverty, napalm bombs, and the threat of a thermonuclear war.

The summing up done by the 23rd Congress of the CPSU, the new five-year plan, and the contribution to Communist unity and to the establishment of a vast anti-imperialist front made the Congress a congress of victory.

CONGRESS OF CPSU*

William Kashtan

PRINCIPLED STRUGGLE FOR PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE

The 23rd Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, which lasted for 10 days, had close to 5,000 delegates participating in its work, including fraternal delegates from 86 countries. Among the latter were representatives of Left Socialist parties from many newly-liberated countries.

This large and many-sided representation from all continents expressed not only confidence in the CPSU, but mirrored also the profound international character of the congress and its significance to mankind.

Prior to the congress the capitalist press speculated that it would change its general line and adopt a new one. How nonsensical this proved to be was made quickly evident in the report of the Central Committee and in the resolution adopted by the congress.

These reiterated the determination of the CPSU to continue its principled struggle for peace and for peaceful coexistence between different social systems. At the same time the congress made it unmistakably clear that peaceful coexistence did not apply where matters concern "the internal processes of the class and national liberation struggle in the capitalist countries and in the colonies. Peaceful coexistence is not applicable to relations between oppressors and the oppressed, the colonialists and the victims of colonial oppression."

This approach to peace and peaceful coexistence, national freedom and against imperialist aggression was made quite evident around the issue of Vietnam. The ovations given to the fraternal delegates from the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam underscored what Brezhnev said earlier, in his report to the congress:

"If the imperialists escalate the shameful war in Vietnam they will have to contend with mounting support for Vietnam from the Soviet Union and the socialist countries."

That this support is not inconsequential was emphasized in the remarks of Le Duan, secretary of the Workers' Party of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, who expressed "deep gratitude to the CPSU, the government and the Soviet people for the huge and

*The Canadian Tribune, May 2, 1966.

many-sided assistance to the struggle of the Vietnamese people."

This note was likewise struck by Nguyen Thi Binh, an outstanding woman, head of the delegation of the National Liberation Front, when she expressed deep thanks for "the spiritual, political and material support" of the CPSU and Soviet people in the struggle against U.S. aggression and for national freedom.

The struggle for peace and all-out support to the people striving for national freedom was one of the central features of the congress.

The capitalist press speculated that the 23rd Congress would open up polemics with the Communist Party of China and sharpen relations in the international Communist movement. Here too, they miscalculated. The congress was one of struggle for unity. This permeated all its work and found expression in the greetings of all fraternal delegates.

Faced with a sharpening of the international situation arising from the increasing aggressiveness of U.S. imperialism, the congress showed a high sense of responsibility in not allowing itself to be side-tracked by critics of the CPSU. It did not engage in polemics.

What it did do was emphasize the need to "close ranks against the common enemy of mankind—imperialism" and declared that "the CPSU will continue to promote joint actions by the Communist parties of the world in the struggle against imperialism and for the great goals of peace, democracy, national independence and socialism."

In different languages, with differing emphasis, all fraternal delegates expressed their determination and that of their parties, to help overcome the difficulties in the world Communist movement and to find the path to unity.

This was generally recognized as most crucial to check and defeat imperialist aggression and advance the cause of peace, national freedom and socialism.

Considerable attention was paid by the congress to the further development of socialist democracy. The capitalist press speculated about the restoration of "Stalinism," about a return to the personality cult at this congress. This was answered bluntly by the first two speakers after the main report.

Nikolai Yegorychev, secretary of the Moscow city committee, said, "It has lately become a fashion abroad to seek some elements of so-called 'Stalinism' in the political life of our country. The cult of the personality, violations of Leninist norms and principles of party life and socialist legality, all that hindered our advance, has been decisively thrown away by our party and there will never be a return to this past."

This was re-emphasized by Nikolai Podgorny, president of the presidium of the USSR, when he declared that "the construction of

communism was inseparable from the development of democracy,'" and went on to say: "the CPSU had done great work to strengthen the rule of law and to eliminate the harmful overgrowths associated with the personality cult, and to improve Soviet legislation."

This theme was developed by various speakers who made clear the unalterable opposition of the CPSU to any return to the cult and also spoke about what is being done to extend socialist democracy.

Particular attention was paid to further strengthening the role and authority of the Soviets and trade union movement in their particular spheres as an integral part of the advance of socialist democracy.

As an argument to buttress its case on a return to Stalinism the western press made much of the congress decision to re-establish a political bureau, a secretariat and the election of a general secretary. This decision, together with others adopted at the congress, was quite normal and based on the need to further enhance the authority and role of the Communist Party and make it an ever more effective factor in Soviet life.

Having misjudged what the congress would do, the capitalist press following the congress tried to play down its significance not only to the people of the Soviet Union, but to the world socialist system and the peoples of the world.

Some of the capitalist press said there was "nothing new" coming out of the congress. Other sections said it was "inward looking."

If by "inward looking" is meant that the congress devoted considerable time to a discussion on the next phase of communist construction, it is correct. It did, in fact, devote considerable time, in a sober, realistic and critical fashion, to a discussion of the new five year plan of economic development.

This plan is directed to creating the material and technical base of communism. While the congress was debating it, news came of the successful orbiting of the moon satellite, itself a vivid expression of the great scientific achievements of socialism and of the great technical skills which made it possible. In a sense, it was part of the guarantee that the five-year plan would be realized.

When the plan is completed it will result in a substantial increase in the living standards of the people. This is one of its main features, as can be seen in the following: wages will have risen by 30 per cent; welfare and pension benefits will have risen by 40 per cent; real living standards of the people in city and countryside by 30 per cent; prices on consumer goods will have been reduced.

This contrasts rather sharply with the trend toward rising prices, rising taxes, inflation and growing debts which afflict the working people in the capitalist world.

There is nothing "inward" about the five-year plan of economic

development and democratic management. It is the contribution of the Soviet Union to the cause of peace and socialism on a world scale. This is its great international significance.

The congress was imbued with confidence, conscious of the fact that, notwithstanding temporary difficulties and even setbacks, there is but one direction—forward—to a life of abundance.

This contrasts rather sharply with a growing crisis of imperialism arising from the fact that there is only one direction for it—eventual extinction.

WAR AND REVOLUTION*

On September 3 of this year there appeared in *Renmin Ribao,* organ of the Communist Party of China, an article which brings the controversy in the world Communist movement to a new point. The article, by Lin Piao, Vice-Chairman of the Central Committee of the CPC and Minister of National Defense, commemorates the 20th anniversary of the defeat of Japan. It is entitled "Long Live the Victory of People's War!"

That this is looked upon as something more than merely another in an endless series of articles is evident not only from the status of its author but even more from the exceptional distribution and publicity given to it by the Chinese leadership. The reason for this is made clear by the article's content, for it goes far beyond the customary realm of ideological dispute. In its final sections it becomes a manifesto laying down a world strategy of revolution and issuing a call to action.

As such, it cannot be ignored. The Communist Party of the United States, along with other parties, has fully supported the proposal of the Moscow Conference of last March to refrain from public polemics. However, in the face of a direct call for a course of action which we are certain can lead, if it is followed, only to catastrophe, we feel it would be wrong to remain silent. It is necessary to take the sharpest issue with such a line and energetically to combat it.

PEOPLE'S WARS WILL DEFEAT IMPERIALISM

From the outset, the ideological conflict has centered around the question of whether or not peaceful coexistence is an attainable objective. The leaders of the Chinese party have contended that it is not, on the grounds that, whatever the relationship of forces, the innate tendencies of imperialism drive it inexorably toward war. This propensity is thus beyond the control of its opponents. One can seek to live in peace with such a monster, therefore, only by capitulating to it, by letting it have its way without resistance. To this the only alternative is to counter war with war—to take the initiative in waging war against imperialism.

These ideas find their full crystallization in Lin's article. This pattern, which is pictured as that of a people's war fought by the Chinese people with their own resources against a militarily more powerful foe, is presented as being of universal applicability among peoples seeking their national freedom and the path toward socia-

*Editorial comment in Political Affairs, January 1966. Slightly abridged.

lism. These goals, Lin contends, are attainable only through the waging of people's wars; indeed, the concluding portion of the article takes as its point of departure the complete identification of revolution with war. It states:

"In the last analysis, the Marxist-Leninist theory of proletarian revolution is the theory of the seizure of state power by revolutionary violence, the theory of countering war against the people by people's war. As Marx so aptly put it: 'Force is the midwife of every old society pregnant with a new one.' (*Capital*, Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow, 1954, Vol. 1,p. 751.)

It was on the basis of the lessons derived from the people's wars in China that Comrade Mao Tse-tung, using the simplest and most vivid language, advanced the famous thesis that "political power grows out of the barrel of a gun." ("Problems of War and Strategy", *Selected Works*, Vol. II.)

As the basis of this "principle", Lin offers the proposition:

". . . So long as imperialism and the system of exploitation of man by man exist, the imperialists and reactionaries will invariably rely on armed force to maintain their reactionary rule and impose war on the oppressed nations and peoples. *This is an objective law independent of man's will.*" (Emphasis added.)

And since one is thus confronted by people who, in Mao Tse-tung's words, "have swords in their hands and are out to kill," it follows that:

"In the last analysis, whether one dares to wage a tit-for-tat struggle against armed aggression and suppression by the imperialists and their lackeys, whether one dares to fight a people's war against them, means whether one dares to embark on revolution. *This is the most effective touchstone for distinguishing genuine from fake revolutionaries and Marxist-Leninists*". (Emphasis added.)

Consequently, in the name of revolution, an appeal is made to all the oppressed peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America to launch people's wars directed against U.S. imperialism—to "defeat U.S. imperialism and its lackeys by people's wars." "History has proved and will go on proving," the article says, "that people's war is the most effective weapon against U.S. imperialism and its lackeys. All revolutionary people will learn to wage people's war against U.S. imperialism and its lackeys."

THESIS IDENTIFYING REVOLUTION WITH WAR

We shall have more to say later about the Chinese leaders' conception of people's war. But first let us turn our attention to the basic thesis of the identity of war and revolution—a thesis which can only be described as both false and dangerous.

It is essential to note at the start that the question at issue is not whether the use of violence is *ever* justified. Unquestionably there are cases in which this form of struggle is necessary. Rather, the question is whether it is the *only* form—whether its applicability is universal. What the article contends is that there is *no path to victory over imperialism other than the military path.*

What is the basis of this contention? That the Chinese experience, which was one of protracted revolutionary war, is the pattern for all other countries. But thus completely to generalize the applicability of the path of armed struggle taken by the Chinese people is an utterly dogmatic approach, entirely alien to the methodology of Marxism-Leninism. As M. A. Suslov has pointed out, it leaves out of account the enormous diversity of conditions and experiences in different countries. Suslov writes:

"It is well known that these countries stand at different levels of socio-economic and political development. One group of countries has already taken the socialist road. Another group has won political independence and set about effecting radical social reforms. A third group of countries, where the national bourgeoisie has come to power, adheres on the whole to an anti-imperialist position. There are countries which have formally acquired political independence but have virtually failed to become independent because of the puppet regimes that have come to power in them or because of their participation in imperialist blocs. Lastly, there are countries where colonial regimes remain and whose peoples are waging a heroic struggle for their freedom. (*Struggle of the CPSU for the Unity of the World Communist Movement,* Cross-currents Press, New York, 1964, pp. 32-33.)"

The peoples of these countries face diverse tasks at widely differing levels, which require varied methods of struggle involving political, diplomatic, economic and military forms in various combinations. To reduce all these to a single formula of armed struggle is to depart from reality.

Nor can such dogmatism be upheld by appeals to the writings of Marx and Lenin, both of whom were anything but rigid on such questions. Indeed, the quotation from Marx used by Lin can be made to serve this purpose only by being taken out of context. The statement appears in the course of a discussion of primitive accumulation—the initial acquisition of capital by the emergent capitalist class. Marx writes:

". . . In England at the end of the 17th century, they (the moments of primitive accumulation) arrive at a systematical combination, embracing the colonies, the national debt, the modern mode of taxation, and the protective system. These methods depend in part on brute force, e.g., the colonial system. But they all

employ the power of the State, the concentrated and organized force of society, to hasten, hothouse fashion, the process of transformation of the feudal mode of production into the capitalist mode, and to shorten the transition. Force is the midwife of every old society pregnant with a new one. It is itself an economic power."

Is it not clear that the force of which Marx speaks here is that exercised by the state, which emerging capitalism brings increasingly under its sway and uses as a means of enriching itself, and not the force of violent revolution against the existing state power? Certainly the statement cannot be construed as referring to the universal necessity of armed uprising as the only form of revolution.

IGNORE NEW CONDITIONS FOR VICTORY OVER IMPERIALISM

The source of war, it is true, is imperialism; and war, it is also true, may lead to revolution. But Communists do not on that account *seek* war as the necessary path to revolution; on the contrary, they strive to prevent war and to win their aims without it. On this point, the 81-Party Statement emphatically declares:

"The imperialist reactionaries, who seek to arouse distrust for the Communist movement and its ideology, continue to intimidate the masses by alleging that the Communists need wars between states to overthrow the capitalist system and establish a socialist system. The Communist Parties emphatically reject this slander. The fact that both world wars, which were started by the imperialists, ending in socialist revolutions by no means implies that the way to social revolution goes necessarily through world war, especially now that there exists a powerful world system of socialism. Marxist-Leninists have never considered that the way to socialist revolution lies through wars between states." (New Century Publishers, New York, 1961, p. 26.)

Even in the days before World War I, when the world anti-imialist forces were far too limited to prevent the outbreak of that conflict, Lenin made this point unmistakably clear. In April 1914 a Polish journalist, Alfre Maikosen, asked him with reference to the approaching war: "Do you crave for a conflict?"

Lenin replied:

"No, I don't want it. Why should I wish it? I am doing and will do everything in my power to prevent mobilization and war. I do not wish millions of proletarians to exterminate each other, paying for the madness of capitalism. No misunderstanding is to be allowed in this respect.

"Objectively to predict a war, to try, should this calamity be

unleashed, to make full use of it is one thing. To wish for war and work for it is something quite different."*

If the possibility of successful revolution without war, whether for national freedom or for socialism, has been greatly enhanced in recent times, this is, to be sure, not due to any lessening of the predatory, warlike nature of imperialism. Its rapacious appetite for profit and plunder remains undiminished. What *has* happened, however, is that its capacity to satisfy that appetite has greatly decreased, thanks to the much greater power of the forces which oppose it.

Since capitalists are in business not to lay down their lives for sacred principles but to make money, it is but to be expected that there will be those in monopoly circles who will counsel retreat in the face of odds which appear to them overwhelmingly unfavorable, who prefer to adapt themselves to situations they feel they cannot control and seek other ways of maintaining their profits. On the other hand, there will remain those who cling to the opposite view and are prepared to defend the status quo at all costs. And the conflict between the two will sharpen as the difficulties of imperialism deepen.

Consequently, situations will increasingly arise in which the anti-imperialist forces prove strong enough to compel a retreat; indeed, there are numerous instances in which this has already happened. In other cases, to be sure, the anti-imperialist forces may suffer a setback. The outcome in any given case depends on the relationship of forces and the intensity of the political struggle waged against imperialist policies. But the position taken in Lin's article completely negates the role of such political struggles and places reliance only on resort to arms.

THE ROLE OF PEOPLE'S WAR AND VIETNAM

Even where the question of violent conflict arises, history shows that solutions are most often arrived at not by military means alone but by a combination of political, diplomatic and military actions. This is true, for example, of the Cuban crisis of October 1962, in which the threatened U.S. invasion was averted and Cuban independence safeguarded not by the sole force of Cuban arms but by diplomatic negotiations backed by weapons and supported by political pressures in this country and elsewhere. It is likewise true of the invasion of Egypt by British, French and Israeli troops some years earlier, which was repelled not by military victory of

*Cited by M. D. Kammari, "On the Relationship Between War and Revolution," Krasnaya Zvezda, August 6, 1965.

the Egyptian forces but by the compelled withdrawal of the invaders. Other cases can be cited.

In both these examples, the defeat of imperialism involved the combined strength of the world anti-imperialist forces. And in both, be it noted, the role of the Soviet Union was decisive. In general, when a people is compelled to take to arms in defense of its freedom, its struggle is part of the world struggle against imperialism and the outcome is determined by combined action on all fronts.

Lin's article, however, places the matter quite differently. The destruction of imperialism is envisioned as being accomplished solely through the military actions of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America. "The whole capitalist-imperialist system," he writes, "has become drastically weaker and is in the process of increasing convulsion and disintegration." U.S. imperialism, despite its unprecedented strength, is especially vulnerable; spread out over the entire face of the globe, it is overextended. "Its human, military, material and financial resources are far from sufficient for the realization of its ambition of dominating the whole world." Through the launching of people's wars, therefore, and the merging of these "into a torrential world-wide tide of opposition to U.S. imperialism," it can be thrown off balance, split up and defeated. "U.S. imperialism like a mad bull dashing from place to place, will finally be burned to ashes in the blazing fires of the people's wars it has provoked by its own actions."

But what of the fact that these countries, themselves poorly armed, confront an adversary equipped with the most modern of armaments, including nuclear weapons? These, says Lin, "cannot save U.S. imperialism from its doom."

In the case of Vietnam, this is spelled out further by Mao Tse-tung in an interview with Edgar Snow a number of months ago ("Interview with Mao," *New Republic*, February 27, 1965). Snow reports Mao as holding the view that "in truth the Chinese revolution was also being armed by Americans . . ." In short, the more numerous the aggressors, the swifter the arming of the people at their expense and the more decisive their ultimate victory.

The outlook for the Vietnamese people is thus presented as one of protracted war, culminating ultimately in military victory over U.S. imperialism and its supporters—in short, a carbon copy of the Chinese experience.

To hold forth the prospect of a purely military defeat of U.S. imperialism in this manner, however, is grossly to underestimate its strength and destructive capacity. True, continued escalation is only leading U.S. imperialism deeper and deeper into a bog of endless slaughter, with the chance of a military solution in its

favor growing ever dimmer. But by the same token the Vietnamese people are equally condemned, on military grounds alone, to an interminable bloody stalemate, enormously costly in lives and property.

It is true, too, that historically imperialism is on the way out and the balance of forces is turning increasingly against it. But whatever its difficulties, U.S. imperialism can hardly be said to be "in the process of increasing convulsion and disintegration." Nor are there any grounds for comparing it with the France of 1954—a France which had suffered military defeat in World War II, which was heavily involved in war in Algeria at the same time, and which was rocked by internal economic and political instability. In contrast, the United States commands vast military, economic and manpower resources which the war has only begun to tap.

MINIMIZING DANGER OF NUCLEAR CONFLAGRATION

And what of the danger that the war may be escalated into a world war fought with nuclear weapons? The article makes light of this arguing not only that U.S. imperialism will hesitate to employ nuclear weapons but also as follows:

". . . There have been wars of national liberation throughout the twenty years since World War II. But has any single one of them developed into a world war?"

Such arguments, however, fly in the face of reality, for they are based on a partial, one-sided picture. In the first place, the danger of nuclear warfare canot be so easily dismissed. It is well to remember that in those situations in which U.S. imperialism has been most directly involved, we have more than once come frighteningly close to the brink of nuclear conflict.

It is worth recalling, for one thing, Truman's admission that his administration had seriously considered the use of atom bombs in the Korean War. It is also worth recalling that the Eisenhower Administration was no less ready to resort to such weapons.

In today's war in Vietnam the dangers are even greater. Unless the present policy is reversed, the hopelessness of military victory for U.S. imperialism at the current level of the conflict must lead to further escalations which can all too easily culminate in a world nuclear war. To reject the political fight for peace in Vietnam, for reversal of the Johnson policy, for removal of all U.S. forces, and instead to call only for continuation of the war until finally these forces are driven out militarily, is to gamble with nuclear catastrophe.

But the article goes further. It calls upon other peoples to emulate the Vietnamese by launching wars of their own, saying:

"The people in other parts of the world will see still more clearly that U.S. imperialism can be defeated, and that what the Vietnamese people can do, they can do too." In short, the world is to be plunged into a prolonged era of warfare—a course which can only end in nuclear war.

This point is overlooked by Lin and by those in this country who support the Chinese view. The editors of the *Monthly Review* argue that since the basic problems of the oppressed countries, in particular the elementary problem of feeding their populations, cannot be solved within the framework of imperialism; hence the tide of revolution throughout the underdeveloped world is bound to rise, and U.S. imperialism will find it impossible to cope with it.

We cannot quarrel with the conclusion that imperialism cannot solve the economic problems of the underdeveloped countries, nor with the conclusion that U.S. imperialism is taking on commitments it cannot fulfill. But the consequences cannot be reduced to a mere matter of arithmetical extrapolation. The very hopelessness of the attempt to cope with the situation by expanded military aggression leads, if it is persisted in, to ever greater pressures to compensate by resort to nuclear weapons, as well as to the growing political ascendency of those who advocate such a course.

The ultimate defeat of U.S. imperialism may be a built-in consequence of the present world picture, but that it should carry the world to destruction with itself is not. The aim of the world anti-imperialist forces, and not least of the American people, must be to curb its aggressiveness, to force it to yield in the face of the tide of national liberation. There is no alternative to this other than the disaster of a nuclear bloodbath.

Of course, the Chinese leaders have consistently minimized the destructiveness of nuclear weapons, and they do so now. Of the eventuality of world war, Lin has only this to say: "If the U.S. imperialists should insist on launching a third world war, it can be stated categorically that many more hundreds of millions of people will turn to socialism; the imperialists will then have little room left on the globe; and it is possible that the whole structure of imperialism will collapse." Of the hundreds of millions who would perish and of the incalculable destruction of material wealth, he says nothing.

The position of the Chinese leaders adds up to this: imperialism cannot be prevented from launching war; hence a new world was is inevitable. One can, therefore, only "oppose war with war" by taking to arms now against U.S. imperialism. If this leads to a nuclear holocaust, what of it? The result will be a tremendous victory for socialism. True Marxist-Leninists and revolutionaries, says Lin, "never take a gloomy view of war."

We need not repeat here the accounts given by scientists and others of the indescribable havoc and annihilation nuclear weapons are capable of producing. We can only say that the logic of any optimism based on the inevitability of their use escapes us.

To be sure, nuclear war will not in the end save imperialism, but neither is there any doubt as to the incalculable destruction of human life it will wreak. We cannot subscribe to the concept of a socialism built upon the decimation of mankind. Such a concept is totally at odds with the humanism, the concern for the welfare of their fellow men, by which Communists are motivated. To fight for socialism is to do everything possible to prevent nuclear war.

Does it follow from this that one must capitulate to imperialism, that there is no alternative to taking up arms, as the Chinese leaders contend? Not at all. If the threatened use of nuclear weapons did not materialize in the instance cited above, and if world war has been averted so far, this is not *alone* due to the waging of wars of national liberation. Nor is it *alone* due to the fears of isolation or retaliation in the U.S. imperialist camp. It is also the result of the growing mass movements for peace in the capitalist countries, including the United States. It is the result of the Soviet possession of nuclear weapons and the consistent employment of that possession in behalf of world peace and national freedom. It is the result of the anti-imperialist role of the growing body of newly liberated countries. In short, it is the result of the joint struggle of *all* the anti-imperialist forces on *all* fronts, which have on more than one occasion compelled U.S. imperialism to back down by confronting it with the one thing it understands: a superior combination of forces. Through such struggles U.S. imperialism can be compelled to get out of Vietnam and the threat of nuclear war which the escalation poses can be removed.

To argue as Lin Piao does in his article is to abandon this path and to disunite the anti-imperialist forces in the face of the growing aggressiveness of U.S. imperialism.

In taking issue with the line presented by Lin Piao, we do not wish to minimize in the least the reactionary character of U.S. imperialism and its threat to world peace. That it is today the most reactionary and aggressive of all imperialisms, the bulwark of colonialism and the worst enemy of all peoples everywhere, there cannot be the slightest doubt. That a relentless, uncompromising struggle must be waged against it by the force of progress throughout the world, and above all within the United States itself —on this there can likewise be no room for disagreement. Our objection to Lin's position is that it *obstructs* such a struggle.

THE SOVIET ECONOMIC REFORM*

Under the heading "The New System in Action," *Pravda* wrote on May 16 last:

"The principles of economic policy formulated by the Party are being applied consistently and in business-like fashion.

"Two groups of industrial enterprises, employing roughly one million people, have already adopted the new system. Today we find such enterprises in thirty-odd industries, in almost all the Union republics. Among them are enterprises known all over the country, such as the two watch factories in Moscow, the Metal and Nevsky Engineering plants in Leningrad, the turbine plant in Kharkov, the Red October plant in Volgograd, the farm machinery plant in Rostov, the heavy engineering plant in Elektrostal, the Dnieper titanium and magnesium plant, and the mining and metallurgical complex in Norilsk.

"In the second half of this year the new system will become effective in all tobacco, tea and soda enterprises and on January 1, 1967, in the industries producing sugar, transformers, cotton, woolen and silk fabrics, knitted goods, hemp and juta, wines, confectionery, and other goods. Early next year the number of industrial personnel working under the new system will be close on one-third of our country's total . . .

"In switching to the new system, the enterprises asked for an increase of 157m. rubles in the plan for marketing output and of 59m. rubles in the plan for profits. This unprecedented development in our industry is the best illustration of the significance of the reform. The latter makes it possible to improve centralized planning and at the same time to extend the autonomy of enterprises, encourage their economic initiative, provide the staffs and each of their members with greater incentives to raise production efficiency and achieve greater results at lower cost.

"The enterprises run on the new lines generally fulfil and even exceed increased plans for marketing and profits. The 43 enterprises which were the first to introduce the new system fulfilled the increased marketing plan for the first quarter of this year by 103.6 per cent and the plan for profits by 107.9 per cent. This benefits both the state and the industrial production staffs concerned . . .

"Wages and salaries have gone up. Enterprises which adopted the new system in the second quarter will have a material incen-

*Excerpts from CPSU press comments.

tive fund* 89 per cent greater than under the former system . . .

"The increased autonomy and greater responsibility of enterprise staffs necessitate, and will necessitate, major changes in the managerial methods used by the relevant ministries and planning, finance, Party, government and other bodies. Administrative methods will have to give way to economic ones. Petty patronage and the imposition of economically unsound, voluntaristic decisions on enterprises are incompatible with the new system.

"Unfortunately, old habits have not been given up everywhere . . . Specifically, there is no tolerating the fact that material and technical supply still has many shortcomings, and that a number of enterprises disregard the consumer's requirements, upset coordinated inter-factory delivery plans or put out low-quality products. It is important to increase the role of the economic contract and financial responsibility for its execution, to insist on the strict fulfilment of reciprocal undertakings. It is above all for the planning bodies and the ministries to set the tone in this respect."

Ekonomicheskaya Gazeta, the CC, CPSU weekly carried in its issue No. 19, 1966, a report on the results achieved so far by the 43 pilot enterprises.

First of all, the weekly commented, for the 43 enterprises it was a new departure: they were the first to test the new instructions and provisions in practice. This took a certain recasting of the forms and methods of work and, moreover, of the mentality of people, of their approach to their duties.

Secondly, the enterprises switched to the new system when the 1966 plan had been approved in line with the former system of incentives. This meant that to set up greater incentive funds in keeping with the new methods of planning and economic stimulation, the enterprises had to give additional and higher undertakings. Acting *on their own initiative, they increased the 1966 plan for marketing output by almost 25m. rubles and for profits by more than 11m. rubles . . .*

Of the 43 enterprises representing 17 ministries, 22 build machines, 5 produce ferrous and non-ferrous metals, 3 chemical and petrochemical products, 6 light-industry goods, 4 foodstuffs, including meat and dairy products, and 3 building materials. *They employ over 300,000 people . . .*

The following table shows how they fulfilled their plans for marketing, profits and profitability, in main indices of economic efficiency — in the first quarter.

Over 25m. rubles' worth of products was marketed above plan,

*Fund out of which additional payments are made to teams and workers exceeding their plan targets.—Ed.

or 12.4 per cent more than in the first quarter of 1965. Above-plan profit exceeded 8m. rubles . . .

Output per member of industrial production personnel increased by 6.6 per cent in the 43 enterprises, taken as a whole, over the first quarter of 1965.

But these are results compared with last year's. How were the plan indices set by the enterprises themselves attained? Gross output per worker averaged 3.3 per cent more than planned . . .

Economic stimulation funds are among the basic elements of new management system. They were set up in all the 43 enterprises. In particular, the *material incentive fund* totalled 18.3m. rubles in the first quarter. It consisted of deductions from profit (9.6m. rubles), and of bonuses paid to workers from the wage fund (8.7m. rubles)—52.5 and 47.5 per cent respectively.

Bonuses to industrial production personnel exclusively of bonuses paid to workers from the wage fund) *increased by almost 44 per cent* over the first quarter of 1965. The average amount of the bonuses went up. Taking into account bonuses paid to workers from the wage fund, their average amount per worker was 40 rubles in that quarter, exclusive of extraordinary grants and finanmial aid. Bonuses per worker paid out of the wage fund during the quarter exceeded 35 rubles.

The share of bonuses and extraordinary premiums exceeded five per cent of the average pay of the personnel at the Kuibyshev Chemical Plant in Voskresenk, the Dvigatel Revolutsii plant and the worsted mill in Pavlovo-Posad. At the Voskresensk cement works it added up to 6 per cent and at the Kirov Turbine Plant in Kharkov it topped 7 per cent.

It is important to note that the proportion of bonuses and extraordinary premiums in the average pay of industrial production personnel showed a substantial increase in many enterprises compared with the first quarter of 1965. It is increased by almost 90 per cent at the Kosino knitted-goods factory, by 120 per cent at the Red October Iron and Steel Works in Volgograd, more than 150 per cent at the Lomonosov Glass Factory in Gomel, and so on.

The new system assigns an important role to the *social, cultural and housing fund.** In the first quarter of this year this fund totalled more than 3m. rubles in the 43 enterprises, or 28.8 per cent of the annual amount planned; 45.6 per cent og it was obtained through increased output and 54.4 per cent, through greater profitability.

The 43 enterprises in which the new system has been introduced have been afforded greater opportunities of improving production techniques. In the first quarter they set up a *production development*

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*Fund out of which the factory's expenses on its own housing, cultural and welfare services are covered.—Ed.

fund which totals 5.7m rubles. In this sum, allowances for depreciation make up 43.3 per cent, receipts from the sale of invalidated or redundant property 3.3 per cent, and deductions from the factory's own revenue 53.4 per cent.

The first steps in adopting the new system of planning and economic stimulation have yielded favorable results. This is the main conclusion.

Under the heading "Plant Asks for Bigger Plan," *Pravda* reported on May 13 last about the experience of some enterprises using the new system of planning and stimulation.

"The Red October plant makes special high-grade steels and alloys. It is the first plant in the iron and steel industry to have introduced the new system of planning and stimulation. Four months is not a long time, of course . . . Yet the plant may already be said to have made the right choice.

"The steel workers of Volgograd have successfully met all indices for the first quarter. The plant fulfilled its marketing plan by 104.2 per cent and made a profit of 9.2m. rubles, or 1.6m. rubles more than in the corresponding period of 1965 . . .

"The new system is revolutionizing people's thinking. It is making them discard outdated views and habits in assessing the work of shops and enterprises, and paving the way for higher efficiency....

"Until recently, whenever it came to planning, shop managers found no end of reasons for arguing against bigger plan assignments. This was because the appraisal of economic performance and the amount of bonuses depended on the degree to which the plan was exceeded. Managers insisted on smaller assignments to be able to exceed them. . . .

"That was the situation for many years, but today the manager's thinking is different. He has begun to calculate and analyze, and to think in economic terms. It is no longer surprising to see a shop manager asking planners and economists to increase the plan, for the bigger the plan, the greater the profit . . .

"Judicious management is gaining recognition. Basic assessment indices — marketing, profit and level of profitability — have been established for enterprises and shops. The indices have been fixed for physical output, the wage fund, for production assets and payment for their use, and rates of deduction for material stimulation funds. The extra profit of 815,000 rubles envisaged by the plan has been distributed among the shops . . .

"Today everyone has a stake not only in output but in delivering it and getting paid for it as early as possible. Only when this has been done is the marketing-plan regarded as fulfilled. . . .

"Not long ago the workers in the Blast-Furnace Shop met to discuss the results of the month. They spoke of the important thing —what they had to do to make the shop more profitable. G.

Yudin, a chargeman, made the reasonable suggestion that every engineer or technologist undertake to devise two or three measures and estimate their economic advantages, so that the whole staff would have a guarantee that the plan would be fulfilled.

"The workers are plainly interested in raising efficiency. Their interest is based on powerful economic incentives. The shops now have good reason to seek assignments bigger than the planned ones because if they carry them out 90 per cent of the extra profit will be contributed to the material incentive fund, while the percentage is only 60 in the case of production above the state plan.

A system of bonuses for quantitative and qualitative indices has been developed for steel founders, rollers, welders and other key trades. The lower the proportion of spoilage and under-standard output, the higher the amount of the bonus.

"Nor is that all. It is very important in the new conditions to encourage every worker to do as a thrifty master would, continuously to look for untapped resources and contribute to the fulfilment and excession of the plan for marketing and profits. With this aim in view, a supplementary bonus system has been devised that will draw on the material incentive fund. By now the system covers over 2,000 workers . . .

"Altogether 2,810 people were paid bonuses in the first quarter —a total of 67,600 rubles derived from the material incentive fund. This means that the total bonus paid to workers from the fund increased 9.6 per cent. It is no less important that deductions from profit in favor of the state went up . . .

"The Party organization at the plant does a good deal to promote the economic training of the staff and to improve working methods . . . The plant now has a university of economic and technological progress, and economic schools and seminars. They involve over 9,000 workers, engineers and technologists. Special classes set up for economists, planners and accountants help them improve their theoretical and economic knowledge.

"Economic conferences have become a school of management. Two conferences have already been held this year. They dealt with profitability and the introduction of scientific methods of organizing labor.

"It would be wrong to think that the new system is making headway without a hitch. The effect is that, like any unexplored ground, this quest presents difficulties . . ."

A *Pravda* article published on April 13 last under the title "What Makes Efficiency" said:

"The ceramic factory in Voronezh went into production a little over ten years ago. . . .

"Under the new system, better use of basic production assets is particularly important. How can returns be increased? Having

tackled this problem, people at the plant carefully reviewed the equipment . . .

"With a bank loan the plant purchased six new presses, each of which is twice as efficient as those in operation, and produces higher-quality items. The purchase was paid out of the production development fund, which runs to 163,000 rubles. This is far more than was allocated for the purpose last year. The same fund is drawn on to pay for equipment for three facing tile production lines, the construction of a compressor section, and other jobs.

"The material incentive fund amounts to 221,000 rubles. The plant has specified the terms of paying bonuses to workers, engineers and technologists. In determining the amount of a bonus, account is taken not only of the personal contribution made to the common effort but of length of service and discipline.

"Lastly, the social, cultural and housing fund has been fixed at 121,000 rubles. It is planned to spend this money, in particular, on building another house of 75 flats, and to extend the kindergarten and the public service facilities on the factory's housing estate . . ."

"Main Object of the People's Effort" is the title of another *Pravda* article, published on May 11.

"In 1965," *Pravda* writes, "real per capita incomes grew by 7 per cent (in the previous four years, they had grown at an annual rate of 2.9 per cent), wages and salaries went up by 5.8 per cent and the incomes derived from the collective farms by their members, 16 per cent.

"A high rate of improvement of the people's standard of living under the new five-year plan will be ensured by increasing the national income 38 to 41 per cent, agricultural output by an average of 25 per cent against the previous five-year period, output of consumer goods in industry by 43 to 46 per cent, and investments in housing, the utilities and the service industry to the tune of about 75,000m. rubles . . .

"Average wages and salaries are planned to rise by at least 20 per cent — from 95.3 rubles a month in 1965 to roughly 115 rubles in 1970. This rise will be brought about along two main lines. First, by raising pay rates, primarily in the case of the low-paid categories (in particular, there will be a minimum pay of 60 rubles). Secondly, through pay increases, made possible by the formation in the enterprises of material incentive funds according to the economic reform . . .

"Higher wages and salaries will be supplemented with increases in the share of bonuses and extraordinary grants. This is a new important step toward promoting and perfecting the socialist principle of distribution according to work. It means harmonizing the

interests of each worker with those of the factory staff and of society as a whole. While the former measure will benefit the low- and average-paid, the latter will make for bigger earnings by any employee in enterprises operated effectively, irrespective of the rate of his pay.

"The more rapidly production and the productivity rate grow, the greater the opportunities of increasing incomes and consumption. This is particularly true of the latter method of raising wages and salaries, whose growth will directly depend on the volume and efficiency of production . . ."

Partiinaya Zhizn, a journal published by the CC, CPSU, writes in its issue No. 8, 1966, under the heading "Party Organizations Promote New Management Methods";

"One of the 13 Moscow enterprises that since the beginning of this year have adopted the new system of planning and economic stimulation is the KIM Platinum Needle Factory . . .

"It is a unique enterprise manufacturing over 7,000 items for 3,000 knitted-goods factories, textile mills and the synthetic fibre industry of our country, as well as for numerous enterprises abroad . . .

"The Party organization and the factory staff knew that the introduction of new capacities in our country has somewhat slowed down of late. In the enterprises in operation, too, returns were inadequate. This applied also to the KIM works. It was therefore important to ascertain the causes of this state of affairs and to search for ways of increasing returns. It was to this that the Party Committee of the factory first called the attention of Communists and the entire personnel.

"The Bureau of Economic Analysis formed on a voluntary basis in 1962 assumed the direction of work on checking the utilization of every machine-tool. It established that the equipment was used unevenly and that a substantial proportion of it was idle. . . .

"Some hard thinking was done as to how to *bring every member of the personnel into emulation and how each could best contribute to the fulfilment of the undertakings given by the plant.* On the recommendation of the Party organization and the management, the Bureau of Economic Analysis, working under the guidance of the Laboratory of Production Economic and Organization, devised so-called economic certification for each shop, section and work place. This is a document analyzing the utilization of basic assets in past years, and estimating future returns by each shop, section, automatic line, machine-tool, and so on . . .

"Engineers, technologists and workers put forward proposals aimed at improving production, and stressed the need to increase returns . . .

"Every valuable suggestion was entered in the "Reserves Book"

established on the initiative of Communists. The 338 suggestions recorded in it during the Seven-Year Plan period produced a saving of over 350,000 rubles.

"The effort to increase returns bore fruit. In 1965 basic funds went up 72 per cent over 1958 and gross output rose by 111.5 per cent.

"Another important trend in the effort of the staff was *speeding technological progress and effecting overall mechanization and automation* . . .

"Great credit is due to inventors and rationalizers for retooling the enterprise. One in every five members of the staff is a rationalizer, and 19 of them have been issued patents. In 1958 the plant had only one automatic line, and last year there were 48 lines. A great deal has been done by inventors who are members of the Party. Comrade Talayev designed an automatic line performing 22 operations and making it possible to replace outdated, inefficient equipment, automatize labor-intensive manual operations, reduce the number of transport operations and greatly improve quality . . .

"In seven years the plan designed and manufactured for its own needs 489 items of equipment without outside help, including 48 automatic lines and 319 special and automatic machine-tools. As a result, over 900 workers were relieved of the execution of arduous manual operations . . .

"As the plant was fitted out with up-to-date equipment greater demands were made on the workers with regard to *skill*. In 1958 the average skill category was the second, and today it is the third. Development will apparently necessitate raising skills to the fourth category . . .

"The Party Committee at the KIM plant does much to organize economic training of the personnel. This is a necessary condition for the transition to the new system. There are 22 lecture groups operating in the plant shops, sections and services. They involve 2,350 people . . .

"When word came that the plant would be switched to the new system of planning and economic stimulation as from January 1, 1966, the Party Committee and the management began to prepare carefully for the transition . . .

"Certain bottlenecks were revealed, and a *long-range plan* was worked out for eliminating them in 1966. On the basis of this plan the Party Committee drew up its own plan, which provided for the study and discussion of various problems, political work among the personnel, and so on.

"In the new conditions decisions on many questions of the operation of the enterprise will be made by leading members of the staff and the manager's powers will be extended. This is why choosing the right direction of work by the Party organization is

of considerable importance. Extension of the powers of the enterprise implies not only greater powers for the manager but for the entire personnel. In these circumstances, the Party organization will have to exert greater influence on the activity of the plant and each Communist will have to bear greater responsibility for both the quantitative and the qualitative fulfilment of plans.

"Of course, the Party organization must not try to do the management's job for it. This is not to say, however, that it will be exempted from all responsibility for the operation of the plant. The Party organization must inspire an increasing sense of responsibility in the managerial personnel, exercise stricter control over their work, and organize painstaking verification of the execution of the decisions and directives adopted. It must contribute a great deal to the education of personnel and see its everyday needs. Our impression is that the Party Committee at the KIM plant has adopted the right course of action in this respect.

"The Party Committee's long-range plan gives priority to greater control over economic activities and to the need to increase the responsibility and the vanguard role of Communists. It has set out to place and educate leading personnel and step up political work among the staff personnel, and takes a new approach to the guidance of socialist emulation.

"The plant has a well-considered system of material stimulation...

"Appropriate regulations were drawn up after a careful discussion of the proposal for material stimulation at shop and plant Party meetings and after talks with workers. The regulations specify the conditions which the worker has to meet if he is to receive a cash reward at the end of the year.

"The amount of the reward will depend on the quality of output, the state of labor and technological discipline, length of service, and the personal contribution made by the worker to improve technologies and labor organization. Depending on the value of the suggestions made, it may be raised by 50 to 100 per cent over the minimum established by the plant, which equals the worker's ten-day earnings calculated according to his average monthly earnings.

"Personal accounts have been opened for registering these indices. Entries in them are made by the section foreman. To avoid mistakes and violations, the foreman acquaints the workers with the contents of each personal account at production meetings called once in ten days or a month at most. This reveals the performance of every worker and enables the Party, trade union and Komsomol organizations to check the accuracy of entries."

THE RUMANIAN COMMUNIST PARTY, LEADING FORCE OF THE PEOPLE IN THE POPULAR REVOLUTION, IN THE WORK FOR SOCIALIST CONSTRUCTION

FROM N. CEAUSESCU'S SPEECH* AT THE MEETING TO CELEBRATE THE 45th ANNIVERSARY OF THE FOUNDING OF THE RCP, MAY 7, 1966

The Congress putting the seal on the transformation of the Socialist Party into the Communist Party of Rumania took place in Bucharest on May 8, 1921.

The overthrow of the fascist dictatorship and the country's liberation from foreign occupation marked the beginning of the people's anti-imperialist revolution in Rumania which inaugurated a new stage in the development of our country. Under the leadership of the Communist Party, the anti-fascist struggle of national liberation grew into a wide mass action for the completion of the bourgeois-democratic revolution. The calls of the Communist Party for the abolition of the feudal vestiges and for the distribution of land to the peasants, the democratization of political life and the reconstruction of the economy inspired all the country's democratic and patriotic forces. This period of intense political struggle witnessed the powerful manifestation of the rich experience acquired by our Party during the anti-fascist battles, of its organizational force and its prestige, authority and political influence among the masses.

There was a substantial change in the position of the social and political forces in the country; the positions of the exploiting classes were shaken and the political influence of the bourgeoisie and the big landlords was weakened. The National Peasant Party and the Liberal Party regrouped around the monarchy and stubbornly opposed the country's development along the road of social reforms.

During that period, the Party organized the united trade unions and the youth organizations, and fought for the further consolidation of the United Workers' Front and the achievement of the

*Abridged from a booklet issued by the Rumanian News Agency.

political and organizational unity of the working class. At the same time, the Party extended its understanding with the other democratic parties and organizations, setting up the National Democratic Party, the United Trade Unions, the Ploughmen's Front, the Union of Patriots, the Magyar People's Union, the National Peasant Party, youth, women's and other organizations and political groupings. The National Democratic Front represented a large coalition of all the forces concerned with the real democratization of the country, with the carrying out of the economic and social reforms demanded by the needs of social development in Rumania.

Under the leadership of the Communist Party, huge masses of the population engaged themselves in a sharp struggle against reaction, evicted the reactionary prefects and mayors, began to organize workers' control in the factories, to expropriate the big landlords, and to distribute land to the peasants, thus actually carrying out the land reform, and participated in the battle for the democratization of public life. It was in the heat of those political, economic and social battles waged by the mass of the people against the forces of internal reaction, who were backed by foreign imperialist circles, that the government of broad democratic concentration, led by Dr. Petru Groza, the outstanding patriot and eminent politician and statesman, was set up in March 1945. The establishment of the first government in the history of this country in which the working class had the leading role, was a great victory in the revolutionary struggle of Rumania, ensuring the democratic and progressive development of our society.

You will remember the difficult situation in which the country's economy found itself in 1945, after nearly four years of Hitlerite domination and war. Industrial output in a number of branches in 1944 had dropped to about 50 per cent in comparison with the prewar level; only ten per cent of the machine-tools existing in 1943 were still in operation; the transport capacity of the railways had decreased to 30 per cent in comparison with 1943. Agriculture was exhausted by Hitlerite robbery, by the requisitions during the war, by the destructions caused during the fighting on the front. This difficult economic heritage was aggravated by the drought of the years 1945 and 1946, by reactionary sabotage, by the freezing of Rumania's foreign currency and bonds in the Western capitalist countries. The war reparations Rumania had to pay and the other material losses totalled over one thousand million dollars. In those conditions, the main economic task was the reconstruction of the national economy which had been destroyed by the war, the growth of output. The fulfiment of those tasks required great efforts on the part of our people, especially on the part of the working class which

bore the brunt of the struggle and the work to supply the front and to do away with the aftermath of war.

It became an objective necessity to develop the forces of production, to continue with the intensification of the democratization of the country's life. Proceeding from these requirements for social progress at the respective stage, the National Conference of the Rumanian Communist Party, held in October 1945, focussed the Party's concern on the rehabilitation and development of the national conditions, the consolidation of the unity of the working class and the alliance between the workers, peasants and intellectuals, and the strengthening of the unity of all democratic, anti-imperialist forces. The National Conference elected as General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Rumanian Communist Party Gheorghe Gheorghiu-Dej, the outstanding militant of our Party and of the international communist movement, who for nearly two decades, headed the Party and the state in the work for the construction of socialism.

During that period, substantial changes took place in the relation of forces in society: the working class consolidated its positions in political and social life; the alliance of the working class to the working peasantry became stronger following the implementation of the land reform; the unity of all democratic and progressive forces developed. The victory scored by the Bloc of Democratic Parties in the parliamentary elections of 1946 reflected the wide social and political basis on which the democratic government was relying, the fact that the reactionary bourgeois parties, about to disappear from political life were compromised and isolated from the masses.

The country's democratization, its forward march, were opposed by the parties of the exploiting classes, by the king and his camarilla. It became absolutely necessary to overthrow the monarchy, which had become an obstacle to social progress. The proclamation of the Rumanian People's Republic marked the beginning of people's democratic power, the transition of Rumania to a new stage of social development—the stage of the socialist revolution.

An important event in the political life of the country, in the history of our working class was the unification of the Rumanian Communist Party with the Social Democratic Party on the basis of the principles of Marxism-Leninism, the creation in February 1948 of the single Party of the working class—the Rumanian Workers' Party. Unification secured to the working class the organizational and political conditions enabling it to fulfil its lofty mission as the leading class of society in the work of socialist construction.

The first action having a decisive importance in the progress of the socialist revolution was the taking over of the principal means

of industrial production by the people on June 11, 1948; nationalization opened a new stage in the history of the relations of production in our country; it led to the abolition of the big industrial and financial bourgeoisie, to the creation of a powerful socialist state sector in the economy, and made it possible to go over to the planned management of the national economy.

The rehabilitation of the country's economy created conditions for a start in building the economic basis of socialism. This huge constructive activity relied on the heroic labor of the working class, the most advanced class of society, on the activity of the peasantry, on the enthusiastic contribution of the intelligentsia and of the other seceions of the working people, irrespective of nationality; socialism gathered into a single stream the unshackled energies of the people who had become the masters of their destiny.

Guided by the Marxist-Leninist teaching, proceeding from the realities of our country and relying on the forces of the Rumanian people, the Communist Party placed in the center of its policy the country's industrialization as the foundation for the progress of the economy and culture, for the raising of the people's living standard, the many-sided development of society and the securing of national independence and sovereignty.

The efforts made by the Rumanian people for the country's socialist industrialization found expression in achievements of historic importance. Industry was equipped at a high technological level, being capable of utilizing the country's rich natural resources. The industrial pattern of the country has changed radically; thanks to its speedy development, heavy industry provides a large proportion of the means for the endowment of the enterprises with plant and installations, for the mechanization and chemicalization of agriculture, for the equipment of transport, the growth of output and modernization of the consumer goods industry. At present, the total volume of industrial output is nearly ten times bigger than in 1938. The average annual rate of increase of industrial output over the period 1951-1965 by 13.3 per cent and the sustained growth in the social product and national income have placed Rumania among the countries having the most dynamic economies. As a result of the country's industrialization industry has become the leading branch of the economy, accounting in 1965 for 48.5 per cent of the national income.

One of the most intricate socio-economic problems of Rumanian society, which had remained unsolved along the centuries, was the agrarian question. The cooperativization of agriculture has meant a far-reaching revolution in the life of the village, has freed the peasants from the burden of exploitation; they have thus become masters of their destiny and of the fruits of their work. The Party

has conducted a policy of attracting all sections of the peasantry onto the path of socialism. Thanks to the correct agrarian policy of the Party, to its ample political and organizational activity, to the skill and diligence of the peasantry, the deep-going reorganization of production and of social relations in the countryside went hand in hand with a steady growth of agricultural output. This has been an important factor of equilibrating our economy, of meeting the consumption requirements of the population.

A great achievement of socialism is the advancement of the material and spiritual level of the population in the towns and villages. As a consequence of the steps taken by the Party and Government, the real wages were 2.2 times higher in 1965 than in 1950, while the real income of the peasantry increased 2.4 times. In the past 15 years the state has spent over 176 thousand million lei for social and cultural purposes; the total amount earmarked in 1965 to this end was 6.3 times bigger than in 1950. In the past six years, well-nigh 270,000 state-built flats have been turned over for occupancy and almost 530,000 families have built houses out of their own funds. Thousands of schools, cultural and public health establishments have been built.

One of the great achievements of socialism in our country is the ample development of education at all levels, the generalization of eight-year schooling and the continuous progress of higher education training the necessary personnel for the economic and cultural spheres; all education in this country is free of charge.

The socialist system has secured propitious conditions for the blossoming of national culture. Rallied in a common front the intellectuals of all generations actively participate in the building of socialism and make their contribution to the economic and cultural progress of the Homeland.

The decisive social force in the victory of the people's revolution and in the work of building socialism is the alliance of the working class with the peasantry—the two classes playing a decisive role in the production of the material wealth of society. Cemented by their joint social fight, based on single economic and political interests, on the socialist relations of the production in existence in the towns and villages, the alliance of the workers and peasants has steadily developed and strengthened in the years of socialism, rising to a higher stage. The unshakeable unity of the workers, peasants and intellectuals, of all working people, irrespective of nationality, is the force ensuring the granite-like durability of our system, the progress and prosperity of the Homeland.

The Ninth Congress of the Rumanian Communist Party has charted the program of the country's many-sided development in the new stage of completing socialist construction.

In the time since the Congress, the Party and state have taken

a series of steps to translate into life the established decisions. The main efforts are concentrated on improving economic management and planning and on the distribution of the production of the productive forces on the whole territory of the country, on increasing labor productivity, as well as the profitableness and economic efficiency of investments in all sections of material production.

The Party and state have established a series of steps to raise the standard of socialist agriculture, to develop its technical-material basis with a view to bringing into an ever bolder relief the superiority of the socialist relations of production, to turning to account the great reserves available for the augmentation of agricultural production. The organization of agricultural management and planning has been improved by perfecting the network of the specialized state bodies and by better specifying their attributions. By the setting up of the National Union of Agricultural Production Cooperatives, the organizational framework has been brought into being for a more active participation of the peasant mass in the management of agriculture, and in running public affairs.

The improved system of organization of scientific activity, following the foundation of the National Council of Scientific Research, the improvement of the activity of the Academy and of the system of coordinating research work within the departments, contribute to a better employment of the scientific potential, to the flourishing of Rumanian science and to the general progress of the country.

Steady work has been carried out for establishing — in the light of the Directives of the Ninth Congress — the tasks of the Five-Year Plan for each year and for each enterprise separately so that all socialist economic units should be able to elaborate their own schedule of activity for the whole period of the Five-Year Plan. The analysis of tasks under the Five-Year Plan at each enterprise and within each branch has contributed to the disclosure of new reserves, to a more thorough substantiation of the plan indices, to the improvement of the draft of the Five-Year Plan which is to be submitted for debate and approval to the Central Committee of the Party and the Grand National Assembly.

There is a continuous development of socialist democracy, securing the ever more active participation of the broad masses in running the state, in solving public affairs. The initiative of the masses grows, their wisdom and rich experience is ever better turned to account by applying the principle of collective work in all domains of social life, in all the Party, state and public bodies, in enterprises and institutions, in agricultural cooperatives, in cultural and scientific units. The method of discussing with the entire

people the major issues of socialist construction welds ever more strongly the links between the Party and the masses, contributes to the political and ideological maturing of the working people, to the generalization of their experience in social life; it ensures the perfecting of the activity of all state, economic and public bodies.

In the first four months of 1966 the plan of gross industrial output has been fulfilled in a proportion of 102.3 per cent — with the increase recorded in excess of plan provisions amounting to over 1,200 million lei. Widely unfolding the socialist emulation in honor of the 45th anniversary of the Party, the workers, engineers and technicians proudly report that their plan tasks have been fulfilled successfully. Inspired by the prospects opened to agriculture, by the measures adopted at the recent Congress of the Agricultural Cooperatives, the peasantry works enthusiastically for stepping up production. An intense activity is carried on by the men of science, art and culture, by our whole intelligentsia. The results obtained in fulfilling the plan in the first four months of this year reinforce our conviction that by their enthusiastic work, the Rumanian people will successfully fulfil the tasks of the Five-Year Plan.

The historic achievements scored by our people in the two decades since liberation in the work of socialist construction, demonstrate that the Rumanian Communist Party has creditably fulfilled its duty to the people of the Homeland.

In the course of the socialist revolution and of socialist construction, taking into account the objective laws governing society, the requirements of economic and social life, the Party has worked out a correct political line, in compliance with every development stage of the country. In its entire political activity, the Party has unswervingly guided itself by Marxist-Leninist science, learning from both its own experience and the experience of other fraternal Communist parties and socialist countries. Undoubtedly, during this period, some shortcomings in socialist construction and difficulties, too, have been manifest in the Party's work. However, characteristic of its activity is the fact that on each occasion the Party has found in due time the necessary force for removing the shortcomings, for overcoming difficulties, thus ensuring the onward march of our society. Identifying itself with the vital aspiration of the people, expressing their will, sparing no effort, rallying around itself the most advanced and devoted forces of the people, the Communist Party, having become a government party, has led the working masses from victory to victory. This has brought it the deep gratitude, esteem and devotion of the entire people.

The Rumanian Communist Party, which has 1,550,000 members, is now stronger and more united than ever; active within its

ranks are the finest sons of the people — workers, peasants, intellectuals — determined to place their enthusiasm, their entire creative energy and aptitudes in the services of the Homeland, of the cause of socialism and communism. Decisive for the growth of the leading role of the Party at the present stage is the steady rise in the political, ideological and cultural level of all Communists, their improved professional training, their being in the vanguard of the people's efforts for perfecting economic activity, for modernizing production, for a wide dissemination of science and technology in all spheres of activity. By their capability, energy and skill, the Party members must everywhere exercise a strong influence on all working people, turning each Party organization into the dynamic force of the employees of factories and mills, of institutions, and in the agricultural sector. The regional, district and town Party organizations have to creditably fulfil their task of leading and guiding the whole of social life, of ensuring the firm implementation of the policy of the Party and the government, of encouraging the growth of the creative initiative and enthusiasm of the masses.

An important concern of our Party is to unfold an intense political and educational activity in the ranks of the masses, to widely propagate the materialist outlook of the working class on work and life, the principles of socialist ethics, to do away with the backward mentality inherited from the old society, with the bourgeois ideological influences which still continue to penetrate into our country by various means, to develop the feelings of patriotism, the advanced traits proper to man in socialist society. Marxism-Leninism and our own experience demonstrate that while it is material life that determines the consciousness of people, spiritual life is playing a particularly important part in ensuring the forward march of society, in the attainment of the noble ideals of the working people.

MESSAGE OF GREETINGS* TO THE RUMANIAN COMMUNIST PARTY,

Dear Comrades,

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union extends to you and to all Rumanian Communists warm fraternal greetings and heartfelt congratulations on the occasion of the 45th anniversary of the founding of the Rumanian Communist Party.

The party of Rumanian Communists has traversed a glorious path of struggle for socialism. In the hard conditions of underground work the RCP, armed with Marxist-Leninist theory, invariably acted as the vanguard of the working class and the toiling peasantry, heading the movement of the masses against the military fascist dictatorship, for the liquidation of the bourgeois-landlord system.

Under the guidance of the RCP the Rumanian people have achieved important successes in industrialization, in transforming agriculture along socialist lines, in accomplishing the cultural revolution and raising the standard of living of the working people. Implementing the decisions of its Ninth Congress, the RCP successfully leads the country toward completing socialist construction.

Jointly with the other fraternal parties the Rumanian Communist Party champions the unity and cohesion of the socialist countries, of the entire world Communist and working-class movement. The Socialist Republic of Rumania is working actively for peace and friendship among nations, for the realization of the principles of peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems for national independence, democracy and socialism, against aggressive imperialist intrigues.

Friendship between the CPSU and the RCP, between the USSR and the SRR, founded on the unshakable principles of Marxism-Leninism and socialist internationalism, contributes to the consolidation of relations of all-round cooperation, comradely mutual assistance and equality; it fully conforms to the interests of both nations, and serves the lofty aims of building socialism and communism.

We wish the Rumanian Communist Party, all Rumanian Communists, all the working people of socialist Rumania new great successes in the realization of the tasks of completing socialist construction set by the Ninth Congress of the RCP, in the struggle for peace and friendship among nations.

Central Committee, Communist Party of the Soviet Union

*Pravda, May 8, 1966.

ACTIVITIES OF THE COMMUNIST AND WORKERS' PARTIES

April 25-30. A delegation of the CC of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party visited the GDR on the invitation of the CC, SUPG. It was received by Professor Albert Norden, member of the CC Political Bureau.

April 26-28. The CC of the Bulgarian Communist Party held a plenary meeting to discuss the new system of economic management. The report on the basic principles of the system was presented by Todor Zhikov, First Secretary of the CC, BCP and Chairman of the Council of Ministers.

April 26-28. Israeli Communist leaders Meier Wilner and Emil Habibi visited Rome as guests of the ICP.

April 27. The CC. ICP had a regular plenary meeting in Rome. The report on the first point of the agenda, "For New Relations Between Democratic, Left Forces to Take Italy Out of the Present Political Crisis," was delivered by Political Bureau member Giorgio Napolitano. Mario Alicate, member of the Political Bureau, reported on the second point, "Significance and Results of the Twenty-Third Congress of the CPSU."

April 27. The 12th plenary meeting of the CC, SUPG opened in Berlin. Erich Honecker, member of the Political Bureau and Secretary of the CC, reported on the 23rd Congress of the CPSU, the first point of the agenda.

The CC adopted a resolution on his report.

May 3. A seminar devoted to the results of the 23rd Congress of the CPSU was held in Prague for members of the lecturing groups of the CC of the CP of Czechoslovakia and the CC of the CP of Slovakia, lecturers of the regional Party committes, and workers of the institutions of higher learning and the press.

May 3. A delegation of the CC of India, which included Shupesh Gupta, member of the Central Secretariat, and Shovani Sen, member of the Central Executive Committee, arrived in Sofia on the invitation of the CC of the Bulgarian Communist Party.

May 4. N. Ceausescu, General Secretary of the CC of the Rumanian Communist Party, received the visiting delegation of French Party activists led by Gaston Plissonier, member of the Political Bureau and Secretary of the CC, FCP.

May 6. M. A. Suslov, member of the Political Bureau and Secretary of the CC, CPSU, received a delegation of the Communist Party of Colombia headed by Comrade Vieira, General Secretary

of the CC. V. G. Korionov, first deputy chief of the International Department of the CC, CPSU, took part in the talk.

Complete unanimity of the views of the two parties on all questions under discussion was reaffirmed at the meeting.

May 10-13. L. I. Brezhnev, General Secretary of the CC, CPSU paid an unofficial visit to Rumania on the invitation of N. Ceausescu, General Secretary of the CC of the RCP.

In friendly talks Comrades Ceausescu and Brezhnev exchanged views on questions of further development of cooperation between the USSR and the SRR and between the CPSU and RCP, and on other questions of mutual interest.

Those taking part in the talks from the Soviet side were A. V. Basov, member of the CC, CPSU, USSR Ambassador to the SRR; K. V. Rusakov, member of the Central Auditing Commission of the CPSU, first deputy chief of a CC department, and G. E. Tsukanov, member of the Central Auditing Commission of the CPSU, and from the Rumanian side, Gheorge Apostol, member of the Executive Committee and of the Permanent Presidium of the CC, RCP, First Vice-Chairman of the Council of Ministers; Alexandru Dragici, member of the Executive Committee and the Permanent Presidium, Secretary of the CC, RCP; Gheorghe Radulescu, member of the Executive Committee of the CC, RCP, Vice-Chairman of the Council of Ministers; Mihai Dalea, Secretary of the CC, RCP, and Andrei Pacuraru, member of the CC, RCP and a CC department chief.

May 12. Antonin Novotni, First Secretary of the CC of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia and President of the Czecholovak Socialist Republic, had a cordial exchange of opinions on questions of mutual interest with Walter Ulbricht, First Secretary of the CC, SUPG and Chairman of the State of the GDR.

May 13. The CC of the Communist Party of Austria had a plenary meeting in Vienna to hear CC Secretary Ervin Scharf's report on the question of young people in Austria.

May 13. While passing through Budapest, Max Reimann, First Secretary of the CC of the Communist Party of Germany, was received by Janos Kadar, First Secretary of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, and had a cordial talk with him, in which Bela Biszku, member of the Political Bureau and Secretary of the CC HSWP, and Frigyes Pulya, chief of a CC HSWP department, also took part.

The talk, which concerned topical problems of the world Communist movement and the international situation, revealed a complete identity of views of the sides.

May 14. *Pravda* printed a message of greetings of the CC, CPSU to the CC of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia on the oc-

casion of the 45th anniversary of the founding of the CPC. The message reads, in part: "The Communist Party of Czechoslovakia enjoys merited authority in the world Communist movement. It owes this authority to its fidelity to the ideas of Marxism-Leninism, its consistent struggle for the unity of the countries of the socialist community and of the world Communist movement on the principled basis of creative Marxism, of the Declaration and the Statement of the fraternal parties."

May 16-21. Two groups of SUPG functionaries visited the Soviet Union on the invitiation of the CC, CPSU. On May 21 the German comrades were received by CC, CPSU Secretary I. V. Kapitonov.

May 18-79. At a plenary meeting in Helsinki, the CC of the Communist Party of Finland adopted an appeal to the Finnish people condemning the continuing mass murder in Vietnam organized by the U.S. government and urging the citizens of Finland to display active solidarity with the people of Vietnam.

May 19. Wladyslaw Gomulka, First Secretary of the CC of the Polish United Workers' Party, received in Warsaw Alexander Rankovic, Secretary of the CC of the League of Communist of Yugoslavia.

May 21. The 19th Congress of the Communist Party of Canada opened in Toronto with the following agenda: the report of the National Committee, changes in the Party Rules, and elections to the leading committees of the Party.

May 21-22. The Socialist Unity Party of Germany (West Berlin) held its First Congress in West Berlin.

The report of the Board was presented by Gerhard Danelius, First Secretary.

Erich Zigler, Second Secretary of the Board, reported on the new Party Rules.

Congress unanimously approved the Board report and the new Rules and elected the leading committtes of the Party.

May 20-21. The Communist Party of Sweden held a national conference in Stockholm, which discussed and approved the program with which the Party will contest the municipal elections next autumn.

C. H. Hermansson, Chairman of the Party, delivered the report on the CPS election program.

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TWENTY-THIRD CONGRESS OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE SOVIET UNION

Greetings from the Communist and Workers' Parties

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SPEECH BY COMRADE W. GOMULKA
First Secretary, Central Committee, Polish United Workers' Party

Dear Comrades, on behalf of the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers' Party I warmly greet the 23rd Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and convey to you, comrade delegates, and through you to your entire Party and the Soviet people cordial and fraternal greetings of our Party, the Polish working class and the Polish people.

The 23rd Congress of your Party, the leader of the Soviet peoples in their historic advance to communism, is a memorable event in the political life of your great country. It is an event of epochal significance which today attracts the attention of the entire international working-class movement, the national liberation forces and public opinion of all countries.

In our epoch of historical storms and revolutionary transformations, when the working people of many countries are already building a new, socialist system, when the old colonial system has collapsed and the peoples of Asia, Latin America and Africa have awakened to an independent life, at a time when the question of war and peace has become a matter of life and death for entire peoples, the Soviet Union is a bastion and champion of all the liberatory, socialist and peaceful aspirations of mankind.

Your 23rd Congress is being held in a period of keen exacerbation of international tension. Together with you and together with all the supporters of peace the world over, we are disturbed by the aggressive policy of the United States of America which has assumed the role of capitalism's world policeman, is escalating the dirty war against the Vietnamese people, bombing the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and resorting to armed intervention against movements for independence and progress in other parts of the world.

The policy of force, the policy of armed interference in the internal affairs of other states must be banished from the arsenal of methods employed in international relations. Today it has already become clear to all world opinion that attempts to settle the Vietnamese question by bombs, napalm and terror are doomed to failure.

Our Party and the Polish people express their solidarity with the Vietnamese people. Together with all the other socialist countries, Poland has rendered, and will continue rendering, moral and material aid to embattled Vietnam.

The present international situation more than ever before dictates the unity and cohesion of all the socialist forces, of all the countries of the socialist community and also of all the Communist and Workers' Parties in the world struggle against imperialism.

This unity has been and remains the chief requisite for the success of our actions and our peace efforts, the chief instrument of action and influence by the states of the socialist system on the development of events in the world.

The joint assistance and coordinated action in defending the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, coordinated action of all the socialist forces, the Communist and Workers' Parties in rendering aid for repulsing American aggression against the Vietnamese peoples is the pivotal issue around which we must build this unity.

Our Party welcomes and approves the determination, expressed in Comrade Brezhnev's report, to work for the unity of all the anti-imperialist forces — the great world-wide front of struggle for preventing another war, for peace and respect for the sovereignty of the nations.

The main obstacle on the European front of struggle for peace is the aggressive policy of the Federal Republic of Germany, its cold war policy reaffirmed in the note the Bonn Government has recently sent to the governments of other countries, including the governments of the socialist countries. The Bonn Government adhering to the position of revising Poland's present Western border and seeking, under the cover of hypocritical slogans about the unification of Germany, to liquidate the peaceful German state, the German Democratic Republic, pursues a peace-endangering policy which cannot be concealed by any of its "peace" phraseology.

Our Party expresses full solidarity with the position expounded in Comrade Brezhnev's report on the German problem and on the question of strengthening peaceful relations in Europe.

To defend peace in Europe it is necessary to resist any attempt to place, directly or indirectly, nuclear weapons at the disposal of the West German militarists, it is also necessary resolutely to protect the sovereign rights of the German Democratic Republic.

The forces of socialism, of the national liberation movement and the peace movement in all countries are capable of blocking the road to the aggressive intrigues of the imperialist wherever they are manifested. To attain this aim it is necessary to achieve unity of action, to leave aside everything that divides and put to the forefront everything that unites the great anti-imperialist front of our age.

The socialist countries and the entire world communist movement have an ideological platform for such coordinated action.

It is the 1957 Declaration and the 1960 Statement of 81 Parties.

Our Party, as the CPSU and the other fraternal Parties, unshakably adheres to the fundamental principles underlying these historical documents of our movement.

Dear comrades, the working people of the world are watching with profound interest the tremendous achievements of the Land of Soviets in communist construction, a concrete section of which are the Directives for the present five-year plan on the agenda of the 23rd Congress. The Directives contain new, high rates of growth of the people's living standard and consolidation of the Soviet Land's economic potential which underlines the might of the entire community of socialist states.

We acclaim with deep appreciation the splendid achievements of your country in space exploration. It is highly symbolic that the sons of the world's first state of the victorious triumphant socialist revolution were the first who ventured into outer space, first placed the pennant of the USSR on the Moon and first reached other planets with their rockets.

Our people, the working masses and all progressives in the world are proud of the achievements of the Land of Soviets in every sphere.

The Directives on the five-year plan which your Congress in the world are proud of the achievements of the Land of Soviets in every sphere.

The Directives on the five-year plan which your Congress has to examine are of immediate, exceedingly great significance for Our Party attaches great importance to Polish-Soviet economic cooperation and regards it as an integral part of economic cooperation, is an important factor of our country's economic progress. Our Party attaches great importance to Polish-Soviet economic cooperation and regards it as an integral part of economic cooperation with other socialist countries within the framework of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance.

Lively trade between the countries of our community, cooperation in production and specialization in industry, joint capital investments and joint technical and scientific projects — all this is an important factor in the advance of each socialist country. Undoubtedly the further dynamic development of the socialist countries requires further cooperation, the introduction of rational division of labor, broader economic ties between our countries and close interaction and mutual assistance in technical and scientific progress.

Both our Parties are intimately bound by ties of fraternal solidarity and cooperation in all spheres of life. The deep-rooted friendship and alliance welding our peoples together are a product of the revolutionary traditions of struggle by the working class of

both countries; they were cemented in victorious battles against the nazi invaders and consolidated in the course of fraternal cooperation and mutual assistance throughout the more than 20 post-war years. We confirmed this last year by renewing the Treaty of Friendship, Mutual Assistance and Cooperation which guarantees the inviolability of the Polish border on the Oder and Neisse, seals the unbreakable fraternal friendship and alliance between our countries and peoples and is also a decisive factor in safeguarding peace and security in Europe.

Today we are united by a common position on all key questions of international politics, by deep and unshakable unity of aims and aspirations which follows from the ideological community, from the Marxist-Leninist doctrine which is the lodestar in all our activity.

This year, the Polish People's Republic is celebrating the 1000th anniversary of the Polish state. We are observing this great anniversary as a socialist country whose new place in the world and future rest on friendship and alliance with the Soviet Union and on membership in the socialist community. No one and nothing can weaken the ties binding our Parties and our peoples.

The Polish people are with you, dear comrades!

They are with you in the struggle for a relaxation of international tension, general disarmament, peaceful coexistence of all states regardless of their system, for banishing the danger of war from the life of mankind, for a lasting peace throughout the world.

Our Party and People's Poland are fully resolved to do everything to continue strengthening the friendship and brotherhood of both our states and peoples, to multiply the strength and might of the socialist camp, which is the cornerstone of our security and peace in Europe and the world over.

We wholeheartedly wish your 23rd Congress fruitful work and your great Party and the peoples of the Soviet Union success in fulfilling its decisions.

Long live the great Party of Lenin, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union!

Long live fraternal friendship between the Polish people and the peoples of the Soviet Union!

May the immortal cause of socialism, freedom and peace triumph!

SPEECH BY WALTER ULBRICHT
First Secretary, Central Committee, Socialist Unity Party of Germany

Comrade delegates to the 23rd Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

Esteemed Comrade Brezhnev.

Dear comrades and friends,

On behalf of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany and its Central Committee, on behalf of our people and their government, I convey to the 23rd Congress of the glorious Communist Party of the Soviet Union, to all delegates and guests fraternal militant greetings.

We have attentively listened to the Report of the Central Committeee delivered by Comrade Brezhnev and the first speeches in the debate. The Congress and its decisions — of this we are confident — will be of tremendous importance for the further development not only of the Soviet Union but also for the shaping of the relations of world forces in favor of socialism. We fully agree with the fundamental propositions expounded in the Report of the CPSU Central Committee.

The barbarous aggression of the U.S. imperialists against the Vietnamese people who are waging a heroic struggle for their freedom is also exerting a definite influence on the work of this Congress which focuses attention on such far-ranging problems as the ensuring of peace, development of human culture and peaceful cooperation among the nations. We are witnessing a striking manifestation of the fraternal solidarity of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and all the Soviet people, the friendly Communist and Workers' Parties and socialist states with the Vietnamese people and their heroic struggle.

We know that this solidarity is not confined to words. And we express our gratitude to the Soviet Union which in the spirit of proletarian internationalism is rendering such substantial help to the fraternal Vietnamese people. We are also grateful to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union for the patient efforts aimed at strengthening cooperation between all the socialist countries and the Communist and Workers' Parties so essential for repulsing aggression and for the victory of our common great cause. We are giving every support to these efforts.

A relaxation of international tension demands above all agreement of all states on the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons in any form and prohibition of underground nuclear tests.

Inasmuch as a serious threat to peace has arisen in Europe as a result of the arms build-up and the revanchist policy of the government of the West German Federal Republic, we welcome the

efforts aimed at reaching agreement on European security. Moreover, we are aware of the particular danger implicit in the military alliance of U.S. and West German imperialism in NATO. I would like to draw your attention to the point that this Washington-Bonn axis also threatens the West European capitalist states, some of which prefer a more realistic policy and seek to get rid of baneful dependence on the U.S. imperialists and on NATO in which they rule the roost.

Our Party, the National Front and the people of the German Democratic Republic understand the concern of the Soviet people caused by the revanchist intrigues of the West German militarists. The Soviet people and the anti-fascists in the European countries who made incalculable secrifices in the struggle against the German fascist invaders, want Germany, at long last, to cease being a source of war conflagrations. Hence the need for a peace settlement which, proceeding from the historical fact of the existence of two German states, must ensure disarmament in Germany, her neutralization and European security. The German Democratic Republic, together with the working class, progressive intellectuals and all other peace-loving forces of West Germany, will do everything in its power to achieve peaceful development.

Dear comrades, we have studied with especial interest the decisions taken by the Plenary Meetings of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union on the development of agriculture, on economic reforms in industry, improvement of management and planning and greater economic stimulation of production. The 23rd Congress offers a model of the further creative development of Marxism-Leninism in solving the new problems of the economy, socialist democracy and culture which have become objectively ripe and are facing now the Parties in the socialist countries. We attach special significance to the fact that the 23rd Congress works on the problem of establishing harmony between centralized scientifically-based management and planning and the stimulation of the widest creative initiative of the people, establishing firm unity and unbreakable links between politics, economics and culture.

This important achievement of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union is of significance for all the socialist countries. As we master and introduce the new system of planning and managing the socialist economy, there will be greater cooperation and division of labor between our countries.

The Socialist Unity Party of Germany fully agrees with the proposition on the need for purposeful and dynamic development of cooperation between the socialist states in the economic, scientific and technical spheres.

We in the German Democratic Republic have gone over to single

guidance of science as a productive force. Introduction of the new system of planning and management has strengthened our balanced economic development. The effectiveness of our efforts is largely simulated by the trade agreement with the Soviet Union concluded for the entire five-year plan period. Goods exchange under this agreement will exceed the volume of any trade treaty ever concluded between two states.

On the basis of our Treaty of Friendship, Mutual Assistance and Cooperation we are raising to a higher level not only economic relations, but also political and ideological cooperation. Conditions have thus been created for the further extension of fraternal ties between our Parties, states and peoples, for the further strengthening of our dynamic cooperation.

We wish the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the entire Soviet people successfully to fulfil the five-year plan and to score further big victories in building communism, in our common struggle for the unity of the international communist and working-class movement and for peace.

May the work of the Party Congress be fruitful. We wish the Soviet people success in accomplishing the magnificent tasks which will be set by Party Congress.

Long live the glorious Party of Lenin, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and its Central Committee!

Long live the victorious doctrine of Marxism-Leninism!

Friendship!

MESSAGE OF GREETING FROM THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE SOCIALIST UNITY PARTY OF GERMANY TO THE 23rd CONGRESS OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE SOVIET UNION

To the Delegates to the 23rd Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union

Dear Comrades, the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany sends the delegates to the 23rd Congress of the CPSU its cordial, fraternal militant greetings.

From the bottom of our hearts we hail all the Communists and working people of the Soviet Union, who have achieved striking successes in the building of communism. These successes are a graphic testimonial to the tremendous achievements of the Soviet people, the advantages and superiority of the socialist social system, and the result of the consistently Marxist-Leninist policy of the Central Committee of the CPSU. The decisions of the Octo-

ber 1964 Plenum have brought about a fresh uplift of strength in the Soviet Union and among the champions of peace and socialism.

In carrying out their new five-year plan, the Soviet people enter a new important stage in the building of the material and technical basis of communism. Fulfilment of this plan will greatly facilitate the further consolidation of the world socialist system and tilt the scales still more in the world arena in favor of socialism. The Communist Party of the Soviet Union is thereby again showing the way to all progressives in the struggle for a peaceful and happy future. The activity of the CPSU is a crucial contribution to the cementing of the socialist community and the maintenance of peace against the encroachments of the imperialists. The Communist Party of the Soviet Union has shown time and time again that it is always, in all things, faithful to the principles of proletarian internationalism. The Socialist Unity Party of Germany thanks the Communist Party of the Soviet Union for its tremendous assistance to the people of Vietnam, who are combating the barbarian U.S. imperialist aggression.

The working people of the German Democratic Republic are bound to the peoples of the Soviet Union by ties of unbreakable fraternal friendship. In all their aspirations and deeds, our working people are guided by the time-tested fact that alliance with the Soviet country means victory. The indomitable militant collaboration of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany with the Communist Party of the Soviet Union was, is and always will be an earnest of prosperity for the German workers' and peasants' state and European peace.

The cooperation of our two states in all spheres of public life is developing fruitfully on the basis of the Treaty of Friendship, Mutual Assistance and Cooperation and the accords reached during the visit of the Party and Government Delegation of the German Democratic Republic to the Soviet Union in September 1965.

The close friendship and cooperation of our two states are an important pre-condition for the victory of socialism in the German Democratic Republic. They are also a crucial factor in the joint struggle against West German imperialism and militarism, that principal ally of U.S. imperialism.

In alliance with the USSR, the German Democratic Republic will perform its national mission, that of preventing Germany from ever again unleashing a war.

The working people of the German Democratic Republic will prove by their actions that they are worthy of this friendship. The continued implementation of the new economic system of planning and management will pave the way for the full-scale building of socialism in the environment of the scientific and technical revolution.

The Socialist Unity Party of Germany proceeds from the fact that the socialist countries bear the bulk of responsibility for the struggle for peace, democracy and socialism. This calls for the strengthening of their unity and power. Doubtlessly, the 23rd Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union will serve as a fresh impulse in this effort.

Long live the 23rd Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union!

Long live the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the tried and true Marxist-Leninist vanguard of the Soviet people!

Long live the eternal friendship of the German Democratic Republic and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics!

Long live the unity of the socialist states and the great world communist movement!

SPEECH BY COMRADE LE DUAN
First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Working People's Party of Vietnam

Dear Comrades, it gives us great pleasure to represent the Working People's Party of Vietnam at the 23rd Congress of the glorious Communist Party of the Soviet Union. Permit me to convey cordial congratulations to the Congress and through the Congress delegates send the warmest fraternal greetings from the Communists, working class and people of Vietnam to the 20-million-strong army of Communists, and all workers, collective farm peasants and intellectuals of the Soviet Union.

We are grateful for Comrade Brezhnev's heartfelt words about the struggle the Vietnam people are waging against the U.S. imperialists to save their country. The mighty support of the 23rd Congress of the CPSU is a tremendous factor giving inspiration to our people and the men of our country's Armed Forces.

We listened to Comrade Brezhnev's report with close attention. We are sure that the 23rd Congress will mark a further step towards the building of the material and technical basis of communism, steadily raising the living standard and cultural level of the Soviet people and enhancing the economic and defensive might of the Soviet Union. It will be a contribution towards peace in the interests of the socialist camp and the whole of mankind, and will assist the national liberation revolutions and working and oppressed peoples throughout the world.

Comrades, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, founded by the great Lenin 63 years ago, is the first Party to have victo-

riously accomplished the proletarian revolution and the first Party to have assumed leadership in the building of socialism and communism.

The Communist Party of the Soviet Union has traversed a long historical road of struggle and has achieved victories of enormous international significance.

The Great October Revolution brought in a new era in the history of human development. It is a model for the world revolution. For the international working class and the oppressed peoples the existence of the world's first proletarian state and its steadly consolidation and growth has been a source of inexhaustible inspiration and great and unceasing support and strength in the revolutionary struggle. The historic victories of the Soviet state in the civil war and in the struggle against the intervention of 14 imperialist states showed that the workers and peasants, led by the Party of Lenin, are invincible.

In alliance with the peasants within the country and supported by the world proletariat, the Soviet working class raised on high the banner of national liberation and socialism. That was why the Soviet state, which had just been established, was able to defeat the forces of moribund imperialism.

In the Second World War the heroic Soviet people and their Army defeated international fascism, saved mankind from the fascist threat, considerably undermined the other imperialist forces and thereby created favorable objective conditions for the growth of the national liberation movement and the emergence of the world sociailst system.

Facts show that the growing might of the Soviet Union and other fraternal socialist countries has turned our socialist camp into a factor determining the basic content and the fundamental trend and features of human progress in the present epoch.

Lately, thanks to the successful fulfilment of the seven-year plan, the Soviet Union has become stronger economically and militarily and the living standard and cultural level of the Soviet people have been raised. Soviet science has been remarkably successful in studying and exploring outer space. The news that the Soviet Union had launched and soft-landed an automatic station on the Moon and had landed a pennant with the Soviet coat-of-arms on Venus was received with boundless joy by our Vietnamese people.

These outstanding achievements still further strengthen our faith in advanced Soviet science, in the advantages of the socialist system and in the might of our socialist camp.

Today, with great enthusiasm the Soviet people are setting out to fulfil the five-year plan, the beginning for which is being

laid by the 23rd Congress. This plan will be completed on the 100th birthday of Vladimir Ilyich Lenin, the great teacher and leader of the peoples of the Soviet Union and the whole world.

The 50th anniversary of the Great October Revolution will be marked in 1967. These stirring events will unquestionably give tremendous impetus and inspiration to the Soviet people in the fulfilment of the five-year plan and to progressive peoples throughout the world in their efforts to carry out their revolutionary tasks. We wish the heroic Soviet people great victories in the building of the material and technical basis of communism.

Under the leadership of the glorious Party of Lenin, the Soviet people are unceasingly displaying revolutionary heroism and proletarian internationalism in the building of the new society and contributing immensely to the liberation of the working class and all working and oppressed peoples. The oppressed and exploited peoples of the whole world regard the Soviet people as their sincere comrade and faithful partner, as a reliable bastion in the struggle against the forces of international reaction for the liberation of mankind from all forms of oppression and exploitation.

In order to fulfil the tasks set us by history, the working class and people of Vietnam are striving for close unity with the peoples of the Soviet Union, with the workers and toiling and oppressed peoples of the whole world, for the unshakable unity of all these forces.

Comrades, inspired by the October Revolution the Working People's Party of Vietnam and our Vietnamese people have accomplished a revolution under the banner of Marxism-Leninism. The defeat of the international fascist coalition by the Soviet Union cleared the ground for the victory of our August Revolution in 1945. The victory of the Chinese Revolution created favorable conditions for our victory in the war of Resistance against the French colonialists. Ever since then our Vietnamese people have been perseveringly working, without yielding an inch to all enemies, to build socialism in North Vietnam and achieve the objectives of the people's national-democratic revolution on a nation-wide scale.

We defeated the French colonialists, and the Geneva Agreements on Indo-China were signed in 1954. In face of the then obtaining balance of forces within the country and in the world the signing of the Geneva Agreements was a correct act.

But by virtue of their reactionary nature, the U.S. imperialists violated their obligations, brazenly torpedoed the Geneva Agreements, embarked upon intervention in the south of our country and went over to an overtly aggressive war in the hope of turning the south of our country into a new kind of colony and a war

base so as to utilize it as a springboard for an attack on the socialist camp. They are pursuing a neocolonialist policy, threatening the independent countries of Southeast Asia. Through military and administrative measures, they and their hirelings have instituted a brutal reign of terror and repressions with the purpose of annihilating the revolutionary forces. As a consequence, in the period from 1954 to 1959, after the restoration of peace, they killed 170,000 people in South Vietnam, crippled 400,000 people by torture and incarcerated 800,000 people in 8,000 concentration camps which they called strategic villages. But the people of South Vietnam had no intention whatever of reconciling themselves to this and rose to fight the U.S. imperialists and their myrmidons, dealing them telling political blows.

Utilizing the hangman's rope everywhere, the minions of the U.S. imperialists in South Vietnam have started an unbridled reign of terror and the physical extermination of people in an effort to frighten and subdue the people in the southern part of our country. This forced the people in that part of Vietnam to rise and fight to save their country and home under the banner of the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam. In the initial period our South Vietnamese compatriots, armed with primitive weapons and full of violent hatred, utilized political and military forms of struggle against the enemy.

For their part, the U.S. imperialists brought diverse modern weapons to South Vietnam, set up their command there and openly began a "special war." But at present the Resistance in the south of our country has become a mighty force. In the course of five years (1960-65) the people and the Liberation Army incapacitated 630,000 officers and men of the puppet army and 20,000 Americans, captured 70,000 various types of firearms, destroyed 2,500 aircraft and liberated 6,000 strategic villages. Four-fifths of the territory of South Vietnam has been liberated, and nearly 10 million of our compatriots (out of 14 million) have received 2 million hectares of land and are living a free life.

The U.S. imperialists, seeking to suppress the struggle of our South Vietnamese compatriots, have committed huge army and naval forces and modern means of warfare in their aggressive war in South Vietnam. But they have got into an impasse from which there is no exit. Their "special war" strategy has failed. They were compelled to fight a local war and planned to bring 250,000 U.S. troops into that war. They started transporting troops to South Vietnam on a large scale at a time when the South Vietnamese people achieved absolute political superiority and were victorious in the "special war." The U.S. troops, the puppet army and U.S. satellite troops numbering 700,000 strong are up to their necks in a bog and are experiencing the force of the crushing

blows delivered by the army and people of South Vietnam. For that reason, even if the Americans bring in tens of thousands of fresh troops, our South Vietnamese compatriots, supported by North Vietnam and the socialist camp, will continue their determined struggle and will unfailingly be victorious. In the period from November 1965 to February 1966 alone, the army and people of South Vietnam have incapacitated 35,000 enemy troops, including 16,000 Americans and 3,500 Pak Chon Hi hirelings, and shot down or destroyed more than 500 U.S. aircraft.

The Americans are also suffering heavy losses in the destructive air war that they are conducting against our North Vietnam. The army and people of North Vietnam have shot down more than 900 modern U.S. aircraft, thereby disrupting the U.S. design of utilizing their "air superiority," subjugating North Vietnam and pulling themselves out of the mire in which they are stuck in South Vietnam.

Despite the severe defeats they have sustained, the U.S. imperialists are stubbornly continuing the war. They are feverishly intensifying and extending military operations, bringing more and more of their own troops and troops of their satellites and, at the same time, keeping up their false diplomatic game of "peace talks," "talks without preliminary conditions," and so forth. But while they talk about peace they are intensifying military operations, restoring to the most brutal and inhuman methods, dropping hundreds of thousands of bombs on South Vietnamese villages, carrying on a war of extermination in South Vietnam, pursuing scorched-earth tactics and savagely bombing schools, hospitals, pagodas, temples and densely populated areas in North Vietnam.

From this rostrum we ardently call upon the socialist countries, the fraternal Parties, the working class of all countries, the peoples fighting for independence, all forces of peace and progress in the world to give us their utmost support, stay the bloody hand of the U.S. imperialists and defeat them in their aggressive war. We are certain that our South Vietnamese compatriots will fight the enemy, the U.S. imperialists, to the victorious end no matter what it costs them, that they will not tolerate a return to the former shameful slavery. The whole of our Vietnamese people are not afraid to make any sacrifice to uphold the independence, sovereignty, unity and territorial integrity of their country and fulfil their duty to the people fighting to defend the advance post of the socialist camp in Southeast Asia. Determined to fight and win, and receiving massive assistance from the socialist camp, the international proletariat, the national liberation movement and progressive mankind, we are firmly confident that we shall defeat the U.S. aggressors.

Our Vietnamese people have traversed a long and difficult road of struggle, and, therefore, they passionately desire peace. But peace is inseparable from independence and freedom. Peace would be restored at once if the U.S. imperialists stopped their aggressive war against our country, withdrew all expeditionary troops and recognized the independence, sovereignty, unity and territorial integrity of our country. In short, they must recognize the stand outlined in the four points of the Government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and the 5-point statement of the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam, they must renounce their aggressive policy towards our country.

If the U.S. imperialists continue the aggressive war our people will fight to the victorious end. The Vietnamese people are fighting for their national independence and for world peace. If the U.S. imperialists are not defeated in Vietnam, peace cannot be preserved in Southeast Asia and in the rest of the world. Our struggle to save our country from the U.S. imperialists therefore has the warm understanding and support of the fraternal socialist countries, the international proletariat, the world communist movement, the national liberation movement and of all the peoples who cherish peace, freedom and justice, including the American people. Our struggle will be long, difficult and fierce. But we are sure that with the tremendous support of the Soviet Union, China and all other fraternal countries of the socialist camp and of the peoples of the whole world, the Vietnamese people will be victorious. We take this opportunity to express our profound gratitude to the Communist Party, the Government and the great Soviet people for their immense and many-sided assistance in the struggle of our Vietnamese people. Permit me also to express deep gratitude to the fraternal socialist countries, the fraternal Parties, the working class and the peoples of all countries of the world for their sympathy to and support of the legitimate struggle of our people.

Comrades, in recent years there have been far-reaching changes in the international situation in favor of the forces of socialism, national independence, democracy and peace. The imperialists have suffered defeat in their efforts to halt the world revolutionary movement. The world socialist system is increasingly becoming the decisive factor in the development of human society. The international communist and working-class movement is growing and retaining its leading role in the struggle of the working class and peoples of the world for peace, national independence, democracy and socialism. In Asia, Africa and Latin America the scale of the struggle of the peoples against old and new colonialism has broadened out, and colonialism and its accomplices have been dealt a heavy blow in the course of that struggle.

Rising like a typhoon, the movement for national independence is the cardinal feature of the present situation. But national independence can be strengthened and developed only if political power is really in the hands of the people, if there is no dependence whatever on the imperialists and if non-capitalist development is prompted.

Today the world revolutionary movement is on the offensive, compelling the imperialists and the forces of world reaction to go over to the defensive. Besides, another economic crisis is hanging over the capitalist world, and internal contradictions of an economic and political nature are exacerbating not only in each imperialist country but also in the imperialist camp as a whole.

The imperialist forces headed by the USA by no means wish to retreat in face of these mounting difficulties. They are unleashing wars in one part of the world, engineering coups in another and doing everything they can to harm the socialist countries, to put spokes in the wheel of the national liberation movement, crush the international working-class movement and pursue a neocolonialist policy with the purpose of recovering the positions they have lost and establishing their domination over the world. But we have all grounds for stating that in the world today the forces of peace and revolution are stronger than the forces of imperialism and war. They are able to wreck the sinister designs of the imperialists and, if the latter recklessly start another world war, to defeat them.

That is why, under the conditions obtaining today, the defense of world peace is the immediate task of the Communist and Workers' Parties. At the same time the revolution for the liberation of the working class and toiling and oppressed people must be carried out in parallel, and only then will it become possible to stay the criminal hand of the imperialists in one region or another and prevent them from starting a world war. For that reason the only correct policy today is that of uniting all the revolutionary forces with the purpose of thwarting the aggressive political line of the imperialists with the USA at their head, of making them retreat step by step and dislodging them from their positions one by one. This is the only way to disrupt their designs and actions aimed at starting war, and to preserve world peace.

Our Vietnamese people are resolutely fighting against U.S. imperialist aggression, for the independence of their homeland, and are, at the same time, contributing towards safeguarding the security of the socialist camp, the independence of peoples and world peace.

We hope that the socialist countries and the Communist and

Workers' Parties are solidly behind us, giving us their utmost support and helping us to defeat the invaders, the U.S. imperialists.

As regards us Vietnamese Communists we assure you that we shall be faithful to Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, to the revolutionary principles of the Moscow 1957 Declaration and 1960 Statement. We assure you that we shall spare no effort in the struggle to unite the socialist camp and the international communist movement on principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, to unite all the forces championing peace, national liberation, democracy and socialism.

Dear comrades, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, created, led and reared by the great Lenin, has won great victories in the socialist revolution and make a considerable contribution towards the development and victory of the liberation revolutions of the working class, of the toiling and oppressed peoples of the whole world.

The CPSU and the Soviet people have glorious revolutionary traditions, and lofty proletarian internationalism inherent in them. We believe that guided by these traditions and by proletarian internationalism, the Communist Party of the Soviet people will successfully complete the building of the material and technical basis of communism and contribute towards the defense of peace and the development of the world revolution.

Permit me to wish the Congress outstanding victories and to read a message of greetings to the Congress from the Central Committee of the Working People's Party of Vietnam over the signature of Comrade Ho Chi Minh.

To the 23rd Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union

Dear Comrades, on behalf of the Working People's Party of Vietnam, the working class and the people of Vietnam we send the 23rd Congress of the glorious Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the great Soviet people our most cordial greetings and wish the Congress every success in its work.

Led by the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and in line with their glorious revolutionary traditions the Soviet people have, by their selfless work, achieved signal victories in the building of the material and technical basis of communism in the past few years. The seven-year plan has been fulfilled. As a result, the living standard and the cultural level of the Soviet people are rising steadily and the Armed Forces of the Soviet Union are daily becoming more powerful. This is an important contribution to the defense of the socialist camp and the preservation of world peace. The Soviet Union's grand achievements

in space exploration, the successful launching of the Soviet Moon probe and the landing of a pennant with the Soviet coat-of-arms on Venus testify to the unparalleled advance of Soviet science and technology.

The Vietnamese people boudlessly rejoice over these outstanding victories of the fraternal Soviet people.

Your present Congress will examine and endorse the Directives for the 1966-70 five-year plan, whose objective is to achieve further success in the development of Soviet economy, raise the living standard and cultural level of the people and steadily strengthen the mighty Armed Forces of the Soviet Union. That will be an active contribution towards consolidating the peace forces throughout the world.

The new Soviet five-year plan of economic development is a fresh source of inspiration for the peoples of the fraternal socialist countries, the working class and the toiling and oppressed peoples of the whole world in their struggle against the aggressiveness of the imperialists headed by the USA, in the struggle for peace, national independence, democracy and socialism.

We are firmly confident that with the talent, energy and creative initiative inherent in them the Communists and people of the Soviet Union will successfully carry out this five-year plan.

Dear comrades, the U.S. imperialists are, on the one hand, obstinately intensifying and escalating their aggressive war in the south of our country and, on the other, utilizing their Air Force for barbarously bombing and strafing the territory of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam. At the same time, they are making hypocriical statements about "peace talks" in an effort to mislead world public opinion and get out of their disastrous predicament in South Vietnam. The undisguised military operations of the U.S. imperialists are not only a threat to the security of the peoples in Southeast Asia but also a brazen challenge to the entire socialist camp. In this serious situation the fraternal socialist countries, the Communist and Workers' Parties, the forces of peace, democracy and progress throughout the world must unite closely in order to stave off the U.S. imperialists, defeat them in their aggressive war in Vietnam, disrupt all their plans for military adventures in other parts of the world, and preserve peace.

As for ourselves, our Party and people assure you that they will put all their moral vigor and all their strength into the struggle against the U.S. imperialists and their henchmen to uphold our independence, defend the advance post of the socialist camp in Southeast Asia and make their contribution to the preservation of peace in Asia and the whole world.

In the struggle against the U.S. imperialists to save their country, defend North Vietnam, liberate South Vietnam and unite

their homeland, the Vietnamese people constantly feel the sympathy, support and all-sided assistance of the Soviet people. The wholehearted support and valuable assistance of the Soviet Union, China and other fraternal socialist countries, as well as the sympathy and support of the working class and of peace-loving peoples throughout the world are an important factor and a guarantee of the victory of the Vietnamese revolution.

We take this opportunity to express sincere gratitude to the Party, Government and fraternal people of the Soviet Union for the active support and assistance that they have been giving and continue to give to the Vietnamese people.

From the bottom of our hearts we wish the great Soviet people further and still greater success in the building of the material and technical basis of communism and in the preservation of world peace.

May the militant friendship between the Parties and peoples of our countries grow stronger and flourish with each passing day!

Long live the great Soviet people!

Long live the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, which has been created, reared and moulded by Lenin!

Long live all-conquering Marxism-Leninism!

On behalf of the Central Committee of the Working People's Party of Vietnam — Chairman Ho Chi Minh.

* *

For us Vietnamese Communists there are two homelands: Vietnam and the Soviet Union, the first country where socialism has triumphed.

In accepting this pennant, I should like to say that the Vietnamese people profoundly believe that the Soviet people will not leave them in trouble because all of us are the sons of Marx, the sons of Lenin.

The Soviet people are helping us today in the same way that they have been helping us ever since the founding of our Party and ever since the years of the war of Resistance. It can be said that there are drops of blood of the men of the Red Army in each of our victories.

We therefore assure you that they shall keep this pennant eternally and hand it down from generation to generation.

SPEECH BY WALDECK ROCHET
General Secretary, Communist Party of France

Dear Comrades, permit me to convey to the 23rd Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union cordial fraternal greetings from the French Communist Party and all working people of France.

In my country, as in the rest of the world, congresses of the Party of Lenin are regarded as events of major international importance. Special significance attaches to your 23rd Congress because it has been convened on the eve of the 50th anniversary of the first socialist revolution in history. In the course of that half century the friendship and cooperation between our Parties have invariably been firm and inviolable.

The Great October Socialist Revolution and then the experience of socialist construction in the Soviet Union lucidly proved that the working class can build socialism, i.e., a society where exploitation of man by man is uprooted and everything is done to promote people's happiness.

That, as Comrade Brezhnev has shown in his report, is the abiding historic service rendered by the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

Inspired by the line laid down by the 20th and 22nd Congresses, you have advanced along the road of communist construction.

The significance of your new five-year plan lies not only in the quantitatvie indicators of the growth of production. First and foremost, it lies in the fact that the plan is directed towards raising the living standard of the Soviet people, stimulating the creative activity of the working people and developing socialist democracy.

The achievements of socialism in social policy have moved the Soviet Union into the forefront of progress. Further confirmation of this will be the transfer of factory and office workers to a five-day working week with two days off and a pension scheme for collective farmers under which women are pensionable at 55 and men at 60.

In science and technology world-wide admiration has been won by your colossal dams and new towns, amazing feats in the exploration of outer space, your research centers and laboratories and your institutions of higher learning.

Your achievements are of great importance to the international working-class and democratic movement.

Working and all other honest people throughout the world are particularly happy that the Soviet Union's might serves the cause of peace and the independence of nations. The French people are grateful to the people and Government of the Soviet Union for

their tireless struggle to avert a world thermonuclear war, relax international tension, stop the arms race and establish real peaceful coexistence under which the independence and sovereignty of all countries would be respected.

The French people are grateful to the Soviet people for its massive support of the national liberation movement of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America and, in particular, of the heroic Vietnamese people in their struggle against the imperialist policy of aggression and interference in the internal affairs of nations.

Recent developments, particularly the response to the Soviet Union's work in connection with the Tashkent Meeting, have shown that your country's authority and the prestige of its policy in the struggle for peace and national independence have grown immensely in the world.

Following your example, the Communists of France are working for the happiness of their people.

Our country is experiencing a period of sharp economic and political conflict. The number of strikes and demonstrations is rising.

An ever-increasing number of working people and democrats want a change in our country's political orientation, i.e., they want the abolition of the regime of personal power and the establishment of real democracy, which would make it possible to pursue a policy of social progress.

Under these conditions, the main concern of our Communist Party is to achieve unity of the working class and an alliance of all democratic and progressive forces with the purpose of putting an end, once and for all, to the domination of capitalist monopolies.

The French Communist Party is fully aware of its responsibility in the defense of peace and the interests of France. It is working for a real policy of national independence and peaceful coexistence aimed at ensuring lasting peace and delivering the peoples from the heavy burden of exorbitant military expenditures.

From the very beginning we have opposed the American diktat imposed upon our country and the enormous danger of the adventures springing from it. We support the idea that the simultaneous disbandment of military blocs would have most beneficial results in securing an international relaxation, ensuring the security of all the European states and consolidating peace.

We hold that it is in France's interest to pursue a policy of cooperation with the socialist and all other countries.

The change in the balance of forces in the world in favor of socialism and the exacerbation of inter-imperialist contradictions have brought the French Government round to taking steps to

free our country from U.S. patronage and go over to a more realistic policy of international cooperation.

For that reason, although General de Gaulle reiterates his loyalty to the Atlantic Alliance, he has taken a decision on France's withdrawal from NATO.

While resolutely opposing the regime of personal power, we support all these steps regardless of the motive behind them, for they are aimed at achieving peace and national independence which have always been our objective.

We shared the satisfaction of the entire French people over the news that the President of the French Republic is to visit your country in June.

The establishment of good economic, cultural and political relations between France and the Soviet Union accords with the interests of our two peoples and with the interests of European security and world peace.

At the same time, we are opposed to a number of major aspects of the Gaullist foreign policy, particularly the setting up of a nuclear strike force, which, far from ensuring France's security, only leads to the proliferation of nuclear weapons.

Together with other democratic parties of our country, we are, therefore, working for the transfer of the French nuclear industry to peaceful production, for France's participation in conferences on disarmament, for the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons and the signing of the Moscow Test Ban Treaty, for general controlled disarmament.

At the same time we are struggling against the intensification of militarism in West Germany, against giving her access to nuclear weapons, for the preservation of the existing boundaries of Germany, for the organization of European security and for the recognition of the German Democratic Republic.

The French Communist Party is attaching all the greater importance to the struggle for peace because we cannot close our eyes to the determination of the international situation.

Faced with mounting difficulties, the imperialists, primarily the U.S. imperialists, are resorting to force in an effort to hold up the movement of the peoples on the road of independence and progress.

The U.S. imperialists are flagrantly interfering in the internal affairs of nations in Asia, Africa and Latin America.

The monstrous U.S. aggression is evoking the protest of all peoples, including the people of France, where numerous manifestations are taking place with the participation of hundreds of thousands of working people, democrats and peace-fighters.

Permit me, from this rostrum, to declare once more that the Communists of France are solidly behind the glorious Working

People's Party of Vietnam and the heroic National Liberation Front of South Vietnam.

Everybody knows that in pursuing the policy of aggression the U.S. imperialists are staking on the differences in the world communist movement.

It is important for all the forces working for peace and national independence actively to support the courageous struggle of the Vietnamese people and take joint action.

This is precisely why there must be unity of action of all the socialist countries, of all Communist and Workers' Parties in rendering assistance to the Vietnamese people.

We stand for the independence of Communist and Workers' Parties inasmuch as they must determine their policy in accordance with the concrete conditions obtaining in their countries and with the special features of their position.

But, at the same time, we hold that to achieve victory in the struggle against imperialism, for peace, national independence, democracy, socialism and communism the entire world Communist movement must have a general line founded on the principles of Marxism-Leninism.

Such is the clear stand of our Party which has been repeatedly expressed by our dear and unforgettable Maurice Thorez.

All the more do we value the wise and firm stand of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and its efforts to defend the basic principles of the 1957 Declaration and 1960 Statement.

For our part we also attach great importance to the development of all forms of links between Communist and Workers' Parties, links which would make it possible to study the new problems contronting them and embark upon joint action.

We consider that these meetings and exchanges of opinion can facilitate — that is precisely what we want — the maturing of conditions favoring the holding of another world conference of Communist Parties.

Dear comrades, we feel sure that the 23rd Congress of your Party will make a large contribution towards the building of communism in your country and towards the preservation of world peace, that it will clear the ground for further successes of the national liberation movement.

It will strengthen the confidence of all the adherents of socialism in the invincibility of their cause.

Long live the glorious Communist Party of the Soviet Union and its Leninist Central Committee!

Long live the unshakable solidarity of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Communist Party of France!

Long live friendship between the peoples of the USSR and France!

Long live the world international solidarity of all working people and all nations in the struggle against imperialism, for peace!
Long live communism!

SPEECH BY COMRADE ANTONIN NOVOTNY
First Secretary of the Central Committee, Communist Party of Czechoslovakia

Dear Comrades, on behalf of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, on behalf of the people of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, we convey hearty comradely greetings to the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, to its 23rd Congress, and to the Soviet people.

The Czechoslovak communists, the working people of our country, are following with close attention the work of the 23rd Congress, which is continuing the line set out in the important decisions of the 20th, 21st and 22nd Congresses and will, no doubt, facilitate the building of the material and technical basis of communism in the Soviet Union and the further development of Marxist-Leninist theory and practice.

In their advance along the path of communist construction, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Soviet people can lean upon the results achieved in developing the productive forces of the Soviet land. The results of the seven-year plan show that the national income has increased by more than 50 per cent and the industrial output by 84 per cent. Questions concerning agricultural development are now being resolved. Science and technology are developing speedily in the Soviet Union, and it is among the foremost today in the spheres of nuclear physics, electronics and radio engineering. The USSR has the most up-to-date metallurgical industry and many other industries. To begin with, the Soviet Union stands in the van in space exploration. This is, unquestionably, an immense achievement both for the Soviet Union and for the socialist cause. It merits universal recognition, because it is well known what complex scientific, technical, industrial and other problems had to be solved to achieve such outstanding results.

The plans of economic development for the coming five years, submitted for deliberation to the 23rd Congress by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union in the report of Comrade Brezhnev, open up horizons of powerful growth. This growth is prompted by the policy centering on a further steep industrial and agricultural rise, a more comprehensive use of scientific achievements, systematic production of new high-

quality products, and further growth of the social productivity of labor, which ensures a rising standard of living for the Soviet people. We are certain that the Soviet people will successfully fulfil the tasks of the five-year plan.

The Communist Party of the Soviet Union is loyal to the principles of socialist internationalism and international solidarity, and renders assistance to the socialist countries. It helps the peoples who have begun to build their own independent state on the ruins of the colonial system, and those who are still fighting for their freedom. The Union of Soviet Socialist Republics is the main political support of the socialist, revolutionary and progressive forces of the world, of the broad front of peace. In carrying through its Leninist foreign policy, the Soviet Union is the main bulwark of the security and freedom of the nations.

The foreign policy of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic supports the efforts of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Soviet state to safeguard peace and create conditions for the development of democracy, freedom and progress all over the world.

We believe that these tasks have forged to the forefront at the present time, because the aggressive imperialist forces are taking advantage of the differences within the world communist movement and of the lack of unity among socialist countries to press forward their counter-revolutionary aggressive plans. These plans are today the main feature of imperialist foreign policy, in particular that of the United States.

The armed aggression against the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, against the people of Vietnam, the restoration of neocolonialist domination in some countries through the transfer of power to reactionary cliques, wholesale extermination of Communists and progressives—all these are links in the current dangerous imperialist policy. It comes into evidence in Europe, too, where the Federal Republic of Germany, the principal ally of the United States, is becoming an increasingly grave threat to world peace by reason of its revanchist policy.

In these cirmustances, it is essential to unite the world Communist movement, the backbone of all forces of peace and progress. The political and material assistance rendered by the Soviet Union, our own Republic and the other socialist countries to the Democratic Republic of Vietnam in the context of its defense has got to be multiplied through joint united actions by all the socialist countries, by the whole world Communist movement.

We believe that unity of the socialist states, further reinforcement of the Warsaw Treaty Organization, solidarity of all the revolutionary forces and their joint action, would stem the offensive of world reaction in Latin America, Asia, Africa and Europe.

In face of this offensive, all attempts to justify a break of contact with the world Communist movement and all refusals to take joint action with the other parties and countries against imperialism by the existence of different views, be they ever so grave, on this or that political or theoretical question, do not hold water.

The aforesaid problems should be taken as a point of departure in the search for a common stand of the Communist and Workers' Parties.

The Communist Party of Czechoslovakia will continue to work for the restoration and consolidation of the unity of the revolutionary Workers' Parties along the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism.

Comrades, the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia is facing responsible decisions related to the development of the socialist republic and of all its forces and potentialities. Acting on the decisions of the 12th Congress of our Party, we are steadily implementing measures that enable us to make the most of the victory of socialist relations of production in our country. We have begun to prepare for the coming 13th Congress of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, scheduled at the end of May, with the intention of securing further all-round headway by our socialist society. The decisions of the Congress will set out a number of important measures concerning the further development of our ecnomy, the development and extension of our democratic forms of life, and a further consolidation of our ideological unity along the principles of Marxism-Leninism.

A powerful industrial potential has been build up in our country in recent years. Its reconstruction and modernization, the use of modern scientific and technical achievement in the whole process of socialist production, is to yield a more rapid rise of labor productivity and national wealth. Furthermore, we are working out measures to secure a more rapid development of agriculture, so that farming should by its great level and efficiency contribute considerably more to the national income and become an important factor in the development of the Czechoslovak economy.

A big part in the further development of socialist society played by the improvement of the entire system of planned economic management and by the organization of its material production basis, as well as a number of new democratic elements in the status and purposes of national committees and all public bodies and organizations.

These measures and ideas are expressed in the fourth five-year economic development plan for 1966-1970, the basic trends of the Party's economic policy in the nearest future and in the decisions and resolutions which the Central Committee of the Party

will submit for deliberation to the 13th Congress of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia.

In our plans, we keep sight of the task of strengthening the country's defenses and our commitments under the Warsaw Treaty.

All the undertaken measures, and those we are still planning to undertake, are components of the sustained processes of socialist development. Not everything, we know, is achieved easily. It is necessary, among other things, to devote special attention to improving the ideological work of our Party, to promote the socialist and internationalist awareness of the working people and thus make it an effective power stimulating social development.

As we work out our policy, we take account of the conditions prevailing in Czechoslovakia and, at once, of the possibilities and needs of mutually advantageous and useful cooperation between the socialist countries, and of the need to further the international socialist division of labor and scientific and technical coordination. This process will no doubt benefit the whole socialist community.

I should like to stress here once more that in all our plans and undertakings we have the complete understanding and support of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Soviet people.

We consider the development of political, economic and friendly cooperation with the Soviet Union as the basic factor in our further development of socialist society.

Comrades, on behalf of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia we wish every success to your 23rd Congress from the bottom of our hearts.

We wish the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, with which we have enduring ties of internationalist fraternity, and the whole Soviet people, every success in the building of the material and technical basis of communism, in their labors for the further development of the Soviet Union, for socialism, progress and world peace.

Long live the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and its Central Committee!

May the friendship and cooperation of the peoples of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, of our two Communist Parties, flourish!

Long live Marxism-Leninism!

Hail to the unity of the world Communist movement!

SPEECH BY N. CEAUSESCU
General Secretary, Central Committee, Rumanian Communist Party

Dear Comrades, allow me first of all to thank you on behalf of the delegation of the Rumanian Communist Party for the invitation to attend the 23rd Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. It is my pleasant mission to convey to you, delegates to the Congress, all the Communists, your entire people warm greetings and a message of friendship and international solidarity of the Central Committee of our Party, the Communists, the working people of the Socialist Republic of Rumania.

The Rumanian delegation is following with special interest the work of your Congress. The documents you are discussing, the extensive report made by Comrade Brezhnev and the speeches of delegates strikingly reflect the sense of high responsibility with which Communists approach questions of developing the country's economy and culture and the work of the Communist Party for the consolidation and further prosperity of the Soviet Union.

The Rumanian people wholeheartedly rejoice in the outstanding achievements scored by the peoples of your country in developing industry and the material and technical basis of agriculture, in raising the material and spiritual standard of the working people, scored in all spheres of social endeavor. The deep changes in the Soviet economy and the rapid growth of the productive forces have transformed the Soviet Union into a socialist state with a tremendous economy potential, into a large industrial power of the contemporary world.

The signal successes scored in space exploration, the use of nuclear energy, in rocketry and other spheres of decisive importance for the development of civilization place the Soviet Union in the forefront of world science and technology.

The Soviet Union's achievements — the fruits of the people's heroic, creative and selfless labor and the great organizational and political activity of the tried and tested Communist Party of the Soviet Union — are a prime contribution to strengthening the economic and military might of the world socialist system and they considerably promote the rise in the influence of socialism, the growth of the forces of progress the world over.

Determining the Directives for the new five-year plan and outlining the tasks of the country's further development, the Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union is opening up inspiring perspectives of a further advance of the economy, science and culture, all social life, the continued forward movement of your country along the road to communism for the benefit of the Soviet people and the cause of socialism and peace. We wish you,

dear comrades, every success in accomplishing these sweeping tasks.

Comrades, the Rumanian people who have completed an important stage in building socialist society, have recently summed up the substantial achievements in industrializing their country, in the socialist remaking of agriculture and raising the living standard of the working people. Now they are concentrating on carrying out the program for the country's comprehensive development mapped out by the 9th Congress of the Rumanian Communist Party. Creatively applying the Marxist-Leninist doctrine in Rumania's concrete conditions, utilizing the accumulated experience, our Party is constantly improving guidance of the economy, research work, education and other sectors.

Our Party, while continuing to lay emphasis on the country's industrialization — the basis for developing the entire economy and raising the people's living standard — devotes special attention to agriculture, its material and technical facilities and to an improvement of the guidance of this branch in line with the greater requirements of the period of completing the building of socialism. To ensure wider participation of the peasantry in directing agriculture, to extend democracy in the cooperatives and socialist democracy in general, in keeping with a decision of our Party's Central Committee, district and regional unions of agricultural producer cooperatives have been set up and recently a congress of peasant members of cooperatives has been held at which a National Union of Agricultural Producer Cooperatives has been founded.

Although little time has passed since our Party Congress, the results registered during this period, the inspired labor of the people in implementing the Congress decisions attest to the feasibility of the tasks set, their conformity to the country's vital requirements; they are an earnest of the successful fulfilment of the targets of the new five-year plan and further advance of socialist Rumania.

Comrades, firm relations of friendship and alliance and comradely cooperation in the economy, technology, science and culture are developing between the Rumanian and Soviet peoples, between our countries; fraternal ties between the Rumanian Communist Party and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, exchange of experience in building the new social system, mutual consultations and visits of delegations are being extended. The recent visit of a Rumanian Party and Government Delegation to your country, talks with the leaders of the Party and the Soviet state and meetings with the population helped strengthen friendship beween our Parties, countries and peoples in the interest of socialism and peace.

The Socialist Republic of Rumania, while making friendship and fraternal alliance with all the socialist countries the hub of its foreign policy, is developing relations of cooperation with all states, irrespective of their social system.

International cooperation and the preservation of peace presuppose the observance of the principles of national sovereignty and idependence, equality, non-interference in internal affairs, mutual advantage, the sacred right of each people themselves to shape their future, to choose, in accordance with their will and interests, the road of political, economic and social development. Loyal to these principles, our country condemns the actions of aggressive imperialist circles who are resorting to intervention in the internal affairs of other countries, to pressure and plots, are encroaching on the independence and gains of the peoples and are endangering the peace. The Party and the Government of our country are resolutely calling for an end to the imperialist aggression of the United States in Vietnam, withdrawal of all foreign forces and observance of the Geneva Agreements, are supporting the just struggle of the Vietnamese people for the freedom and independence of their country.

Noting the greater aggressiveness of imperialism headed by U.S. imperialism, its danger to peace, the report made by Comrade Brezhnev at the same time emphasized that the CPSU was fully resolved to work for strengthening the unity of the socialist countries and the world Communist movement on the basis of equality, independence of each Party, non-interference in internal affairs, Marxism-Leninism and socialist internationalism.

Huge forces in all continents now work for democracy and social progress, for world peace and against the aggressive plans of the imperialist circles. Cohesion of the socialist countries, the international communist and working-class movement and of all the anti-imperialist forces is an essential requisite for victory in this noble struggle.

Life demonstrates that to achieve and strengthen this unity it is of decisive importance consistently to apply the basic standards of relations between fraternal parties, to examine questions of common concern sincerely, in a comradely fashion, in a spirit of reciprocal respect of one Party for another, one leadership for another.

Our Party holds that the difficulties existing in the Communist movement are not insurmountable and that it is not too late to prevent, through persistent efforts of all Parties, efforts marked by a sense of responsibility and patience, an exacerbation of contradictions and a deepening of the split, to preserve the unity and cohesion of the international Communist and working-class movement.

Voicing its conviction that the common interests and aims which unite the Communist Parties under the banner of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism prevail, that they are stronger than the divergencies in views, the Rumanian Communist Party will continue to bend every effort so as to promote the consolidation of the unity of the socialist countries, the international Communist movement.

Dear comrades, in conclusion I once again wholeheartedly wish you full success in the work of the Congress, in carrying out the decisions you will make for the happiness and well-being of the peoples of the Soviet Union, in the interest of Communism and peace.

Long live fraternal Rumanian-Soviet friendship!

Long live the unity of the socialist countries, of the international Communist movement!

SPEECH BY COMRADE JANOS KADAR
First Secretary, Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party

Esteemed Delegates,

Dear Comrades,

On behalf of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party our delegation heartily greets the 23rd Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. We convey to the Congress and to the great Soviet people, the builder of communism, warm fraternal greetings and sincere, good wishes from the Hungarian people who are building socialism.

Comrades, less than 50 years have passed since the Russian proletarians, sons and daughters of the oppressed peoples of the tsarist empire, following the call of Lenin, of the Bolsheviks, rose up and took power into their hands in 1917. They set out to build a new world, socialist society, in a ruined country, on a tormented and blood-drenched soil. During this period the Soviet people, under the leadership of the Party, have put an end to the remnants of the old world and created a powerful economy and a flourishing culture almost from scratch. Today the Soviet Union, having outstripped the developed capitalist countries, is leading in rocketry, space exploration, electronics and also in many other spheres of science and constructive labor.

The Soviet people, blazing a trail for mankind and surmounting unexampled difficulties, are marching ahead to the set goals, are building communist society. The Soviet Union's signal successes have deservedly won great recognition of all progressive mankind.

The 20th and 22nd Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union were landmarks on this historical road. The present, 23rd Congress, which we wish great success in its work, will undoubtedly also initiate and inspire a new advance.

Comrades, the Congress is meeting in a complicated international situation. Historically, capitalism is outliving its age, while the might of the world socialist system, the liberation struggle of the peoples, the influence of the Communist Parties and progressive movements in the world are mounting. At the same time the international situation is growing more acute because the imperialists, sensing their doom, are stepping up their aggressive actions. This above all applies to U.S. imperialism which has committed, and continues to commit, acts of aggression against the South Vietnamese people and the Democratic Republic of Vietnam.

In this situation it is necessary to be vigilant, to strive for unity of the anti-imperialist forces and effectively help Vietnam and the other peoples subjected to aggression.

In view of all this, the Hungarian People's Republic, on the basis of bilateral and multilateral agreements, is steadily consolidating unity and cooperation first of all with the Soviet Union and with other socialist countries. We call for raising the efficiency of international organizations which play a paramount part in defending socialism and peace — the Warsaw Treaty Organization and the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance.

We denounce American aggression against the Vietnamese people, demand its discontinuation and render aid to our Vietnamese brothers, who are fighting the aggressors, and other peoples who are waging a struggle against imperialism. We hold that the imperialists will suffer defeat, that a world war can be prevented because the combined might of the great Soviet Union, other socialist countries and the world progressive movements is invincible.

As for the state relations between the socialist and the capitalist countries we, giving support to the revolutionary forces fighting against imperialism, attach great importance to and invariably pursue the policy of peaceful coexistence on the basis of respect for sovereignty, non-interference and internal affairs and observance of principles of mutual benefit.

Today the striving of the socialist countries, of the world Communist movement for unity is hampered by the splitters, which complicates the international situation, impedes the progress of socialism and plays into the hands of imperialism. The Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, guided by the principles of Marxism-Leninism, is waging a struggle against pseudo-left adventurism, nationalism, anti-Soviet tendencies, revisionism and all other harmful trends, confident that the idea of unity shall triumph.

There is complete unity on questions of principle and of policy between the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, and we gladly avail ourselves of the opportunity to declare it once again here, at the 23rd Congress of the CPSU. Taking advantage of the fact that representatives of the world Communist movement from all continents are present in this hall, we greet them in a comradely way on behalf of the Hungarian Communists. We have waged, and will continue to wage, our struggle, convinced that live has confirmed the correctness of the world Communist movement's general strategic line, elaborated by the Moscow Meetings of the fraternal Parties in 1957 and 1960, and that this line will in future too serve as an effective instrument of the revolutionary forces the world over. We express our conviction that if, on this basis, we steadfastly work for our international unity, our efforts will be successful and thereby we will best of all serve the cause of socialism, national independence and peace.

Dear comrades, the Soviet Union has rendered the Hungarian people internationalist aid, liberating them from the nazis and extricating them from the war unleashed by the Hitlerites, helping them to suppress the counter-revolutionary rebellion and assisting in their peaceful constructive work. The help rendered by the Soviet people has not been in vain. True, at present, we still have unsolved problems and not a few of them, but what is most important is that people's rule in Hungary is firm, our economy and culture are making headway, and we are successfully working to complete the building of socialist society.

The home policy of the Hungarian People's Republic is aimed at protecting and strengthening people's rule and developing socialist democracy. We are invariably striving to unite all the progressive forces, ready to accept socialism as the cause and the aim of the whole nation.

The Soviet Union and the Hungarian People's Republic are now bound by deep friendship, cooperation and good relations based on a community of ideas and aims. These relations do not depend on the weather, are not of a seasonal nature, but are firm, everlasting, historically shaped relations. Our Parties, our countries, the Soviet and Hungarian peoples will continue to march together along the road of Marx, Engels and Lenin, along the road of socialism and communism to final victory.

Esteemed delegates, dear comrades, these days the attention of world opinion, both friends and foes, is focussed on Moscow, the Kremlin, the Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. All who fight for a just cause, the oppressed and subjected to aggression, all who take to heart the cause of peace look with hope and expectation to the Congress, and this is only natural.

We can also understand that the enemies of communism look at the Soviet Union with hatred. On the other hand, strange as it is, today there are also those who, while calling themselves "genuine" Marxist-Leninists at the same time seek to fan anti-Soviet sentiments. Hungarian Communists are of the opinion that a principled, comradely attitude to the Soviet Union has always been, and remains, a touchstone of internationalism. Anti-Soviet communism has never existed, does not exist and will never exist.

This is what our delegation thinks when it declares that the Hungarian Communists fully and unqualifyingly side with the Soviet comrades. We have heard the Report of the Central Committee made by Comrade Brezhnev. Our delegation agrees with the political line expressed in it and the tasks it sets. We wish our fraternal Party, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the Soviet people every success in carrying out the decisions of the Congress, in fulfilling the five-year plan.

Long live the Soviet Union, the Soviet people and their Leninist Communist Party!

Long live Hungarian-Soviet friendship, and may it steadily grow stronger!

Long live proletarian internationlism, the unity of the Communist and Workers' Parties!

Long live communism and peace!

SPEECH BY COMRADE LUIGI LONGO
General Secretary of the Italian Communist Party

Dear comrade delegates to the 23rd Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

Warm fraternal greetings to your Congress and all Soviet comrades from the Italian Communists and the eight million workers, peasants and democrats who vote for our Party.

The working people are following the work of your Congress with great interest. They know that its decisions will contribute to the struggle for peace and to the further advancement of socialism in your own country and the rest of the world.

They know that the brutal American aggression against Vietnam causes suffering to the people of that country and creates the dreadful peril of escalation, of a world-wide conflict. What they also know is that the United States will never succeed in crushing the resistance of the heroic people of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and that the fighters of the National Liberation Front in South Vietnam are not alone in their struggle. The people of Vietnam are getting valuable political, economic and

military aid from the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries. They have on their side the heartiest solidarity of all the peoples.

The working people and all democrats in Italy are also fighting hard to prevent the left-center government from assuming a share in the U.S. Government's responsibility for the Vietnam war, to make it reject any and all State Department demands for aid in men and material, and are pressing for the isolation of the United States, for an end to the aggression and for the recognition of the Vietnamese people's right to freedom and independence.

In recent weeks, and last Sunday for one, hundreds of thousands of working people and democrats went into the streets and squares of Italy to proclaim these demands. In the manifestations the Communists were joined by members of the Socialist Party, the Socialist Party of Proletarian Unity, democrats of various political trends, members of all social strata and the young people from all the Left-wing youth organizations. Women, cultural workers and Catholics, with whom we are making broader contact and reaching agreement, participated in the manifestations as well.

In Italy, we are fighting for the unity of all those who favor an end to the war in Vietnam and for the preservation of peace, all who advocate the new international relations based on the principles of peaceful coexistence, the deliverance of the peoples from war, hunger and imperialism.

So far, the government coalition of Christian Democrats and Socialists has managed only to demonstrate its "understanding" of the American aggression and its blind devotion to the Atlantic Pact.

What we are working for is that Italy should shake off all and every subjection to the United States, come out against the nuclear arming of West Germany under any guise, press for a reduction of armaments in Europe, for the dissolution of the existing military alliances and for the conclusion of a collective security agreement.

We know perfectly well that the struggle for these aims is bound to assume all-European proportions. The labor movement and the democratic forces of Europe must, while respecting each other's independence, work for the coordination of their actions and struggle.

It would be sound policy, we believe, to work also within the bodies of the Common Market in order to achieve a revision of all decisions obstructing the development of trade among all European countries — capitalist and socialist alike — and to impose a line of development different from the one followed by the monopolies.

What we want is to promote cooperation and mutual under-

standing among all democratic and progressive forces on all problems concerning the economic and political life and the future of Europe.

It is a good thing that contacts, meetings and conferences of Communist Parties and labor organizations of Western Europe have taken place lately to deal with these issues.

We participated actively in all these meetings and intend to continue promoting concrete militant initiatives and closer cooperation among all democratic and peace-loving forces.

We are deeply conscious of the need for closer militant solidarity and unity among all these forces both on the European level and all over the world on terms of the complete independence of each of them and with consideration for the great variety for conditions in which they operate.

The closer cooperation that has evolved lately between our Communist Party and the Communist Party of France is of great significance in this respect.

The policy of effective European cooperation is naturally inconceivable without the socialist countries. They have embarked on a new, more consummate, higher stage of development.

This is why we heard Comrade Brezhnev's report with such deep interest, for it outlined the course and aims of the Soviet Union for the coming five years.

It is evident from the report that the Soviet economy has been developing at a high rate all these years despite the difficulties and deficiencies you have yourselves exposed, and that it has expanded its potential in the competition against the leading capitalist countries. It is also evident from the report that the Communist Party of the Soviet Union has, as always, shown its capacity for bold and creative solutions of the most difficult problems of economic management, casting overboard all that has failed the test of time and become an impediment for further advance.

Thanks to the level already achieved by the Soviet economy, the new five-year plan is setting fresh, more audacious targets and introducing improved methods of economic management based on greater independence of enterprises and greater scope for personal initiative. To our mind, this is likely to infuse socialism with fresh strength and give it greater magnetism among our working people.

The need for socialist reconstruction is objectively becoming increasingly manifest in Italy. The experience of left-centrism, and its dismal failure, prove that no revival of Italian society, no satisfaction of the most vital needs of the people is really possible, unless the process of monopolist expansion is ended and deep-going changes are made in the present economic and social structure. Due to its reluctance to follow this path, the left-

centrist coalition has plunged the country into a grave economic crisis, causing wholesale dismissals, temporary closures of factories, and cut-backs. The working people replied to this with a far-flung movement in behalf of their rights.

More than three million working people have been fighting in the last few months and weeks for the resumption of collective agreements, for more extensive rights in concluding them, in defense of their rights and freedoms. Nearly all these battles are fought in concert by trade unions of all the various political trends. Struggle cements the unity of the working class despite the disruptive policies pursued by the leaders of the left-center coalition.

To salvage left-centrism, the Social-Democratic Party and Nenni's Socialist Party have decided to amalgamate on a social-democratic basis. However, this scheme is running into serious opposition within the Socialist Party and among its following.

We believe conditions are on hand for successful struggle against the aims pursued by the amalgamation of the two parties, and against the perils this amalgamation entails. It is precisely in the fire of battle for the vital needs of the working people and in the struggle of human freedoms and peace that the difficult process of rapprochement between all the forces of the labor movement and the more advanced, progressive Catholic forces has been making headway.

We are working for new forms of cooperation between all these forces with an eye to creating a new unity of the popular democratic forces and a new parliamentary majority, on the one hand, and to integrating into a united working-class party all the truly socialist forces, on the other.

We are offering the Catholics to cooperate with us not only on issues concerning the vital needs of the working people, not only in the struggle against the exploitation and infringement upon the freedom and dignity of the human personality inherent in the capitalist system. We are also offering them a joint search for ways and means leading to cooperation in the building of a new society free from exploitation and wars.

Each party is faced with the challenge of charting its own road to socialism in the spirit of the 20th Congress of the CPSU. Under Comrade Togliatti's leadership we framed a policy that enables us in the conditions of our country to effect the alliance of the working class and the peasants and middle strata, and, consequently, to win a considerable majority of the nation for socialism on the basis of struggle for the continuous expansion and continuous enrichment of democracy in all spheres of life.

We attach great importance to our ties with the intelligentsia, which are developing to good advantage thanks to our firm stand

in defense of the freedom of culture, for the development and renovation of the school and science.

The strength acquired by our Party and the influence it has won among the masses show that we are following the right path.

We know that severe and difficult struggles are still ahead. But all your history, your struggle, your successes, and the confidence with which your Congress deliberates the new tasks facing your country, give us strength and energy in all our activities.

May you work well, comrades, and may you have success in our common struggle for peace, progress and socialism. That is what we wish you.

Long live the 23rd Congress of the CPSU!

Long live the unity of the world Communist and working-class movement!

Long live the great Communist Party of the Soviet Unior!

Long live the friendship of the Soviet and Italian peoples!

SPEECH BY COMRADE TODOR ZHIVKOV
First Secretary of the Central Committee, Bulgarian Communist Party

Dear comrades and friends, dear Soviet brothers and sisters — I am very happy to be able to carry out the pleasant duty of conveying to you, delegates to the 23rd Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, and to the heroic Soviet people, hearty Communist greetings from Bulgarian Communists and from all our people and to wish you success in your activities.

The 23rd Congress of the CPSU is an event of tremendous significance for the entire world Communist movement and for the common struggle of the peoples for peace, socialism and progress throughout the world. Past experience shows that each congress of the CPSU has made an important contribution to the development of the revolutionary theory and practice of the Marxist-Leninist Parties and has marked a fresh stage in the struggle for communism. We are firmly convinced that the 23rd Congress will be an outstanding event, not only in the life of the Soviet peoples, but also in the life of all progressive mankind.

Bulgarian Communists are sincerely pleased at the great successes achieved by Soviet people in the development of their economy and culture, in exploring outer space and mastering the energy of the atom. By these achievements the Soviet people have done more than anyone to strengthen the economic and military might of the world socialist community and to develop the revolutionary process throughout the world.

We are firmly convinced that the decisions of your Congress will give great impetus to the further implementation of the Leninist line in the activities of the CPSU and to the successful fulfilment of the new five-year plan for the development of the Soviet Union, and will raise still higher the authority and the role of the Soviet Union and its Party in world affairs.

Dear comrades, the People's Republic of Bulgaria has, for 22 years, been following, consistently and purposefully, the glorious road laid down half a century ago by the Russian Bolsheviks and by the historic victory of the October Revolution. We are proud that the experience of our country, too, clearly reveals the immense advantages of the socialist over the capitalist social system and increases the attractive force of socialism.

Shortly before his death Georgi Dimitrov expressed the conviction that the People's Republic of Bulgaria would achieve, by means of industrialization and electrification and the mechanization of agriculture, as much in 15 to 20 years as other countries had achieved in centuries under different conditions. The reality of this forecast has been proved. Socialist Bulgaria has outstripped many capitalist countries economically and culturally. Today our socialist industry is producing 21 times as much as prewar industry and farms, working on a purely socialist basis, have doubled their output. In the years of the People's Republic our country has quadrupled its wealth. The living standards of the people are consistently improving; science, education and art are developing well. The Bulgarian people have become a solid socialist nation. In the current five-year period our Party is working for a further rapid development of industry and agriculture, more efficient running of the economy and a still greater improvement in the living and cultural standards of the people of the People's Republic of Bulgaria.

Fraternal cooperation with the Soviet Union plays an important part in the successes our country has achieved in socialist construction. For more than two decades our country has been receiving valuable economic, scientific and technical aid from the Soviet Union. In the past few years, when there have been the closest links between the economy of the People's Republic of Bulgaria and that of the Soviet Union, our cooperation has been particularly fruitful and varied.

Technical cooperation in the sphere of production between branches of industry and individual enterprises is being extended and the specialization and cooperation of the production of the two countries is assuming greater scope. Dut to joint efforts, cooperation between the People's Republic of Bulgaria and the Soviet Union in the economic, political and ideological fields has been raised to a new, higher level.

Permit me, dear comrades and friends, once again to express, in the name of the Bulgarian Communist Party and of our entire people, our sincere gratitude to the Soviet peoples, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Council of Ministers of the USSR for the fraternal understanding they have always shown for the People's Republic of Bulgaria and for the tremendous aid they are giving us in the building of socialism in our country.

Relations between the People's Republic of Bulgaria and the Soviet Union have always been based on the principle of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, equality, sincere friendship and mutual aid. They are a model of the relations that should always exist between socialist countries. These cordial relations, established for all time between our countries and our peoples, make Bulgarian-Soviet friendship inseverable, creative and as durable as granite.

Comrades, the Bulgarian Communist Party is in complete agreement with the appraisal of the world situation given by the 23rd Congress of the CPSU. The changes that have taken place in the world during the past few years confirm the general conclusion we drew at the 1957 and 1960 Meetings that the world's peace-loving, progressive, anti-imperialist forces are, provided they are united in their efforts, powerful enough to preserve peace and ensure the success of the struggle of the peoples for national liberation, democracy and socialist renewal. The national and socialist revolutions are maturing wherever imperialism reigns. Savage anti-communist propaganda, demagogy and blackmail barbarous bombardments and mass shooting — none of these can quench the fire of struggle for liberty and a just social system, As long as there remains one single people enslaved nationally and socially, socio-historic laws will operate to step up national and social revolutions and make them inevitable.

The experience of the past 20 years shows that the deciding factor in the struggle is the world socialist system. It is, indeed, extremely fortunate for mankind that there exists the Soviet Union whose great political prestige, inexhaustible economic might and invincible army equipped with the most highly perfected modern weapons instil fear into the imperialists. You Soviet people are bearing the main burden of mankind's struggle for liberation from national and social oppression and for the salvation of the peoples from a nuclear catastrophe. We know full well what it is costing you. Your honorable fulfilment of your duty is still another demonstration of the proletarian internationalism that runs through all the policy of the Soviet Union. All progressive people, dear Soviet brothers and sisters, will express profound gratitude and appreciation for the role you are playing.

The Bulgarian people share the anxiety of Soviet people and all progressive mankind that has been brought about by the criminal aggression of U.S. imperialism in Southeast Asia. Our country has been helping the fraternal Vietnamese people and will continue to help them, as far as it is in our power, in their struggle against those who have invaded their country. We have not even the slightest doubt that the interventionists will inevitably suffer defeat and that the Vietnamese people will become full masters of their liberated country.

We Bulgarian Communists, true to the revolutionary traditions of our Party, and our entire people, will take a most active part in the struggle to preserve peace throughout the world and for social progress; we shall make our contribution to the further development of cooperation and mutual help between socialist countries, support, as heretofore, the struggle of the peoples for national independence and shall help establish relations between states with different social systems on the basis of the Leninist principle of peaceful coexistence.

I can assure you, dear comrades and friends, that in this struggle we shall always be with you, in rainy weather or in fine, we shall always stand shoulder to shoulder with Soviet Communists and the Soviet people.

The closing of the ranks of the Communists and all progressive people in the world, the creation and activization of a united anti-imperialist front, the unswerving observation of the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism — these constitute the most imperative demand of the day. We welcome the sincere, untiring efforts of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and other fraternal parties to strengthen he Marxist-Leninist unity of the world communist and workers' movement and we shall, on our part, do everything we can to ensure the maximum unity of the army of Communists of the whole world and maximum preparedness to carry out their historical mission of liberation and construction.

Comrades, in the name of the half a million Bulgarian Communists we wish the 23rd Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union fruitful work and the successful fulfilment of its decisions.

Long live the great Party of Lenin, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union!

Long live communism!

SPEECH BY COMRADE A. HART
Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Cuba

Comrade Leonid Brezhnev, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

Comrade delegates,

On behalf of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Cuba we convey fraternal revolutionary greetings to the 23rd Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and wishes for success in the fulfilment of its great tasks.

The presence of our delegation at this Congress gives us the happy opportunity for directly acquainting ourselves with the Soviet people's achievements and for expressing to their representatives the warm gratitude of the Cuban workers and peasants for everything that the Soviet Union has done for our revolution.

When the Russian Bolsheviks, guided by Lenin's brilliant thinking and courageous work, seized power in the name of the workers and peasants, their magnificent act was opposed by the reactionary classes and the imperialists with everything at their disposal. However, in spite of the designs of the reactionaries, the October Revolution and Leninism triumphed in Russia. This development was of world-wide significance.

Overthrowing the capitalist, semi-feudal and colonial system of tsarism, defeating the reactionary classes of Europe and imperialism, and advancing along the road of socialism, the Soviet people opened a new era in world history and achieved outstanding successes that promoted the cause of the working people of the whole world. The building of socialism in the Soviet Union and its great victories over fascism are facts of epoch-making significance. The whole of mankind will be eternally grateful to the Soviet workers and peasants, who accomplished these unparalleled feats under the leadership of the Communist Party.

Comrades, your achievements have, in their turn, opened up broad possibilities and gave further impetus to the struggle against the system of colonialism, neocolonialism and imperialism.

At present, the revolutionary torrent in three continents, which are burdened down by the yoke of colonial, neocolonial and imperialist exploitation, is rapidly gaining headway.

At the recent Tri-Continental Conference in Havana, the revolutionary parties and organizations of Asia, Africa and Latin America showed complete understanding of the situation and proclaimed a revolutionary militant line and strategy.

The Conference mirrored the new situation in the revolutionary movement, a situation that is qualitatively different from that obtaining during the initial postwar years. The ideas, tactics and

methods that emerged under the conditions prevailing 20 years ago proved to be obsolete. The Communist and Workers' Parties must closely analyze the experience of the Tri-Continental Conference as an indication of what is now taking place in the world.

That Conference was the most representative international assembly of anti-imperialist forces that the history of the revolutionary movement has ever known. It secured the broadest-ever militant unity of the peoples. This outstanding fact must be thoroughly studied. The decisions adopted at the Conference are of tremendous importance to the revolutionary movement. With the support of all delegations it proclaimed the "right of peoples to accomplish a revolution," "to oppose imperialist violence with revolutionary force," "to support armed uprising as a method of struggle" and the "right and duty of progressive governments to assist peoples in their struggle for liberation." From declarations they passed to action. The Organization of Asian, African and Latin American Solidarity, the Committee for Aid to the Movement for National Solidarity, the Committee for Aid to the Movement for National Liberation and the Committee for Aid to the Vietnamese People were formed. The Latin American delegations decided to set up the Latin American Solidarity Organization.

The Tri-Continental Conference assessed the role of the national liberation movement, the struggle of the working class and progressive strata of the population of the capitalist countries and the role of the socialist camp. A single criterion of the revolution, a criterion uniform for the whole world, triumphed at the Conference.

The liberation movement will accelerate the revolutionary activity of the working class and progressive strata of the population of the capitalist countries. In their turn, the class battles of the proletariat in the capitalist countries will help the struggle for national liberation. A recent example shows us how important it is to unite the revolutionary efforts in different parts of the world. The patriotic actions of the Vietnamese people and the growth of their liberation struggle have called forth an anti-war movement among the American people themselves. This clearly shows the link between the revolution in Asian, African and Latin American countries and the just struggle of the American people.

Comrades, the pressing need of the moment is to find a common strategy for all these farces in the struggle against imperialism by means of unity of action on the most urgent issues.

There is no doubt that from the standpoint of coordinating action against imperialism in key places in Southeast Asia, we are now witnessing a battle of decisive significance not only to the socialist camp but also to the entire course of struggle against imperialism. In the near future, comrades, we shall be faced with

a similar situation in other parts of the world. Present developments in Southeast Asia are, therefore, not only a problem of the given region but a problem of the revolutionary movement in Latin America and of the cause of the revolution throughout the world. In the light of what is happening in Southeast Asia, the most urgent task is, unquestionably, to render decisive aid to the patriotic struggle of the National Liberation Front and the heroic resistance of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam.

The leaders of the Vietnamese people have pointed out that the Soviet Union is rendering the Democratic Republic of Vietnam massive material and political aid. This aid is a valuable contribution to the struggle of the Vietnamese people and an example of proletarian internationalism. Nobody can deny this fact. Today it is imperative to study how we can defeat the imperialists in Vietnam. An analysis of the concrete situation and the adoption of all the necessary measures to resolve this problem would be an extremely important — perhaps, in the present situation, the most important — contribution to the cause of Marxism-Leninism.

Taking into account the situation arising out of the war in Vietnam it would be expedient, from the tactical viewpoint, to set up a military force that could stop the bombing of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, i.e., to destroy the U.S. aircraft bombing Vietnamese territory. To defeat imperialism in Vietnam it would be of decisive importance to utilize all available means and take the necessary risk to stop the bombing of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, which is a criminal act of aggression. Resolute efforts must be made and decisive aid rendered in order to turn the territory of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam into a graveyard for U.S. aircraft. Imperialism must be rapped on the knuckles in Vietnam. If circumstances demand it, we must be prepared to fight in Vietnam to defend the territorial integrity and the very existence of that fraternal country. The struggle in Vietnam confronts the entire Communist movement and the socialist countries in particular wtih a major question of principle.

To achieve these purposes we would recommend coordinating practical efforts on the spot. It would be expedient for the socialist countries and the international Communist movement to openly, firmly and unanimously support such measures.

This is the foundation on which the unity of the world Communist movement can be built. Those who fail to appreciate the need for coordinating efforts in this direction will be left in complete isolation.

The adoption of these measures would not only help the Vietnamese people but would also give impetus to a broad movement of such measures, provided the reasons behind them are openly explained and mass action is started to support them, would be

a key contribution to strengthening the revolutionary movement throughout the world and would bring about the moral and political weakening of imperialism.

The peoples of the world cannot let the bombing of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam go unpunished. This bombing cannot be tolerated. It evokes the disgust of all mankind. The repelling of the bombing and of the criminal actions of the imperialists in Vietnam with the aid of all available means is the right and duty of progressive and socialist governments. All mankind will justly appreciate this right as legitimate defense against aggressors. Even for some capitalist governments it would be difficult to deny that the question concerns an act in defense of a people that have become the victim of aggression. From no point of view can the right to attack another country be recognized. Measures of this kind will enhance the prestige of the socialist camp in the eyes of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America and stimulate the struggle of the working class and the progressive strata of the population of Europe against the policy of aggression and war that is being pursued by the monopolies and imperialism, and they would influence even the American people, as is shown by the upsurge of the movement against the war in Vietnam in the United States itself, and bring about a break between the interests of the warmongers and those of their own people. Thus, it is a question of measures not only to defend the rights of one country but also to enhance the prestige of the entire world Communist movement and strengthen the unity of the anti-imperialist, including the anti-war, forces throughout the world. The growth of the anti-war movement in the USA as a result of the heroic actions and liberation war of the Vietnamese people is a vivid indication of this.

That was why in his speech of March 13, 1965, Fidel Castro called for joint action against imperialism in Vietnam, and urged all the forces of the socialist camp to stop theoretical disputes in order to help people heroically fighting for their freedom against imperialist aggression.

In the speech Fidel Castro said:

". . . and we have only one stand: we advocate giving Vietnam all the necessary assistance. We advocate that this assistance should be given in the form of weapons and men. We advocate that all the necessary risk be taken for the sake of Vietnam."

Naturally, we can and must do more than that. The question concerns the most urgent and vital need to coordinate international efforts at the present time.

In addition to unity of action on the most pressing problems, it is necessary to promote the revolution in all regions of the world and under the most diverse conditions.

In the socialist countries to accelerate the development of the revolution means to strain every muscle to build the material and technical basis of the new society, and to mould the new man, a man free of the ideological survivals of class society.

In the capitalist countries to accelerate the revolution means to carry on the struggle against the warmongers and their system of exploitation, to expose the enemies of the people and mobilize the broad masses for the struggle against the exploiters.

In the oppressed countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America to accelerate the development of the revolution means to carry on a resolute struggle against their reactionary classes, who are the allies of U.S. imperialism, against their own imperialism. In most Asian, African and Latin American countries to launch the most determined struggle means to resist the aggression and violence of the exploiters and imperialists by bold, resolute and forcible military operations of the revolutionary vanguard and the masses. Conciliation and passiveness in face of the violence by the oppressors, who seek to perpetuate their bloody exploiter system and resort to force more and more often and abuse force, will never become a revolutionary policy.

In many Latin American countries the imperialists and the exploiter classes are trying to preserve their supremacy by the most disgusting and criminal use of force.

The military intervention in the Dominican Republic demonstrates the brutality and aggressiveness with which the imperialists oppose the will of the Latin American peoples. It glaringly brings out the need to oppose imperialism with the revolutionary force of the masses. The events in the Dominican Republic have given the Latin American peoples an object lesson that the liberation struggle is a dramatic fight. A similar situation is emerging in other undeveloped countries as well. Recall, for example, the U.S.-Belgian intervention in the Congo and the sanguinary handling of the black majority in Southern Rhodesia, as well as the reactionary offensive launched by imperialism in Africa with the object of overthrowing progressive and independent governments.

We have only just witnessed one of the present epoch's bloodiest slaughters of Communists in Indonesia.

All these facts eloquently show the vanguard of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America that they must follow the revolutionary road.

Comrades, imperialism has announced that it will not tolerate any more revolutions in Latin America. The people of that continent have accepted this challenge and are preparing for battle. There are decisive years ahead of us. Throughout the Latin American continent there are signs that the revolutionary movement

is on the upsurge. Our country has become an example for Latin America and our people will always willingly serve as a model.

Seven years ago the Cuban revolution put an end to the bloody military dictatorship that was serving the interests of the exploiters and the foreign financial oligarchy. The revolution has carried out an agrarian reform and has deeply affected the interests of this oligarchy and the imperialists. The imperialists owned most of our land, practically the whole of our industry and the country's major wealth. The U.S. Government took draconic economic steps against the revolution, threatened us with military force and even attacked us. The Cuban people were determined to win or or die. They routed the forces of the internal counter-revolution, and smashed the U.S. imperialists in the Bay of Pigs, inflicting on them their first military defeat in the Western Hemisphere.

The revolution continued its mighty onward movement. Important successes have been scored in economic development, education, public health and social life. These triumphs were won despite the criminal economic blockade imposed by the imperialists. We have achieved considerable success in strengthening the fighting capacity of our Armed Forces.

U.S. imperialism, which organizes armed attacks on nations and interferes in the internal affairs of countries, was unable to hinder Cuba's triumphant advance along the road of socialism and communism. It could not prevent Cuba from becoming a revolutionary example for Latin America. It could do nothing to prevent the banner of socialism from being raised almost within the field of vision of its shores.

What does this prove, comrades? It proves that no force on earth can stop the struggle of the peoples for socialism and communism. How has that become possible? It became possible thanks to the unity and determined struggle of the people, thanks to the valor, courage and firm determination of their vanguard, thanks to the fraternal assistance of the Soviet Union and the entire socialist camp.

We should like especially to express our gratitude to the Soviet Union for the help it has given us in the defense of our country. The experience of the Cuban revolution shows most vividly the balance of forces in the modern world and the importance of the support and assistance of class brothers throughout the world to the liberation struggle of any people.

The example of Cuba shows clearly that in Latin America a true revolution quickly leads to socialism. It plainly shows that the struggle for national liberation in our continent is part and parcel of the struggle for socialism. It vividly demonstrates that to a large extent the question of the working class seizing power and of the victory of the socialist revolution in the Latin Amer-

ican continent depends upon subjective factors, on the determination of the vanguard, on the preparedness to win or die.

Comrades, the road opened by the October Revolution is the road of socialism. It is the road that your people have followed and will follow until the invincible banner of the revolutionary proletariat is hoisted in all countries.

Led by their Communist Party and undeterred by difficulties, sacrifice and risk, the Cuban people will put all their strength into the struggle for the cause of the revolution, for the cause of socialism and communism.

We are fighting not only for the interests of Cuba but also for the interests of the exploited people of the whole world. Our borders are a moral concept, our frontiers are a class concept.

Our friends are those who defend the people. Our enemies are those who attack the workers, peasants and exploited masses. Such is our policy. Such are our principles. Such are the policy and principles of proletarian internationalism.

Long live the 23rd Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union!

Long live the revolution in Asia, Africa and Latin America!

Long live the Soviet Union!

Long live the Communist Party of the Soviet Union!

Long live Marxism-Leninism!

Long live communism!

SPEECH BY COMRADE DOLORES IBARRURI
Chairman of the Communist Party of Spain

Comrade Delegates, on behalf of the delegation of the Communist Party of Spain I wish to convey fraternal greetings to your 23rd Congress and to wish you every success in carrying out the tasks outlined in Comrade Brezhnev's report, in implementing the new five-year plan that will be an important step forward in building communism in your wonderful land of Soviets that is so dear to our Party and our people.

Every Congress of the CPSU is a splendid school, not only for the Communists of the Soviet Union and for the Soviet people but also for the Communists of all countries.

The delegation of the Communist Party of Spain has come to your Congress to learn from your valuable experience, has come to affirm once again our solidarity, the unchanging and consistent solidarity of Spanish Communists and the Spanish people with your country, with your Marxist-Leninist Communist Party, with the peace policy of the Soviet Government.

We Spanish Communists, like all true revolutionaries, have feelings of profound admiration for the Soviet Union, the world's first socialist country, born in the storm of the glorious days of October 1917; for the Soviet Union that, in the stern days of the Second World War when Hitler fascism had enslaved many peoples, fought to defend not only the gains of immortal October but also to liberate Europe and the whole world; for the Soviet Union that sacrificed its best sons for the sake of victory over Hitlerism.

We Spanish Communists who have passed through the Leninist school of struggle and have suffered great losses have never forgotten anything. And because we have not forgotten anything we love the Soviet Union as we love our mothers, as we love our country.

This love of ours is not sentimentality. This feeling of ours is an expression of revolutionary, Communist, Leninist ethics.

We never forget what the Soviet Union is, and are therefore always with you, not only in fine weather when life is pleasant, but in rainy weather, too, when the sky is overcast, when the convictions of revolutionary fighters, Communists, Leninists are subjected to a test of firmness.

Comrades, delegates to the 23rd Congress of the CPSU! Before I tell you about the struggle in Spain, allow me to make one request of you, the request of a friend and comrade.

When you return to your republics, to your regions and districts, when you travel to the places where you work, tell the workers, tell the collective farmers, tell all the Soviet people that we Spanish Communists, like the working people of all countries, are profoundly interested in the successful implementation of the new five-year plan. This new victory that we expect of you will not only improve the living standards of all Soviet peoples and raise the economic, industrial and military might of the Soviet Union to a higher level; it will be a powerful stimulus for the development of the democratic and socialist forces in the capitalist countries. It will be a victory that will strengthen the bonds of friendship and cooperation between the countries of the socialist community and will help develop the world communist movement.

With regard to our own country, although we cannot yet inform this Congress of the victory of the Spanish people over the dictatorship, we can tell you that Spain has already entered a period of transition, a period of the dissolution of the fascist forces and the growth of the democratic forces, a period whose democratic outcome will depend, already depends, on the participation in the fight against the Franco regime not only of workers and peasants, the chief proponents of the struggle, but also of extensive social groups that until quite recently supported the Franco

regime but who today are openly advocating radical political changes.

The working class of Spain, following its own peculiar path which has some features in common with but not identical to the 1905 revolution in Russia, is dealing Francoism heavy blows and in the factories is setting up its own organizations to counteract the official trade unions; these take the form of workers' commissions in which workers of all political trends participate. These workers' trade unions, representative democratic organizations lead the big strikes and demonstrations that are taking place in our country and are, even today, the prototype of the Spanish workers' future large-scale trade unions.

Here is a fact that is evidence of the strength and determination of that movement; 300 metalworker delegates met in Madrid, elaborated a program of economic and political demands, and called on all metalworkers in Spain to strike for 24 hours if the government did not submit to their demands.

The militant spirit of the working class is arousing various other groups and strata of Spanish society for the struggle.

In Spain today the student youth constitute a revolutionary force. These young people are overcoming the passivity and wavering of the bourgeois strata from whom they are mostly drawn, and are compelling them to resist the Franco dictatorship and join the struggle for a democratic Spain.

Even the Church, the Spanish Catholic Church that in the past has always been well known for its reactionary nature, is today beginning to break away from the dictatorship and is turning its face to the masses. The more farsighted churchmen, recognizing more and more the changes that are taking place in Spain and throughout the world, also recognize socialist humanism and are in favor of talking to the Marxists.

Of great political importance was the student congress held recently in the Capucine monastery in Barcelona despite the prohibition placed on it by the authorities. Five hundred representatives of the student body of that city gathered to found a democratic trade union independent of the official trade union. This, too, is evidence of the profound changes that are taking place in our country. For the first time the monasteries of Spain have opened their doors to democrats persecuted by the police, and for the first time one of the Spanish bishops has come out in defense of the democrats against the lawlessness of the Franco regime.

It is well known that the best of the Spanish intellectuals, even those who have grown up during the dictatorship, are opposing it. They are joining the struggle for democracy together with the workers and students.

In this connection I must mention the courage as well as the activity of progressive intellectuals in the struggle against the dictatorship.

Last February, in spite of the brutal obstacles put up by the police, thousands of intellectuals gathered in the Andalusian town of Baez. They went there from all parts of Spain to honor the memory of Antonio Machado, the great Spanish poet who, in years that were difficult for our people, declared firmly that the Soviet Union is the beacon of history.

It is no longer a secret for anyone that even in the army, that was the main support of the dictatorship, the democratic movement is beginning to grow, a fact that is causing the Franco leadership no little concern.

The air catastrophe over Palomares about which a great deal has been written in the world press in recent times shows very vividly the tremendous danger of U.S. bases, not only for Spain but all the countries in which they are situated.

This dramatic episode, that might have ended in a nuclear catastrophe for Spain, has deeply shocked the Spanish people. They are not only against the U.S. bases but also against the Franco regime that has given a foreign power the right to maintain those bases.

Literally within a few hours of receipt of the information of what had happened, a demand for the abolition of U.S. bases was signed in a number of towns by more than 5,000 people of different political affiliation. Demonstrations of protest were held in many Spanish towns. Outstanding among them was the big demonstration in front of the U.S. Embassy in Madrid. The police were unable to prevent it.

We should like to stress a specific feature of these demonstrations; the Spanish people, in expressing their hatred of American imperialism, at the same time demonstrate their solidarity with the heroic Vietnamese people and condemn U.S. aggression against the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and the heroic people of South Vietnam.

What is the policy of the Communist Party of Spain in these conditions?

The Communist Party of Spain has always stood and will continue to stand for the unity of all progressive and anti-Franco forces in the struggle against the dictatorship. In order not to lag behind events in its policy the Party has always considered the changes taking place in our country and is making constant efforts to establish a democratic system in Spain. The Communist Party of Spain, therefore, is prepared to march together with all forces, both civil and military, even with those against whom we fought at one time, provided they are in favor of reforms that open up

the way to democracy. With some of them we are already marching side by side.

The Communist Party believes that despite all the possible maneuvers of the regime to prevent the downfall of the dictator Spain is on the eve of great changes. We are certain that the present struggle is the last battle that our people are fighting in the name of victory over the fascist dictatorship.

Comrade delegates, our delegation once more assures you that the Communist Party of Spain will spare no effort to re-establish the unity of the world Communist movement, that we shall give our support to all proposals for overcoming the present split that is of no benefit except to the aggressive plans of the imperialists.

We believe that the general line of the communist movement expressed in the documents of the 1957 and 1960 Meetings retain their full force. This concerns all the chief questions of the day—the appraisal of the character of the epoch, the significance of the struggle for peace, the aggressive nature of imperialism, especially U.S. imperialism, the possibility of different ways for the transition to socialism, the norms for relations between Communist and Workers' Parties. We are, as before, loyal to this general line.

Long live the unity of the world Communist movement!

Long live Marxism-Leninism!

Long live the Great Communist Party of the Soviet Union and its Leninist Central Committee!

SPEECH BY COMRADE TSOI EN GEN
Member of the Political Bureau, Deputy Chairman of the Central Committee of the Korean Labor Party

Dear Comrades,

On behalf of the Central Committee of the Korean Labor Party permit me to convey hearty greetings to the 23rd Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, and through the Congress to all members of the Party, and to the fraternal Soviet people.

Under the leadership of the great Lenin the heroic Russian working class overthrew the rule of the capitalists and land owners and created the first state of workers and peasants in the world.

The victory of the October Revolution has opened up to mankind a new era of the proletarian revolution and has lit the road of struggle and liberation to the oppressed peoples.

Overcoming numerous difficulties and severe trials in conditions of capitalist encirclement, the Soviet people have blazed the unexplored road to the building of a new society.

The forces of world imperialism pounced on the young Soviet state in an attempt to strangle it in its cradle.

But the Soviet people rallied firmly around the Communist Party and brought to naught the infamous attacks of internal and external enemies and safeguarded the revolutionary gains with honor.

Under the leadership of the Communist Party the Soviet people have successfully carried out the industrialization of the country and the collectivization of agriculture and have won great victories in the building of socialism.

In the grim years of the Second World War the Soviet people bore the heavy burden of the war with fascism, exhibited unprecedented heroism and selflessness and save the peoples of many countries from fascist enslavement.

In the violent years of the revolution the Soviet people unflinchingly refused to give in to any difficulties and exhibited a firm revolutionary spirit and mass heroism, setting an example of struggle against the class enemy.

Today the Soviet people are working for the creation of the material and technical basis of communism. The Soviet Union has become a socialist power, with the most progressive science and engineering in the world. The achievements of Soviet science and engineering in the conquest of space are a great contribution to the development of world science and engineering, and a proof of the viability of the socialist system.

The Korean people rejoice in all successes of the fraternal Soviet people and congratulate them warmly on these successes.

The new five-year plan being discussed at the Congress envisages an increase in industrial output by 47-50 per cent and also an increase in the average annual volume of agricultural output by 15 per cent in comparison with the average yearly output of these products in the preceding five years.

The fulfilment of the new five-year plan will be yet another step towards the building of the material and technical basis of communism and the raising of the people's welfare; it will help to reinforce the might of the Soviet Union.

We feel sure that by its creative work the Soviet people will fulfil the sweeping tasks set by the Congress with honor.

Dear comrades, through the fault of the American imperialists Korea has been divided for more than 20 years now. The American imperialists have transformed South Korea into their colony and military base; they are trying to use it as a spring-board for a new aggressive war. All the disasters and sufferings of the South Korean people are the result of the policy of colonial enslavement conducted by the American imperialists and the anti-national policy of the treacherous Pak Chon Hi clique.

On instructions from the American imperialists the Japanese

Government headed by Sato and the clique of South Korean puppets have recently concluded the illegal "South Korean Japanese treaty." This "treaty" is not only a political and economic deal of the Sato government with the puppet clique of South Korea but also a military alliance between them.

On the basis of this "treaty" the American imperialists are trying to knock together an aggressive "military alliance of the Northeast Asian" countries and to complete the creation in Asia of a united anti-communist bloc.

The U.S. imperialists are now expanding their aggressive war in Vietnam and are intensifying their piratic bombings of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam. The aggression of the American imperialists against Vietnam is a gross provocation against the socialist camp, aimed at suppressing the national liberation movement and at undermining world peace.

The aggression of the American imperialists in Vietnam and the heroic struggle of the Vietnamese people against this aggression has now become the center of the struggle of the anti-imperialist forces against the forces of imperialism.

Facts prove the correctness of the Declaration of the Meeting of Representatives of Communist and Workers' Parties, which designated American imperialism as the main stronghold of world reaction, as the international policeman and enemy of the peoples of the world.

The present situation demands that all anti-imperialist forces firmly consolidate and intensify their struggle against American imperialism.

When all anti-imperialist forces are united under the leadership of the socialist camp, the world Communist and working-class movements and the national liberation movement, it will be fully possible to checkmate the policy of aggression and war conducted by the American imperialists.

As in the past, our country will remain faithful to its internationalist duty of struggling for peace, national independence and socialism.

Our Party will spare no effort in defending the solidarity of the socialist camp and the unity of the international Communist movement, based on Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism.

The Korean and Soviet peoples are linked by ties of friendship from the time of their joint struggle against Japanese imperialism.

We feel certain that the friendship and cooperation between our two countries — Korea and the Soviet Union — will develop in the interests of the peoples of our countries, in the interests of the socialist camp and the international communist movement.

In conclusion permit me with all my heart to wish the Soviet

people new successes in the creation of the material and technical basis of communism.

Long live the friendship and solidarity between the Korean and the Soviet peoples!

Long live the unity of the socialist camp and the solidarity of the world Communist movement!

Long live the banner of all-conquering Marxism-Leninism!

SPEECH BY COMRADE YUMZHAGIN TSEDENBAL
First Secretary of the Central Committee, Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party

Dear Comrades, permit me to convey to you, delegates to the 23rd Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, and through you to all Communists and all people of the Soviet Union, hearty fraternal greetings from the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party and all Mongolian people. We express our hearty thanks to the Central Committee of the CPSU for its kind invitation to send a delegation of our Party to this lofty forum of Soviet Communists.

Mongolian Communists and the entire Mongolian people, like millions of friends and brothers of the Soviet people in other countries, heartily welcome the 23rd Congress of the CPSU as an outstanding historical event in the life of the land of Soviets, in the life of the countries of the socialist community and of the world Communist movement.

The Report of the Central Committee of the CPSU, delivered by Comrade Brezhnev, First Secretary of the CC, CPSU, gives a profound and detailed Marxist-Leninist analysis of the present world Soviet Government in guiding the building of communism in the situation and of the greatly varied activities of the CPSU and the USSR, in consistently developing friendship and cooperation with the fraternal socialist countries, in strengthening the unity and cohesion of the world Communist movement and in their work for the peace and security of the peoples. We should like to state that the activities of the CC, CPSU are marked by a profoundly realistic approach to phenomena and problems of world development and of the internal life of the Soviet Union; the report to the present Congress is clear evidence of this for it defines exactly the line of development of Soviet society in the near future and advances important questions of the strengthening of the socialist community and the world Communist movement, and the consolidation of peace and friendship between the peoples.

The great Soviet people, under the leadership of their tried and

trusted vanguard, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, are consistently and enthusiastically carrying out the magnificent tasks formulated in the Program of the CPSU; in the period under review they have achieved outstanding successes in creating the material and technical basis of communism, in developing science and engineering, in strengthening the country's defense potential and in steadily improving the living standards of the people.

The Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party and the Mongolian people are as sincerely proud of the achievements of their true friend, the heroic Soviet people, as they are of their own successes and the successes of the world's progressive forces, because the historic achievements of the Soviet Union increase the power of world socialism to a decisive degree and weaken the positions of world imperialism.

The Soviet Union is the standard-bearer of the world revolutionary movement, the reliable bulwark of all the advanced, progressive forces of the day; the USSR bears the main burden in defending and strengthening the world socialist community, supporting the national liberation struggle of the peoples and in preserving and consolidating world peace. It is with feelings of great joy and profound gratitude that we can state that the Soviet Union, the glorious Communist Party and all Soviet people, holding aloft the banner of proletarian internationalism and proving able to cope with historical problems, have always been and still are at the head of the struggle for the cause of the working class, for the triumph of the ideas of Marx, Engels and Lenin, have always honorably and worthily fulfilled their internationalist duty to the world proletariat, the fraternal peoples of the socialist countries and all forces working for peace, national independence, democracy and social progress.

This is once again evidence of the high historical mission of the Soviet people, the pioneer of the revolutionary transformation of society; it raises still higher the authority and prestige of the Land of Soviets; it shows that history has given the Soviet Union, the first socialist state and the home of Leninism, the role of the vanguard that is laying down a new road for all mankind to a brighter future, to communism. For this reason the rich experience of the CPSU, the contingent most steeled in struggle, the militant vanguard of the world Communist movement, serves as the best model for Marxist-Leninist Parties and for the fraternal socialist countries.

The draft Directives for the five-year plan of economic development, 1966-70, presented for the examination of the 23rd Congress by the CC, CPSU, open up bright new prospects before the Soviet Union and before the forces of peace, democracy and socialism; the draft sums up the fulfilment of the seven-year plan

and outlines the tasks for the coming five years. The five-year plan for the development of the Soviet Union is a scientifically based program of the activities of the CPSU and the Soviet state at the current, important stage of communist construction. The gigantic targets put forward in the new five-year plan are for a further steady advance by Soviet society along the road to communism; they are fully in accord with the interests of the Soviet Union itself and also with the interests of the world socialist system and the world revolutionary forces; they coincide with the aims of the struggle against world imperialist reaction for peace and friendship between peoples.

Dear comrades, the Mongolian people under the leadership of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party have achieved important successes in the progressive development of our country; we have put into effect Lenin's teaching on the non-capitalist path of development and have made the historic transition direct from feudalism to socialism and are now successfully solving the problem of completing socialist construction. A new and important step on this path was made by our reaching the targets of the third five-year plan for the development of the economy and culture of the country; this was possible because of the enthusiastic labor of our people and of all-round cooperation, help and support of the fraternal socialist countries, primarily of the Soviet Union.

In 1966, the Mongolian people, with tremendous labor enthusiasm, launched their fourth five-year plan for the development of the economy and culture of the Mongolian People's Republic, 1966-70, the directives for which will be approved next June at the 15th Congress of our Party. The Party Congress will also approve the new, fourth Program of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party; this is the program for the completion of socialist construction in our country.

In carrying out the tasks of the new five-year plan and in solving the important problems of completing socialist construction we shall, as before, rely on the all-round aid and support of the Soviet Union.

Permit our delegation, speaking from this lofty rostrum, to express the most heartfelt gratitude of our Party and of the entire Mongolian people to the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the Soviet government and all Soviet people for their constant, cordial, fraternal aid, for their friendship and fraternity, for their sincerity and selflessness, for their kindness and spiritual nobility.

Comrades, the Mongolian People's Republic, as part of the world socialist community, has been and still is conducting a policy of peace and friendship between nations and is fighting consistently against the danger of a fresh world war, for the implementation

of Lenin's principle of peaceful coexistence between states with different social and political systems, for the all-round support of the liberation movement of the peoples, for the preservation and consolidation of peace throughout the world. The Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party, the Mongolian people and their government, give their determined support to the fraternal Vietnamese people in their heroic struggle against the aggression of the U.S. imperialists and their myrmidons.

Our Party and the people of the MPR, who are unwavering in their support of the courageous Vietnamese people, heartily welcome the ever-growing effective aid of the Soviet Union to the Democratic Republic of Vietnam in strengthening its defense potential and repulsing imperialist aggression.

The Mongolian People's Republic will in future continue to act and to coordinate its policy and actions with those of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, will cooperate closely with all the peace forces on issues affecting the solution of urgent international problems by peaceful means, the achievement of general and complete disarmament, the final abolition of the colonial system and the defense and strengthening of peace.

The Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party and the Mongolian people sincerely welcome the tireless efforts and the practical steps taken by the CC, CPSU and the Soviet Government to lessen world tension, ensure a general peace and security for the peoples, and prevent a destructive world nuclear war.

The MPRP, like other Marxist-Leninist Parties, fully supports the tireless efforts and practical activities of the CPSU to overcome the existing differences in the world Communist movement, to strengthen the unity and cohesion of the socialist countries and all fraternal Communist Parties on principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, on the basis of the general line elaborated in the 1957 Declaration and the 1960 Statement.

All objective conditions exist in the socialist countries for the constant and unwavering strengthening of the friendship, collaboration and unity of the peoples in the struggle for common goals. These objective factors ars the radical, social and economic transformation that is taking place in the socialist countries, a common social and political system, a common dominant ideology and a common purpose — the building of socialism and communism. The task is to make competent use of the extensive possibilities and tremendous advantages of socialism to ensure the friendship and unity of the peoples of our great socialist community in the struggle for the victory of communism against the forces of imperialist reaction.

The bourgeois nationalism and chauvinism instigated by world imperialism are cutting enemies of the friendship and unity of the

peoples of the socialist countries and of the entire world Communist movement. Proceeding from the experience of the communist movement, we may say that a reactionary nationalist ideology cannot arouse and elevate a nation, but is more likely to bring about the self-isolation of individual nations, the lowering of their honor and dignity.

You, our good friends, may be sure the MPRP and the Mongolian people will always be true to the sacred watchword of fighters for communism — to strengthen daily, by practical actions, the friendship and cohesion of the working people — the watchword that was expressed by Mars as "Workers of All Countries, Unite!"

Dear comrades, we are filled with sincere joy and pride that the truly fraternal relations between the MPRP and the CPSU, based on the principles of our all-conquering doctrine of Marxism-Leninism, on the principles of socialist internationalism, are growing more extensive and stronger day by day and are embodied in the daily practical affairs of our Parties and our peoples.

Identity of views and unity in the practical activities of the MPRP and the CPSU are also the sound basis of the relations of sincere friendship and all-round cooperation between our countries laid down at the dawn of the Mongolian people's revolution by Vladimir Ilyich Lenin, the great friend and teacher of the working people of the whole world, and by the founder of our Party and of the Mongolian people's democratic state, D. Suhe-Bator. The fraternal friendship of the peoples of Mongolia and the Soviet Union has passed through stern trials and has steadily, year by year, developed and become stronger to the advantage of the building of socialism and communism in our countries, in the interests of peace and friendship between peoples. A vivid manifestation of this was the recent fruitful visit to our country of the Party and Government delegation headed by Comrade Brezhnev, First Secretary of the CC, CPSU. The conclusion of a Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation and Mutual Aid between the MPR and the USSR was an outstanding event; this treaty marks a new stage in the development and strengthening of sincere fraternal relations between our comrades.

We are firmly convinced that the relations of friendship, brotherhood and cooperation between the MPRP and the CPSU, between our countries and our peoples, will continue to expand and grow stronger in the interests of our great common cause — the cause of peace, socialism and communism. This convention of ours springs from the boundless loyalty of our Parties and our peoples to Marxism-Leninism, to the idea of the friendship and brotherhood of the peoples, to the principles of proletarian internationalism.

The all-round strengthening of the durable bonds of friendship

and cooperation with the Soviet people always has been and remains the subject of the special attention of the MPRP, for in the consistent tempering of this friendship our Party sees a reliable guarantee of further progress in People's Mongolia, a source of the happiness and well-being of the Mongolian people and in important factor for furthering the solidarity of all the world's progressive forces.

The Communists and working people of the MPR, in their thoughts and their plans, in their actions and their aims are always together with the glorious Party of Lenin, with Soviet Communists, with all Soviet people whom our people regard as their truest and most reliable friends, their own brothers and sisters.

The Mongolian people will continue to advance in a single body shoulder to shoulder with the heroic Soviet people towards fresh victories in building socialism and communism, in the struggle for a durable and enduring peace and earth.

Permit me, dear comrades, to wish you from the bottom of my heart, and through you, all the Communists and working people of the Soviet Union, the successful implementation of the decisions that will be adopted at the 23rd Congress of the CPSU, the achievement of further great victories in the building of communism and in the struggle to preserve and strengthen peace throughought the world.

Long live the most experienced, steeled contingent and militant vanguard of the world Communist movement—the glorious Communist Party of the Soviet Union and its Marxist-Leninist Central Committee!

Long live the great Soviet people, the builder of communism!

Long live the great Soviet Union, the indestructible bastion of peace and social progress!

Long live Mongolo-Soviet inseverable fraternal friendship!

May the unity and cohesion of the socialist countries and of the ranks of world Communist movement become greater!

Long live our great all-conquering banner — Marxism-Leninism!

SPEECH BY NGUEN THI BIN
Member of the Central Committee, National Liberation Front of South Vietnam

Esteemed members of the Presidium,

Dear Friends,

First of all, allow me, on behalf of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam, to convey our warm gratitude to the Central Committee of the Com-

munist Party of the Soviet Union for inviting a delegation of the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam to the 23rd Congress of the CPSU. This invitation is a great honor that the Communist Party and people of the Soviet Union have bestowed upon our people, who are courageously fighting the U.S. aggressors.

On behalf of the Central Committee of the National Liberation Front and the people of South Vietnam allow me to convey the most heartfelt and warmest greetings to this Congress and to the heroic Soviet people, who are true comrades-in-arms of the people of South Vietnam.

Furthermore, allow me to express our militant solidarity with the delegations of Communist and Workers' Parties, representatives of the revolutionary movement and friends present at this Congress who sympathize with and support the patriotic struggle of our people against aggression.

The people of South Vietnam cordially wish the 23rd Congress tremendous and outstanding successes in the further building of the mighty, flourishing and happy Soviet Union, in contributing towards the anti-imperialist struggle for peace, national independence and social progress of the peoples of the world.

Dear friends, conscious of their responsibility for the revolutionary cause of their country and the revolutionary movement throughout the world, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the fraternal Soviet people are devoting the closest attention to the situation in Vietnam, particularly in South Vietnam.

We are happy to express our gratitude to Leonid Ilyich Brezhnev, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, who in the Report to the Congress spoke of the profound sympathy and determined stand of the Communist Party and the people of the Soviet Union in support of the just struggle of our people, a struggle that will unquestionably end in victory.

I should like to speak only of a few aspects of the patriotic struggle the South Vietnamese people are waging against the aggression of the U.S. imperialists and their lackeys.

Friends, after nine years of a grim and selfless war of Resistance the Vietnamese people defeated the French colonialists, who received massive aid from the U.S. imperialists, and forced them to sign the 1954 Geneva Agreements, which ensured the sovereignty, independence, unity and territorial integrity of Vietnam.

However, as soon as the Geneva Agreements were signed, the U.S. imperialists started aggressive operations in South Vietnam in flagrant violation of these Agreements, international law and the right of nations to self-determination. With every passing day the imperialists are becoming more brazen and inhuman. They plan to turn South Vietnam into a new type of colony and war

base of the U.S. for an offensive against socialist countries and other independent nations.

Seeking to crush and destroy the patriotic movement of the people of South Vietnam, the U.S. imperialists have started a war of aggression, which they call a "special war." U.S. troops and the half-million-strong puppet army, trained and officered by Americans, are engaged in continuous punitive operations, destroying peaceful villages, killing innocent people, disemboweling them, tearing out their livers, buning them alive. They make no allowance for women, old folk or children. Millions of people have been forcibly driven into "strategic villages."

In face of the danger of their country being seized and in face of the infinitely inhuman crimes of the U.S. imperialists the people of South Vietnam clearly realized that their only way out was to unite and wage a determined struggle to save their motherland.

The entire South Vietnamese people, led by the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam, have united as one man. In keeping with their deep-rooted patriotic traditions, they are utilizing all possibilities and forms of struggle in order to combat U.S. aggression. A political struggle which millions of peoples have joined is going on throughout the country, in the villages and in the towns. Closely linked with the political struggle, the armed struggle is rapidly mounting. It is wrecking the U.S. strategy of lightning blows and quick victories, continuously frustrating the tactical plans of the Americans, sowing confusion among them and paralyzing their actions.

The patriotic and just struggle of the people of South Vietnam has developed into a people's war. All sections of the population—peasants, workers, students, intellectuals, the national bourgeoisie, Buddhists, people of all ages, including children and silverhaired old men — are taking part in this war. Therein lies the invincible strength of the people of South Vietnam, and it is their weapon which is helping them to strike ever more powerful and victorious blows. As a result of the victories over the past few years we now have a liberated area which covers four-fifths of the entire territory of South Vietnam with a population of 10 million. A free and happy life is being built in this area. The National Liberation Front of South Vietnam fulfils the functions of organs of power, which direct the struggle of the people and the building of the new life. All this plainly shows that the Front is indeed the only genuine representative of the South Vietnamese people.

By 1965, after three years of their "special war" the U.S. imperialists were confronted with disorder and disintegration in the puppet administration and army, and in the "strategic villages," on which they had put their main stake. The towns have ceased to be a reliable rear. This shows that the "special war" of the USA

has failed. In an effort to save themselves from defeat and wriggle out of the impasse the U.S. imperialists took the next dangerous step in their war. They began a massive transfer of their troops to South Vietnam. In a single year the strength of their troops was eightfold from 30,000 to 250,000, not counting the 20,000 South Korean, Australian and New Zealand hirelings. The USA has transferred to South Vietnam crack divisions, such as the 1st Airomobile Division, the 1st Infantry Division and so forth. Modern weapons and other war material, including means of mass annihilation such as chemicals and poison gases, are being brought to South Vietnam in a continuous stream. The U.S. imperialists hope that with their large army and powerful weapons they will be able to change the situation and destroy the patriotic forces of the South Vietnamese people.

However, things are not turning out as the U.S. Government wanted. U.S. and satellite troops invaded our country at a time when the initiative in the struggle was in the hands of the people of South Vietnam, when our forces were poised to repel them everywhere. U.S. and satellite troops found themselves encircled by popular resistance. They were forced to go over to the defensive. Their strategic and tactical plan was upset. And they were unable to utilize their armament superiority. Retaining the initiative, the army of South Vietnam, which is determined to fight, has dealt crack U.S. divisions heavy blows. In the battles at Van-Tyung, Pleime, Bau-Bang and elsewhere the Liberation forces wiped out entire companies, battalions and brigades of U.S. troops supported by aircraft, tanks and armoured cars. The Liberation forces of South Vietnam are not only attacking the enemy when he engages in punitive operations but also striking at his airfields and fortified camps, as in the case of Bien-Hoa, Pleiku and Danang.

In the course of 1965 we destroyed a total of 227,500 enemy troops, including 19,200 U.S. aggressors. During the first two months of 1966 we put out of action 36,000 troops, of whom 16,300 were U.S. soldiers. Our people's army is winning similar battles to this day. At the same time, in the towns there is a rapidly mounting popular movement for democracy, for an improvement of the standard of living, against the rule of the U.S. puppets, for the withdrawal of U.S. troops. This is creating further military and political difficulties for the Americans.

The victories that have been won in the 12-year struggle against U.S. imperialist aggression, and particularly during the past year, show that by utilizing the spirit of a just struggle and fighting a patriotic military experience, the people of South Vietnam are not only defeating the puppet army but also have a real possibility of smashing the U.S. troops.

Friends, ignoring the legitimate demands of the people of South

Vietnam and of world progressive public opinion, aggressive and bellicose U.S. imperialism is rapidly escalating the war in South Vietnam. Unrestrained in their fury, the U.S. aggressors are resorting to means of warfare that are so barbarous that even the nazis did not dare to use openly. U.S. troops are spraying large, densely-populated territories with poison chemicals, which are killing and poisoning thousands of people and destroying crops and vegetation in huge areas. Moreover, in their punitive operations they are using poison gases, which have killed and seriously injured large numbers of people. U.S. troops are employing B-52 strategic aircraft, which are dropping tens of thousands of tons of bombs on small areas. They are resorting to "scorched earth" tactics and carrying on a war of extermination against South Vietnam. Every hour and every minute the U.S. imperialists are committing the most heinous and most barbarous crimes in our country, and the conscience of mankind will never forgive them for this.

Utilizing the war bases in South Vietnam, the bellicose U.S. imperialists are escalating their destructive air war to North Vietnam, attacking a sovereign, independent state, killing our brothers and sisters, intensifying the aggressive war in Laos, and thus creating the danger of the war spreading to the whole of Southeast Asia and the world.

The actions taken by the U.S. to intensify and escalate the war expose Johnson's subterfuges about the so-called "peace drive" and "peace talks." Everybody can see that this perfidious design is aimed at camouflaging U.S. attempts to seize South Vietnam and subjugate the South Vietnamese people. It is perfectly obvious that there can be peace in South Vietnam only when the USA withdraws its troops, recognizes the basic rights of the South Vietnamese people as defined in the Geneva Agreements and recognizes the National Liberation Front as the only genuine representative of the South Vietnamese people.

Our people have had 20 years of continuous war and want peace more than anybody else. But they understand that without independence peace cannot be genuine. In face of the intensification of the U.S. aggression and its bloody crimes, the Vietnamese people are determined to fight to the end, and will not be deterred by sacrifices and difficulties. No matter how long this war lasts, our people will unquestionably defeat the U.S. aggressors and achieve their sacred national rights — independence, peace and neutrality — and work for the unification of their beloved homeland.

Our people are determined to defeat the U.S. imperialists and fulfil their sacred national tasks as well as their internationalist duty of helping the national liberation struggle of other countries and make a tangible contribution towards the defense of peace and freedom of the peoples of our entire planet.

Friends, throughout the world progressive people regard the just struggle of the South Vietnamese people as the forefront of the struggle against U.S. imperialism, the enemy of peace and the freedom of nations, and are therefore rendering us their utmost support. Our people are deeply grateful to the Soviet Union, China and other socialist countries, to the Communist Parties, to the independent national states, to the national liberation movement and to the peace- and freedom-loving peoples of the world for this support. We are also grateful to the progressive people of the United States for their noble struggle against the aggressive war being waged by the Johnson administration in South Vietnam.

Today, from this rostrum, we should especially like to express the deep gratitude of the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam to the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Soviet people for their hearfelt political, spiritual and material support. The people of South Vietnam daily follow the reports about the support being rendered by the Soviet people and joyfully see that the fraternal people of the Soviet Union are constantly at their side in their difficult and glorious struggle. The people of South Vietnam were greatly inspired by the statement of the Communist Party, Government and public of the Soviet Union and in particular, by the statement of the Supreme Union and in particular, by the statement of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR of December 9, 1965, which emphatically denounced the aggression of the U.S. imperialists and expressed support for the 5-point stand of the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam of March 22, 1965, which stressed that the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam was the only genuine spokesman of the South Vietnamese people. Our people drew tremendous inspiration from the rallies and demonstrations of millions of Soviet people in all parts of the USSR, which proved resolute support for the struggle of the South Vietnamese people against the U.S. imperialists, as well as from the extremely valuable material assistance given us by the Soviet people.

Friends, from this rostrum, in the solemn atmosphere of your 23rd Congress, allow me, on behalf of the people of South Vietnam, to express profound respect for and gratitude to the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and to the great Soviet people. I take this opportunity sincerely to thank the Communist and Workers' Paries represented here and the representatives of the revolutionary movement for their warm support for the struggle of our people.

The people of South Vietnam firmly believe that, despite the cruelties of the U.S. imperialists, the increasingly powerful and determined struggle and the unity of the Soviet people and of tens of millions of people throughout the world will help us to smash the U.S. aggressors, fulfil our secret national duty and contribute

to the cause of national liberation and world peace.

Permit me to convey militant and victorious greetings from the 14-million-strong South Vietnamese people to the Congress, to all Communist and Workers' Parties, to the revolutionary movement.

Once more I wish Congress outstanding success.

Allow me to read a telegram from Dr. Nguen Huy Tho, Chairman of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam.

To the 23rd Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union

On behalf of the 14-million-strong people of South Vietnam and all the organizations of the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam, the Central Committee of the NLFSV sends warm greetings to the 23rd Congress of the CPSU and through its participants expresses its solidarity with and cordial friendship for the Communist Party, Government and people of the Soviet Union.

Led by the Party of the great Lenin, the heroic Soviet people have achieved tremendous, remarkable and outstanding successes in their lofty revolutionary cause. These achievements have not only given the Soviet people the possibility of building history's of building history's most wonderful free and happy life, but have also opened the road to victory to the peoples fighting for freedom and enabled the Soviet Union to become a powerful country playing an exceptionally important role in the common struggle of the peoples of the whole world for peace against U.S.-led imperialism and colonialism, for independence, democracy, peace and social progress.

The people of South Vietnam highly evaluate the great achievements of the fraternal Soviet people and regard them as the common victory of progressive mankind. Our people are deeply grateful to the Communist Party, Government and people of the great Soviet Union and will never forget the massive and ever-increasing aid and support that they are rendering them in their patriotic struggle against U.S. imperialist aggression.

Developing the traditions of a determined and unflinching struggle and receiving invaluable assistance from the Soviet Union, China and other socialist countries and from friends throughout the world, the people of South Vietnam have surmounted enormous difficulties and are winning battle after battle in their sacred struggle against the U.S. imperialists and their menials, who have now come face to face with inevitable defeat. In the circumstances although the U.S. imperialists are continually declaring that they "sincerely desire peace in Vietnam," they are uninterruptedly bringing into South Vietnam new contingents of U.S. and satellite troops as well as

large quantities of weapons, equipment and other material, and are stepping up the war in South Vietnam to an unparalleled scale. Moreover, they are intensifying their destructive air raids on North Vietnam and creating an extremely grave situation in Indo-China and the whole of Asia. Facts show that the U.S. imperialists have not renounced their criminal design of seizing South Vietnam and forcing the people of South Vietnam to capitulate.

Deeply conscious of their sacred duty in the struggle for independence, peace and the unification of their homeland, and also in the cause of preserving peace in Indo-China and the whole world, the people of South Vietnam are fully determined to suffer any sacrifice and continue their sacred war until final victory. We firmly believe that through the unity the 14-million-strong people of South Vietnam will defeat the U.S. aggressors and their lackeys, who have started a criminal war on the territory of our beloved country.

At the same time, we firmly believe that the Communist Party, Government and fraternal people of the Soviet Union will continue to render still more effective aid and assistance to the people of South Vietnam and their National Liberation Front.

From the bottom of our hearts we wish the Communist Party of the Soviet Union brilliant successes.

We wish the heroic Soviet people further great victories in the building of the flourishing and mighty Soviet Union and that they make a still larger contribution to the common revolutionary struggle of the peoples of the world.

May the friendship between the peoples of South Vietnam and the Soviet Union grow stronger through the ages.

Doctor NGUEN HUY THO,
Chairman of the Presidium
of the Central Committee,
National Liberation Front of South Vietnam

SPEECH BY COMRADE ALEXANDER RANCOVIC
Member of the Executive of the Central Committee, Secretary of the Central Committee, League of Communists of Yugoslavia

Dear Comrades, permit me to express my satisfaction at speaking here on behalf of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia, of all the Communists and peoples of Yugoslavia, and to convey to the 23rd Congress of the CPSU, to all

Soviet Communists and all the peoples of the USSR, our friendly and most cordial greetings and best wishes to the Congress, wishes of new and still greater achievements in carrying through the revolutionary ideals of socialism and communism, in safeguarding and reinforcing world peace.

The versatile cooperation of our peoples, and of our two Parties, the public and political organizations and our two governments, has helped to attain a high degree of mutual understanding, and this has strengthened still more the foundations of our friendship and cooperation. Your people know about our successes and difficulties in the struggle for the consolidation of socialism and for a better life. Your achievements in science and technology and in space exploration are an everlasting inspiration for all mankind. Our peoples know about the imposing results achieved by the peoples of the Soviet Union under the leadership of their Leninist Communist Party, and about the strenuous efforts you make to achieve fresh victories for socialism and world peace, for the further improvement of the living and working conditions of the people and for the more rapid elevation of the living standard of the friendly and great Soviet nation.

The friendly relations and cooperation of the peoples of Yugoslavia and the Soviet Union, tempered in the joint struggle of the Soviet Army and the People's Army of Yugoslavia against fascism, are being extended and strengthened at present in a spirit of equal cooperation, mutual understanding and trust through the efforts we apply to safeguard the peace, the creative application of Marxism, the victory of socialism and the universal assertion of the spirit and principles set out in the Belgrade Declaration and in other joint documents. The Communists and all working people of Yugoslavia welcome this trend in the relations of our two countries.

The victories gained by the peoples of different countries in the struggle for socialism, and the victories of the national liberation movements that have, especially in the last ten years, speeded the downfall of colonialism, have created fresh opportunities for a further strengthening of socialism, which has been forcing capitalist social relations off the stage in the last five decades with ever greater success. The peoples' craving for socialism is mounting all the time, for it stems, and must stem, from the intrinsic needs of every nation.

The victories won at the price of immense sacrifices have, despite temporary setbacks, created such strength as requires a further assertion of socialism, a search for new forms of struggle and, in countries where socialism has already triumphed, a further strengthening of the role of man in society, in economy, in politics, and a further extension of socialist democracy in accordance with the specific conditons of every people.

We have the common task of searching for, and blazing, new ways and means for the development of socialism and, on the basis of their further improvement and exchange of experience, of building up and extending the existing cooperation and promoting the assertion of socialism as the most advanced social system. That is our common internationalist duty.

Permit me, comrades, to say in this connection that the economic reform in our country, which affected all fields of socio-economic life, is based on the decisions of the 8th Congress of the League of Communists. Its purpose is to secure unintermittence in revolutionary changes, the further development of worker and public self-government, and all-round material progress. New possibilities have thus appeared for the creative capacities of the working people, for the complete liberation of man's labor from all trammels, for genuine freedom and the all-round development of the personality. The development of socialist democracy on this basis is directed and secured by the guiding role of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia.

Comrades, the closeness or identity of our views on basic international issues, and above all on the vital questions of war and peace, the abolition of colonialism, the struggle against imperialism and neocolonialism, the policy of coexistence and some other problems of the modern world, springs from mutual cooperation and from our common interests and goals.

We are deeply troubled by the deterioration of the general state of international affairs, by the existence of old and the activation of new seats of conflict in various parts of the world, which create a grave danger to the peace. The main reason for this deterioration of the international situation is rooted in the attempts of the neocolonialist forces and reactionary quarters to check or detain further political and economic emancipation and the practice of equal cooperation between peoples and states by means of outright and disgraceful interference in the internal affairs of other countries. The U.S. aggression in Vietnam, the interventions, putsches and interferences in the domestic affairs of Asian, African and Latin American countries are but a part of their plans.

The League of Communists of Yugoslavia is deeply troubled by the state of affairs in the international working-class movement. The problems that lie at the root of the differences, we believe, reveal more and more conclusively that ideological motives are the least of the reasons for the present state of relations between the Communist and Workers' Parties and between the socialist states. Judging from the character and scale of the contradictions that have come to the surface so far, it is evident that it will take time and effort to rectify the present situation in the international working-class movement through a study and solution of the essen-

tial issues related to the further development of socialism in the present conditions.

The League of Communists backs the consistent and principled foreign policy of socialist Yugoslavia, and most firmly opposes the policy of imperialist aggression. It supports wholeheartedly the struggle of the Vietnamese and other peoples for the full independence of their countries. We are certain that no forces, no blackmail and intimidation, can prevent the people of Vietnam from crowning their just struggle with victory and achieving freedom and independence. It is beyond question that the presence of foreign troops and outside interference hamper the search for solutions in the interest of the people of Vietnam. It is important that the people of Vietnam should themselves determine the ways and means of the struggle for their demands and aspirations. It is beyond question that the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam is the sole genuine representative of the fighting people and should therefore have a say in deciding the future of its country. It has won this right in the struggle, in which it is daily suffering great losses in men and property.

The struggle for peace, against all forms of subjugation and inequality is for the League of Communists the main issue in international relations today. This is, at once, the substance of coexistence, the sense and import of which lie not only in the efforts to prevent a world war and resolve controversial problems by agreements and negotiations, but also in its being the essential and indispensable precondition of general social progress and of the success of revolutionary and liberation movements. Naturally, peaceful coexistence implies peace not only between oppressed and oppressor, but between independent and equal peoples. This is why the policy of peaceful coexistence also implies an active approach to the solution of the difficult problems and conflicts existing today in international relations, and, above all, it implies support for the liberation struggles of the peoples and also long-term economic and other assistance and support, in order to spur the progress of the developing countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America, which are vitally interested in such assistance. All-round cooperation with the non-aligned countries in a contribution to the struggle for independence waged by these countries and stimulant for their more rapid development, which bolsters their political and economic situation.

The trend towards resolving the existing international contradictions by means of an all-out war stems from an under-rating of the actual strength and capacity of the revolutionary, progressive and democratic forces to find and impose peaceful solutions. The firm stand of the USSR, the socialist, non-aligned and other peace-loving countries and forces, against the efforts to drive peoples into

a nuclear war, like the efforts aimed at isolating the aggressive imperialist circles, represent the interests and demands of freedom-loving humanity and constitute a substantial contribution to the cause of peace and progress.

Comrades, past experience shows that the wish for real solidarity among all the sections of the working-class movement must spring from genuine agreement on the essential issues and has got to be based on the independent choice of its position by each Party and movement. Practice shows beyond doubt that varied forms of equal bilateral cooperation are the most effective under the present circumstances in extending understanding and in agreeing positions, opinions, actions and multilateral cooperation among the Communist and Workers' Parties, and the progressive and democratic movements, in the struggle for peace and socialism. Such cooperation and activity help the creation of conditions essential for the progressive and all democratic and peace-loving forces to extend more versatile and purposeful support to the struggle of peoples for their national and economic liberation and to resist the aggressive forces of imperialism and colonialism.

Permit me to voice my trust that the report of Comrade Brezhnev, and the speeches we have so far heard at the Congress, reassert that the 23rd Congress, too, will have a strong bearing not only on the further development of the Soviet Union, but also on the struggle of all progressives for peace, democracy and socialism.

In conclusion, dear comrades, I should like to stress once again that our mutual desire for broader exchanges of opinion and experience, for mutual information on both the positive results and the difficulties our working people encounter in their work for the further development of socialism, is a standing need of our two Parties and gives fresh impetus to the friendly, equal cooperation between socialist Yugoslavia and the Soviet Union.

Long live the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

Long live the friendship and cooperation of the peoples of Yugoslavia and the Soviet Union!

Long live peace and socialism!

SPEECH BY COMRADE LUIS CORVALAN
General Secretary of the Central Committee Communist Party of Chile

Dear Comrades, there were nine delegates to the First Congress of Lenin's Party. Today, at this Congress there are nearly five thousand. The first figure is separated from the second, like the First Congress is separated from 23rd, by the great events of the 20th

century, of which your Party was the main participant. We hail the men and women who have performed most courageous deeds. We hail the Soviet Communists and all the Soviet people.

We hail the fraternal delegations from all the continents and particularly those who have come here from the firing line, first and foremost the representatives of the Party of Labour of Vietnam and the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam.

We also hail our brothers from Latin America and Comrade Jesus Faria, the General Secretary of the Communist Party of Venezuela, who has come out of prison and is now among us.

The Communist Party of Chile and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union have the friendliest relations, based on the granite foundation of identical principles and goals, the closest solidarity and mutual respect.

Ever since Comrade Luis Emilio Recabarren founded our Party more than forty years ago, we have marched shoulder to shoulder with the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

This is the source of our revolutionary pride, our guarantee of endurance and loyalty to the principles and interests of the working class, and an important pillar of our Party's monolithic unity.

A delegation of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union headed by Comrade Andrei Kirilenko attended the 13th Congress of our Party in October 1965. It witnessed the demonstration of our friendly sentiment and saw how deep-rooted this sentiment was among the people.

Nobody and nothing, not the intrigues of our enemies and not the virus of nationalism, no pressure and no turns of history, have ever been able, and will never be able, to break the steel-like bonds between ourselves and the glorious Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

We do not stint any effort in strengthening our links with all the Communist Parties. As a result, coupled with similar efforts on the part of the Communists of other countries, representatives of 34 fraternal Parties attended our latest congress. Unfortunately, our relations with the Chinese comrades, which had been fruitful and effective for both sides and for everybody concerned in the past, are in effect non-existent at present. We have declared publicly that we are ready to resume these relations on the basis of the principles and norms of non-interference in each other's affairs adopted by all of us during the drafting and signing of the 1960 Moscow Statement.

We support the idea expressed by Comrade Brezhnev that hegemonic attitudes are impermissible in relations between Parties. Each Communist Party determines its own line, and a line common for all is one that was worked out, or may be worked out, with the participation of all. Nobody knows the situation in a country better

than the Party that operates in that country. Each Party has its own experience and the duty to learn from the experience of others and to pass on its own experience with the modesty of true Communists. None should every try to lecture anybody.

We believe that united action by the Communist Parties and all the other revolutionary forces is stronger than any differences over transient issues or any differences in the appraisal of these issues, no matter how acute these differences may be. It would never occur to any politcally conscious Chilean worker to say that the common cause can be helped by accentuating what divides us, rather than what unites us.

It is night in Chile when it is day in Vietnam. For someone in Hanoi or Saigon our country is at the other end of the world, far beyond the sea. But no matter how far Chile is from Vietnam, our people are just as deeply incensed and revolted as any other nation, over the brutal crimes of Yankee imperialism, while the heroic struggle of the Vietnamese people evokes boundless admiration. In Chile, as in many other countries, a campaign is underway to collect funds for the glorious fighters in Vietnam. We agree with Comrade Gomulka that concrete assistance calls for coordinated action by all the socialist countries and all Communist Parties.

The peoples of Latin America are also experiencing the aggressive policy of Yankee imperialism, which assumes most savage forms. Cuba and the Dominican Republic have been the direct victims of this policy. The so-called Johnson doctrine and the plans of creating interventionist "inter-American forces" show that the sovereignty and independence of all the Latin American countries are in grave peril.

In the teeth of the revolutionary wave rising in Latin America, the imperialists have declared that they will not tolerate the emergence of a new Cuba. But whether they like it or not, there will be a second Cuba, and a third; there will be as many as there are countries on our continent.

In accordance with their national features, using forms and methods best suited in existing conditions, all the Latin American countries will, sooner or later, follow Cuba's example. Hard and complicated work lies ahead for us, and it is going to be more or less long. We are faced by a merciless enemy. No greater danger has existed to the independence, freedom and life of our peoples since the time of Hitler's nazism. Yet this is the factor that requires, and paves the way for, the unity and activation of sufficient strength, of all sections of the population, for a victorious struggle against imperialism. Moved by the desire to uphold and restore the sovereignty of their countries, not only champions of socialism, but also those who have not yet joined our ranks, can and must participate in this struggle. We cannot afford the luxury of losing

be it even one ally, or forgetting the anti-imperialist, national liberation complexion of the stage we are in today, inevitable in our struggle for socialism.

Comrade Brezhnev said: "Giving leadership to the class struggle is a big and intricate art; today, it is probably more intricate than ever. The conditions in which the fraternal Parties are waging their struggle vary from country to country. New social strata, whole nations, are joining the revolutionary struggle. They have different traditions, different economic conditions, and different experience of struggle. All this affects the activities of the Communist Parties."

A little over a year ago the Christian-Democratic Party came to power in our country. It is a numerous and heterogeneous party, whose main purpose it is to avert a popular revolution and prevent the establishment of socialism. It is a notable fact that it is using new methods to attain this purpose, working among the masses, suggesting an agrarian reform and other changes, and, at the same time, it is making undisguised concessions to imperialism and encroaching, by coercive and other means, on the positions and gains of the proletariat.

In these circumstances, in a milieu of such varied contradictions, we must deeply examine the new social processes and take them into account, and never lose sight of the main enemies—imperialism and the oligarchy. We must support some of the actions by the government and combat others, and promote joint action by all champions of radical change, whatever their present political orientation, and, in particular, we must step up the activity of the people and work among people on a scale a thousand times greater than the usual, thereby furthering the hegemony of the working class.

Our Party has achieved considerable successes in its activities, which naturally do not exclude mistakes and weaknesses. It has grown into a Party of considerable weight in the country. Nobody can afford to disregard it and its opinion. Together with the Socialist Party, we polled nearly a million votes of the total 2,500,000.

We cannot tell exactly what will happen in the future. But this shows that the alliance between the Communists and Socialists is an alternative to power, the only revolutionary alternative.

We never lose sight of the need to appraise the situation correctly, to avoid subjectivism and to take due note of the fact that the enemy will stop at nothing in his efforts to divide us, to block our path, and thereby safeguard his privileges. But we also know that if the Communists keep to a realistic path and rally the majority of the nation behind the working class, the working class can storm the skies.

The new five-year plan of the Soviet Union invigorates the

historic optimism of Communists and of the working class all over the world.

The contribution of the Soviet Union to the emancipation of man is versatile and great. But the most wonderful Soviet contribution is the building of communism. Communist construction will make the Soviet Union, that vast multinational country, a bulwark of peace and a fighter for the liberation of peoples, still more mighty. By their power and example, communist ideas will continue to exercise a truly decisive influence on the growth of political consciousness among millions upon millions of working people in all countries, inducing them to join the struggle.

Your successes always were, are and will be the successes of Communists and proletarians the world over!

Long live the new five-year plan of the Soviet Union!

Glory to the builders of communism!

Yankees get out of Vietnam!

Glory to the Vietnam fighters!

Long live the unity of anti-imperialist action by all Communist Parties and all revolutionary forces!

Long live peace and communism!

SPEECH BY COMRADE MAX REIMANN
First Secretary, Central Committee of the Communist Party of Germany

Dear Comrades, permit me to convey fraternal and militant greetings, and to wish your 23rd Congress success, on behalf of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Germany and all Communists of the Federal Republic of Germany.

We send hearty greetings to the great Soviet people, who are opening up their creative abilities to the full under the leadership of Lenin's Party and achieving new striking successes on their march to communism.

A most important stage along this glorious road is being ushered in by the five-year economic development plan of the USSR for 1966-70.

The targets set in this plan graphically reflect the superiority of the socialist system over capitalism; they are fresh proof of the big stake the population, Party and Government of the Soviet Union have in safeguarding and consolidating peace.

This plan is dealing a painful blow to anti-communism. At the same time, it is an inestimable support for all the progressive forces in the Federal Republic of Germany in their struggle for a national policy of peace, and promotes the establishment of mutual under-

standing and friendly relations with the Soviet Union. All these are vitally important questions for our people.

Never since the founding of the Federal Republic has the danger to European peace and security emanating from German imperialism and militarism been so obvious as at present. The West German arms monopolies and their government are giving increasing support to the dirty war waged by U.S. imperialism against the people of Vietnam. They hope that the United States will in return back their demand for access to atomic weapons, with the help of which they wish to revise the outcome of the Second World War and establish their dominance in Western Europe.

The so-called Erhard peace note is one of the expressions of this policy. It is intended to deceive the peoples by methods resembling those of Hitler, because the demands for access to atomic weapons, for a revision of borders and the abolition of the German Democratic Republic, are not being waived by it.

The entry of the Federal Republic into NATO has not yielded security to our population. On the contrary, it has resulted in a sense of insecurity and deepened the division of Germany. It would be in the interest of the security of our population for the Federal Republic of Germany to repugn atomic weapons, refuse prolonging the NATO agreement, and thus contribute to European security.

The estalishment of a system of European security, as suggested by Comrade Brezhnev in the CC Report, would relieve the tension in Europe, eliminate mistrust, establish good-neighbor relations and promote co-operation between states. At the same time, a detente would facilitate a rapprochement between the two German states and pave the way for reunification. This is why the proposals for limiting armaments, rejecting atomic weapons and establishing mutual understanding, made earlier this year by Comrade Walter Ulbricht, Chairman of the State Council of the GDR, are a big help to the peace-loving forces in the Federal Republic.

The aggressive policies of the West German monopolies and their government whet the contradictions within the country and are running into mounting opposition on the part of the working class and other sections of the population.

Trade unions, students, intellectuals and youth groups hold demonstrations and other actions of solidarity with Vietnam to express their protest against FRG participation in the U.S. aggression and call for a stop to the dirty war through the recognition of the Vietnamese people's right to self-determination.

At present, the trade unions, jointly wtih the progressive intelligentsia and all democratically-minded forces, are fighting for the preservation of the constitution against the Erhard government's demand of dictatorial powers in the shape of an extraordinary constitution. If they get these extraordinary powers, the ruling quar-

ters intend to wipe out the surviving democratic rights and freedoms in order to pursue unhampered a reactionary social policy and a policy of revenge.

In fighting for their social interests, 250,000 metalworkers laid down their tools for a time earlier this year in an effort to obtain a wage increase. Recently, 340,000 miners held protest demonstrations and warning strikes against the closure of pits and dismissals.

We Communists believe it is our main task to prevent a new war being started from the territory of the Federal Republic. This is the big responsibility of the working class and all the democratic forces of our country. This is why we strive to show the working class and the entire population by all our political actions the danger of German imperialism, the ways of achieving a peace policy, mutual understanding, democracy and social security. Whether or not we shall succeed in achieving a new policy consistent with the national interests of our people in the Federal Republic, depends first and foremost on the achievement of mutual understanding between the Communists and Social-Democrats. This is the point of departure in all our work.

Despite the persecution and banning of the Communist Party an increasing number of Communists make public talks to elucidate this alternative. This will convince an ever increasing section of the population that the policy of our Party accords with its vital interests and that the lifting of the ban on the Communist Party of Germany is a matter of the utmost urgency.

Dear comrades, the Communist and Workers' Parties shoulder great responsibility for averting a nuclear world war. As present, they face the urgent task of agreeing on joint actions to help the people of Vietnam in their just struggle against the U.S. imperialists, for national independence and self-determination. Today, this is the main and most sacred duty of those who believe in proletarian internationalism.

Our Party agrees with the view of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union that united action by all Communist and Workers' Parties in the struggle against imperialism, for peace, democracy, national independence and socialism, is quite possible and despite the existing differences. The joint decisions made in 1957 and 1960 are an excellent basis for cementing the unity of the world communist movement.

Long live the glorious Communist Party of the Soviet Union and its Leninist Central Committee!

Long live the unity and solidarity of the Communist and Workers' Parties on the basis of Marxism-Leninism!

Long live world peace!

GREETINGS
to the 23rd Congress CPSU
by Comrade Henry Winston—head of the fraternal delegation from the Communist Party of the United States of America

Comrades,

Our delegation is proud to bring greetings from the Communist Party of the United States to the 23rd Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, even though we bring them to this country whose policies are wholly in tune with history, from the United States—the citadel of world imperialism whose policies are totally at odds with history, we are proud nevertheless, because we are part of millions in that citadel who are fighting against those policies.

It is good to meet the representatives of so many other parties here on the soil of freedom. We look forward to the time when all can come together on the soil of my own country to speak about peace. The occasion for such a discussion is not far off. Our own National Convention will take place on June 22-26 of this year, and I want to take this occasion to extend a cordial invitation to every party represented here to send fraternal delegates to it.

The ruling imperialists of my country have defiled the nation's proud traditions in the dirt of a war of barbarous aggression against the people of Vietnam. Even as we sit here the defoliation-gas bombs are turning once green rice paddies into deserts, napalm bombs are turning homes into ashes, and warm, wonderful, beautiful people who love life and who have reverence for the rights of others, into corpses. These crimes of aggression which the U.S. imperialists so brazenly commit against Vietnam today, they committed against the Dominican Republic yesterday, and against Cuba the day before. They had a hand in the strangulation of the Congo, and the dagger in Ghana's heart has Washington's fingerprints on the handle.

We declare to our brothers and dear sisters of North and South Vietnam that we hold their struggle and our struggle to be parts of a single front against a common enemy.

The escalation of aggressive interventions against the national integrity and human rights of peoples in all corners of the earth has sharpened the dangers of the outbreak of the kind of war without bounds, the fear of which so haunts the peoples everywhere. "Whom the Gods would destroy they first make mad." The madness of U.S. imperialism consists in its attempting the impossible. Increasingly the peace and freedom-loving peoples are coming to understand the truth in what Comrade Brezhnev has said here—that colonialism, neocolonialism, stationing of invasion armies in

other people's lands, all this is against the judgment of history. All such practices are doomed to disappear now, in our times, from the world. Imperialism has not reprieve from this judgment—its practices are doomed.

Is there evidence that such a conclusion is sound? There is. Not only is it seen in the never-to-be-forgotten, matchless patriotism and heroism of the gallant people of Vietnam shedding a river of their live blood defending their homeland against the locust-plague of Green Berets; it is seen in the fact that U.S. imperialism is left alone—even by its bought-and-paid-for allies—to its military follies. No one of real substance stands with the U.S. imperialists in their napalm and defoliation war of genocide against the Vietnamese. But all men and women and youth in every land manifest a sympathy, and support in their hearts the just cause of the people of Vietnam. What is needed is a mightier unity of action on a world scale and in each country in opposition to the aggressive thrusts of U.S. imperialism in order to compel the aggressors to get out of that country which they have so ravished. As the Vietnam aggression that has added to the war tension in the relations between my country and all peace-loving nations worsens, so in the United States itself the struggles of the widest masses of the people sharpen against the administration policies responsible for this dishonorable destruction. Last weekend, 50,000 people paraded through the streets of New York in a militant demonstration to end the war in Vietnam, while in the country as a whole more than 100,000 demonstrated in the streets. Recently there have been days of public hearings, broadcast over the television, which saw the pressure of the people's peace movement force the Fulbright Committee to become a forum and a dialogue engaging millions in deepest commitment to the cause of seeking a way to get the troops back home from Vietnam and halt the war there. Women in America first hoisted high the banner of struggle against the Government's war policies. Now trade unionists by the thousands are coming out actively for an end to the war in Vietnam. The great Negro freedom movement, through a majority of its most outstanding personalities in leadership—the Rev. Martin Luther King, Nobel Peace Prize winner, Congressman Konyers, State Representative-elect Julian Bond—has locked step with the militant and widespread student movement in combined struggles for freedom from racist oppression and for peace in Vietnam.

In the midst of all these currents our Party, the Communist Party of the USA, initiates and participates in the building of the broadest unity of all strata who will come forth and fight to stop the war in Vietnam. Amidst the swirling current of the people's action against the war and against the economic sacrifices and political reaction that are its consequences at home, the Communists

are confidently at work at the head of a growing and widening social current born of the struggle for peace, freedom, democratic rights and economic security.

The policies of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union are policies in tune with the requirements of history. They are policies which will find a heartening welcome and response among all who seek for world peace and the progress of peoples. What was so profoundly set forth in the great report of the Central Committee of the CPSU presented by Comrade Brezhnev was also expressed in a slogan by Comrade Gus Hall when he said: "The struggle for unity can end only in a unity of struggle." We believe such stress on unity as Comrade Hall sloganized in these words, and which this Congress also stresses, is the key to unlock the door to victory for peace, progress, and socialism.

The unity of the world's peoples can bring victory to the cause of peace and national liberation. But peoples' unity can be built only on the basis of working-class—and above all—communist unity in accordance with the Declaration of 1957 and the Statement of 1960. Real proletarian internationalism, meaningful and effective unity, presupposes solidarity and friendship with the great Soviet people and the Party of Lenin. It is in such a spirit that I bring this letter to you from Gus Hall, the leader of our Party:

To the 23rd Congress of the CPSU

My warmest greeting to the 23rd Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, and to the people of the Soviet Union.

Your 23rd Congress will have important victories and new advances to record along the path of building a communist society. Your Congress will continue and further develop the victorious and historic policies set forth in the documents of the 20th and 22nd Congresses of your Party.

It is understandable why the Congress of the CPSU are such focal point of world attention. Your experiences are the very essence of mankind's most fundamental, most revolutionary turning point of all history. This is not just a transition from one economic and political system to another. What gives this transition its unique quality is that history is seeing the last of the systems based on man's exploitation of man, and Society is now solidly on the course towards the beautiful tomorrows where slavery, oppression and exploitation for private profit are ruled out. This is a transition to a new concept of man's relation with man. This is the epoch of the transition to a new way of life. To fully understand the meaning of this moment is to understand the nature of this qualitative leap to a new concept of life. This intense world-wide interest about your Congress, about your successes and your problems is a measure of mankind's growing and deep interest about this transition to

a new way of life. You, the people of the Soviet Union, have reached the furthest point along this path. You are pace-setters in building a life without exploitation for private profits. Yours is a Congress of the pioneers of this epochal transition to a new life.

Our heartiest congratulations for your achievements!

At this point in world affairs, at this stage in history, if one is to choose one key concept, one cardinal thought, one essential factor, that more than any other will determine all matters related to social progress, without question that concept would be summed up in one word: uniy. Unity in struggle. Unity of all anti-imperialist forces, unity of the world's forces for peace, unity in the ranks of the countries of socialism, unity in the ranks of the world's Marxist parties, unity in the ranks of the working class. All experiences of struggle, the successes and the failures, all cry for unity. This is the supreme need of the moment. The moulding of such unity is the most revolutionary task of this crucial hour. Unity in the ranks of the progressive forces has always been important—at this moment it is the critical element. Unity has always added a new quality to struggle. In the context of the present world relationship of forces, unity will add a new, compounding qualitative leap to the forces of revolutionary transition.

That which unites the ranks of the working class, the ranks of the anti-imperialist forces, the ranks of world Marxism, the ranks of world socialism, is basic, is everlasting. That which creates disunity in our ranks can only be transitory.

There are no self-interests of nations, peoples, classes or individuals that are in contradiction to the overall need of this moment —unity. The interests and progress of all is tied to unity. Unity of struggle is in the best self-interests of all forces of progress.

Unity is the key to the victory over U.S. imperialism in Vietnam. Unity is the key to national independence for all peoples. Unity is the key to all victories for socialism. Unity is the key to the speediest build-up and industrialization of the countries of socialism. Unity is the key to the struggles of the working class.

As the balance of forces has shifted against reaction, disunity in the ranks of the forces for progress has become an ever more important weapon for the forces of reaction. Disunity in the ranks of imperialism is now the lethal weapon of imperialism. Disunity in the ranks of world socialism has now become a deadly weapon in the hands of capitalism. Disunity in the ranks of the peace forces greatly encourages wars and aggression. Therefore, as you so well know, the factors weighing on the side of unity have to be carefully nurtured and promoted.

The experience of struggle, the experiences of life are now increasingly weighted on the side of unity. The successes and the failures have further prepared the soil for new steps toward unity.

The experiences of struggle are now developing a political atmosphere that repels all moves and acts of disunity. The struggle for the unity of the forces of progress is a struggle for Marxism-Leninism. Placing obstacles on the path of unity of the forces of anti-imperialism, socialism and progress is a rejection of Marxism-Leninism.

The struggle for unity is a struggle for proletarian internationalism. A rejection of unity in struggle is a rejection of proletarian internationalism.

The fighters against imperialism, the fighters for socialism the world over, judge all parties on how they line up on the key question of the struggle for unity.

New initiatives, new efforts for unity, must be never ending. The struggle for unity can end only in a unity of struggle.

We know these concepts are not new or foreign to you or to the CPSU. We only take advantage of this occasion to express our support, to express our sense of urgency for the concept of the struggle for unity.

I want to express my deep personal regrets that I am not able to be a guest at your historic Congress. Our Party is holding its first public convention since 1959 this coming June and we have just released the New Draft Program of our Party. This makes it impossible for me to leave at this time. However, I look with great pleasure and anticipation to my visit to the Soviet Union after our National Convention.

So please accept our most sincere congratulations, our deep sense of confidence that the CPSU will continue to lead the people of the Soviet Union in the building of the new communist society and thereby keep setting the pace in the transition to the new way of life.

Comradely yours,
Gus Hall, Communist Party of the USA

We Communists of the U.S. demand of the U.S. Government that it—

—Get out and stay out of Vietnam!

—Get out and stay out of the Dominican Republic!

—Stop intervention in Cuba and Latin America, in Africa and Asia!

Long live the Communist Party of the Soviet Union!

Long live the unity of the world Marxist movement, the only guarantee of victory!

Long live friendship between the American and Soviet people!

Long live Communism! Long live peace!

SPEECH BY COMRADE VICTORIO CODOVILLA
Chairman, Communist Party of Argentina

Dear Comrades, members of the Presidium and delegates to the 23rd Congress of the CPSU.

Each Congress of your glorious Party enriches us both theoretically and practically, helping us to develop the struggle of our people for national and social liberation. Comrade Brezhnev's report and the speeches of delegates resound like a paean to the Communist Party and its historic role in our days. The contain new propositions which will help us continue the struggle in the present-day conditions.

Allow me to convey to you warm greetings from the Central Committee of our Party and all Argentine Communists. We wish you full success in the swift building of the material and technical basis of communism and raising the material and cultural standards of the population.

Your successes are an important contribution to strengthening the unity of the socialist camp and the world Communist and working-class movement, to the struggle of the colonial and dependent peoples for freedom and independence, to the defence of peace.

The new five-year-economic development plan of your country has attracted the attention of the Argentine people and aroused their great interest. They well understand that the steady development of the mighty economy and the growth of the defence potential of your socialist country not only strengthen the world socialist community but also substantially raise the influence of Soviet foreign policy aimed at peaceful coexistence and delivering all the peoples from the threat of a thermonuclear disaster. The Argentine people likewise know that fulfilment of this plan will make it possible to increase the steadily expanding assistance rendered by the Soviet Union both to the peoples who have already won independence and started to build a new life and to the peoples who are selflessly fighting for their freedom. All the peoples of the world and your people know very well that imperialism means war, while socialism means peace. This is strikingly confirmed by the role the Soviet Union has played in arranging the Tashkent Conference.

As pointed out in Comrade Brezhnev's meaningful report, the 23rd CPSU Congress is being held in an exceedingly tense international situation, amidst the growing aggressiveness of the United States in Asia, Africa, Latin America and Western Europe. At present the main seat of war created by the Pentagon pirates is Vietnam. Consequently, it is correct ot regard solidarity with Vietnam as the most burning question of the day. All peoples, all supporters of freedom and national independence, are deeply grateful

to the CPSU and the Soviet Government for the all-round assistance they are giving to the heroic Vietnamese people.

As for Argentina, I am in a position to inform you that our Party is developing in every way the popular movement for moral and material support to the heroic Vietnamese people. It considers solidarity with Vietnam a matter of honor for itself, for our working class and our entire people.

A broad united movement in support of Vietnam has been created in Argentina, in which Communists, Peronists, Socialists, Democrats, Radicals and representatives of other political and social trends are taking part. Relying on mass movements, we seek to prevent the shipment of food designated for the North American aggressors and their Saigon puppets. I take pleasure in informing you that the dockers of our country have resolutely refused to load wheat for shipment to South Vietnam, and that the Congress of the Argentine Federation of Agricultural Workers, uniting about one million people, branded the imperialist U.S. aggression against Vietnam and voiced its solidarity with the heroic Vietnamese people. The Congress came out against the sending of Argentine troops to Vietnam and enthusiastically supported the dockers' decision not to load a single grain of wheat.

The North American imperialists are pressing the government of our country to send to Vietnam our soldiers who will be included in the interventionist troops. But this is not an easy thing for them to do because the working class and he Argentine people respect their glorious traditions. The militant action of workers, students and our entire people last year frustrated the sending of troops to the Dominican Republic. There is no doubt whatever that today, just as at that time, joint action of the working class and the entire people will prevent the sending of Argentine troops to Vietnam.

Comrades, you know that the aggressive policy of North American imperialism and the brazen actions of the international reactionary forces are arousing the resistance and spurring on the struggle of the peoples for their vital economic, social and political demands, for peace, democracy, national independence and socialism. This has also been confirmed by the Tri-Continental Solidarity Conference.

Two main features stand out in the present situation in Argentina. On the one hand, it is the mounting offensive of the landowner oligarchy, foreign monopolies, primarily North American, and the big compradore bourgeoisie on the living standard and labor conditions of the working class and all the other working people, an offensive on the few remaining democratic freedoms and on the country's economic and political independence. On the other hand, there is the constantly increasing struggle of the masses for

their urgent economic and social demands, for democratic freedoms, national liberation and peace.

Never has the class struggle in our country been so keen as today. In 1965, about 8 million working people took part in strikes and other actions. They have also launched a wide struggle against police repressions. It should be stressed that the working people increasingly combine the economic struggle with struggle for political demands.

In the course of strikes, peasant and student actions and also other mass actions, a united front of Communists, Peronists, Socialists, Christian Democrats, Radicals and representatives of other national political trends, is being created on initiative from below and also in many cases from above.

Contrary to the desire of the imperialist monopolies and internal reactionary elements to preserve the split in the trade union movement, our Party is concentrating all its efforts on attaining its uniy. It is doing everything to help the organized working class play an increasing part in the country's political life. We strive to wrest the working class from the influence of bourgeois-nationalist ideology imposed on it by Peronism, to educate workers in the spirit of proletarian, Marxist-Leninist ideology. For this purpose we are publishing and spreading the works of the classics of Marxism-Leninism. We have published the complete works of Lenin in Spanish translation for the first time in Latin America.

Our Party is consistently applying a policy of unity. That is why it is helping to create and develop mass proletarian and popular movements, is seeking to merge them in a single stream in the struggle against imperialism, above all against Yankee imperialism. We are convinced that in the course of the struggle the trade union, peasant, student and other mass movements will unite in a mighty national democratic front against the oligarchy and imperialism, a front in defense of peace. This front will subsequently serve as the basis for creating a truly democratic people's government.

"Through action of the masses to winning power!" such is the slogan of our Party. This aim can be achieved in a peaceful and in a non-peaceful way. The offensive of the North American imperialists and their agents in the working class and the people may turn into a guerrilla coup. That is why sharp changes of the situation within the country are not precluded, and this will require a change-over from one form of the struggle to another. Whatever path the Argentine revolutionary movement takes the main thing in it is always action of the masses.

We regard the constant growth of the ranks of the Party, its organizational consolidation and politcal advance of its members as a guarantee of our victory. We are guided by Lenin's tried and

tested doctrine concerning the Party and its role in the revolution. We reject the anti-Leninist views of some petty-bourgeois ideologists who deny or belittle the role of the Party. In these questions, too, we are combating subjectivism and voluntarism.

We hold that, alongside the common principal features inherent in all countries fighting against imperialism, there are considerable economic, political, cultural and historical distinctions between them, which the Marxist-Leninist Parties must bear in mind, elaborating their policy and tactics. Thus, the tactics and forms of struggle cannot be the same in all the Latin American countries.

Comrades, as Comrade Brezhnev stated in his report, today, in face of imperialism's mounting aggressiveness, unity of the world communist and working-class movement is necessary more than ever before. It is impossible to understand how people who consider themselves Marxist-Leninists can fail to contribute to this aim. That is why we Argentine Communists support and welcome the patient policy pursued by the CPSU with the object of eliminating the differences which have arisen in the socialist camp and in the international communist movement and which our enemies are seeking to exploit. To eliminate the differences and avoid their disastrous consequences, we call for the holding of another international conference of representatives of the Communist and Workers' Parties.

Long live the unity of the world communist and working-class movement on the basis of Marxism-Leninism!

Long live the Soviet Union which in the near future will observe its glorious 50th anniversary!

Hail the 23rd Congress of the heroic Communist Party of the Soviet Union!

Long live the unbreakable friendship of the Communist Parties of the Soviet Union and Argentina!

Long live Leninism!

SPEECH BY COMRADE RICHARD DIXON
Chairman, CC, Communist Party of Australia

On behalf of the Communist Party of Australia our delegation brings to the 23rd Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union warm greetings and cordial feelings of solidarity.

We rejoice with you in your outstanding achievements in the economic and cultural development of the Soviet Union, the improvements in living standards, and the inspiring perspectives of the new five-year plan.

We are confident that the 23rd Congress will be another milestone in the progress of the Soviet people towards communism.

The economic growth of the Soviet Union, the strengthening of its defense capacity and its peaceful foreign policy are major factors helping to restrain the aggressiveness of the imperialists.

The working people of Australia welcomed the initiative of the Soviet Union in securing a peaceful settlement of the India-Pakistan conflict. It was an impressive demonstration of the peaceful aims of the Soviet Union and the correctness of the policy of peaceful coexistence.

The Tashkent agreement stands out in sharp contrast to the brutal aggression of U.S. imperialism in South Vietnam and its bombing of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam.

Our Party believes that it is essential to build the solidarity of the socialist countries, of the Communist Parties and of all peace supporters throughout the world in support of the heroic struggle of the people of Vietnam, for their independence, for the right to live their own lives and decide their own future.

This has a particular importance for us in Australia because we live in the Southeast Asian region and because our government and ruling class are joined with U.S. imperialism in the war in Vietnam.

The Australian Government recently decided to treble Australian forces in Vietnam and also, for the first time, to send military conscripts. In taking this decision the government bowed to United States pressure and has betrayed the vital national interests of our country.

The war policy of the Australian Government directed against the national liberation movements of Asia has imposed growing burdens on the Australian people. Monopoly profits, increasing war expenditure and rising prices are undermining the security and living standards of the people. As a result a powerful strike movement has developed embracing industrial and whitecollar workers, and there is a marked growth of unity among the workers.

The Communist Party has waged a consistent struggle for peace.

Nowhere is this more important than in the long struggle we have waged and are still waging for the withdrawal of U.S. and Australian troops from Vietnam, and for a peace that will ensure independence for Vietnam and all the peoples of Southeast Asia.

There is taking place in Australia a sustained and broad struggle against the dirty war in Vietnam, and powerful forces of the people are involved.

The Australian Labor Party and the trade union movement condemn the war and demand the withdrawal of Australian troops. Intellectuals, church leaders, students, youth organizations and women have come into the struggle and many new forces have

emerged to oppose the Government's decision to send conscripted soldiers to Vietnam.

The most important feature of the situation in our country is that all the main organizations of the working-clas movement oppose the Government's policy and demand the withdrawal of Australian troops from Vietnam.

The fight for peace is developing at various levels and for a variety of objectives. But all these trends are moving into a single stream of opposition to the war policy of the ruling class. This movement, objectively, is part of the world struggle against imperialism.

In defending independence and peace in Vietnam we are defending also our own national independence and world peace: we are defending them against those who seek to turn our people against the national liberation movements of Asia, and make Australia an accomplice in the crime of aggression in Vietnam. Like all Communists in capitalist countries we regard it as our highest and most sacred international duty to assist in building a mighty mass movement that will be strong enough ot force the imperialists to cease their aggression against the Vietnamese people.

In the working-class movement unity in action is growing and this is giving a new surge forward to the struggle of the people.

The flames of war are spreading across the whole of Southeast Asia and threaten to engulf the world. New military bases are being established in the Western Pacific and Indian oceans. The United States, Britain and France have brought nuclear armaments into the region. The struggle against the proliferation of nuclear weapons in the southern hemisphere has become a big politcal issue in Australia.

We are convinced that the U.S. imperialists have taken advantage of the division in the socialist camp in escalating the war in Vietnam.

Our Party welcomed the initiative taken by the CPSU to establish the solidarity of the socialist countries and to render political and material support to the people of Vietnam. To hinder this solidarity in the present conditons is in conflict with the fundamental needs and interests of all peoples, of the socialist countries, of the national liberation movements and of all who stand for peace.

The unity of the world Communist movement on the principled basis of Marxism-Leninism and the decisions of the 1957 and 1960 Moscow Conferences is essential in the struggle for peace and socialism.

We support the principle that all parties are independent and equal and we are against interference in the internal affairs of other parties.

Those who violate these great principles and denounce all who defend them as revisionist interfered in our internal affairs and tried to split the Party. We met this challenge and defeated it. Today the tiny group of splitters are isolated from the advanced workers and intellectuals in Australia and are of no political consequence. The Communist Party of Australia, however, is firmly united and is stronger politically and numerically and has closer ties with the people than before the attempt to divide our ranks.

Our Party welcomes the positive proposals and measures of the CPSU directed at restoring unity of the world communist movement. We declare our solidarity with the CPSU. We are resolved to continue working together with our brother Parties, for world Communist unity.

We wish the Communist Party and the peoples of the Soviet Union every success. We are confident that the 23rd Congress will lead to new and mighty victories for socialism and peace.

Long live the great Communist Party of the Soviet Union!

SPEECH BY COMRADE KOSTAS KOLIYANNIS
First Secretary of the Central Committee, Communist Party of Greece

Dear Comrades, permit me on behalf of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Greece and all the Communists of our country to extend cordial greetings to the delegates to your 23rd Congress, to all the Communists of the Soviet Union and to the great Soviet people.

The signal successes scored by the Soviet people under the leadership of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union in laying the foundations of communist society, in working for a swift advance of your country's economy, the remarkable achievements of Soviet science and technology are a decisive contribution to strengthening the socialist community, to consolidating the forces of peace and progress throughout the world. The new five-year economic development plan, the draft of which is being examined by the 23rd Congress, opens up new heartening prospects for further advancing the Soviet people's well-being, augmenting the might of the Soviet Union and increasing its influence. It will multiply the energies and courage of all the people, including the working people of our country who are waging a difficult fight for democracy, peace and social progress.

Dear Comrades, the situation in our country is involved and

contradictory. The crisis which broke out as a result of the palace coup in July 1965 continues.

In an attempt to interrupt the process of democratization, initiated by the struggle of our people, and to revert the country's political development, the forces of the plutocratic oligarchy, together with the American imperialists, have made a coup, overthrown the legitimate government and are trying to impose an undisguised military dictatorship on the country. The new drive on the people's democratic freedoms is a link in the chain of aggressive actions by U.S. imperialism. These actions are developing chiefly in Vietnam, they are taking place in all of Southeast Asia, South America, Africa and some areas of Europe.

Closely linked with these actions are the schemes of the American imperialists who want to inveigle Greece in the dirty war in Vietnam and to have the Cyprus question settled in the interests of NATO, contrary to the aspirations and the will of the people of Cyprus. They want to reinforce their military, economic and political positions in the Eastern Mediterranean and to exacerbate the situation in the Balkan Peninsula. Simultaneously, they aim to bolster up the police regime in Greece, to strike a blow at the democratic movement, and to preserve and strengthen the domination of the foreign and local monopolies in our country.

Though they employ all means at their disposal, the reactionary elements have not succeeded in achieving their ends, but they have not abandoned their attempts to revive the civil war regime which the people have rejcted by their struggle. The reactionaries are stepping up the drive on the living standard of the working people. The most powerful and broad movement in the country in postwar years has surged against the July coup and assumed a profound, organized and militant character. Not only the Left forces, but also the Union of the Center has come out against the coup. Together they represent the overwhelming majority of the Greek people. A powerful united front of mass action from below is fighting against the measures and plans of the foreign and local reactionaries.

Numerous demonstrations and meetings have been organized in Athens and all over the country to foil the plans of the reactionaries and defend the constitutional and democratic freedoms. These demonstrations and meetings, in which hundreds of thousands of peoples have participated, have been connected with the wide strikes of the working class and other sections of the urban population in support of their specific demands and with militant action of the peasantry. In 1965, the number of strikers reached 1.4 million. The strike movement continues to grow this year, too. In the first three months of 1966, about 300,000 people took part in strikes.

The main aim of the reactionaries has been, and remains, to isolate the Communist Party of Greece and the United Democratic Left Party (EDA), and to strike a blow at them. Instead, the prestige and influence of our Party and the EDA have risen. The Communist Party and the EDA are exposing the dictatorial anti-national plans of the reactionaries and indicating a democratic way out of the present abnormal situation: they are the organizers and the moving spirit of the people's struggle. The struggle of the Communists for the interests of the people, of the nation, the correctness of our Party's line and the people's own experience gained in the course of the recent events have convinced the masses of the need to intensify the struggle for legalizing the Communist Party as an indispensable requisite for the country's democratization and progress.

Comrades, the tragic episode in Palomares has served as an impulse to launching a powerful movement for the renunciation of nuclear weapons by Greece, for the closing of American military bases on Greek territory. This struggle is now creating favorable prerequisites for uniting broad social forces in an anti-monopoly and anti-imperialist front.

The struggle of the democratic forces for a democratic way out of the crisis, naturally, will be difficult. But the popular, democratic movement is a powerful factor. Despite the exertions of the organizers of the coup, the movement has preserved its effectiveness and mass scale. Our people by their struggle are capable of foiling the plans of reaction and compelling it to respect their national sovereignty and to restore normal democratic development through free elections.

Comrades, the Greek people who have repeatedly experienced armed imperialist intervention and its disastrous consequences thoroughly understand the significance of the Vietnamese people's heroic struggle and wholeheartedly express their warmest sympathies and solidarity with them and are fighting by every means against American imperialist intervention in Vietnam.

The Communist Party of Greece is vitally interested in the unity of the international Communist movement and highly values the efforts which the Communist Party of the Soviet Union has exerted, and is exerting, along these lines. Our Party is dedicating all its efforts to promoting the cohesion of the world communist movement on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and the jointly elaborated line of the Moscow Meetings in 1957 and 1960. Our Party regards as a pressing necessity joint action by all the Communist Parties in order to render more effective aid to the heroic Vietnamese people, fighting the aggression of U.S. imperialism.

Dear comrades, the 23rd Congress of the CPSU is discussing today a detailed report on the achievements of your country in

all spheres of life and is mapping out new historic tasks for the further development of USSR along the road of building communist society. The Congress decisions will be of great importance for the future of the Soviet people and of the international communist movement, including our Party. These decisions will serve as a well-spring of optimism and strength in the struggle for democracy, peace and social progress.

We wholeheartedly wish your Congress success in its work and fruitful and constructive implementation of its decisions!

Long live the Party of Lenin, the tried and tested Communist Party of the Soviet Union!

Long live friendship between the Greek and the Soviet peoples!

Long live peace and friendship among all the peoples of the world!

SPEECH BY COMRADE RODNEY ARISMENDI
First Secretary of the Central Committee, Communist Party of Uruguay

Comrades,

Comrades, representing the heroic Vietnamese people,

Comrades, representing the fraternal Parties,

We convey to the 23rd Congress of the CPSU warm greetings from the Communist Party of Uruguay. From its very inception our Party has learned to identify proletarian internationalism with friendship with the Party of Lenin, with defence of the Soviet Union.

Could not one but be deeply moved when Comrades Brezhnev spoke in his Report about the approaching 50th anniversary of the victory of the Socialist Revolution!

How significant and at the same time difficult has been the traversed path: the socialist revolution, the civil war and foreign intervention, famine and blockade, the building of socialism, the history-making victory over nazism, the birth of the world socialist system, the tempestuous advance of the movement of the peoples in the colonies and dependent countries and, last but not least, the laying of the foundations of communism amidst the scientific and technical revolution of our time. And simultaneously the ideological victory of Marxism-Leninism, embodied in the rise of Communist Parties all over the world. This epopee, not being extolled yet in all its grandeur, is the heroic creation of the entire international working-class movement. But the main character of this epopee is your people, the people of the Great October Revolution, and your Party, the Party of Lenin.

This glorious history cannot be arbitrarily divided into parts; all of it in its entirety embodies the revolution of our age, the rise of the bright future over the filth and blood of capitalism and feudalism, the march along untrodden paths of communism by people who have forever ended the "pre-history of human society," as Marx foresaw it. And when we beheld the triumphant march of the seven-year targets and, following them, the figures of the new five-year plan, our hearts were filled with communist pride and confidence in final victory. These figures mirror the tasks of remaking nature and history by the new man; they also demonstrate the tremendous international significance of the new plan.

The pace of advance set by the Soviet Union strengthens world peace, reinforces its might, which is the shield protecting the newly-free peoples; it further extends a fraternal hand to the peoples performing the heroic exploit of liberation, it intensifies the penetration of our ideas in the mind of the overwhelming majority of mankind. Each figure in your plan is a hammer blow at imperialism, is a lodestar to the working class and all the oppressed of the world; it promotes fresh successes of democracy, national liberation and socialism.

It is perfectly clear that this road, already illumined by the sun of victory, is not an easy one. Hard and cruel battles lie ahead of us. Struggle for world peace, which is struggle for peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems, is inseparable, as Comrade Brezhnev firmly declared, from struggle against American aggression in Vietnam, for discontinuation of the blockade of Cuba and intervention in the Dominican Republic and other areas, for the elimination of the war threats in the very heart of Europe and of aggresison against independent African states.

That is why unity of the socialist camp and the world communist movement is the key to victory today more than ever before. The split nurtures the aggressiveness of U.S. imperialism and the malice of all our enemies. For this reason we warmly acclaim the efforts of the CPSU and its Central Committee aimed at clearing the path to unity, acclaim the constructive stand of the 23rd Congress and its sense of responsibility and calmness displayed in approaching this question.

Who can cite at least one convincing argument against the need for unity?

This truth is impresesd on our minds by napalm, poison gas and the brutal actions of the U.S. Marines who are searing and lacerating Vietnam, by the threats to Korea and Cuba, the victims in Stanleyville and Santo Domingo, the intrigues of American imperialism in Asia, Africa and Latin America and by the nuclear threat in the heart of Europe.

Perhaps there are theoretical or policy statements which would

be an obstacle to unity? The 1957 Declaration and 1960 Statement furnish an answer to this question.

Perhaps it is a matter of tactical differences? But since when can renunciation of united action against a common enemy serve as proof of wisdom?

All the advice of Marx, Engels and Lenin favors united action, and so does even common sense of the ordinary man. But today in essence this unity against imperialism expresses the historical content of the revolution of our epoch, which links together socialism with the democratic and national liberation struggle and embraces the entire range of the democratic and anti-imperialist movement. This has also been confirmed by the recent Tri-Continental Solidarity Conference.

But in addition we also have methods, envisaged at the time by our entire movement, for the attainment of fraternity in the struggle and in the joint elaboration of ideological and political problems: bilateral meetings of Parties, international conferences, multilateral agreements between Parties on joint action.

It is said at times that should a big war break out against the Soviet Union this unity would arise of itself. A strange argument! Are not assistance to Vietnam and defeat of aggression worthy of this unity? Is a nuclear war, and not the need to bar the road to such a war, the only reason for justifying unity of the socialist camp and the world Communist movement?

The answer is self-evident. The forging of this unity is today the chief and imperative task of our entire movement.

Comrades, Latin America has vigorously entered the scene of the world liberation struggle. The Cuban Revolution has ushered in a new stage in the liberation movement of our peoples. An arduous struggle is being waged today in all our countries, in which the working class and all the patriotic, democratic forces stand opposed to Yankee imperialism and its henchmen; they are uniting in support of national independence, democracy, land reform and the people's improved living standard. All this attests to the development of the revolutionary process despite the frenzied counter-offensive of U.S. imperialism, which has intervened in the Dominican Republic, organizes reactionary coups, uses the threat of intervention and violence by its "inter-American force" and finances cruel tyrannies which are throwing into prison and killing patriots and militant workers. And all this notwithstanding, we are passing through a stage of transition to great revolutionary battles.

The outrageous actions of the Yankees are narrowing down the social and ideological basis of their domination and impelling our peoples to the broadest unity in upholding their right to self-determination.

Throughout our continent, the peoples are engaged in struggle,

utilizing all its methods, combining them simultaneously or alternately, depending on the circumstances—legal or illegal, action in parliament or outside of it, rebel action or guerrilla warfare and deep-going, systematic work of accumulating forces for decisive battles. As the struggle extends the peoples are overcoming the stereotyped counterposing of different forms of struggle in order to avoid lapsing into either opportunism or adventurism and to put to the foreground the Leninist precept which lays at the basis of our tactics the mobilization of the masses and demands the mastery of all forms of struggle in conformity with the circumstances.

The Uruguayan people headed by the working class are attaining growing unity and ever greater maturity. Tribute should be paid to their actions in defense of the freedoms, their struggle for a positive program for resolving the present crisis, for solidarity with Cuba, the Dominican Republic, Vietnam and other countries. By their militant action they have resisted the danger of military coups and today are trying to find a way to a better alignment of the political forces in the country. In view of the constant actions by the working class and the people the American imperialists and their agents shout that this, you see, is a result of intervention by the Soviet Union and Cuba in the country's internal affairs, Such slanderous statements can be made only by pinheaded people accustomed to get orders from abroad. Several general strikes in Uruguay and numerous mass actions by the working class, students, civil servants, teachers, etc., have been caused by their patriotic sentiments and concern for resolving the crisis in a democratic way. The spirit of our national hero Artigas is leading our people to demonstrations in front of the U.S. Embassy or to hoisting on its building the flag of the South Vietnam National Liberation Front.

Neither slander nor repressions can any longer stifle the voices of freedom, solidarity, patriotism, democracy and social progress.

Comrades, in reply to imperialism's provocations allow me from this rostrum to declarde on top of my voice in the name of the Communist Party of Uruguay:

Long live friendship between the peoples of Uruguay and the Soviet Union!

Hail the 23rd Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union!

SPEECH BY COMRADE VILLE PESSI
General Secretary, Communist Party of Finland

Dear Comrades, on behalf of the Central Committee of our Party and all Finnish comrades, our delegation is happy to convery warm greetings to the 23rd Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and wishes of success in communist construction to you and the whole Soviet people.

The cooperation of our Parties and the fraternal ties between them are based on the glorious traditions of the joint struggle of the Finnish and Russian working-class movement against the oppression of tsarism, for the freedom of our peoples. Lenin, the founder of the CPSU, and the finest sons of the Finnish people stood together in the early days of this struggle and friendship. Today, too, we are joined by a sense of solidarity in the struggle for common goals. We have noted that after the 20th Congress of the CPSU, particularly in the last few years, the friendship and cooperation of our Parties have become still closer and still more enduring.

The Communists of Finland, and broad sections of the Finnish people, follow the work of your Congress with interest and are looking forward to its decisions. The people in Finland appreciate the great importance of these decisions not only for communist construction in the Soviet Union, but also for international development as a whole.

We express our gratitude to the CPSU and the Soviet Government for their consistent policy of peace, which is of the utmost importance for all mankind. This policy, we see, is being reasserted and further developed at your Congress. Everything done in the Soviet Union for the further advancement of the economy, improvement of the living standard, development of culture and science, and space exploration, has a tremendous effect on the success of the struggle waged by the Communists of the world. Every victory you score is a victory of all the forces championing socialism.

Permit me to refer briefly to the situation in Finland. The recent parliamentary elections revealed the growing discontent of the Finnish people with the bourgeois economic and domestic policy. The Left forces won a majority in the parliament at these elections. Pre-conditions have appeared for far-reaching reforms in the interest of the working people. But this depends to a decisive degree on whether or not the working-class parties will establish unity of action to a sufficient extent. The role of the Communist Party and of the entire people's democratic movement

has increased considerably as a result of the elections. This is indicated, among other things, by the fact that the question of Communists participating in the government now being formed was raised more seriously than ever since 1948. It is clear that nothing but a united front of the workers, of all the democratic forces, and of the parties that represent them, can ensure the implementation of the changes demanded by the electorate and pave the way for a democratic alternative to the policy protecting the interests of big capital, pursued until now in Finland.

Two months ago, our Party held its 14th Congress. The Congress adopted a comprehensive program of economic and social changes for the immediate period ahead, which we have brought forward as a counterweight to the policy of the bourgeois parties. The program also contains a number of proposals to extend economic, scientific and technical cooperation between Finland and the Soviet Union. As a result of the negotiations held in recent years between the leadership of our Party and that of the CPSU we have been able to further the cooperation between the Communist Parties of Finland and the Soviet Union, based on complete equality and mutual understanding, has, therefore, acquired immense importance not only for our Party, but also for the whole Finnish nation.

Finnish-Soviet relations are becoming better each year. The policy of friendship with the Soviet Union, followed in the two postwar decades, has the full approval of the people of Finland and has become the country's official line. Today, as your Congress does its work, the 18th anniversary of the Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation and Mutual Assistance between the Soviet Union and the Republic of Finland is being marked in Finland and the USSR. The people of Finland appreciate the relations of friendship and confidence that prevail between our countries and correspond to the interest of both nations. We welcome the coming official visit to our country in June this year of Comrade Kosygin, Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR.

Like the other peoples of the world, the people of Finland strongly condemn the U.S. imperialist aggression in Vietnam. Our Party protests vehemently against this brazen aggression and declares its complete solidarity with the heroic struggle of the Vietnamese people. We are also troubled by the recent developments in Indonesia and Africa. West German revanchism and militarism, which have grown more active, present a serious danger to peace.

We know that the unity of the world Communist movement and all the progressive forces, their cooperation in the struggle against imperialism, are more necessary than ever in the present situation. For its part, our Party is ready to do everything in its

power for the unity of the world Communist movement. We stand by the general line of the Communist and Workers' Parties set out in the fundamental propositions of the 1957 and 1960 documents of the Moscow Meetings.

We, the members of the delegation of the Finnish Communist Party, thank you for the opportunity to attend your historic Congress. We know that you, too, a Party of victorious socialism, have a number of problems stemming from the complexities of the international situation and from the scale and complexity of communist construction. However, knowing full well the glorious path traversed by Lenin's Party, the Party of the Great October Socialist Revolution, knowing it to be experienced and tempered, knowing its devotion and loyalty to the communist cause, we are certain that the decisions of the 23rd Congress of the CPSU will be successfully fulfilled in the name of the happiness of the Soviet people and all mankind.

Long live the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Soviet people, which is buillding communism!

Long live the friendship and cooperation between the peoples of Finland and the Soviet Union!

Long live Marxism-Leninism!

SPEECH BY COMRADE ALVARO CUNHAL
General Secretary, Communist Party of Portugal

Dear Comrades, on behalf of all the members of the Party and the Portuguese working class, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Portugal sends the warmest fraternal greetings to the 23rd Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Unior and wishes it every success in its work. Through you, comrades we hail the Communists, the Soviet people, joined together by their common goal—the building of the material and technical basis of communism. Not only does it connote the material and cultural uplift of the Soviet people; it is also a decisive contribution to the consolidation of the whole socialist camp, the maintenance of peace and the victory of the proletariat and of the people still languishing under the imperialist boot.

From the rostrum of this Congress we hail the Soviet social and political system, the most advanced and progressive society on earth, a society where democracy has been broadly and exhaustively developed, where the economy, social life, culture, science and technology are in full flower.

From the rostrum of this Congress we hail the Party that has

by its historic achievement, its experience and example, lit the way for the struggle of Communists and workers of all countries. Today, 48 years after the Great October Socialist Revolution, your Party still stands in the van of the world Communist movement.

We hail from this rostrum the everlasting spirit of internationalism of Lenin's Party and the Soviet people, and the tremendous and generous assistance rendered by the Soviet Union to the peoples struggling against capitalist exploitation and oppression, against a national and colonial enslavement, against imperialist aggression. By hailing the 23rd Congress of the CPSU we hail the chief and indestructible stronghold of world revolution.

From the rostrum of the 23rd Congress we hail the activity of the Soviet Union, which is of crucial importance for the maintenance of peace and the Leninist policy of peaceful coexistence between states with different social systems, that is creating a favorable climate for the struggle of the working people, of all the nations, for democracy, national independence and socialism.

The Communist Party of Portugal was founded 45 years ago. This historic event in the life and struggle of the Portuguese working class is bound up intimately with the victory of the October Revolution, the successes of Lenin's Party. We are proud that today the relations between the Communist Party of Portugal and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union are closer and more fraternal than ever in those 45 years.

For as many as 40 years, the Portuguese peopple have been languishing under a fascist dictatorship. They have been deprived of the elementary freedoms. They are being exploited by a handful of monopolists, latifundistas and by foreign imperialists. For 40 years our Party has been compelled to function in the most severe conditions of the underground. For all this, we have recently held the 6th Congress of our Party. We believe that despite working underground, it is necessary to the greatest possible extent to employ democratic methods in Party work to the Party. Party's governing bodies must account for their work to the Party. When holding our underground congress, we received the friendly greetings of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union with immense enthusiasm; this gave us fresh strength. And today, we convey the greetings of the Portuguese Communists to your Congress in the great country of triumphant socialism. This is evidence of the indestructible friendship that prevails between our two parties.

Our Party and people are faced today with a most responsible mission, that of extirpating the fascist dictatorship, winning democratic freedoms and paving the way to democracy, progress

and national independence. We are fighting for a democratic and national revolution, which accords with the interests of the laboring classes and the entire Portuguese nation. At the same time, acting on our internationalist duty, we are also fighting, and will continue to fight tirelessly, against the colonialist policy of the Salazar government, against the disgraceful colonial war. We support, and will continue to support, to the full extent of our ability, the just struggle of liberation waged by the fraternal peoples of Angola, Guinea, Mozambique and othe other Portuguese colonies.

Our struggle is hard and arduous. Repressions are continuously showered upon the people and the democratic forces. The Communists are cruelly persecuted, arrested, tortured and killed. Many of our best Communists are languishing in fascist prisons. But we are certain that our Party, steeled in 40 years of underground struggle and extensively supported by the people, will perform its duty to the working class and the national anti-fascist movement honorably.

We shall fight on tirelessly for united action and solidarity among all the democratic and patriotic forces, for the expansion and intensification of the people's struggle. This is essential, in order to set the stage for a decisive battle against the fascist dictatorship. We shall do it, too. Portugal will deliver herself from fascism. The people of Portugal will win freedom.

Comrades, the great events in the Soviet Union affect the life of the whole world. This is why the important decisions of the 23rd Congress of the CPSU will have immense international impact. But the Congress is also tremendously important by virtue of the fact that so many delegations from fraternal parties are represented at it. This is a striking demonstration of the fraternal bonds between Lenin's great Party and the Marxist-Leninists, of the enduring bonds of friendship in the international family of Communists.

Allow me, comrades, from the rostrum of this Congress to hail all the fraternal Communist Parties and declare the firm resolve of our Party to do everything in its power to cement our bonds of friendship and cooperation.

We assure the Vietnamese comrades of our full support and solidarity. We are certain that their sacrifice will be crowned by complete victory.

Your Congress has gathered at a historic time when the forces of socialism and peace are imbued with faith in the future. But the struggle will not be easy. The criminal aggressive war fought by the United States against the glorious people of Vietnam, the acts of aggression against other nations, the wholesale carnage

unleashed against our brothers in Indonesia and the reactionary coups in some of the Asian, African and Latin American countries confront the anti-imperialist forces of the world, and particularly the Communist and Workers' Parties, with the task of closing their ranks and ensuring united action against the common enemy. Unity of all the parties, based on the principles of their independence and equality, their close contact and collaboration with the Party that stands at the head of the Soviet Union, the stronghold of world revolution, have never been more necessary than today in order to secure the victory of our common cause.

Long live the heroic Soviet people and the glorious Communist Party of the Soviet Union!

Long live the friendship and cooperation of the Communist Parties of the world and united action by all the revolutionary and anti-imperialist forces!

The future of the world belongs to communism!

United, we shall win!

SPEECH BY COMRADE LEBADI
Chairman, South African Communist Party

Comrades, I have the honor to convey to the 23rd Congress of the CPSU the following message of greeting from the Central Committee of the South African Communist Party.

Dear Comrades,

We send our warm fraternal greetings to your Congress.

The Communist Party of the Soviet Union will always hold a special place in the esteem and affection of working people, of fighters for socialism and national freedom, in all countries.

It was your Party, the Party of Lenin, which led the masses of working people to overthrow the rule of the capitalists and landlords in the Great October Socialist Revolution and to pioneer the historic forward march of mankind to the stage of socialism and communism. Marxist-Leninist leadership unleashed the creative labor and enthusiasm of the masses and enabled them to defeat internal reaction and foreign intervention; to transform once backward Russia to the front rank of world powers; to meet and vanquish the fascist invasion and thus save the world from the horror of a return to the dark ages.

These historic achievements laid the basis for the advance to socialism in fourteen countries, comprising a third of the world's population, and for striking advances in the continuing struggle of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Central and South America

against imperialism, for national freedom and independence.

Your Congress is meeting at a time of a ruthless and dangerous counter-attack by the international forces of imperialism and reaction, against peace and against the peoples everywhere. The imperialists have launched a savage war of extermination against the peoples of South Vietnam and committed brazen acts of aggression against the Democratic Republic of Vietnam. They are instigating and backing reactionary internal forces in counter-revolutionary offensives and military putsches in a number of African and Asian newly-independent countries. They seek to wipe out the gains of the Asian and African revolutions, to incite waves of anti-communist hysteria, and to re-establish in new forms colonial domination over the peoples who have won their independence. They threaten the world with the horrors of nuclear, gas and germ warfare.

The peoples are not submitting to these terroristic actions and threats. The heroic Vietnamese resistance is an inspiration to all freedom-loving people. In Angola, Mozambique and other countries, resolute patriots are carrying on an armed struggle for their national freedom. In all five continents fresh forces among the people are arising to struggle against imperialism and reaction, for peace, democracy, national independence and socialism.

In the course of this vital struggle which is determining the course of history, the anti-imperialist forces have a fundamental identity of interests and purposes; it is vital that they should combine their resources and evolve common strategies and initiatives. Our Party has consistently upheld the cause of the unity of all progressive anti-imperialist forces, and in the first instance of their revolutionary vanguard, the Communists. Only the imperialist enemies benefit from division in our ranks; the first to suffer are peoples such as ours, the victims of colonialist and fascist aggression and oppression. Hence in the opinion of the South African Communist Party the time is long overdue for the convocation of a meeting of all Communist and working-class Parties with a view to further consolidating the anti-imperialist forces for meeting the new offensives unleashed by imperialism.

The South African people are engaged in a life and death struggle against a most vicious regime of racist colonialism, which is resorting to terrorist, fascist methods against the democratic liberation movement. In cities and towns, raids by armed battalions of the police on African locations — the ghettos in which the African people are forced to live by the white man's laws— have become an almost daily occurrence. In this massive military-type of operations hundreds of working people are arrested

and flung into prison and the population subjected to indescribable brutalities.

Many opponents of Apartheid of all racial groups including progressive Whites are held in detention without trial and given solitary confinement and subjected to barbarous forms of torture in an attempt to force them to inform on their colleagues and comrades-in-arms.

At the moment over 8,000 political prisoners are languishing behind prison bars serving sentences varying from three years to life imprisonment under the most savage conditions. At this very hour, one of the outstanding leaders of the South African people and an eminent advocate, Abram Fischer, is on trial on fifteen counts, including membership of the banned South African Communist Party and conspiracy to commit sabotage which carries the death penalty. Judgment will be given on May 4. From the dock, Comrade Fischer made a searing indictment of Apartheid in South Africa and declared: "My conscience does not permit me to obey laws which are wholly unrepresentative of the three-quarters of the population."

We consider it to be the duty of every progressive throughout the world to save this determined revolutionary who has devoted his whole life and energy to the cause of liberation of South Africa from the hands of the fascist South African rulers. We, therefore, make an earnest appeal from the rostrum of this great Congress to all the progressive and democratic movements of the world to express their solidarity with Abram Fischer and the noble cause he stands for and to demand his immediate release.

The South African fascist regime is a focus and stronghold of fascism and reaction in our continent and the world. It has illegally seized the mandated territory of South-West Africa; it is supporting the illegal Smith gang in Zambabwe; it is a threat to the peace of Africa and the world. For these reasons it has rightly been made the object of international action designed to isolate it and to cut its lifelines with the imperialist countries which sustain it.

Our people deeply appreciate the consistent support of the CPSU for our struggle. Not only has the Soviet Union backed international action against apartheid; it has given valuable practical assistance to the fighting movement for national liberation. We know from our experience that the CPSU is a sincere and reliable friend of the revolutionary movement against imperialism and colonialism.

We are confident that the delegates to your Congress will measure up to the great responsibility resting on them on this historic occasion. We are sure that, guided by the revolutionary princi-

ples of Marxism-Leninism, your Congress will hammer out correct policies to meet the great problems of our times; that it will inspire the Soviet people to fresh advances in advancing the socialist economy; in strengthening Soviet democracy; in advancing towards Communism.

With brotherly Communist greetings,

CENTRAL COMMITTEE
SOUTH AFRICAN COMMUNIST PARTY.

Long live the Communist Party of the Soviet Union!
Long live communism!

SPEECH BY WILLIAM KASHTAN
General Chairman of the Communist Party of Canada

Comrade Chairman, delegates to the 23rd Congress, fraternal delegates,

On behalf of our delegation, the Communist Party of Canada and all progressive Canadians, we extend warm, fraternal greetings to the 23rd Congress and through you, to the great Soviet people.

This Congress marks a new and important milestone in the inspiring history of the CPSU and of the people of the Soviet Union. What you are planning and deciding here is a great advance in laying the material and technical foundations for a communist society, while at the same time considerably increasing the living standard and cultural level of the Soviet people, and strengthening their democracy, liberties and unity. What you are deciding here, and will carry out in the years ahead, is another shattering blow to the forces of imperialism and war, another victory not only for the Soviet people but for peace and progress in the world, for the social and national liberation of mankind.

The eyes of the people of Canada, as of all the world, are turned on this Congress, and in millions of minds the contrast is being drawn between what is being projected here and what state-monopoly capitalism has to offer.

Here, you propose to increase wages and salaries by 20% welfare and pension benefits by 40%, the real living standards in city and farm by over 30%, while prices on consumer goods will be reduced.

But in capitalist countries workers have to strike to win improvements in their living standards. The fact is that in Canada last year there was the biggest strike movement since 1946—the

first postwar year. Workers are compelled to act in face of rising prices which undermines their purchasing power and in face of increased taxes and mounting debts. And now the threat of inflation is being used as a weapon by monopoly to impose wage restraints and wage freezes on working people.

Here, a planned economy and democratic management are projecting a great leap forward in building the economy to provide ever more of the good things of life to the people.

But in the capitalist world economic planning and programming is primarily a means of subordinating the economy to monopoly capital. In Canada and many other countries it means subordination to the United States monopolists, undermining their independence and gearing them more and more to the U.S. war machine.

Here, increased production as the result of technological and scientific progress, is leading to abundance and more leisure for the people.

But in the capitalist world technological advance and automation bring with them the fear of displacement and unemployment. The fact is that among the main demands being fought for by Canadian workers today, is that of job security during the introduction of new technology. Some of the sharpest and most militant struggles of Canadian workers in this period have centred precisely on this vital issue.

The working people in the capitalist countries are watching this Congress and weighing its deliberations and decisions in contrast with what they know and fear in their own lands. What you are doing gives them more confidence in their ability to change the course of affairs. It inspires them to unite in democratic opposition to the anti-national policies of monopoly. Not least it leads them to strive for an extension of democracy and in the course of so doing, to seek the road to socialism as the way forward for the nation and the people—towards that great goal of peace, freedom and plenty.

This Congress is therefore another mighty blow for socialism and communism in the historic contest between the two world systems that is the main content of our century.

This Congress is equally a tremendous demonstration of democracy — not just the word — but the heart of it. Where in the capitalist world has the whole population taken part in formulating and deciding what the country must do in every field of endeavor, what industries to build, by how much to increase the production of every branch of industry and agriculture, how to distribute the goods among the people in higher wages and other forms, how to increase the health services, educational facilities, all aspects of life?

In the capitalist countries however, no matter how democratic, it is the monopolies and their Governments that decide and their decisions are for the sake of profits, not the interests of the country and the people.

Your Congress, therefore, is an inspiration to all who strive for democratic progress in every part of the earth.

Above all, the 23rd Congress and its deliberations are a powerful blow for peace and peaceful coexistence.

The world cannot but note the calm, reasoned and sane peace policy put forward by the CPSU—a position based on confidence and strength. It contrasts it with the aggressive actions of imperialism and with the decision of the U.S. Government to spend $13 billion for its criminal war of aggression against the people of Vietnam. Imperialism in general and U.S. imperialism in particular is showing again that it is prepared to go to any lengths to maintain its system of exploitation and robbery of the people. In pursuit of these aims U.S. imperialism has undertaken to escalate the war in Vietnam and spread it.

Our Party, like the majority of Communist and Workers' Parties, believes that the most urgent task before progressive mankind is to compel U.S. imperialism to withdraw its troops, strictly abide by the 1954 Geneva Agreements and allow the people of Vietnam to determine their own destiny. In Canada opposition to U.S. policy is growing and so is criticism of our Government's collusion with U.S. policy. There is increasing recognition that U.S. aggression in Vietnam must be stopped if world peace is to be secured, and with it, is growing up the view that Canada needs a new direction in its foreign policy, a truly independent policy of free of U.S. control and dictation. It is such a policy which would enable Canada to play a vital role for peace, be it in Asia, in Western Europe where West German militarism and revanchism is again raising its ugly head and demanding access to nuclear weapons, in Africa and in Latin America.

Now more than ever there is need for united action on a world scale of all anti-imperialist forces to curb and quarantine the aggressor and prevent the spread of war. Now more than ever is there need to escalate the peace actions of the peoples in reply to U.S. imperialist escalation of its war of aggression against the Vietnamese people.

We are of the opinion now as before, that unity of action of all Communist and Workers' Parties is essential to curb aggression and enable the peoples everywhere to freely decide their own destiny. In this crucial period in mankind's history, true internationalism requires that all Communist and Workers' Parties unite against imperialist aggression wherever it takes place; that

they show by deeds that communism means peace and progress—that our most important task is to prevent another world war. This was the solemn obligation the Communists of the world pledged themselves to at the 1957 and 1960 Conferences. We consider these obligations are still valid for our Party and uphold them.

Comrades: Our delegation has no doubt that this Congress, like the 20th and 22nd Congress, will be an important milestone not only for the peoples of the Soviet Union but for all mankind. History placed upon the shoulders of the Soviet people the pioneering task of building a socialist society. It placed on it the Herculean task of smashing the Hitler war machine. It now places upon it the honorable and pioneering role of building a Communist society, the most humane, the most democratic and just society the world has ever seen. We have no doubt that, true to Marxism-Leninism, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Soviet peoples will accomplish this historic taks likewise.

We wish you every success in realizing the Five-Year Plan of Economic Development as an integral contribution to the achievement of that great objective.

SPEECH BY COMRADE JESUS FARIA
General Secretary, Communist Party of Venezuela

Dear Soviet Comrades,

Dear Comrades and Friends from the fraternal delegations,

It is with deep emotion that I convey to this great Congress fraternal greetings from the Communists of Venezuela, who are fighting in underground conditions and in guerrilla detachments, and also from our comrades who are in prison.

We have followed with rapt attention Comrade Brezhnev's important report and also speeches of our comrades. We are very happy that the many years of fruitful constructive work and tense struggle to advance the welfare and progress of the Soviet people have been embodied in the definite achievements of Soviet society. We have welcomed with satisfaction the political course and practical plans of the Party of Lenin for the next several years.

Experience shows that both the economic development plans and the peace-loving policy of the USSR rest on a solid scientific foundation. All of them are concentrated on the achievement of one aim—man's happiness.

We know that success in other important spheres of the Soviet Union's endeavors depends on the successful fulfilment of your economic plans. As the Soviet economy develops and grows stron-

ger, cooperation of the USSR with the countries of Africa, Asia and Latin America which have discarded the colonial yoke will become wider and more effective.

The Communist Party of Venezuela wholeheartedly wishes the workers, peasants, technicians, scientists and leaders of the Soviet Union new, ever more sweeping victories.

Dear Comrades, the barbarous imperialist aggression of the United States against the Vietnamese people is a crime which fills our hearts with wrath. The revolutionary movement in our country, relatively weak so far, has to do much to discharge our solidarity duty in full to the people of Vietnam. In the struggle against North American imperialism it is the honorable duty of each one of us to step up in our countries the struggle against this common enemy of all the nations. The people of Venezuela are coping with this task to the best of their abilities. But it must be said that we have much to do along these lines.

The Communist Party of Venezuela voices gratitude to the Soviet Union and other socialist countries for the aid they have given, and continue to give, the people of Vietnam in defense against the piratical aggression of the United States. As a member of the great world-wide family of Communists we express our gratitude to the international proletarian movement for its support of the courageous Vietnamese people who have been attacked by imperialists.

Popular resistance to imperialism is growing in size and strength in all continents. The first socialist country in the Western hemisphere, the Republic of Cuba, is reinforcing its positions, successfully overcoming the economic blockade and other aggressive actions of North American imperialism.

The Dominican people are waging a heroic struggle for the freedom of their homeland occupied by the North American invaders.

All the other peoples of Latin America are also consolidating their militant unity so as to be ready to reply to imperialist aggression.

Colonialism, old and new, is trying to keep the African peoples in subjection. But the flames of the liberation struggle are sweeping this fraternal continent too. Freedom fighters in "Portuguese" Guinea, Angola and Mozambique are scoring heartening successes.

This liberation struggle of the peoples is being fought in the hardest conditions. We cannot forget the tragedy of the Indonesian comrades who have become the victims of a despicable manhunt.

The mass murders of Communists in Indonesia are not only a crime against the Communists. They weaken the capability of this country to resist imperialism which is greedily coveting it.

These serious problems equally concern all of us. They demand

of us cohesion, the strengthening of solidarity and more vigorous resistance to the common enemy who wants to defeat us. The Tri-Continental Solidarity Conference splendidly expresses this militant spirit.

Comrades, I am not accustomed to picturing the situation in a roseate light. We know that each revolution overcomes tremendous difficulties on the road to victory. The Venezuelan revolution cannot, and will not, be an exception to this rule. But notwithstanding all difficulties, the liberation movement in our country is developing, demonstrating its great vitality and proving that it cannot be destroyed.

The working class of Venezuela, which has brought up a courageous vanguard with a clear class consciousness, suffered grave losses in 1965. Among them are three leaders of our Party. These are Comrades Luis Emiro Arieta and Alberto Lovera, members of the Political Bureau of our Party's Central Committee, and Comrade Donato Carmona, member of its Central Committee.

Comrade Arieta died in prison because of the absence of timely medical aid. Comrades Lovera and Carmona were done to death in torture chambers by a group of killers from the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency, cooperating with the Government's political police. A mounting wave of protest and indignation against such fiendish crimes has swept the entire country.

The struggle in Venezuela continues and will continue so long as our country remains under foreign control. This struggle is being waged in the mountains. Resistance is offered underground and in prisons. Our Party is working to organize a broad patriotic front of civilians and military men for the purpose of setting up a government of democratic peace in our country, which would open the way to winning her freedom and sovereignty.

Comrades, my presence at your Congress is highly remarkable. A few days ago I was one of the Communists thrown into a torture chamber. But thanks to pressure within the country and also the powerful campaign of international solidarity, imprisonment was replaced by deportation. This happened in March, enabling me to take part in the work of your Congress, which is a great honor for me.

In view of this, in addition to the message of greetings from our Central Committee, I brought a warm message to the 23rd CPSU Congress from Communist political prisoners.

As a representative of the 900 Venezuelan Communists languishing in prisons, I can assert that their moral fortitude and their lofty aims have not changed. Communists in prisons, too, continue the struggle they had waged in the ranks of the working-class movement and in guerrilla detachments.

Here is the message of the political prisoners.

Dear Comrades, on behalf of the members of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Venezuela incarcerated in the San Carlos prison we send our fraternal congratulations to the 23rd Congress of the glorious Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

The 23rd CPSU Congress is a new landmark on the triumphant road of Soviet society to communism. Your Congress will help intensify the struggle of the peoples of the world for peace, national liberation and socialism.

We are confident that 23rd CPSU Congress will exert fresh, serious and persistent efforts for the proper resolving of the differences which are harming the cohesion of the world communist movement and thereby help restore the much-needed unity of its ranks.

The decisions of your Congress will still more reinforce the faith in the final triumph of communism cherished by all who are fighting under the banner of Marxism-Leninism and particularly those who are waging this struggle in the difficult conditions of imperialist domination.

We convey to you our warm sentiments of friendship, comradeship and solidarity.

Long live the CPSU and its 23rd Congress!

San Carlos Prison,
March 5, 1966.

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Dear Comrades, from the rostrum of your Congress I extend fraternal thanks to the Soviet trade unions, to my friends, oil and chemical workers, to veterans of the Party and collective farmers, journalists and writers, scientists and artists, members of the Komsomol and Young Pioneers, to all mass organizations of the Soviet Union, the press, radio and TV. I thank the fraternal Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the inspirer of the campaign of solidarity with our struggle, and also other fraternal Parties. I thank Comrade Brezhnev and the other leaders of the CPSU and the Soviet Government. I once again express my appreciation of, and gratitude for, the cordial welcome on this land so dear to me, the land of peace and freedom.

Long live the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and its 23rd Congress!

Long live solidarity of the socialist camp with the national liberation movement!

Long live friendship between the peoples of the Soviet Union and Venezuela!

Long live the unity of the ranks of the Communist movement!

SPEECH BY COMRADE GILBERTO VIERA
General Secretary of the Central Committee, Communist Party of Colombia

Comrades, on behalf of the Communist Party of Colombia we warmly greet the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and all of you, delegates to the 23rd Congress, worthy representatives of the Soviet people, heroes of communist construction, workers and scientists who are boldly venturing into outer space for the radiant future of all progressive mankind, the educators who rear the younger generation, and representatives of the valorous Armed Forces of the Soviet Union who are standing guard over world peace.

Comrades, I represent the Communist Party of a South American country whose socio-economic structure is in the throes of a deep crisis. A way out of this crisis cannot be found in development along the capitalist road whose ugly features are accentuated by the meddling of U.S. imperialism in all spheres of national life.

The system of political domination by the big bourgeoisie, based on the monopoly of suffrage by the parties of the oligarchy, is still preserved in Colombia. These parties divide among themselves the posts in the government and seats in parliament. This reactionary system is arousing the ever greater dissatisfaction of the people. But the big bourgeoisie and its North American advisers are doing everything in their power to preserve it. They are arranging so-called elections during a state of siege. At the same time they are stimulating the country's militarization so as to be able at any moment to establish a military dictatorship as a way out of the situation fraught with radical changes.

A movement of armed resistance has arisen in the Colombian countryside in recent years. This is the people's just reply to the terrorist policy of the ruling classes who are inspired by U.S. imperialism. The ruling circles are hurling big military forces against the peasants, are widely resorting to executions on the spot without a trial or investigation.

These atrocities are committed under the guidance of the U.S. military mission, with the help of money and arms of American imperialism. Here is a concrete manifestation of the plans of so-called "preventive war" against the Latin American revolutionary movement drawn up by Pentagon strategists.

But such "annihilation operations" run up against the determined armed resistance of the peasants. This resistance is growing over into guerrilla struggle with an ever greater revolutionary content, a struggle which bears a national liberatory character and is inspired by Marxist-Leninist ideology. In these conditions the Colombian Communists are heading the armed struggle of the

peasants, but they are not neglecting any other form of mass struggle.

The 10th Congress of our Party held recently pointed out that a specific revolutionary path was opening up before the Colombian people, a path based on the use, in conformity with the shaping situation, of diverse forms of mass struggle, including armed struggle.

We are aware that our liberation struggle will be hard and protracted and that empty ultra-revolutionary chatter cannot overpower such a cruel enemy who is still strong. We know from our own experience how correct is the statement in Comrade Brezhnev's report that only the parties which are guided in their strategy and tactics by the Leninist principles achieve success.

We thank you for solidarity with our liberation struggle, with the struggle of the entire international communist movement, of which the USSR is the advanced and most experienced detachment.

The glorious Cuban Revolution is our outpost in the struggle against the common enemy and our best stimulus. For this reason we hold that action against the disgraceful imperialist blockade and general defense of the Cuban Revolution are an honorary task for all the Communists and revolutionaries of Colombia, of Latin America and of the entire world. As Latin Americans we voice our gratitude to the Soviet peoples of their support of the free people of Cuba. We are confident that they will render similar support to any people of Latin America who will become the masters of their own destiny and take the road of independent development.

We urge all anti-imperialist forces to display the broadest solidarity with the heroic people of Vietnam who are offering staunch resistance to U.S. imperialism's criminal aggression. The just struggle of the Vietnamese people is also our struggle. What is happening today in Vietnam, like in a mirror reflects events in the Dominican Republic. In Colombia, too, the American military are taking an ever greater part in repressive actions against the peasant movement.

That is why, rejecting any slanderous charges, we declare that it is necessary to continue working for the unity of the international Communist movement on the basis of the constructive proposals of the Conference of Communist and Workers' Parties of Latin American Countries held in 1964. We highly value the policy of unity pursued by the CPSU. We subscribe to the opinion of the CPSU that the principles, collectively elaborated at the Meetings in 1957 and 1960, constitute a basis for the unity of the communist movement. The unworthy campaigns designed to discredit

the invincible cause of Soviet power and similarly the splitting actions against the world communist movement turn against their authors themselves and merely play into the hands of the imperialists and the world reactionary forces.

Let the capitalists lull themselves with talk about some kind of a revival of capitalism in the Soviet Union. This is nothing else but an expression of the doom of the capitalist system. As for us Communists, such futile speculations can merely make us smile.

We full-heartedly wish the Soviet people fresh victories in fulfilling the five-year economic development plan which signifies a new stage in carrying out the sweeping program of building communism adopted at your 22nd Congress.

Hail the building of communism in the Soviet Union.

Long live friendship between the Colombian and the Soviet peoples!

Hail the 23rd Congress of the CPSU.

SPEECH BY COMRADE JESPERSEN
Chairman, Communist Party of Denmark

Dear Comrades, permit me on behalf of the Danish Communists to convey to the 23rd Congress of your Party warm fraternal greetings and voice our feelings of solidarity.

Our delegation heartily congratulates all of you on the new splendid victory in space.

Slogans of Luna-10 — our *International,* the militant anthem of the working people of the world — once again demonstrate the strength and superiority of socialism.

Your Congress will be of tremendous importance for the international working-class movement, for the cause of world socialism, because it puts forward new magnificent tasks of developing Soviet society in future.

As a result of fulfilling the Congress decisions prerequisites for building communism in the Soviet Union will be created on the basis of scientific and technical progress. New methods of economic management and the further development of socialist democracy are a guarantee that these great tasks will be successfully accomplished. What makes socialism strong is that in socialist society progress is achieved in the interests of of man. Social and economic benefits for the working people will be greatly extended in the Soviet Union. A five-day working week will be introduced, and the pension age for peasants will be lowered.

Implementation of the plans outlined by the 23rd CPSU Congress will encourage the struggle of the working class in all countries, Denmark included.

The 23rd Congress has confirmed the line of struggle for peace, for peaceful coexistence between states with a different social system, consistently followed by the Soviet Union .The assistance and support the Soviet Union and other socialist countries are giving to Vietnam and the other peoples fighting for freedom and national independence is an integral part of the struggle for peace.

Your Congress has demonstrated the will to weld together all the Communists, all the revolutionary and progressive forces and to strengthen their international solidarity. The establishment of such a united front against imperialism will compel the war forces to retreat. We are convinced that the 23rd Congress of the CPSU, in which representatives of most Communist Parties of the world are taking part, will make a weighty contribution to reinforcing the unity of the world communist movement. It is the duty of every Communist Party, of every Communist to strengthen this unity based on the joint general line drawn up at the Meetings in 1957 and 1960.

Comrades, the fraternal relations established between our Parties are stamped by the spirit of friendship and comradeship. They are based on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. We are proud of friendship with the Party of Lenin, the Party which has blazed new trails for mankind and is consistently upholding the freedom and independence of peoples. Our unbreakable friendship is based on the community of aims in this struggle for such development as would meet the vital interests of all the peoples, including the Danish people.

Our Party is working for joint action of all the progressive forces of the Danish people opposed to the NATO policy, opposed to the joint Danish-West German military command; they demand that Denmark withdraw from this dangerous aggressive bloc and take the path of genuine national independence. Danish Communists have made a proposal on the establishment of an atom-free zone in Northern Europe. Today, when NATO is rent by contradictions and the question of Denmark's withdrawal from this aggressive bloc is on the order of the day, this struggle is assuming special importance.

Indignation at, and resistance to, the war of the United States against the Vietnamese people are mounting in our country. The movement for solidarity with embattled Vietnam unites broad circles of the population who demand of the Danish Government to dissociate itself from U.S. policy and to condemn the dirty war of the Americans in Vietnam.

Peace in Europe is threatened by U.S. imperialism and its ally in Europe, West German militarism. That is why we associate our struggle for Denmark's neutrality with the struggle for European settlement and the establishment of a collective security system which would ensure the independence of all states. Our primary task is not to let nuclear weapons fall into the hands of the West German revanchists, to prevent their getting these weapons in any way whatsoever.

Our Party is waging a struggle for unity of action by the working class, for joint action by all the Left forces, for a neutral Denmark to which a lasting peace will be secured, against the domination of the monopolies in our country and for the extension of the democratic and social rights of the working people. Despite differences in views and attempts of big capital to preserve division in the ranks of the working class, unity of the workers in the struggle for their common interests and aims is steadily growing stronger in our country.

Comrade delegates, we are confident that the tremendous progress which will be made as a result of carrying out the decisions of the 23rd CPSU Congress will offer mighty support to all the forces fighting against imperialism, for peace, democracy and socialism. We wish you great success in implementing these decisions.

Long live friendship between the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Communist Party of Denmark!

Long live the struggle for peace!

Long live Communism!

SPEECH BY COMRADE PAPAIOANNU
General Secretary, Progressive Party of the Working People of Cyprus

Dear Comrades, I am authorized to convey to your Congress the warmest comradely greetings and best wishes on behalf of the Progressive Party of the Working People of Cyprus (AKEL).

We heartily greet and simultaneously congratulate the heroic Party of Lenin and the great friendly Soviet people on their outstanding achievement on earth and in outer space. These achievements have brought about a tangible advance in the living standard of the Soviet people and stimulated the struggle of the peoples for peace, national freedom, democracy, social progress and socialism.

Greeting the 23rd CPSU Congress, we express our conviction

that its decisions will help the Soviet people score new splendid victories in the great and lofty work for peace, happiness, progress and cultural advance not only of the peoples inhabiting the Soviet Union but of all the peoples of the world.

It will be no exaggeration to say that these days the eyes of mankind are turned towards Moscow, towards the 23rd Congress of the CPSU. They are turned with hope towards Moscow because a terrible menace is hanging over the world. It is the menace of a devastating thermonuclear war. It is borne on the wings of piratical American planes which are bombing the indomitable heroic people of Vietnam and are constantly making provocative flights with nuclear weapons on board. A single rash action or even a mere accident on the part of the Americans can lead to a world thermonuclear catastrophe.

American imperialism and its satellites are provoking aggressive actions today. Why? Because they seek to exploit the differences which have appeared in the socialist camp and in the world communist and working-class movement to regain their lost positions.

Unity of the socialist camp and the international communist and working-class movement is today a vitally important matter for all the peoples because division encourages American-sponsored coups, interference and intervention in the newly-free countries and reckless ventures threatening mankind with war.

The eyes of all the peoples are turned towards Moscow these days. They are expecting an inspiring document of the 23rd CPSU Congress. They are also expecting representatives of the Communist and Workers' Parties present at this historic Congress to extend hands to each other and to create an impregnable fortress of the nations blocking the road to the cruel and sworn enemy of all mankind, imperialism.

I am confident that 23rd CPSU Congress will raise still higher the all-conquering banner of Marx-Engels- Lenin, under which the great Soviet people have scored so many splendid victories, will raise still higher the invincible banner of unity of the socialist camp and the international communist and working-class movement. All fraternal Parties must act the same way. And we may be confident that the moment such unity is achieved, the imperialist interventionists and organizers of coups will go over from attempts at an offensive to a retreat. It is such an inspiring document that the peoples are expecting, and they will not be deceived in their hopes.

The Cypriot people who are numerically small have for 27 months now been persistently waging a grim liebration struggle against Anglo-American imperialism and its satellites; they are fighting for complete independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity, the

closing of foreign bases on their soil, for the withdrawal of all foreign troops and the ending of all intervention from outside so that they themselves could confidently decide their future on the basis of their inalienable right to self-determination.

Thanks to their unity—the unity of the people, army and government, with the international support and assistance, particularly the firm, disinterested support and assistance of the Soviet Union, our people have been able to resist successfully the diabolical imperialist plans of enslavement.

We voice our gratitude to the great Soviet people, the CPSU and the Soviet Government for the assistance and support they have rendered, and are rendering, to the liberation struggle on Cyprus. Our entire people have received with gratification the recent joint communique on the meeting of representatives of the CPSU and AKEL, in which the Cyprus question was touched upon, as fresh proof of the Soviet Union's resolute support of the liberation struggle of the Cypriots.

The Anglo-American imperialists, employing perfidious subversive methods, are exerting these days fresh frenzied efforts to impose on us, through the aggressive NATO bloc, such a solution which would give them the opportunity to utilize Cyprus in their imperialist interests and perpetuate the enslavement of the Cypriot people. They want to turn Cyprus into a base for intervention, a base for espionage against the Arab and the socialist countries They want to have Cyprus as a base for a thermonuclear holocaust.

But the freedom-loving Cypriot people have shed too much blood and too many tears to let their country be turned into a colony and base of the imperialists. They have no intention of ceding a single inch of Cyprus soil to anyone. They will resolutely and solidly fight until they win full independence and the inalienable right freely to decide their future.

Cyprus shall not become a base of aggression and death but shall be a base of peace, freedom and friendship among the nations. With the international support, particularly the support of the Soviet Union and all the other socialist and developing countries, the liberation struggle of the Cypriots will be successful.

Imperialism shall not pass!

The Cyprus people will win!

Hail the 23rd Congress of the CPSU!

Long live the great Party of Lenin!

Long live friendship between the Cypriot people and the great people of the Soviet Union!

Long live the unity and solidarity of the socialist camp and the world communist and working-class movement!

SPEECH BY COMRADE REIDAR LARSEN
Chairman, Communist Party of Norway

Dear Comrades, allow me, on behalf of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Norway, to convey hearty greetings to the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and to express our best wishes of success to the 23rd Congress of the CPSU, which is an auspicious event.

The Report of the CC, CPSU delivered by Comrade Brezhnev, the speeches of the delegates to the Congress, who have come from all parts of th Soviet Union, reflect the tempestuous economic uplift of the Soviet Land and the imposing grandeur of your undertakings. Your impressive technical and scientific achievements are a source of joy to us and speak of the powerful energy released by socialism.

Our Party is not numerous and works in a small country. We are faced with problems and tasks contingent upon the specific features of our land. But the great tasks confronting the Communists and Communist Parties of the world are also of the utmost importance for us. They call for unity, cohesion and united action in securing national freedom for every people, achieving guarantees against aggression and war, wiping out oppression, need and poverty, and establishing a fair distribution of the wealth created by man's labor.

Despite the 30 year stay in power of the Social-Democrats, Norway is still a capitalist country and nothing has been done to restrict the domination of big capital in economic affairs. All the achievements and gains won by the Norwegian working people cannot therefore be said to be guaranteed. And now, when bourgeois parties have again come to power after the 1965 parliamentary elections, these gains of the working people are in still greater jeopardy. The victory of the bourgeois parties became possible on account of the split in the Norwegian labor movement, which failed to stand together on the basis of common goals. Another reason is that the policy of the Social-Democrats paved the way for the victory of the bourgeois parties. This is why it is doubly necessary now to work for the cooperation and greater unity of the labor movement and provide it with a clear socialist perspective.

Our country is a neighbor of the Soviet Union. There have never been any armed conflicts between our two countries. And we have to see to it that this tradition of peaceful relations is never violated. Yet the attitude of Norway is now shaped by its membership in NATO. The leading countries of the Atlantic Pact, above all the United States, who are eager to use Norway as a pawn in their political and strategic game on the international

scene, have been exercising a pernicious influence on Norway's domestic and foreign policy for a number of years.

But the people of Norway do not wish to be anybody's pawns. They want peace and security for themselves. They want world peace. They want to live in peace and friendship with their neighbors. This is why the construction of NATO military sites on Norwegian soil, the mounting activity of foreign troops who use Norwegian territory for their maneuvers, are causing increasing alarm in Norway. This goes against the interests of peace and, therefore, against the interests of the people of Norway.

Today, many Norwegians are anxious to find an alternative for their country to the dangerous path which NATO is imposing on Norway. The mounting crisis within the Atlantic Alliance gives hope that such an alternative will finally be found. A process of the consolidation of forces advocating Norway's withdrawal from NATO after its term expires in 1969 has begun in the country. These forces want Norway to join the peace-loving neutral states.

International developments, and particularly the disgraceful aggression mounted by the U.S. imperialists against the people of Vietnam, show again that every nation that wishes to contribute to world peace must shake off the influences of the United States, which seeks to bludgeon other countries into submission to its dominance.

A far-flung movement of solidarity with the fighting people of Vietnam is gaining momentum in Norway today. This movement organizes demonstrations, protest meetings, the collection of signatures under the demand to withdraw U.S. troops from Vietnam, fund collections in aid of the Vietnam population, and the like. Thereby, it expresses its support of the National Liebration Front. The overwhelming majority of Norwegians back the demand that U.S. troops be withdrawn from Vietnam and that the Vietnamese be allowed to determine their future without foreign interference.

Dear comrades, the Communist Parties have to function in differing circumstances and to contend with a wide range of prob-on some matters. All the same, they must act jointly against the lems. For this reason, they may have different points of view forces that imperil the freedom of the peoples and world peace. This united front should not be disrupted by injurious internal strife. It should be based on all that unites us. All the anti-imperialist forces ought to be united by their common task of blocking and turning back the forces that continuously threaten the peoples with interference in their internal affairs, with aggression and war.

In conclusion, comrades, allow me to wish you every success in your advance to communism. Each of your successes, each of

your victories, is a joy to your friends in all countries and inspires all Communists in their work.

Long live the Communist Party of the Soviet Union!

Long live the friendship of the Norwegian and Soviet peoples!

Long live effective comradely cooperation between all the Communist Parties!

SPEECH BY COMRADE ERNEST BURNELLE
Chairman, Communist Party of Belgium

Dear Comrades, allow me to convey to the 23rd Congress of your Party the fraternal and cordial greetings of the Communists and working people of Belgium, who are fond of the Soviet Union and know that your country and Party stand in the van of mankind in the struggle for peace, for man's happiness, for freedom.

Each of your Party Congresses is an event of international impact. The questions you discuss, whether it be the defense of peace, the building of communism, or the promotion of democracy, exercise a strong and positive influence on the development of the world as a whole.

The unforgettable 20th Congress, the 21st Congress, the imposing perspectives charted by you at the 22nd Congress, and the bold and thoroughly weighted decisions that this 23rd Congress will adopt, appeal to working people in all countries and rally them to the struggle for peace, for their social demands, for socialism.

Your firm stand against the imperialists, your tireless efforts to help the peoples' will for peace to triumph, the immense assistance you render the peoples fighting for their independence, your invaluable and effective support of the heroic people of Vietnam criminally attacked by U.S. imperialism, have won the unreserved approval of working people and inspire them in their struggle against capitalists and oppressors.

Comrades, let me say that the relations between our two Parties are continuously developing in a fraternal spirit. Although our country is small and our Party is not numerous, our relations are based on complete equality. It is this that lies at the root of the fruitful contacts and unbreakable bonds that exist between our Parties.

We approve the persevering, continuous and tireless efforts you apply to establish good relations among all Communist Parties and to cement the unity of our international movement on the basis of the decisions of the 1957 and 1960 Meetings. Our joint

actions will be the insuperable force that will make our enemies retreat and will enable us to fulfil our historic tasks.

It is doubly urgent to strengthen our international unity because undeniably dangerous developments, on the one hand, and auspicious processes undermining the dictatorship of the capitalist monopolies, on the other, are occurring in the world today. In Belgium, for example, the old ruling classes are in the throes of a political crisis that is undermining their power.

The customary maneuvers, which often enable them to involve the Social-Democrats in a kind of government that goes against the interests of Belgium and the Belgian working people, have this time ended in obvious failure.

The movement for the satisfaction of working people's demands is mounting steadily. At present, several thousand Belgian women have gone on strike for equal pay for equal work.

All the youth organizations without exception are preparing for a massive peace manifestation at the end of this month, and we are sure it will be a great success. The labor organizations of Belgium, whose stand is becoming more determined and firm, call for a policy independent of the American billionaires and NATO, which ministers to the revenge-seeking ambitions of the West German militarists. The labor organizations demand an economic policy independent of the trusts that dominate the Common Market. They call for a democratic policy consistent with the aspirations of the working people.

As you see, comrades, the Belgian Communists are working in a favorable climate.

The Belgian delegation at your Congress has deep faith in the insuperable advancement of the Soviet people.

We are sure that the imperialists will have to retreat in the face of the concerted efforts of all the peace-loving forces.

We are sure that the 23rd Congress will usher in an important stage in the building of communism in the Soviet Union. We wish the workers, the working women, the people in the villages, the engineers and scientists in your country, every success in their work.

Long live the 23rd Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union!

Long live united action by the world Communist movement!

Long live peace! Long live communism!

SPEECH BY COMRADE ARNOLDO MARTINEZ VEDUGO
First Secretary of the Central Committee Communist Party of Mexico

Dear Comrades, on behalf of the Central Committee of the Mexican Communist Party and all the Communists of our country, we convey our most cordial and fraternal greetings to the delegates to the 23rd Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

As we address you from this rostrum, our thoughts go back to the glorious path of struggle and sacrifice travelled by the Party founded by the great Lenin. For us, the Mexican Communists, this Party is a model of a militant and indomitable revolutionary working-class party, which has not only overthrown the capitalists and landowners of Russia, but has built a new society, delivered mankind from fascism, and decisively helped the world working class to assume its place in the center of the modern epoch.

At present, revolutionary forces are going from strength to strength on all continents, and that, too, is a token of the immense contribution to the international working-class and anti-imperialist movement made by the Communists of the Soviet Union. No anti-Soviet slander can detract from this historic service of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

In Latin America, too, the revolutionary movement has risen to a new level. Inspired by the example of the heroic Cuban people, who have performed the first socialist revolution in the history of our continent and are defending their gains tenaciously, the peoples of Latin America are stepping up their struggle against imperialism and the reactionary oligarchy, for peace, democracy and socialism.

Having to operate in different conditions, the Latin American Communist Parties employ tactics that suit the specific situation in their particular countries and the special features of their economic and political development. However, no matter what form the struggle assumes, one thing is absolutely certain: our peoples are driving homes devastating blows at imperialism and internal reaction, and our Parties are increasingly becoming the main revolutionary force on the continent, the only organizations capable of uniting the masses and all the anti-imperialist sections of the population, rallying them to fight for their demands, and leading them along the path of revolution.

In Mexico, too, the people are becoming more politically active and the struggle against imperialism is gaining in scale. Acting upon the all-conquering teaching of Marxism-Leninism, combating sectarianism, sweeping out adventurism and subjectivism, our Party is winning added influence among the masses and extending its role in the country's political life.

Our Party is carrying out the principal and direct tasks set out in its Program: to unite all democratic and anti-imperialist forces in the struggle for national liberation and democracy. An outstanding role in this is played by solidarity with the people of Vietnam who are showing wonders of heroism in defending their country. Fifteen days ago, during the world-wide Vietnam Solidarity Week, our Party and other anti-imperialist forces held joint large-scale meetings and demonstrations. Tens of thousands of Mexicans came out into the streets in many of the towns and villages to voice their fervent solidarity with the patriots of South Vietnam and the Democratic Republic of Vietnam. All over the country, the people are voicing their demand that the U.S. troops be withdrawn forthwith and the people of Vietnam be given a chance to decide their country's future themselves.

Comrades, numerous recent events show clearly that the general line of the world Communist movement, worked out at the 1957 and 1960 Meetings of Communist and Workers' Parties, is absolutely correct. The Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union follows this line staunchly. Its observance is a guarantee of new victories for the world Communist movement.

The U.S. imperialists are trying to retard the irrepressible development of the socialist system, the working-class movement in the capitalist countries, and the national liberation movement. They are escalating their criminal war against the Vietnamese people, threatening and attacking socialist Cuba, maintaining their aggressive troops in the Dominican Republic and extending their interference in the affairs of many other countries.

This makes the unity of the socialist camp, of the world communist movement, insistently necessary. Once again, the Communist Party of Mexico voices its complete solidarity with the Communist Party of the Soviet Union in its efforts to cement the unity of the international working-class and communist movement.

We wish you, comrade delegates, and the whole Soviet people every success in fulfilling the new five-year plan and the decisions to be adopted by the 23rd Congress. This will improve the living standard of the Soviet people and increase the might of your great land. The peoples fighting for peace against imperialism and reaction, for socialist construction, will thus get still greater support.

Long live the Communist Party of the Soviet Union!

Long live the friendship of the peoples of the Soviet Union and Mexico!

Long live the unity of the world Communist movement!

Comrade Verdugo reads to the Congress the
MESSAGE OF GREETING SENT BY THE CENTRAL COMMITEE OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF MEXICO:

Dear Comrades,

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of Mexico sends cordial and fraternal greetings to the 23rd Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, to all the delegates and, through them, to the peoples of the Soviet land.

The Congresses of the CPSU, which sum up the experience of the Soviet people in communist construction and the results of the struggle waged by the world revolutionary movement, were always viewed by the Mexican Communists as a big help to the struggle of the Mexican proletariat and people. The decisions of the 23rd Congress of the CPSU will also undoubtedly stimulate the struggle of our people against imperialist oppression, for democracy and peace.

The Communist Party of Mexico, which is striving to assume leadership over the actions of the working class and people against imperialist penetration, for democracy and the socialist path of development, deeply appreciates the exclusive role played by the Soviet Union in the world-wide revolutionary struggle against imperialism. It appreciates the tremendous assistance which the Soviet Government and people, who act on Leninist principles, are rendering to the national liberation movement.

Our Party considers the firm support rendered by the CPSU and the Soviet Government to the glorious Cuban revolution, that outstanding gain of the Latin American revolutionary movement, as an invaluable help to the revolutionary and democratic movement on all our continent.

The consistent internationalism of the Soviet Union in the acute struggle now underway against imperialism all over the world and, particularly, the generous assistance given by the USSR to the heroic people of Vietnam, expose the lies and intrigues of those who want to divide the world revolutionary movement.

The aggressive policy of U.S. imperialism, which is conducting a bloody war against the Vietnamese people, keeping its interventionist troops in the Dominican Republic, threatening socialist Cuba, and striving to touch off a new world war, calls for the unity of the world Communist movement, for the cohesion of the ranks of the fighters for national liberation and socialism.

The Communist Party of Mexico expresses its most fervent solidarity with the Communist Party of the Soviet Union in its struggle for the unity of the world communist movement.

Long live the unity of the revolutionaries of the world.

Long live the unity of the world Communist movement!

Long live the Communist Party of the Soviet Union!
Workers of the world, unite!

SPEECH BY COMRADE MADEIRA KEITA
Member of the National Political Bureau, Sudanese Union-RDA, the Republic of Mali

Comrades, to begin with, allow me, on behalf of the Mali delegation, to join in the greetings extended to the scientists, engineers and technicians who have just performed a great exploit and put the first artificial satellite in orbit around the Moon.

Comrade guests of the Congress,

Soviet Communist comrades,

It is with deep joy that our delegation conveys from the rostrum of the 23rd Congress of the CPSU warm fraternal greetings to the members of Lenin's glorious Party from our Party, the Sudanese Union-RDA, from its recognized leader Comrade Modibo Keita and the revolutionary people of the sovereign Republic of Mali.

This forum gives a clear idea of the grandeur of the victory scored by the people fighting for freedom and justice since the day the tocsin of the Great October Revolution resounded over the world. Nothing has been able to blemish or muffle its victorious ring calling for freedom.

Since 1917 to our day the wonderful achievements of the Soviet people, the people of the great Lenin, the builder of the world's first socialist state, have been blazing the trail for the world socialist system, which implied a decisive victory over imperialism, the source of poverty and war.

The General Secretary of our Party, Comrade Modibo Keita, said on this score: "The Great October Revolution of 1917 settled the problem of Africa's future. I should like to express on behalf of the working people of our country, on behalf of the peasants and intelligentsia, on behalf of all Mali freedom fighters, our deep veneration of Lenin's genius."

Thanks to its economic, social and cultural achievements, thanks to its brilliant achievements in scientific and technical development, the Soviet Union plays a determinative role in the historical development of the latter half of the 20th century.

The successes of the Soviet people in building their socialist state have had a profound influence on the development of the world revolutionary movement. Socialism, conceived in one country, has become a world system. In Asia, Africa and Latin America, the national liberation movement is delivering millions of people

from imperialist domination. New states are appearing, some of which embark on a path leading to socialist construction.

The Soviet Union has made a tremendous contribution to the creation of the world socialist system, to the victory of the liberation movement, to the liberation of the colonial peoples.

Having crushed fascism in the Second World War, the Soviet Union built up a powerful economy which afforded the conditions for a deep-going reconstruction in the life of the Soviet people and for rendering fraternal and effective support to the young independent states.

The Second World War, touched off by contradictions between the imperialist powers, assumed an entirely different character as it progressed. It grew into a struggle of the freedom-loving peoples craving for justice against imperialism and fascism. The defeat of imperialism led to a further disintegration of the colonial system which reigned in the whole of the African continent.

The victories of the national liberation movement— for which the Soviet Union, the world socialist camp and the international working-class movement were a dependable support—led to the emergence of independent states. Some of them emerged out of armed struggle, and others as a result of peaceful development, but each time through the determined struggle of th people. These successes made the crisis of imperialism still deeper and helped to strengthen the international working-class movement and the world socialist system. This is why, retreating under the pressure of the national liberation movements, and sometimes even before the movements mounted the decisive offensive, the imperialists domination by seizing key positions in their economies and estab- laid the ground in some countries beforehand for retaining their lishing control over their policy. This is the essence of neocolonialism, by which imperialism wants to reduce to nought the political gains of the peoples and thus prolong its own existence. Puppet governments are installed for this purpose. Countries that strive for genuine independence are subjected to blackmail and pressure. Monstrous crimes are committed against those who stand in the imperialists' path and strive in concrete form to implement the possibilities presented by the achievement of national independence. The countries that have embarked on genuine independence and gravitate towards socialist construction in their efforts to solve their problems of development, are the prime targets of imperialism.

Imperialism is eager to destroy these states, not only in order to secure unrestricted domination, but also and primarily, to block their path to socialism, to isolate them from the socialist camp and to weaken the world progressive movement.

The events that shake the African continent testify to the grossly aggressive nature of imperialism and make a deep imprint on the entire international situation. The aggression against the gallant Vietnamese people, who are waging a heroic struggle for progress and freedom, and the events in Latin America, are concrete signs that imperialism is straining to restore its domination. One such act was the foul coup d'etat in Ghana, where the successes of the People's Convention Party achieved under the leadership of Dr. Kwame Nkrumah, that great son of Africa and outstanding statesman, secured an annual income of some $200 per head of population.

Comrade delegates, allow me from this eminent rostrum to draw your attention to the meaningful fact which rouses anger and indignation, that Hitler's followers who survived after nazism was routed in 1945, have joined hands with various adventurists in capitalist Europe and the racists of South Africa and Southern Rhodesia. They acted as the bloodstained mercenaries in the Congo and are now offering their services to the puppet government in Saigon.

These imperialists attempts to assume the offensive, these aggressive acts, coups and local wars, are by no means a sign of strength. On the contrary, they speak of imperialism's weakness and show how strong the blows are which the victories of the liberation movement inflict on imperialism.

The Sudanese Union-RDA, all members of our Party and the people of Mali firmly denounce the aggresisve acts of imperialism and assure all the peoples fighting for their freedom of their militant fraternal solidarity.

Comrades, we are deeply convinced that we shall win, despite the ferocious attacks on the young states by the imperialists who want to wipe out the national-democratic gains of our peoples.

The inexorable dialectic of historical development is such that blows dealt by the imperialists against the peoples and their states in the Asian, African and Latin American countries, only redouble our will to struggle and win. This is true of Vietnam, of Korea, of Cuba, of Mali and Guinea.

It is important in these circumstances for the socialist camp and the international working-class movement to step up their actions in face of the tension and the gravity of the situation. In the struggle against imperialism, the liberation movements in Africa, Asia and Latin America are the natural allies of the socialist camp and the international working-class movement.

In face of the difficulties stemming from their economic backwardness, the newly-free states are looking for ways and means of realizing the cherished aspirations of their peoples. After winning

political independence, which, all too often, neocolonialism makes no more than nominal, they have run into complicated problems related to the construction of a viable national economy. These problems are made doubly difficult by the fact that the countries in question, due to colonial plunder, have none of the resources necessary for effective headway.

Furthermore, the imperialists, who dictate their policy in the world markets and impose their own world prices, are aggravating the difficulties of our young states. In this relation, the work of the international conference on trade and economic development held in Geneva in 1964, merits the closest attention.

The Republic of Mali, led by the Sudanese Union, which is headed by President Modibo Keita, has embarked on the path of socialist construction. A mere six years have passed since the proclamation of independence, but the people of Mali already enjoy the fruits of the new life. Thanks to the efforts of the working people, the correct policy and leadership of the Sudanese Union-RDA, and thanks to the assistance of the USSR and other friendly countries, the material basis of the economy is developing harmoniously in Mali through the extension of the state sector, which organizes and controls the key economic branches.

Our country is beginning to build an industry. The cooperative movement is changing our peasants. The life of our people has been put on a democratic basis. The people are giving more of their strength to the defense of their revolutionary gains, to enhancing the country's defenses and to the struggle against imperialism, which is conducting subversive activities and goes out of its way in the effort to destroy our revolutionary system.

The democratic mass organizations of our trade unions, youth and women support the Party actively in the realization of our program of economic and social development and further the struggle of our people along the path of socialist construction, the key to the genuine freedom of Mali.

The establishment of the National Council for the Defense of the Revolution reveals our indomitable resolve to safeguard the socialist gains of our people and fight on for the abolition of imperialism.

The working people of our country, organized and reared by the Party, are ready to defend our independence and our socialist revolution.

Our Sudanese Union-RDA and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the peoples of Mali and the USSR, have enduring bonds of friendship and cooperation. They stand shoulder to shoulder in the common struggle against imperialism, their common enemy, in the name of their common goal—the deliverance of man from all exploitation and the flowering of his creative abilities.

Comrades, the 23rd Congress of the CPSU has gathered at a time when imperialism has mounted a fierce offensive against the forces of progress. The Congress will strengthen Lenin's great Party, the unity and solidarity of the socialist camp, the international working-clas movement and the alliance with the national liberation movement, and will make a fresh contribution to the anti-imperialist struggle.

We heartily wish you great success in the building of the material and technical basis of Soviet society as it advances to communism. We heartily wish you every success in strengthening the socialist camp and the international working-class movement, in promoting the victory of the national liberation movement, in the struggle for the freedom and independence of the peoples, for the triumph of democracy and socialism in a peaceful world.

Long live the fraternal friendship and militant solidarity of the peoples!

Long live Lenin's great Party!

Long live the 23rd Congres of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union!

Long live socialism!

SPEECH BY COMRADE S. A. DANGE
Chairman Communist Party of India

Comrades of the Presidium and Comrade Delegates,

The delegation of the Communist Party of India feels happy and proud to have been able to be present at the 23rd Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and to greet you on behalf of our Party and the working people of India.

The Congress of your Party is an event of world importance. The principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism with which your thoughts and actions are imbued, clothe the deliberations of the Congress of the CPSU with deep international significance. They hurt imperialism in its aggressive designs and befriend and strengthen all mankind in its progress towards peace, national liberation, democracy and socialism.

This quality and capacity of your Party to affect and mold world events is not of recent origin. When the October Revolution established the first victorious Socialist Soviet Republic in one-sixth of the world under the leadership of the Great Lenin and the CPSU(B) and the Communist International gave out the call for the world revolution, all the oppressed nations of the world felt that a great champion of their freedom had been born in the world.

It was then that the revolutionary struggles for freedom in India and China, who were the biggest preserves of imperialism, began to attain new heights. The heroism and sacrifices of the subject peoples, however, were finally crowned with success only when the heroic Red Army defeated nazism, weakened world imperialism, established the world socialist system and hastened the doom of colonialism. Only then could India attain success in finally winning her independence in 1947 and China, her people's democracy in 1949. And soon after, the whole colonial system collapsed.

The socialist and the liberated democracies of the world cannot forget their debt to your Party, to the Government and peoples of the Soviet Union.

The forces of peace, freedom, democracy and socialism have become stronger than the forces of imperialism and war. Faced with this might of the world revolution and the growing crisis and contradictions of their system, the imperialists, particularly the U.S. imperialists, are resorting to more and more desperate measures of aggression against countries fighting for their freedom. The armed intervention of the U.S. imperialists in the countries of Latin America and against the heroic anti-imperialist fighters of South Vietnam and the Democratic Republic of Vietnam have evoked great indignation throughout the world.

The working class and people of India have great sympathy with the struggle of the Vietnamese people against U.S. imperialism and wish them all success. The Communist Party of India is doing all it can to rouse our people in defense of Vietnam against U.S. imperialist aggression and we are sure that the Vietnamese people will ultimately defeat the aggressors.

Our Party feels that joint action of all the socialist countries in aid of the peoples of Vietnam will hasten this defeat.

Imperialist aggression against the developing newly-liberated countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America is also taking the form of economic penetration of these countries in the guise of rendering aid for development and imposing neocolonial slavery on them and making them subservient to the needs of the U.S. monopolies.

Since the attainment of freedom, India has been trying to achieve economic independence by building her own industries, particularly in the branches of iron and steel, engineering, oil and petroleum, electricity, etc.

In this task of national regeneration and construction, India has received most friendly and unstinted assistance from the Soviet Union and other socialist countries allied with the Soviet Union. The steel plant of Bhilai has become a symbol of Indo-Soviet friendship known throughout the length and breadth of India. The assistance of the Soviet Union and the socialist camp and the developing trade relations between India and the socialist countries have come

to occupy great importance in the independent development of the economy of our country.

That is why every five-year plan of the Soviet Union and the socialist countries, every success that you attain in the fulfilment of your plans for construction of communism in your country are of direct benefit to India and to all the developing democratic countries of the world. That is why, comrades, when your 23rd Party Congres deliberates on your new five-year plan, the imperialists become worried and the freedom-loving anti-colonialists rejoice and wish you all success.

In the recent days the American imperialists and their allies have stepped up their offensive to subvert India's independence and her economy and make her their neocolonial preserve. They failed to achieve their designs in this respect during the Indo-Pakistan war. Their incendiary schemes were further thwarted when the Soviet Union took the welcome initiative to offer its good offices to bring India and Pakistan to the negotiating table, which ultimately resulted in the signing of the Tashkent Peace Declaration. The Tashkent Declaration is a positive and powerful proof of the policy of peace and peaceful coexistence pursued by the Soviet Union, in which it has the full support of India and all peace-loving countries of the world.

But the imperialists have not given up their hopes and schemes. Taking advantage of the crisis in which the capitalist economy of our country is inevitably involved, the American and British monopolies, with the help of their reactionary allies in India, are doing all they can to draw India into their fold and establish a reactionary and undemocratic regime.

It is an unfortunate fact of the situation that the democratic forces in India have no yet proved strong and united enough to take the country to an anti-monopoly, non-capitalist or socialist path of development. As a result of that, we find that in India today 75 monopoly houses are in a position to control nearly half the capital investments in the country. It is under their leadership that an offensive has been launched against the working class, the toiling peasantry and intelligentsia against their wages, rights and living standards.

When the democratic forces resist this offensive of capitalist-landlord reaction, which functions in alliance with foreign imperialist monopolists, the governmental machinery is often used to forcibly suppress the just demands and struggles of the toiling people. Though the ruling Congress Party is divided on many policy matters, yet reactionaries get an upper hand and hence we find thousands of workers, peasants and intellectuals in prison, and undemocratic laws, against which even the Supreme Court have registered their verdict, being used to suppress popular discontent,

that is being expressed in massive strike struggles and Bandhs launched in self-defense by the working people.

Despite certain new positions secured by foreign monopoly capital and neocolonialist influences in the economy and politics of the reactionary monopoly circles in our country, our Party is confident that, given the unity of the democratic and socialist forces, we shall be able to halt the march of reaction and make our country safe for democracy, socialism and peace, and an ally of revolutionary forces throughout the world.

The deliberations of your Congress, and the presence of the mighty phalanx of almost all the Communist Parties of the world will help to further unite the forces of Marxism-Leninism, which is the greatest need of the hour. Unity of the forces of communism will still more consolidate the strength of democracy, anti-imperialism and anti-colonialism throughout the world and will finally spell the doom of imperialism and aggression. That will complete the process of world revolution and lead to the establishment of lasting peace, freedom, democracy and socialism, liberating mankind to attain the highest pinnacles of culture and happiness on this earth and daring friendly flights in space to the Moon and elsewhere, in which you, comrades, have already blazened the path of futurity of Man.

Long live the Communist Party of the Soviet Union!
Long live Indo-Soviet friendship!
Long live the unity of the international Communist movement!
Long live communism!

SPEECH BY COMRADE JOSE SANTOS
Representative of the Central Committee, Brazilian Communist Party

Dear Comrade Delegates,
Dear Comrade Members of the fraternal delegations,

With deep emotion our delegation conveys the most heartfelt greetings to you from the Communists of Brazil.

The Central Committee of our Party accepted your invitation and entrusted us with the honour of taking part in the work of your 23rd Congress among the representatives of the fraternal Communist and Workers' Parties of Europe, Asia, Africa, America and Australia, who are inspired by our common ideas of unity and proletarian internationalism as laid down in the 1957 Declaration and 1960 Statement. In spite of the difficult conditions of underground struggle and in spite of unceasing persecution and victimi-

zation by the repression machine of the reactionary military dictatorship in Brazil, our CC entrusted us with going abroad to carry out a mission which is a great honor to us members of the delegation and to our entire Party.

We regard your 23rd Congress as an event of paramount historic importance, as a further confirmation of the complete unity of the peoples of your great multi-national country, of its glorious, invincible Party, the Party of Lenin, of the unity engendered by endeavor and struggle.

The Report of the CC, CPSU delivered by Comrade Leonid Ilyich Brezhnev, the First Secretary, mirrors the grandiose work of the Soviet state, your confident and firm progress along the road of communism. The Soviet people's amazing feats in the economic, social and cultural fields and the gigantic advance in science and technology were accomplished under the leadership of the CPSU and its Marxist-Leninist Central Committee. These achievements completely upset the pitiful fabrications and lies that are being spread about the Soviet Union and its social system, which embodies the social system mapped out by Marx, Engels and Lenin. Those who reject your socialist reality and your advance towards communism cut an ignominious and sorry picture. Those who call the living standard of the Soviet people as a return to capitalism do not realize that they are thereby capitulating to capitalism and flagrantly encroaching upon the very substance of socialism. Our peoples, who are suffering bitter privations under conditions of capitalist exploitation and imperialist brigandage, know that they can achieve prosperity and a happy life and abolish age-old backwardness only under socialism, whose objective is not to equate poverty and suffering but, as Lenin said, to give the very best to the working people.

We Communists from the most distant regions understand that the successes of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries are one of the decisive factors resolving the principal contradiction of our epoch, settling the class struggle on a world-wide scale in favor of socialism and communism, abolishing oppression and the exploitation of man by man, and accomplishing the transition from the realm of necessity to the realm of freedom.

For that reason, comrades, we regard the 23rd Congress, which is a creative continuation of the road mapped out by the epoch-making 20th and 22nd Congresses of the CPSU, as an event of immense historic importance to the destinies of mankind. In all, even the most remote parts of our country, which is oppressed by a dictatorship serving the imperialist brigands, the workers, peasants and intellectuals closely follow the proceedings of this Congress and link its decisions up with their most cherished hopes.

Everybody knows that the oppressed and the exploited are not the only people who turn their gaze to your country, the homeland of working people. The reactionaries, who are numb with fear and helpless hatred, likewise await the decisions of the 23rd Congress because they know that these decisions will greatly contribute towards the success of the struggle waged by the working class in the capitalist countries, the national liberation movement and all oppressed and downtrodden people. The reactionaries are aware that the further stimulus that will be given to the struggle of the peoples will signify an early end to their brutal war adventure in Vietnam, to their provocations, to the illegal blockade of our dearly loved revolutionary Cuba, to their brazen military intervention in the Dominican Republic, and to the organization of military coups, whose victims have been Brazil and other countries in Latin America and Asia.

On behalf of our Party, our delegation declares that despite the persecution, arrests and emergency laws, of decrees of a fascist nature, the struggle of our people, the united working-class movement, the united and militant student movement, the toiling peasans and the patriotic progressive intellectuals will continue to mount.

As you know, comrades, it is difficult to name deadlines in politics. However, today, two years after the forcibly established reactionary military dictatorship in our country, it is obvious that it failed to win the support of the masses and has already lost its influence among those sections of the petty and middle bourgeoisie that had initially supported it. The social foundation of the dictatorship is shrinking. At present the tactical task of he forces opposing he dictatorship is to unite and organize, to promote and raise the militancy of the people's struggle to a higher level. This is necessary to defeat the dictatorship and pave the way for a government that would represent all these forces, a government that would ensure political freedoms. That would make it possible to revive the process of the democratization and national liberation that was cut short by the coup in April 1964.

The firmness and substantiation with which you are mapping out the main directions of your home and foreign policy, while being aware of the great historic responsibility borne by you, are of tremendous educational value to us. And we thank you for this opportunity to appraise your excedingly valuable experience. We shall return home to convey to our Party and people the faith and enthusiasm with which our hearts have been filled. We shall return inspired by the example of the great Soviet people, their Communist Party and its Marxist-Leninist Central Committee.

With your permission I shall read the text of the message of

greeting which Comrade Luis Carlos Prestes, the General Secretary, sends to you on behalf of the Central Committee of the Brazilian Communist Party.

To the 23rd Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union

Dear Comrades, please accept the warm fraternal greetings of all Communists of Brazil, who are folowing the work of your Congress with the keenest interest.

The eyes of all the people of our country, who are struggling for peace and social progress and wish to see mankind delivered from ruthless capitalist oppression and the horrors of a world war, are fixed on the sittings of the highest organ of your Party. Hundreds of millions of men and women in Latin America, Asia and Africa, who are still burdened by the hateful yoke of colonialism and neocolonialism, are today looking at you with hope in their eyes.

Your Congress mirrors the high level that has been reached by the world revolutionary movement sparked off by the historic October Revolution, by the triumph of the Russian proletariat under the leadership of the Party of Lenin. The tremendous successes you have scored in material production, the development of science and technology, space exploration, in steadily raising the living standard of the Soviet people and their cultural level reassert the immortal ideas of Marxism-Leninism, the unquestioned superiority of the socialist system over the capitalist system. You are approaching the realization of mankind's loftiest dream, the building of communism, with gigantic strides. You are thereby giving new hope for a better future to those who are still suffering from capitalist exploitation and strengthening our confidence that we have chosen the right road and set ourselves the right objectives.

You have convened your 23rd Congres at a time when you have scored new victories in the great struggle for peace. By consistently pursuing the traditonal Leninist policy of peace and peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems, the Soviet Union today comes forward as the true standard-bearer of peace. Noteworthy in this context was the work of the Head of the Soviet Government at the talks that put an end to a military conflict between two great Asian countries. Your moves in defense of world peace, to deliver mankind from the sufferings with which a nuclear war threatens it, against the proliferation of nuclear weapons and for general disarmament are being appreciated by ever larger masses

throughout the world. They are making an ever deeper impact on the Brazilian people as well.

Your Congress is taking place at a time when as a result of the further successes of the forces of socialism, the broadening out of the national liberation movement and the continuous weakening of the world capitalist system, North American imperialism is becoming more and more aggressive. Its purpose is to halt the development of the world revolutionary process. In Latin America, in particular, while planning aggressive action against heroic socialist Cluba, they are landing troops in the Dominican Republic, interfering in the internal affairs of our country and forcing authoritarian and semi-fascist regimes on them. With the help of these regimes Yankee imperialism is seeking not only to intensify the exploitation of our people but also to use our people as cannon fodder for their military adventures.

At present we are fighting this brazen interference of the USA in the internal affairs of our country. Despite the blows that have been dealt us by the military coup of 1964 and the brutal persecution by the dictatorship forced upon our country, our Party has preserved the organization of its rank and is united round its leadership. Our people are doing all they can to prevent the consolidation of the fascist system, to defeat the dictatorship and regain their political freedoms. This is our objective in creating a broad front of revolutionary and democratic forces. We are thereby fulfilling the prime task that has been set by the revolutionary forces of Asia, Africa and Latin America at their recent conference, namely to step up the struggle against imperialism, colonialism and neocolonialism, to work for national independence, democracy, social progress and peace.

We know that in this struggle we can count on the all-sided support that you are rendering to peoples fighting for national liberation and social progress. Solidarity with those who are fighting for national independence is strikingly illustrated by your aid to the courageous Vietnamese people in their struggle against the criminal aggression of the North American imperialists.

We are confident, dear comrades, that your 23rd Congress will infuse new and mighty strength into the world Communist movement and will facilitate its further unity. You may be sure that our Party fully supports you in strengthening the world Communist movement. Like you, we see our internationalist duty in carrying on a day-to-day struggle for the unity of the world Communist movement on the basis of Marxism-Leninism, proletarian internationalism and the principles set forth in the documents of the Moscow Meetings of 1957 and 1960.

Long live the international solidarity of the proletariat!

Long live the Soviet Union— the main bulwark of the world socialist system and the struggle for national liberation, peace and social progress!

Long live the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and its 23rd Congress!

On behalf of the Central Committee of the Brazilian Communist Party

LUIS CARLOS PRESTES

SPEECH BY COMRADE URBAN KARLSSON
Secretary of the Communist Party of Sweden

Comrades, the delegation of the Communist Party of Sweden thanks you for the friendly invitation to attend your 23rd Congress.

We listened with interest to the reports of Comrade Brezhnev and Comrade Kosygin and to the speeches of Congress delegates on economic development in the Soviet Union. A realistic and purposeful approach characterizes the work of the Congress and is the guarantee that the objectives you have set yourselves will be attained.

In recent years the Communist Party of Sweden has become a factor that must be seriously reckoned with in the country's political life. We represent the socialist alternative that must change the pattern of society. This alternative is being promoted by the increasing might and influence of all Left forces.

However, the Left trends in Sweden are making their greatest impact on international issues. In Sweden public attention is focussed on Vietnam. The overwhelming majority of the people in our country condemn the U.S. attack on Vietnam and their dirty war against the Vietnamese people. Many Swedes, irrespective of their party affiliation, regard support for the fighting people of Vietnam as their internationalist duty. Internationalist solidarity is also manifesting itself more and more in the movement to help the developing countries. A particularly active struggle is being waged against the apartheid in South Africa. It is heartening to see young people in the front ranks of this struggle.

Allow me, in conclusion, to convey our Party's warm greetings to your 23rd Congress and wish it great success in its work.

SPEECH BY COMRADE EDGAR WOOG
General Secretary of the Swiss Party of Labor

Comrades, permit me to convey to you, delegates of the 23rd Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, warm fraternal greetings from our Party, the Swiss working class and all peace-loving progressive people of our country. All of us regard the 23rd Congress of the CPSU as a major step forward along the road of communist construction, along the road of strengthening the world socialist camp and the unity of the international Communist movement.

Comrades, 20 years ago, on March 18, 1946, after victory over fascism, the pressure of the masses and the changed balance of forces in the world compelled the Swiss bourgeoisie to recognize the Soviet Union and establish normal diplomatic relations with it. This was a bitter pill for the bourgeoisie and a victory over reaction for the working class.

The 20 years that have elapsed since then have witnessed a determined and tireless struggle by the world socialist camp, the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America and the working class of the capitalist countries to consolidate the victory over fascism, mould new relations in the world and translate into reality the slogans of peace, naional independence, democracy and socialism.

This struggle has been and continues to be headed by the Soviet Union. Its policy, efforts and achievements have influenced and continue to influence the course of history and show how to deliver human society from war, hunger and poverty.

But the reactionary bourgeoisie was not idle either. It did its utmost to remove the wartime anti-Hitler coalition from peoples' memories, belittle the significance of the Soviet people's heroic struggle and their incalculable sacrifices, and discredit the building of socialism.

Today the bourgeoisie is carrying on a furious offensive on the ideological front. It utilizes every possibility and every occasion to apply ideological pressure on the masses, to sow uncertainty and confusion among them and call forth hostility for the Soviet Union, socialism and communism.

However, anti-communism is coming up against ever mounting obstacles. The people no longer believe everything that bourgeois propaganda tries to foist upon them. In Switzerland, too, the situation and the mood of the people are changing. This is shown by the recent canton and municipal elections, which brought our Party considerable success.

But the fight against war, to preserve peace, is still the principal task. The criminal war of the U.S. imperialists in Vietnam, their machinations and efforts directed at paralyzing the struggle of the

peoples for national independence, the revival of German militarism and its demand for nuclear weapons are a serious threat and require the mobilization of all the adversaries of war, of all peace fighters.

Under these conditions the unity of the world Communist movement is of immense importance. A further deepening of the existing differences, the split of individual Parties and the weakening of the unity of the world Communist movement are harming the forces of peace and serving the forces of war. We, therefore, welcome the statement in Comrade Brezhnev's report that the CC CPSU is prepared "at any time, jointly with the leadership of the CPC to re-examine the existing differences with the purpose of finding ways of surmounting them on principles of Marxism- Leninism."

Every country has its own history, its own economic and political features, and its own specific problems, and each Party must take these features and problems into account.

But, comrades, the teaching of Marx, Engels and Lenin is international and therefore indivisible. There is no special Asian, African, Latin American or other Marxism-Leninism. As everybody knows theory is tested in practice. It will soon be 50 years since the world's first socialist country started testing the theory of Marxism-Leninism in practice. Despite all obstacles and all difficulties, and aware of their great responsibility to the international working class and human history, the peoples of the multi-national Soviet Union led by the Party of Lenin created the first socialist state in the world, built socialism and are now engaged in building communism.

During Lenin's years of emigration he lived in our country, and the history of the Swiss working-class movement is linked up with his name. Today we maintain close, fraternal relations with the Party of Lenin and nobody and nothing can shatter our unity.

Long live the inviolable friendship between our Parties!

Long live the unity and solidarity of the world Communist movement!

Long live our joint struggle against imperialism and war, for peace, national independence, democracy and socialism!

SPEECH BY PIETER KEUNEMAN
General Secretary, Ceylon Communist Party

Comrades of the Presidium,

Comrade Delegates,

Our delegation is most happy to greet the 23rd Congress of the

CPSU on behalf of the Central Committee and all the members of the Ceylon Communist Party.

We welcome this opportunity to express our warm good wishes to the people of your great country and to reaffirm our solidarity with the Communists of the Soviet Union.

It is a great pleasure to be present at your 23rd Congress. All we have seen and heard has convinced us that this 23rd Congress will be yet another memorable landmark in your victorious advance to communist society. This Congress will enhance the high prestige of your Party and your country and strengthen still further the Soviet Union's outstanding contribution to the fight for peace and national liberation, to the success of the world revolutionary process.

We have been most impressed by the spirit that pervades the work of your Congress. The approach to important problems of communist construction is business-like and realistic. Just pride in great achievements is coupled with frank and sober examination of shortcomings. Revolutionary zeal is combined with respect for the objective laws of social development.

No one who listened to the report of Comrade Brezhnev or who has witnessed your proceedings can help feeling even more indignant than ever at those who, without any respect for fact or truth, accuses the CPSU of a lack of revolutionary spirit and determination. This Congress has demonstrated once again your Party's unswerving devotion to Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, its deep and abiding consciousness of its revolutionary duty, and its determination to spare nothing in order to fulfil this duty.

Your work, your deeds, and this 23rd Congress has shown how baseless and shameful is this stupid slander against the great Party of Lenin which stands, as it has always stood, in the vanguard of the world front of revolutionary forces.

We wish our Party and the Soviet people every success in fulfilling the targets of the new five-year plan. We are confident that you will do so with honor, as you have in the past.

Your five-year plan is a real and practical answer to the absurd theories about an imaginary "crisis" of Soviet economy and an alleged restoration of certain forms of capitalist relations in the USSR.

It is indeed a funny kind of "crisis" that can produce the substantial increase in producton and human welfare envisaged in the targets in this plan! And it defies all known principles of logic to understand how capitalist relations are being restored by a plan that will lay an even firmer material and technical basis for communist society!

The realization of the aims of the five-year plan will have great significance not only for the USSR, but in the international field as well. It will undermine the positions of imperialism and capitalism, enhance the prestige and strength of socialism, and help forward the cause of peace, national liberation and social progress everywhere.

The new five-year plan and other decisions of your 23rd Congress have a special significance for the peoples and the fraternal Parties of the new national states who face difficult and complicated problems in a new stage of the national liberation movement.

Our Party and all the progressive forces in Ceylon appreciate greatly the many-sided assistance that the Soviet Union renders to our people and to the people of the Asian continent in which we live and work.

We value highly the Soviet Union's aid to the heroic people of Vietnam in their just and noble struggle against American imperialist aggression. The wise and constructive policy of the Soviet Union at the recent Tashkent Conference has helped to normalize relations between two major Asian states and reduce tensions and interstate conflicts from which imperialism took full advantage. Soviet economic and technical assistance have been a major factor helping the peoples of the new states to resist neocolonialism and build a new life for themselves.

In alliance with reactionary domestic forces, imperialism has in in recent times launched a major counter-offensive in many new states of Asia and Africa whose policies were not to their liking. The overthrow of many progressive and anti-imperialist governments has been engineered by all sorts of plots and conspiracies, including reactionary military coups. Unbridled terrorism has been unleashed against Communists and other progressive forces and widespread repression has been launched against the democratic mass organizations.

The sharpness of the struggles that have developed in such new states reflect how acute is the need to solve a vital question that life itself has posed for the national liberation movement—namely, whether the peoples of the new states will submit to neocolonialism and the agonies of so-called capitalist development or undertake an independent and progressive development along a non-capitalist road with the aid of the socialist countries. It is no accident that imperialism and domestic reactionaries were often able to gain temporary successes and take the upper hand by demagogic use of vacillations, weaknesses and mistakes in the upbuilding and management of the national economy and in raising the living standards of the people.

The new five-year plan and the successes of communist construc-

tion in the USSR are a great example and powerful stimulus to help the peoples of the new states to solve this problem in a correct way. They will enable the Soviet Union to increase its all-round assistance to the peoples of these new states in their fight against imperialism and neocolonialism, teach them how to combine political stimulus with correct economic management in the further development of the national liberation revolution, and convince them that the non-capitalist road is the most advantageous.

One of the reasons why imperialism has become more bold and aggressive is the differences that have arisen in the socialist camp and the international Communist movement. Our Party fully supports the inspiring call made in Comrade Brezhnev's report for the unity of the socialist camp and the international Communist movement in the struggle against our common enemy, imperialism. We agree with the steps he proposed to restore such unity and value highly the patient and principled way in which the CPSU has worked to re-establish unity. It is not difficult now for anyone to see who is for unity and who is not. The presence of so many fraternal Parties at your 23rd Congress is a tribute to the high prestige that the CPSU enjoys in this matter as in others.

It is now the duty of all fraternal Parties to seek out all the possible concrete forms and matters around which we can unite and act together. That is why we strongly support the proposal for united action by the socialist camp and the fraternal Parties in support of and solidarity with our valiant comrades in Vietnam. Their struggle has become a rallying point for all progressive forces of the world similar to the struggle of the Spanish people in the 1930s.

Once again, dear comrades, we wish you all success in your great work. The CPSU has always occupied a place of special affection in the hearts of Ceylonese Communists and our Party will stand side by side with you to implement the general line of our Communist movement worked out at the 1957 and 1960 Meetings.

Long live the great Soviet Union and the inspirer and leader of all its victories, the CPSU!

Long live the unity between our two peoples and our two Parties!

Long live Marxism-Leninism, our great and invincible banner!

SPEECH BY COMRADE I. HELGASON
Member of the Executive Committee of the CC, United Socialist Party of Iceland

Friends and Comrades, it is a great honor to me to convey to the 23rd Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union fraternal greetings from its comrades-in-arms in the United Socialist Party of Iceland and its Central Committee. I should like to request the delegates to this Congress to pass these greetings on to the whole Soviet people.

The Icelandic Socialists have watched and continue to watch the building of socialism and communism in your country with interest and admiration, and today we join you in rejoicing over the great achievements that you have attained in the course of almost 50 years' activity.

Your successes lie not only in the higher standard of living of Soviet people or in your victory over nazism. They embody the hopes of all the working people of the world for a better life. We wish you further great successes in your work of promoting socialism and peace.

You know that I represent such a country that is so small that its population could be accommodated in one of Moscow's streets. Despite this and despite the fact that we are living under different social systems, the relations between our countrmies are developing successfully. The reason for this is that in all fields—in culture, trade and politics—these relations are founded on equality, friendship and mutual respect.

The people of Iceland have had the opportunity to utilize the fruits of socialist construction in the USSR. Soviet purchases of chilled fish in Iceland have enabled us to build a large, modern fish-processing industry—while prior to that we sold chiefly unprocessed fish. In recent years the markets of the Soviet Union and the socialist countries of Eastern Europe have ensured the sale of all the increment of fish products in Iceland. Every Icelander knows and appreciates this.

Icelandic Socialists gave a very warm reception to a delegation from the CPSU last summer. Your delegation was given the opportunity of studying our work and problems and the attitude of our people towards the Soviet Union. The relations between our Parties have always been founded on equality, non-interference and mutual respect. The visit by your delegation helped to strengthen this basis of our cooperation.

Our Party supports all efforts to achieve and strengthen the unity of the international working-class movement in the struggle for socialism, democracy and peace.

The people of Iceland condemn the barbarous actions of the USA

in Vietnam and support the demand made at this Congress that U.S. troops be withdrawn from South Vietnam.

The people of Iceland have no army. They have never and will never fight against any country. The U.S. bases in Iceland are a threat to world peace and for that reason our Party is tirelessly working for the withdrawal of U.S. troops from Iceland.

Comrades, allow me once again to convey to your Congress greetings from the United Socialist Party of Iceland.

Long live friendship between Iceland and the Soviet Union!

Long live proletarian internationalism!

SPEECH BY COMRADE HUSSEIN ULFIKAR SABRI
Member of the General Secretariat, Arab Socialist Union of the UAR

Friends, during these historic days, the 23rd Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union is continuing the Party's sustained and persevering work of finding correct solutions to the problems of a gigantic creative process. The delegation of the Arab Socialist Union of the United Arab Republic regards it an honor to be present at this Congress, thanks to the kind invitation, and to share the jubilation of the friendly Soviet people over this new step along the road of progress. Your Congress is a link in the chain of many great undertakings springing from the time when already in a new era your great leader, Lenin, laid the foundations for the first socialist state. This state has surmounted enormous difficulties engendered by age-old backwardness, and then in the epoch of space exploration it moved into the forefront.

The experience of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the impressive achievements that have been attained year after year under its leadership since the time of the immortal October Revolution have ceased to be the property solely of the Soviet people. This experience and these achievements have proved to be useful to the peoples of the whole world. This primarily concerns the peoples striving for freedom and progress, striving to smash the chains of slavery forced upon them by capitalism and colonialism of the most diverse—old and new—forms. The efforts of these peoples to achieve their objectives have received whole-hearted assistance from the great Soviet people and the leadership of their Party, which profoundly and sincerely, with its usual wisdom and foresight, believes that the future of mankind lies in cooperation among all peace-loving countries.

I am not letting out any secrets. Cooperation among peace-loving

peoples is not a secret that has to be hidden from view. The cover of darkness is needed only for imperialist conspiracies and for the hatching of plans for the seizure of the wealth of nations. Thus, I am not divulging a secret when I say that the spirit of mutual trust is the force behind the cooperation between the Soviet people and the people of the United Arab Republic, cooperation that is developing in the bright light of day. This cooperation has been a model for all nations. An example, by far not the only one, is the Aswan High Dam, which has risen as a majestic and eternal monument, as a living symbol of cooperation serving the objectives of good will and creative work, of cooperation between our countries, whose social system rejects the capitalist principles of exploitation of man by man and of the enrichment of the class that founds its well-being at the expense of the people.

That is an example of creative cooperation between our countries!

On the other hand, we see that in other regions of the world huge funds are being converted into weapons of destruction, weapons for exterminating peoples and turning up the earth for graves. This is happening, for example, in Vietnam, where the heroic people, their ear deaf to the word capitulation, are fighting the colossal forces of neocolonialism, which does not shrink from using the methods of old, frank colonialism. We unanimously support the people of Vietnam in their heroic struggle and we shall, with all the means at our disposal, help them until victory is won over the forces of evil and aggression.

We see that in other parts of Asia and Latin America, and particularly in Africa, the imperialists are looking at seats of freedom with malicious intent, and weaving conspiracies against them, utilizing gangs of local reactionaries for this purpose.

Friends, the wave of tyranny threatens to sweep over small nations and those countries that have, as a result of a sustained struggle, recently achieved independence. These peoples and states are striving for progress and prosperity, but continuous efforts are being made to turn them back to the old. Our common duty, the duty of all peace-loving nations, is to unite, smash and hurl back this wave.

Despite their love of peace, the peoples we represent will never capitulate. They will not remain silent at the sight of colonialism enmeshing some nation in chains. They will not rest in peace until all peoples win freedom.

Friends, on behalf of the people of the United Arab Republic, on behalf of the Arab Socialist Union and its Supreme Executive Committee headed by Gamal Abdel Nasser, allow me to express deep gratitude and convey heartfelt wishes to your Congress. We address these wishes to the great Soviet people in the person of the Com-

munist Party, in the person of its wise and worthy collective leadership, as a token of the continuing and growing cooperation between the political organizations of our countries, as a token of the lasting friendship between the multi-national Soviet Union and the people of the United Arab Republic, which has raised the banner of Arab nationalism in its revolutionary manifestation that calls for freedom and socialism.

Long live Arab-Soviet friendship!

SPEECH BY COMRADE FRIEDL FUERNBERG
Member of the Political Bureau and Secretary of the Central Committee, Communist Party of Austria

Comrades, allow me to convey the fraternal greetings of the Austrian Communists to the 23rd Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and, through it, to the whole Soviet people.

The work of your Congress and its decisions are of far-reaching importance both for the Soviet Union and other countries. The Soviet Union is a great power, the main citadel of world peace. We wish the Soviet people every success in fulfilling the new five-year plan and in the creative development of socialist democracy.

The strength and power of the socialist camp and the world Communist movement will play their part to the full extent in the struggle for peace and social progress only if there is united action against imperialism and monopoly capitalism. United action is doubly necessary today, in view of our solidarity with the heroic people of Vietnam, who are fighting for their freedom. Supporting the people of Vietnam is the same as fighting for world peace.

Comrades, West Germany which, as Comrade Brezhnev said, is "increasingly becoming a seat of the war danger where revenge-seeking passions are running high," is a neighbor of our country.

Austria has already once been the victim of German imperialism. Today, West German imperialism is again imperilling the independence and neutrality of our country. West German capital is penetrating more and more into the Austrian economy. West German magazines and newspapers are inundating Austria.

The danger to Austria has increased considerably since the Austrian People's Party, the party of the big capitalists, has succeeded in winning an absolute majority in our parliament at the recent elections.

The Socialist Party suffered a setback in these elections, although

Communist support in 24 out of 25 constituencies gave it an additional 100,000 votes. The reasons for the defeat of the Socialist Party are rooted in the unstable and inconsistent policy of its leadership, which made numerous concessions to the reactionary upper crust of the Austrian People's Party. The disruptive activities of the former Minister of Internal Affairs, Olah, due to which the Socialists lost more than 100,000 votes, was another reason for their defeat.

The People's Party pivoted all its election propaganda on slander about the concocted threat of the popular front. Once again, we saw anti-communism boomerang against the Socialist Party, which has been its standardbearer for many years.

At this time, when new dangers have arisen for our country, unification of all the democratic and anti-fascist forces is doubly necessary. Our Party will apply still greater efforts to safeguard the independence and neutrality of Austria and to contribute to the defense of peace.

Long live the friendship of the Soviet and Austrian peoples!
Long live the struggle for peace, democracy and socialism!
Long live the unity of the world Communist movement!
Long live the glorious Communist Party of the Soviet Union!
Hail to its 23rd Congress!

SPEECH BY COMRADE ZAHIR ABDEL SAMAD
Member of the Political Bureau, Central Committee of the Communist Party of Syria

Dear Comrades, on behalf of the Central Committee of the Syrian Communist Party, on behalf of all the Communists of the Syrian Arab Republic, I convey to your Congress, the 23rd Congress of the great Lenin's Party, to all the Soviet Communists, all the peoples of the Soviet Union, most heartfelt, fraternal, comradely greetings and the most sincere wishes of further success.

The Report of the Central Committee of your Party, delivered by Comrade Brezhnev, and the subsequent debate, are graphic evidence that the Soviet Union was, is and will be, as the great Lenin wished, the main bulwark of the struggle for socialism and communism, for the unity of the Communist movement.

Our Party is convinced that the decisions of the Congress will have far-reaching effect on the consolidation and strengthening of the world Communist movement, the national liberation movement and the world-wide peace movement, on greater cooperation and unity among the forces fighting against imperialism and war, for

peace and democracy, in order to frustrate the U.S. imperialist aggression against the peoples, manifested in Vietnam in its most repulsive shape.

The Communist Party of Syria is proud of the success achieved by the Soviet people under the leadership of their glorious Party in the building of the material and technical basis of communism and in reinforcing the country's defensive capacity. The five-year plan for 1966-70, which you are now deliberating is a new and giant advance towards these goals.

Your economic, scientific and technical triumphs and space explorations are achievements made for the good of peace, the good of all peoples fighting for their freedom, social progress and socialism.

Our Party has learned from its own experience, the experience of the national liberation movement and the development of world events that no liberation movement can make headway with any assurance of success, unless it is based on genuine friendship with the Soviet Union, with the Party of the great Lenin. This confirms the fact which the Syrian Communist Party and all true internationalists have always stressed, namely, that the attitude to the Communist Party of the Soviet Union is the principal criterion of proletarian internationalism.

Comrades, you know that progressive socio-economic and political reforms have taken place in Syria thanks to the struggle of our people, its progressive forces, and the influence of socialist ideas. Our Party has stressed time and again that in the specific climate of Syria the Communists have to play their part in every action aimed at far-reaching social progress. The policy and practical activity of our Party held up the lie to the reactionary imperialist propaganda that the communist appeal for unity and cooperation is no more than a maneuver whereby the Communists allegedly wish to hem in the other progressive forces and to monopolize power. The facts have convinced many progressive-minded people that our appeal for cooperation accords fully with the needs of Syria's objective development. Such cooperation would stabilize the domestic situation and bolster the country's positon on the international scene. The cooperation that has begun between the Communists and the Left Baasists has lately to some degree affected the composition of th government formed in Syria at the beginning of March. Our Party has decided to participate in the government after a broad discussion, in which many members of the chief Party organizations, as well as the members of the Central Committee, took part. The Central Committee, headed by General Secretary Haled Bagdash, adopted a unanimous decision on this question. This decision was approved by all the Party organizations as one consistent with the Party line. The Party is taking a part in the government in order to promote success and deepen the gains of the people and the

progressive reforms in all fields, particularly in safeguarding the interests of workers and peasants and the independence and sovereignty of Syria against imperialist and reactionary conspiracies, which have grown more frequent lately.

The most important political task confronting Syria, supported by all the progressive forces, are the following: struggle against the "Islam Pact" designed to replace the Baghdad Pact; consummation of the agrarian reform; securing the successful operation of nationalized industries; establishment of new enterprises and improvement of the living standard of workers and peasants, and of all people; achievement of true Arab unity; greater friendship with all countries of the socialist system, particularly the Soviet Union, its vanguard; restoration of the legitimate rights of Arabs in Palestine, frustrating imperialist-supported Zionist plans of expansion and aggression; solidarity with the liberation struggle of the peoples of Aden and South Arabia against British imperialism; support of the national liberation movements in Asia, Africa and Latin America, particularly the struggle of the heroic Vietnamese people against the piratical U.S. aggression; maintenance of world peace and support of the policy of the peaceful coexistence of countries with different social systems.

The Party considers it its duty to struggle for these most important objectives, which have the support of all progressives, all patriots, using all available forms, in all spheres, both within and outside the government.

This does not go to say that our Party has no critical views concerning the situation in the country or that it unreservedly supports all the aspects of government policy. Neither does this go to say that we are automatically obliged to fall in with the positions adopted by the government on any question.

At the same time, we believe that the supreme interests of our country require that the cooperation of progressive forces should not confine itself to participation in the government and should extend to all the spheres of public activity, that is, the workers' trade unions, the peasant organizations and the students', women's and youth movements. This is a practicable task, because the main purpose of such cooperation is to resist reaction, colonialism and neocolonialism, and to struggle for the success of the socio-economic reforms, for their extension and development.

Our Party has always struggled and will continue to struggle, both within and outside the government, for greater cooperation, for cooperation with all the progressive patriotic forces and trends sincerely dedicated to socialism.

The most important thing for Syria's progress today is to complete the agrarian reform speedily, to distribute the confiscated

landed estates as quickly as possible among the peasants and to enable them to participate in the agrarian reform. It is also necessary to strengthen and extend the state sector in the national economy by building new industrial enterprises and, first and foremost, the dam on the Euphrates for irrigation and power generation, which only the Soviet Union can help us to accomplish. It is essential, too, to release the initiative of the popular masses. The working class must play the principal role in controlling production and must participate in management.

One of Syria's most important problems is to carry through a correct policy in relation to the petty bourgeoisie, to all the middle strata in town and country. We shall have to work hard to convince these sections of the population that progressive reforms do not prejudice their interests and are aimed solely against the feudal lords and the big bourgeoisie.

The task prompted by the interests of Syria's progressive development is to secure the necessary pre-conditons for our country's development along the socialist path. Not only economic, but also socio-political conditions have got to be created for this purpose. This is why our Party believes that the workers, the peasants, all the working people, all progressive political forces, that is, the Communists, the Left Baasists, the Arab Socialists, the Independent Socialists and all progressive elements, must have the broadest democratic freedoms. In our opinion, freedom of the press, freedom of organization and political activity must be enjoyed not by a single party or some sections of the population. In other words, power in Syria must lean for support on a broad, all-inclusive progressive national front able to marshal all the potentialities and all the energies of the people to repulse imperialist and reactionary conspiracies and ensure the success of Syrian experience.

The stepped-up conspiratorial activities of American, British and West German imperialism in the Arab world call insistently for the solidarity of all the patriotic and progressive forces in the Arab countries. This is the reason why our Party calls for friendly and fraternal relations, primarily between Cairo and Damascus, based on equality and non-inteference in each other's internal affairs. This would make the whole Arab national liberation movement stronger.

Dear comrades, the Communists, the workers and peasants, and all progressive-minded Syrians are profoundly grateful to the Soviet Union, to its glorious Communist Party, for the economic and military assistance rendered to Syria and for their support of the Arab national liberation movement. Having again heard here about your big achievements and the imposing tasks and noble objectives set by your Party, we shall return home full of unshakable faith in the triumph of progressive mankind, socialism, national liberation, the independence and progress of the peoples, and world peace.

Long live the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the Party of the great Lenin!

Long live Arab-Soviet friendship!

Long live the solidarity of the world's revolutionary forces in the struggle against imperialism and reaction, for national liberation and socialism!

Long live world peace!

Long live communism!

SPEECH BY COMRADE ANTONIO RAMIRES
Head of the Delegation of the Communist Party of Ecuador

Dear Comrades, on behalf of the Communist Party of Ecuador we convey our revolutionary greetings to the 23rd Congress of the fraternal Communist Party of the Soviet Union and to the great Soviet people, and express our firm confidence that the decisions adopted by this Congress will be successfully fulfilled. Their fulfilment will be a new step forward in the building of communism and will serve as fresh impetus for the emancipation struggle of all the peoples.

The presence at this high forum of representatives of the absolute majority of fraternal Communist and Workers' Parties underscores its immense importance. At the same time, the presence here of these representative delegations is evidence of the sense of responsibility that moves all the Marxist-Leninist Parties in this tense time.

The Report of the CC, CPSU delivered by Comrade Brezhnev confirms that the Party line is correct and demonstrates the imposing constructive capacity of the Soviet people and its Government.

We, the representatives of the Communist Party of Ecuador, are certain that the directives for the new five-year plan, rightly called a people's plan, will enable the Soviet Union to extend the material, technical and cultural basis of communist construction, showing the way to happiness, abundance and a constructive peace, the way to communism, to all the peoples of the world.

On the other hand, the report shows that the general line of the world Communist movement is forceful and correct. It is confirmed and justified by the daily practice of communist construction, the struggle for peace and the support extended to the national liberation movement. All this goes to show that the Communist Party of the Soviet Union holds a vanguard position in applying and developing the general communist line.

The Communists of Ecuador reiterate their support of this general line, worked out at the 1957 and 1960 Moscow Meetings of Communist and Workers' Parties. On the other hand, they strongly censure all opposition to the general line and all attempts to split the world Communist movement.

The subversive activities of certain elements within our Party, aimed at splitting the Party and addling the wits of our revolutionaries, have unfailingly encountered most vigorous opposition on our part. The dissenters were supported and directed from abroad. Saturated with the petty-bourgeois ideology, they stood on positions foreign to Marxism-Leninism and incited the Party to adventurism.

They advanced ultra-revolutionary slogans and concentrated their efforts on combating our Party leadership, and did nothing to combat the rabidly anti-communist military dictatorship set up in our country by the imperialists and the local oligarchy.

These sham revolutionaries did not stint time to slander our Party and its leaders and to make foul attack on the Soviet Union.

At this eminent Congress, the delegation of the Communist Party of Ecuador declares itself in complete agreement with what Comrade Janos Kadar said about anti-Soviet sentiment being incompatible with proletarian internationalism. We believe that proletarian internationalism is also incompatible with interference in the affairs of other Parties and with attempts to violate their independence.

We want to express our deep gratitude to the world Communist movement, the labor movement and the other progressive forces of Chile, Cuba, Uruguay, Colombia, Argentina, Panama and other countries for the powerful and timely solidarity with the Ecuador patriots. Your support helped us win freedom for hundreds of imprisoned patriots, among whom were Comrade Pedro Sahad, the General Secretary of the CC of our Party, Comrade Hil Hilbert, a Secretary of our CC, and other Party leaders.

We are particularly grateful to the fraternal Party of the Soviet Union, to the Soviet working people, students, writers, journalists, and doctors, for their inestimable solidarity with the people of Ecuador. This solidarity, of which our people knew, of which our political prisoners who fill the gaols of our country knew, roused their spirit of resistance and struggle against the hated military dictatorship.

The dictatorship collapsed under the pressure of the people. Now our country faces a further struggle against oppression, poverty and ignorance. Today, 44 per cent of the population in our country can neither read nor write, and 50 per cent have no shoes to wear. Of every 1,000 infants born in our country more than 100 die before they are one year old. Officials say that the annual income per head of population is $100, which amounts to about 15 or 20 cents

per day. In the meantime, the Yankee monopolies plunder the riches of our land and set their own prices on bananas, coffee, and cocoa, ruining those who cultivate these crops. In 1965, the monopolies made a net profit of $55 million on banana exports from Ecuador.

The recent overthrow of the military dictatorship of Ecuador was a blow to U.S. imperialism and incontestable proof that its policy of strength and interference in the affairs of our country is suffering setback after setback.

Our people will continue the struggle for the establishment of a patriotic people's democratic government which would carry out the anti-imperialist, anti-feudal and democratic objectives of the Ecuador revolution.

We trust firmly that we shall have in this struggle valuable international proletarian support.

Long live the 23rd Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the great Soviet people!

Long live the invincible teaching of Marxism-Leninism!

Long live the unity and solidarity of the world Communist movement!

SPEECH BY JOHN GOLLAN
Secretary-General of the Communist Party of Great Britain

Dear Comrades, on behalf of the Executive Committee of the Communist Party of Great Britain I bring warmest fraternal greetings to the 23rd Congress, to the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and to the whole Soviet people.

Comrade Brezhnev's political report and the statement on the new five-year plan by Comrade Kosygin concern not only the millions of the USSR. They concern hundreds of millions more in the socialist world, in the newly independent states and in the countries still under direct colonial rule, as well as in the capitalist countries of the world.

They are a further development of the creative line of the 20th Congress of the CPSU which meant so much for international communism.

Not only Communists, but progressive people everywhere appreciate the struggle of the Soviet Union for peace, and its great assistance to the cause of national liberation.

The carrying through of the new Soviet five-year plan will not only mean a significant further rise in the living standards of the Soviet people. It will result in the all-round strengthening of the might of the Soviet Union and thus enhance the power of all the

forces fighting for peace, democracy, national independence and social advance.

There is in Britain a new spirit of opposition to imperialism and monopoly capitalism. During the past year the opposition of the British people to the United States' shameful war of aggression in Vietnam has mounted rapidly. Some 200 committees now exist in towns and cities throughout Britain, composed of people of varying political views but united in their opposition to the U.S. aggression, and in their condemnation of the British Government's abject support of the United States. We will never let up in our struggle until the U.S. bombs cease to fall on Vietnam, until the U.S. troops, bases and equipment are withdrawn, and the Vietnamese people left in peace to determine their own future without external interference.

The past period has also seen a rising tide in Britain of solidarity with the struggle in Rhodesia against white minority rule, and in support of the African peoples' demand for democratic majority rule. Continued support has been given, too, to the struggle of the people in South Africa against the detested system of apartheid.

Together with other peace-loving forces in Britain, we are continuing to develop opposition to our Government's participation in NATO, and to plans to let West German hands get a grip on the nuclear trigger.

This week-end will again see the great national peace march in Britain which takes place every Easter. And again in the forefront of the march will be the youth.

In the General Election last week the Tories suffered a big defeat and Labour was returned with a big majority. As we said in our public statement after the election: "The fight of the Left is now more important than before. The Left forces will be stronger in Parliament and the Left fight outside Parliament will grow. The stronger that fight in the country, the more it will be reflected in Parliament. A new stage in the Left progressive struggle now opens up: to force action against the monopolies, to defeat the incomes policy and the threatened legislation against the unions, to put the social spending before arms, to end Britain's support of the U.S. in Vietnam and the East of Suez policy, and to get an independent British foreign policy. In this great effort, the Communist Party will play its part."

At our 29th Congress last November we placed in the forefront of our immediate policy the need to build a broad alliance of all Left and progressive forces.

The creation of such a Left Alliance is all the more essential because Britain is the main partner of United States imperialism in the counter-offensive which is now being waged in Asia and Africa against the national liberation movement. The defeat of this

counter-offensive demands the united struggle of the peoples of the world against imperialism.

In recent years it has become clear that disunity within the international Communist movement is one of the main factors which has encouraged the aggressive actions of imperialism. Had there been unity of the international Communist movement it would have been far more difficult for imperialism to make such aggressive moves.

No Communist Party handles matters in precisely the same way. We each work in our specific political conditions. It is therefore not surprising there can be different views from time to time on particular questions. But the burning need of the moment is unity of action against imperialism.

The united action of all Communists in the struggle against imperialism and first and foremost in support of the heroic people of Vietnam, would greatly facilitate our task of defeating the imperialist counter-offensive, ensuring the maintenance of world peace, advancing the aims of national liberation and marching forward along the road to socialism and communism. This would help create conditions for a real all-inclusive international conference of Communist Parties.

We are confident that the 23rd Congress of the CPSU will mark a new advance in the struggle to achieve the historic aims set by our great pioneers, Marx and Lenin.

Long live the friendship of the Communist Parties of the Soviet Union and of Great Britain!

Long live the cause of peace, democracy, national independence and socialism!

Long live the unity of the international Communist movement and the international working class!

Long live peace and communism!

SPEECH BY COMRADE RAUL ACOSTA
General Secretary, Central Committee of the Peruvian Communist Party

Comrades, allow me, on behalf of the Peruvian Communist Party, to convey warm greetings to the historic 23rd Congress of the Party of Lenin, to the Congress which is laying the ground for further magnificent victories of communism.

We Peruvian Communists are in a special position to evaluate what the Communist Party of the Soviet Union has given to the Soviet people. We have come from a country still languishing under the yoke of semi-feudalism, capitalist exploitation and brutal

imperialist oppression. Forced labor, mass unemployment, poverty, disease and lack of rights are still widespread in our country.

An Italian scientist once called Peru "a beggar sitting on gold-fields." This was said at a time when U.S. imperialism had not yet penetrated our country. Today, it has not only seized our gold, silver, copper, iron-ore and manganese mines, our oilfields and sugar-cane and coffee plantations, but has also begun to buy out the banks, which only a short time time ago belonged to the Peruvian financial oligarchy.

We catch more fish than any other country in the world. But the noted Brazilian scientist Joshua de Castro classed Peru among those unfortunate countries whose people suffer from chronic hunger. More than 95 per cent of our fish products are exported and only serve further to enrich the U.S. and Peruvian millionaires, the owners of the fishing concerns. Our country pioneered farming in the American continent. Potatoes spread to the whole world from our country. However, to this day the Peruvian peasant is landless and for that reason Peru remains among the few countries where the output of food per head of population has been steadily dropping over the past decade. A total of 65 per cent of the farmland belongs to 1.2 per cent of the landowners. The agrarian reform law, passed on the initiative of the conciliator bourgeoisie, does not restrict the land monopoly of the latifundistas. When the peasants, Indians living in communities, start mass action demanding the return of their land, they are massacred and arrested. Under the Peruvian Constitution illiterate people do not have the right to vote. Practically none of the peasants can take part in elections, despite the fact that the peasants comprise 52 per cent of the able-bodied population. Four million and a half peasants speaking the Aimara language do not have the right to learn to read and write in their native language, and there is nothing to stimulate the development of their culture and literature.

Last year a group of courageous revolutionaries, members of the Revolutionary Left Movement and the National Liberation Army started an armed struggle against the latifundistas and their army. Our Party supports this action, considering it as a continuation of the legitimate age-old struggle of the peasants against force by landowners and the government. At the same time, we consider that in our country we do not have a revolutionary situation that could turn the armed struggle into the main form of struggle on a nation-wide scale.

The courageous actions of the partisans were supported by the peasants in the areas where these seats of the partisan war sprang up, and they had the sympathy of the people. However, these bold actions were brutally crushed. With the direct support of the U.S. military, which have been carrying on a dirty war in Vietnam for

many years, napalm bombs were dropped on our villages, and our women were raped and tortured. Whole families were shot, and hundreds of corpses were left lying on the summits of mountains. Comrade Luis de la Puente Useda, leader of the Revolutionary Left Movement, was executed. His place was taken by Maximo Lovaton, who later fell into the hands of the military and disappeared. Ector Behar, leader of the National Liberation Army, was taken prisoner. The death sentence decreed by the government in respect of partisans and of those who support them is hanging over him. We call for a broad solidarity movement in support of the demand that he be given a public trial, that the hundreds of men and women thrown into gaol for political reasons be released.

We feel that from this rostrum we must state that recently the government in Peru passed a law under which anybody returning from a visit to a socialist country is subject to court persecution.

Under these difficult conditions our Party continues the struggle, preserves its contacts with the masses, consistently champions their interests and considers that the road of armed struggle is the most probable way for accomplishing the revolution in Peru. However, far from precluding, this presupposes the utilization of all forms of struggle, of strengthening and developing mass organizations and mass action.

Our Party is struggling for democratic freedoms and is laying the foundation for a broad anti-feudal and anti-imperialist Democratic National Liberation Front.

Our Party was formed in the fire of revolutionary activity kindled by the Great October Revolution. Its founder, Comrade Jose Carlos Mariategi, taught us to love the Russian people and the Bolshevik Party. Our national poet Cesar Valeho, who is a Communist, visited the Soviet Union three times and in two of his books expressed his admiration of the creative drive of the Soviet working people during the difficult years of the first five-year plan.

At this Congress we can tell the heirs of Lenin that in our country we are successfully combating the group of splitters, who take their orders from afar. They tried to split our Party and even set up the so-called Communist Party of Peru, which has few members but extremely wealthy patrons. Today that group is split into three factions which attack each other. Most of them openly sided with the Aprista Party, a party pursuing social-democratic aims, championing the oligarchy and shamefully serving Yankee imperialism.

Taking this experience into account, the Peruvian Communist Party is working for the unity of the world Communist movement on the basis of the principles expounded in the 1957 Declaration and the 1960 Statement. Our Party sees in the Communist Party of the Soviet Union a mature, staunch and steeled standard-bearer

of the struggle for the unity of Communists. This unity is particularly needed today when the Yankee imperialists are running amuck in the war against the heroic people of Vietnam. Our Party and our people, who have experienced only some of the atrocities that the imperialists are committing in Vietnam, wholeheartedly support the Vietnamese people and consider that the Vietnamese are defending our destiny as well. For that reason we call upon the socialist camp and the international Communist movement to unite still closer with the purpose of helping Vietnam. History will not forgive those who oppose unity in the struggle against imperialism.

Our Party considers that the time is approaching when we must start preparations for another meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties with the purpose of coordinating our points of view and action in order to curb the aggression of U.S. imperialism and strengthen world peace, in order to still further unite the advanced contingents, which under various conditions and in diverse ways are struggling for national liberation and socialism, drawing inspiration from the invincible teaching of Marxism-Leninism.

We wish the hard-working Soviet people great successes in the fulfilment of the five-year plan. Their experience and achievements will serve us in the struggle for a happy life and national liberation.

Long live the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, which is a worthy heir and continuer of the cause of Lenin!

May the unity of the international Communist movement grow stronger!

MESSAGE OF GREETING FROM THE DELEGATION OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF HONDURAS TO THE 23rd CONGRES OF THE CPSU

Dear Soviet Comrades,

Comrade Delegates of the 23rd Congress of the CPSU,

On the occasion of the 23rd Congress of Lenin's Party, the recognized vanguard of the world proletariat, the Communist Party of Honduras sends fraternal greetings to the glorious Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the heroic Soviet people. We also hail all comrades who have come to the great land of Vladimir Lenin from different countries to attend this Congress which, like its forerunners, will have world-wide historic importance.

The 23rd Congress of the CPSU marks a new stage in the victorious consolidation of communism. The goals set in the plan for the coming five years indicate that the Soviet people will score new economic, scientific and technical victories. There is no doubt that

these goals will be achieved, and will give telling support to the revolutionary cause all over the world. This is why we Communists can say with pride and satisfaction that we are grateful to the selfless Soviet people, who are furthering the revolutionary cause in our long-suffering countries by their strenuous labor calmly, without any beating of the drums.

The world is going through difficult times, U.S. imperialism, which is gripped by despair in fact of the revolutionary victories of the peoples, is threatening to start a new war. In face of the mounting war danger, the Communists of all countries must redouble their efforts in behalf of peace. The Communists of Honduras are conscious of the tragic consequences a nuclear carnage would have for mankind, and promise to perform their sacred duty in this respect to the best of their ability.

Unity of the revolutionary forces on a world-wide scale is a dependable guarantee of success in the struggle against the imperialist enemy at this time, when his aggressiveness is mounting each day. Any violation of the unity of the world proletariat is objectively grinding the axe of our enemy, imperialism, no matter what revolutionary phrases may be used as cover. To Communists loyal to Marxism-Leninism the unity of the revolutionaries is most important. All the excuses advanced to justify the refusal to work consistently for unity, like all attempts to introduce new elements of dissension, are unforgivable.

The Communist Party of Honduras sides with the Soviet Union's effort to avert a further deepening of the differences in the world socialist camp. At the same time, the Communists of Honduras take this opportunity to expose the anti-Soviet complexion of various trends observed at present in a number of countries as a camouflaged form of anti-communism, an unequivocal token of hostile counter-revolutionary activity. This is why we can today repeat what the great Dimitrov said in his time: the indicator by which one can judge whether a movement, party or state acts to the benefit or the detriment of the revolution is the attitude towards the Soviet Union, the vanguard of Communism.

The Communist Parties of the Latin American countries have to operate in difficult circumstances. Frightened out of its wits by the revolutionary upsurge on our continent, the imperialist Government of the United States has stepped up repressive measures and strives might and main to destroy the Communists. For all this, the Communist Parties in Latin American countries are performing their duties successfully with revolutionary devotion typical of the proletariat. Nothing and nobody can prevent them from achieving final victory.

The working-class vanguards are encountering numerous petty-bourgeois tendencies of an anti-communist complexion, which try

to deny the proletariat its role of hegemon in the struggle for national liberation. This makes the political situation in the Latin American countries quite complicated. The tendencies in question are the upshot of the inclination towards despair, adventurism and arrogance typical of certain sections of the radical petty bourgeoisie. We censure these trends as being foreign to Marxism-Leninism and injurious to the organization and revolutionary training carried on under working-class leadership in the Latin American countries. We stress the need to fight with determination for the purity of our teaching and its clearcut ideological conceptions tested by the experience of more than one hundred years of revolutionary activity throughout the world.

Dear comrades, Honduras, our country, is living through hard and tragic days. The imperialist Government of the United States has saddled us with a military dictatorship in order to suppress the democratic struggle of our people with fire and sword. Since October 3, 1963, to this day, the military regime, "formalized" by a rigged election in February 1965, has committed countless acts of abuse against honest citizens in our country.

We, the Communists of Honduras who have been put on an illegal footing, are battling in most difficult circumstances to perform our duty in directing and organizing the revolutionary struggle of the people. This retards our progress, but we are making headway all the same, and are increasing our influence among the masses each day. We have reason to say proudly that the Communist Party of Honduras has not only stood its ground against enemy attacks, but is developing in the struggle as a force on which our people pin their hopes.

At present our efforts are concentrated on achieving a number of major objectives. We are doing organizational work among all sections of the population opposing the dictatorship with the object of building up a broad popular front capable of determined action for a democratic system and national liberation. By doing so, we are faithfully following the idea sounded by Lenin, ever living, ever abreast of the times, that no revolution is possible without the participation of the masses.

Once more, we hail the great Party of Lenin, its Central Committee and the great people of the Soviet Union, and join the best people of our planet in reasserting our deep gratitude to the Soviet people for the efforts they are making to deliver the world from a thermonuclear disaster, for their dedicated efforts to restore the unity of the world proletariat, and for their unequivocal support of the struggle of our peoples. We are happy to proclaim at this assembly, at which Communists of the whole world are represented:

Long live the selfless and heroic people of the Soviet Union!

Long live the vanguard of the world Communist movement!

Long live the community of socialist countries!
Long live peace!

TO THE 23rd CONGRESS OF THE CPSU

The Dominican Communists hail the Congress of the CPSU. Preoccupied with the struggle against the imperialist forces that have invaded our country, we wish that the present Congress should serve the cause of the unity of the whole world revolutionary movement in the fight against imperialism. We hope that the CPSU Congress will further the solidarity with peoples battling for their liberation.

Long live the unity of the world Communist movement!
May Lenin's teaching live eternally!

THE DOMINICAN COMMUNIST PARTY

TO THE FIRST SECRETARY OF CC, CPSU LEONID BREZHNEV

On behalf of the Marxist-Leninists and progressive patriotic sections of the Puerto Rican population, who are friends of the Soviet Union, we send heartfelt greetings to the 23rd Congress of your Party. We hope that its decisions further the progress of the Soviet people and the unity of the socialist forces the world over, that they reinforce the international solidarity and support extended to the Vietnamese, Dominican, Cuban and other peoples, and to the anti-imperialist struggle for national liberation, for a just peace.

J. SANTOS RIVEIRA,
Chairman of the Party for the Liberation of the Working People of Puerto Rico

TO THE 23rd CONGRESS OF THE CPSU

The Reunion Communist Party and the working people of Reunion send the 23rd Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union their heartiest greetings and wishes of complete success in its work.

REUNION COMMUNIST PARTY
EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

TO THE FIRST SECRETARY OF THE CC CPSU COMRADE LEONID BREZHNEV

Dear Comrade,

On behalf of the Socialist Party of Chile I am pleased to convey through you fraternal greetings and best wishes to the 23rd Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

We the Socialists of Chile wish that your Congress should pave the way to new successes of planned socialist economy and promote science, which has already made such immense headway, and that it should facilitate the continuous improvement of the living standard of the noble and patriotic Soviet people, whose wonderful hospitality we, the leaders of the Popular Action Front and the members of our parliamentary delegation, who recently visited your country, have enjoyed so greatly.

We also hope that the 23rd Congress of the CPSU will promote the struggle waged by the peoples in all the underdeveloped countries in their efforts to eliminated imperialist domination and the colonialist and neocolonialist forms of oppression, which exercise so pernicious an effect on their political, social and economic life.

Comrades of the Central Committee and delegates to the Congress, together with our greetings and wishes, please accept assurances of the steadfast friendship of your comrade and friend,

ANICETO RODRIGUEZ, A.,
General Secretary of the Socialist Party, Chile

TO THE 23rd CONGRESS OF THE CPSU

The Central Committee of the Somali Democratic Union sends sincere fraternal wishes of success to the 23rd Congress! We hope that this Congress will find ways and means of promoting the unity of the international labor movement and an enduring alliance of the democratic anti-imperialist forces.

We are sure that Lenin's Party will work out a correct line to repulse the aggressive imperialist offensive damaging to the developing countries and the cause of world peace.

SOMALI DEMOCRATIC UNION

SPEECH BY COMRADE DOMINIQUE URBANI
Chairman of the Communist Party of Luxembourg

Dear Comrades, on behalf of the Communists, of all the progressive and peace-loving people of our country, permit me to convey to you our fraternal greetings and wish success to your 23rd Congress.

The working people of Luxembourg follow the giant achievements of the Soviet people since your previous congress with admiration and joy. Your remarkable success in all fields make our hearts beat with gladness, for they show more and more clearly, more and more palpably, the superiority of the socialist economy and social system. They bolster our courage and give us new strength in our difficult struggle against reaction and big capital.

Your Party Congress is setting new targets in the new five-year plan along the road to communism. We know that the workers, peasants and the intelligentsia of the Soviet Union will again fulfil and overfulfil this plan. Your victories, your successes will give added strength to the position of progressives in all countries and a powerful impetus to the struggle of the working people in the capitalist countries for social and democratic progress, for peace and freedom.

Your 23rd Congress is a new milestone in the development of the international working-class movement, the struggle of the working people and the nations for social and national liberation. The CPSU and the Soviet people are ever true to the principles of Marxism-Leninism, and are facing up to tasks that follow from proletarian internationalism. Today, when U.S. imperialism is daily escalating its criminal aggression against the heroic people of Vietnam, the Soviet Union is the best friend and champion of peoples fighting in most difficult circumstances for their independence.

By championing the peace consistently and staunchly, the Soviet Union is paving the way successfully for peaceful coexistence. Thanks to this sensible and at once firm policy, the world has been spared the horrors of a third world war.

Our people hold this in high esteem. The people of Luxembourg have gained nothing from the two world wars. In a new world war they would lose everything. We rejoice at every success, every fact indicating the strengthening of the Soviet Union. The Soviet Union is a powerful bastion of peace and progress. The stronger it is, the more favorable the prospects of peace and freedom.

The Communists of Luxembourg stand firmly on the side of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. They support its efforts to preserve and cement the unity and cohesion of the world Communist movement on the basis of creative Marxism-Leninism and the deci-

sions of the 1957 and 1960 Moscow Meetings. We are certain of success.

The Luxembourg Communists work staunchly for enduring friendship with the great fraternal Soviet Party, the vanguard and teacher in the struggle for socialism and peace. The Central Committee of our Party has instructed me to tell you of our deep gratitude and our complete confidence.

Long live the Communist Party of the Soviet Union!

SPEECH BY COMRADE FUAD NASSAR
First Secretary of the Central Committee, Communist Party of Jordan

Dear Comrades, permit me to convey to you, to the glorious Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the great Soviet people, the most cordial fraternal greetings from the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Jordan, from all the Communists and progressives in our country. Our delegation is pleased to take this historic opportunity and to express the deep gratitude of the Jordanian people to the great Soviet people and the Soviet Government for their support and their selfless fraternal assistance to the Arab countries in their struggle for liberation and the building of a new life.

The people of Jordan, like all their fraternal Arab peoples, are proud of their friendship with the Soviet Union. This friendship was forged in struggle in the battles against imperialism, for the building of a new life and for progress. The Soviet Union has always been on the side of the Arab peoples. It has always helped them and has always supported their struggle. The Aswan High Dam, which is being erected with the selfless brotherly assistance of the Soviet Union, towers in the heart of the Arab world as a great symbol of Soviet-Arab friendship, which is growing and prospering each day.

The Communist Party of Jordan and its Central Committee believe that cementing fraternal relations with your glorious Party and preserving Soviet-Arab friendship is their essential national and internationalist duty.

Dear comrades, our delegation heard the Report of the CC CPSU with close attention. We Jordanian Communists are happy to witness the immense successes achieved by the Soviet people under the leadership of their glorious Party. Every new victory gained by the Soviet Union in any field is a victory for the forces of peace, liberation, democracy and socialism the world over. We watch with sincere admiration how the glorious Soviet people are

blazing the trail to communism with so much success. The 20th and 22nd Congresses of the CPSU, which creatively developed Marxism-Leninism in accordance with the conditions of our time, ushered in a new stage in the life of your Party and country, the life of the world Communist movement. The present Congress is a continuation of those two historic congresses and a step forward in their creative work.

Dear comrades, our Party and its Central Committee express their full support of the wise stand taken by your Party and its honest initiative aimed at cementing the unity of the socialist countries, restoring the unity of the ranks of the world Communist movement and securing united action by all revolutionary forces in the struggle for the preservation of world peace, for organizing resistance to the aggressive acts of world imperialism, particularly the criminal U.S. aggression against the heroic people of Vietnam.

The Jordanian people are following the courageous struggle of the Vietnamese for their country's freedom and the expulsion of the U.S. aggressors with unflagging interest. We express our fraternal solidarity with Vietnam and angrily condemn the criminal U.S. aggression against the people of South Vietnam and against the Democratic Republic of Vietnam.

Dear comrades, our Party is hard at work to unify all the genuinely patriotic and progressive forces in the struggle against neocolonialism, for its elimination in our country, for our country's complete political and economic independence, for taking Jordan along the path of democracy and socio-economic progress, for the restoration of the usurped rights of the Arab people of Palestine. This policy of our Party, and its national slogans, have the support of broad sections of our people, of all genuinely progressive and patriotic forces.

The people of Jordan, like all the Arab peoples, are at present the object of most treacherous conspiracies, engineered by imperialism, Zionism and reaction. The rulers of Israel, in alliance with the imperialist powers, particularly the imperialists of the United States and West Germany, have turned Israel into an armed camp, a base for blackmail and aggression against the national and social emancipation of the Arab peoples. The rulers of Israel did not even shrink from stretching a hand to the successors of nazism, the Bonn rulers, to obtain from them armaments for struggle against the Arab peoples. Now they are bent on obtaining atomic weapons. These reckless ventures of the Israeli rulers, backed by the imperialist powers, are adding to the tension in our region and threatening the Arab world.

On the other hand, the imperialists are now trying to unite the reactionary forces in this region under the banner of an "Islam pact." They are bent on preserving their oil interests, prejudicing

the gains of the Arab peoples and obstructing their socio-economic progress. However, the Arab peoples are repulsing all these plots of the imperialists, Zionists and reactionaries, and will not let them materialize.

In face of the new dangers, many progressive leaders of the Arab countries are now calling for the unity of all the progressive forces of the Arab world. Our Party welcomes this approach, which responds to the wishes and interests of the Arab peoples. Our Party believes that unity of all the progressive forces within each Arab country and the Arab world as a whole, and stronger bonds of friendship with the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries, and with all the progressive forces the world over, constitute the basic guarantee that imperialist and reactionary plots will be foiled and that new victories will be gained by the Arab peoples in the struggle for national and social emancipation.

Dear comrades, we wish your Congress success and we wish the great Soviet people fresh victories along its glorious road to communism!

Long live the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the Party of the immortal Lenin!

Long live the great Soviet Union!

May the unity of the socialist camp and the world Communist movement grow stronger!

May Soviet-Arab friendship flourish and develop!

SPEECH BY COMRADE EVREMON JEN
General Secretary of the Communist Party of Guadeloupe

Dear Comrades, our delegation is proud to be at your Congress and is happy to convey to you its most hearty fraternal greetings. We take this opportunity to pay our tribute of deep respect to all the peoples of the great Soviet Union, the workers, collective farmers, the intelligentsia, and the 12 million members and candidate-members of Lenin's Party on behalf of the working people of Guadeloupe and their Communist Party. The Communists of Guadeloupe hold in high esteem the policy of the CPSU, which proceeds in its activities from the Marxist-Leninist teaching, and use in their struggle its incalculable experience. Once more, they reassert their fraternal solidarity with your glorious Party.

Dear delegates, despite its political status of an overseas department, established in 1946, our Guadeloupe is nothing but an old French colony in Central America, associated since 1957 with the European Economic Community, which only serves to aggravate

its condition of a "world village" and an appendage of the world capitalist economy.

The economic situation of Guadeloupe is highlighted by the fact that four-fifths of the cultivated land belongs to French and Martinique capitalists and to the state-operated society SATEC, which has been charged by the de Gaulle government to carry through a so-called land reform. Crop-sharing ties the peasants to the least fertile land. On privately owned farms the machine is gradually ousting the farm laborer.

Sugar cane and bananas, the components of our, so to say, dual monoculture, are no source of hope for us. The fixing of prices for sugar cane by the sugar content and the falling price of bananas are driving the small and medium peasant to ruin. The only local industry, the sugar industry, controlled by French and Martinique companies, produces raw sugar, which is refined in France.

To sum up, the main means of production (the land and the sugar factories) are concentrated in the hands of two foreign bourgeois groups, who are pocketing the wealth of Guadeloupe. As a result, Guadeloupe national capital is extremely weak; national wealth is being plundered; profits are shipped out of the country, preventing the formation of a national income. Briefly, Guadeloupe has no economy of its own. It is a colony of foreign monopoly capital, an agrarian appendage of France.

Over this limited and unbalanced economic basis (a semi-feudal agriculture and an agrarian industry) towers the colonial superstructure of a state machine.

It is natural, therefore, that our country experiences all the pernicious effects of modern colonialism, the burden of which has grown still heavier due to the autocratic regime established in France. Non-equivalent exchange, unemployment, low wages, low prices for sugar cane and bananas, continuously rising prices, high taxes, prostitution, disease and racial discrimination—those are the main consequences.

The latest trick of the de Gaulle authorities, devised after officials who refused to obey their demands were deported, is the organization of two-way migration. Sixteen thousand boys and girls are to be sent to France annually, with reciprocal shipments to Guadeloupe from the metropolitan country.

The Gaullist party, the UNR-UTD, the workers' aristocracy, oppression and repression, court persecutions, radio and television, some general or itinerant ambassador, visits of ministers (if not General de Gaulle himself) are used to condition our population. Gendarmes and security troop barracks are situated in the hills to maintain peace and order. The policeman has become the most prominent citizen in the country.

The representative of Gaullist power, the prefect, is not respon-

sible to the people of Guadeloupe, and continuously violates the laws. He bans popular assemblies and demonstrations, shuts down democratic newspapers, and sends police out against strikers. The results of elections to social and political bodies are doctored on his orders. He does as he pleases, and even obstructs the decisions of the State Council, which represents the supreme power. But this is not all.

To keep up appearances, the authorities carry through certain measures, such as building roads, for pure show. These measures go under the high-sounding head of "economic aid to underdeveloped countries." But nobody is deceived by them. The profit goes to the big French companies connected with state-monopoly capitalism, while continuously increasing impoverishment remains the lot of the people as before.

The influence our Party has among the masses is much greater than its representation in the consultative assemblies. At present, it has five municipal counsellors out of 34 and three general counsellors out of 36. We could have had more if the authorities had not doctored the results of the elections. Our Party is the leading force in the national liberation struggle. Having deeply analyzed contemporary social development and the balance of class strength on the international scene, in France and in our own country, and taking account of the degree of activity of our people, their degree of organization and their political consciousness, moulded by 330 years of colonial rule, our Party has come to the conclusion that the subjective factor in the maturation of national awareness in Guadeloupe is somewhat weak.

For this reason, our 3rd Congress has approved our political line of struggle for Guadeloupe autonomy within the framework of an alliance with France.

The Congress defined the *political content of this autonomy*:

1) local legislative assembly;
2) an executive Guadeloupe organ responsible to this assembly;
3) a body for co-operation with France.

Economic content of autonomy:

a) non-capitalist path of development;
b) radical agrarian reform;
c) rational and restricted industrialization;
d) total reconversion of foreign and domestic trade;
e) development of cooperatives.

Social content of autonomy:

The autonomy is to be carried through in the interest of the most needy section of Guadeloupe working people at the expense of the feudal and colonial enterprises inherited or founded during the slave period in our country, and at the expense of monopoly

enterprises. The people of Guadeloupe as a whole will gain from this.

To achieve all these objectives it is essential for us to give closer attention to any, even the least, demands of the victims of colonial exploitation, to defend the daily interests of the working people continuously in all fields, to do our utmost for the education, organization and unification of the people, drawing them into open political struggle within the framework of a broad anti-colonialist front. That is the way to develop the national and public consciousness of the people through their own experience.

The anti-colonialist front in Guadeloupe is growing stronger at present.

In the historical context, the power of attraction of socialist ideas, particularly of socialist practice, is invaluable to our people in the sense that it helps to form and develop their revolutionary spirit, show them the way to the future and further the development of political awareness and activity.

Our freedom-loving people understand perfectly well that the socialist camp, headed by the USSR, is the citadel of international security.

Our people fully appreciate the effective and selfless assistance rendered by the Soviet Union in all fields to the progressive forces of the world. We heartily applaud each new feat of the Soviet people.

We are sure, dear comrades, that your new five-year plan, which will enable you to make a decisive step forward in the building of the material and technical basis of communism and serve as a big contribution to the cause of peace, will evoke a response also in our country on the shores of Central America.

By virtue of the fact that success in the national liberation struggle of the peoples is bound up closely with external factors, with the consolidation of socialism, our Party believes that united action by all the fraternal Parties against U.S. imperialism in Vietnam has never been more urgent.

Our Party censures all activities that injure the unity of action within the great family of Communists. We agree with the Report of the CC, CPSU, delivered by Comrade Brezhnev, that the general line framed by the 1957 and 1960 Meetings of the fraternal Parties is a good Marxist-Leninist platform for cementing the communist ranks.

Dear comrades, we wish you every success in expanding and improving your economy, in raising the living standard and cultural level of the people, and in fulfilling and overfulfilling the new five-year plan.

Just as Lenin predicted, you are waging a successful economic struggle against capitalism in the world arena. We are sure that

the developing socialist system has every chance to win on the international scale once and for all.

Long live the 23rd Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union!

Long live the unity and cohesion of the world communist and working-class movement!

Long live the unity of all the torrents of the world revolutionary process!

Long live proletarian internationalism, long live socialist internationalism!

Long live peace!

SPEECH BY COMRADE CASTELLANOS
Member of the Leadership of the People's Party of Panama

Comrades, first of all I should like to congratulate the Soviet workers and engineers who, under the leadership of the CPSU have made it possible for us to hear the proletarian anthem from the first artificial Moon satellite.

Comrades, the People's Party of Panama, the Party of Panama Communists, sends hearty fraternal greetings to the Soviet people, to their great Marxist-Leninist Party, to the historic 23rd Congress.

The economic, cultural and military strengthening of the Soviet Union and the whole of the socialist camp is of vital importance for the peoples waging the national liberation struggle. It is a factor that impels the revolutionary processes and the conquest of freedom and independence by the peoples.

The people of Panama believe that the victories of the Soviet Union, the socialist camp, the world communist movement and the national liberation struggle, are fresh devastating blows to U.S. imperialism, the common enemy.

The presence in Panama of U.S. imperialism goes against the interests of our people. Hence the varied and complex forms of struggle waged by nearly all the social sections of the country. Headed by the Communists, the patriotic and anti-imperialist forces demand:

— an end to the U.S. monopoly on our geographic position;

— reunification of the Canala Zone with our national territory and its transfer under the jurisdiction of Panama;

— the repeal forthwith of the 1903 treaty;

— and the subsequent nationalization of the Panama Canal.

In recent years our people have been fighting a difficult and heroic struggle against the foreign occupation force and have already dealt painful blows to the U.S. imperialism, exposing its pre-

datory nature to all the peoples of the world. The patriotic manifestations in January 1964 assumed so great a scale that the Panamanian Government, which is neither democratic nor popular, was compelled to break off diplomatic relations with the United States and lodge a protest with the UN Security Council and the OAS against the U.S. aggression.

The workers, peasants, students, people of the free professions and certain sections of the national bourgeoisie in Panama resent U.S. imperialism, which wants to retain and extend its privileges in our country.

This is why we Communists, who stand in the van of all the patriotic forces, are waging a struggle to prevent the negotiations now being conducted between the United States and members of the Panamanian oligarchy from culminating in the transfer of fresh areas of national territory which the U.S. State Department wants in Panama to build new military bases.

Big and important developments loom large in Panama. In January 1964 our people showed their unbending determination to defend the political, economic and territorial integrity of their country. A betrayal of the sacred wishes of those who fell in January 1964 or U.S. military pressure against these aspirations of the majority of the Panamanian people are bound to touch off strong resistance by all Panamanian patriots.

Nobody knows better than the People's Party of Panama how effective and important is the solidarity of the Soviet Union, the socialist camp, the fraternal Communist Parties and the whole national liberation movement.

Our Party expresses its admiration and militant solidarity with the struggle of the heroic peoples of Vietnam and the Dominican Republic, which are now the victims of aggression, and with all the parties and peoples fighting against military dictatorships and are prey to wholesale repressions.

We Panamanian Communists are true to the principle of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, and call for united action against the common enemy in order to bring nearer the last hour of imperialism, colonialism and capitalism.

Long live the 23rd Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union!

Long live the world communist movement!

Glory to the unconquerable builders of communism!

SPEECH BY COMRADE LEON MAKA
Member of National Political Bureau, Democratic Party of Guinea

Dear Comrades, the Political Bureau of the Democratic Party of Guinea accepted with deep satisfaction the kind invitation of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union to attend its 23rd Congress.

This eminent convention is taking place at a time when the international situation calls for the closest unity of the world's progressive forces in order to block the path to imperialism, whose candidly aggressive actions are a serious peril to world peace.

Indeed, wherever you may look—in Asia, and in Africa—there are seats of conflict kindled by the forces of reaction with the sole object of perpetuating the exploitation of man by man.

Here at your Congress, the delegation of the Democratic Party of Guinea believes it fitting to recall that the Revolution of 1917 destroyed the tsarist colonies and thereby the myth that the imperialist powers are undefeatable. This roused the exploited classes and ushered in socialist society. Socialist society takes guidance in a philosophy that joined numerous peoples in a single family—the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

The historic significance of the October Socialist Revolution is growing steadily over the decades. The gallant workers of Leningrad, at whose walls the nazis were dealt a crushing defeat, handed to the people of Vietnam fighting for their freedom a pennant symbolizing the determination of the Leningraders to follow the heroic path of their fathers.

On the occasion of this Congress, whose importance will surely transcend the borders of your country, the delegation of the Democratic Party of Guinea, on behalf of the people of Guinea, conveys its fraternal greetings to the Soviet people and congratulates them on their tremendous achievements under the leadership of their glorious Party. The people of Guinea send hearty greetings to all Soviet working people—the workers, peasants and intelligentsia. Their constant efforts are an invaluable contribution to the reconstruction of the world and fortify the foundations of socialist society, whose ultimate goal is the full flowering of the human personality.

Dear comrades, the cooperation that prevails between our two Parties, and therefore between our states, gives us leave to say a few words about the Democratic Party of Guinea. Its main purpose is to secure the harmonious development of our but recently colonial people, who have entrusted their future to the Party.

We should like to recall that as recently as 1957, on the eve of independence, the Democratic Party of Guinea took advantage of

the "semi-autonomous regime" established by French legislation to abolish the institution of tribal chiefs and thereby undermine the local feudal system, the main pillar of the colonial regime.

The independence gained in our historic referendum on September 28, 1958, was used by the Democratic Party of Guinea to carry through deep-going changes in our social relations, which had been inherited from colonialism. As a result of these changes, we have won complete independence for our people. This is betokened by the following:

— in home politics power was transferred to the people ranged behind the Democratic Party of Guinea, whose main principle is democratic centralism and whose daily practice is criticism and self-criticism;

— in foreign politics, a search for ways to African unity, assertion of African dignity, and international cooperation based on mutual respect;

— in the economic sphere, the non-capitalist path of development, and planned use of national wealth exclusively in the interest of the people;

— in the social sphere, emancipation of woman, all round development of the youth through an educational reform and the democratization of education, the revival and development of national culture and art.

This program, which shattered the former system of oppression, went against the grain of the colonialists.

We showed firm resolve in pursuing this program. The start was made by our three-year plan for 1960-63. A currency and banking reform was carried through, a far-flung system of schools was created and factories making consumer goods were founded. The current seven-year plan, whose main purpose is to industrialize the country, is the next step in our program.

In implementing these plans, our people ran into numerous difficulties, which they surmounted by virtue of their political maturity and vigilance.

Thus, the November 8, 1964 law cut short the injurious activity of local private businessmen, who tried to undermine our economy in concert with imperialism by tying it to colonial trusts. A conspiracy inspired and financed from abroad with the objective of abolishing the democratic and popular regime in Guinea was squashed in 1965.

Comrades, we welcome the support you are rendering the oppressed peoples in their struggle against foreign domination, neocolonialism and imperialism. In particular, we welcome the solidarity of the Soviet people with the people of Vietnam in their heroic struggle against imperialist aggression. We welcome your support

of our struggle against the subversive activities of imperialism in the independent African states.

A veritable cascade of military coups has occurred in Africa since the beginning of 1963. Recently, the racists unilaterally proclaimed the independence of Rhodesia. In the meantime, the peoples of Mozambique, Angola, Guinea (Bisau) and other countries intensified the struggle for liberation. It is obvious that Africa has become the object of a ferocious counter offensive by the imperialists, who seek to obstruct the progress of the peoples, to regain their grip on the former colonies and assume the place of the former masters. Their purpose is to set up military bases for a war, the threat of which has already grown quite real.

In face of this danger, the Democratic Party of Guinea vigorously supports all efforts aimed at cementing the contacts and cooperation of the socialist countries. Our Party believes that it is essential to restore the unity of all the socialist countries as rapidly as possible in order to secure the victory of the peoples over imperialism, which only benefits from any and all differences within the socialist camp.

Our delegation is convinced that the liberation of the peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America is a decisive stage in history. It believes that the question of peace deeply concerns the interests of all states and peoples. This is why our delegation condemns wars of conquest in Korea, Vietnam, Angola and South Arabia, the war threat in South Africa and Latin America, and the military coups in Africa. All these criminal acts are aimed at establishing and maintaining imperialist military bases, which constantly accentuate the danger of war and undermine the idea of peace.

Peace cannot be an aim in itself. It is not merely an idea that marshals world public opinion. Peace does not call only for the immediate abolition of wars, which have never stopped since the end of the last world conflict. Peace also connotes gains for the peoples and the men who work above all for their own survival, the right to a bearable life, the chance to secure a continuous improvement of the living standard through the emancipation of labor, consistent abolition of all forms of exploitation and oppression nourished by any system of economic and social discrimination and hierarchy, any application of material or financial pressure.

Peace will be made secure by the patriotic and progressive struggle of the peoples of the whole world, inspired by a clear appreciation of what man is ordained to be in a world society.

The Soviet people have stood in the van of this struggle for man's welfare since the time of the October Revolution.

The Democratic Party of Guinea wishes the great Communist

Party of the Soviet Union every success and calls like a brother on all progressives to wipe out imperialism, colonialism and neocolonialism throughout the world for all time.

Long live friendship with all peoples!

Long live peace!

SPEECH BY COMRADE TULLIO VECCHIETTI
General Secretary, Italian Socialist Party of Proletarian Unity

Dear Comrades, the greetings that I convey to the 23rd Congress of the CPSU, to the Soviet comrades, and to the comrades representing other Communist and Workers' Parties of the world, come from the Unity Socialists, who are true to the class and internationalist traditions of the Italian socialist movement.

In opposing imperialism, we are guided by the same principles that inspired our anti-war struggle in 1914. At that time, the Italian Socialists followed Lenin and denounced the betrayal of the Social-Democrats. In the struggle for democracy and socialism we follow a policy of unity, which the Italian socialist movement followed until recently and which enabled us to battle victoriously, together with the Communists, against fascism and nazism and, after the war, to prevent the imperialist and reactionary forces from turning Itaily into a staging area for new military ventures.

We rejoice at your successes in all fields—in science and technology, the building of communist society, and the development of the economy for the good of the Soviet people. Each of your successes epitomizes not only the strengthening of the country to the struggle of the working-class movement and the anti-imperialist forces.

Our presence at your Congress is added proof of the need for unity of the communist, socialist and anti-imperialist forces, in order to make more effective the struggle against the U.S. imperialist aggression in Vietnam and against the U.S. policy from strength in the rest of Asia, Africa and Latin America.

The internationalist spirit and will for unity again proclaimed from the rostrum of your Congress confirm that the Communist Party of the Soviet Union under the leadership of its Central Committee is awake to its tasks and world-wide responsibilities, to the decisive part which the Soviet Union plays in the struggle against imperialism for the maintenance of peace, preventing the American imperialist forces from turning Vietnam into the testing ground of a new world war.

Comrade delegates, we believe that the policy casting the United States in the role of a world policeman is a token not of strength,

but of weakness, even though it has achieved certain results, chiefly in Africa. Our opinion is prompted by two considerations. The first is that the imperialist forces are compelled to resort to war, coercion and bribery in their efforts to subdue the craving for freedom among peoples suffering colonial exploitation and imperialist domination. Whenever they succeed, they set up puppet regimes hated and despised by the overwhelming majority of the population, as is the case today in South Vietnam.

The other consideration concerns Europe. If it is true that the international situation has deteriorated and the war danger has mounted due to the U.S. aggression in Vietnam, it is just as true that the imperialist blocs are becoming weaker due to the aggravation of contradictions between the capitalist states. The wholesale penetration of U.S. capital into many West European countries is causing alarm even among the European capitalist circles. Washington's efforts to impose on its European allies an adventuresome policy are encountering resistance from increasingly broader sections of the population. Take the situation in Italy, where manifestations against the U.S. aggression in Vietnam have won sympathy far outside the class movement, among the democratic intelligentsia, large sections of Catholics, and the Catholic Church itself.

All this is the sign a new situation. At this hour, when the contradictions within the capitalist system have touched off a crisis in the Atlantic Alliance, the Communist and Workers' Parties of the European socialist countries and the labor movement in the European capitalist countries, we believe, must find ways and means to consolidate peace in Europe and the world.

This is a difficult thing to do, because so far a large section of the bourgeois political forces and the Social-Democratic parties in the European NATO countries are tied to the U.S. chariot. But the task is practicable and necessary.

We believe that the class movements in Western Europe must, with full regard for their autonomy and an eye on the special conditions in which they function, coordinate their actions in order to replace security based on nuclear fear with a system of European security based on the dissolution of military blocs and on controlled disarmament, with an eye also on the fact that the term of the Atlantic Pact will soon expire.

Comrade delegates, we believe that European security based on specific measures designed to safeguard peace is not only important forld peace as such, but also for the struggle against imperialism in all continents.

The stronger the fight against the U.S. imperialist forces and the more complete their isolation, the more difficult it will be for them

to pursue their adventuresome policy and act as a gendarme in the service of world reaction.

Our struggle against U.S. imperialism in Europe and against West German revanchism is, in the final analysis, also a palpable expression of our solidarity with the heroic struggle of the Vietnamese peoples. In other words, it is our contribution to the common general line of the world class movement proclaimed at this Congress as an essential condition for victorious struggle against imperialism, for peace and socialism.

Being certain that this is so, I wish your Congress every success on behalf of the Unity Socialists of Italy in the building of Communism in the USSR, in protecting the peoples suffering imperialist aggression and in safeguarding world peace.

SPEECH BY COMRADE BERNARDO ALVARADO
General Secretary of the Central Committee, Guatemalan Party of Labor

Dear Comrades, the 23rd Congress of the Party of Lenin—this shock brigade in the struggle for building the new world which for the benefit of man is discovering the secrets of the atomic nucleus and reaching out into boundless space—is an event close to the hearts of the working people and revolutionaries throughout the world. It is a big event in the life not only of the Soviet Communists, but also of all the Communists whose representatives came here from different corners of the earth, having surmounted tremendous difficulties and covered vast distances.

Your Congress is being held in an international atmosphere when the forces of world revolution—as represented by the constantly growing socialist camp of which the Soviet Union is the center, by the surging national liberation movement of the Asian, African and Latin American peoples who rallied closer together after the Havana Tri-Continental Conference and by the international proletariat fighting in different countries of the globe—are firmly and resolutely opposing the forces of counter-revolution headed by U.S. imperialism with its aggressive and provocative policy aimed at winning world supremacy.

We live in an age of great revolutionary changes in all spheres of life, in an age when the struggle and changing reality are putting all revolutionary organizations and their leaders to a rigid test. A way out of this seeming labyrinth of history can be found only if we guide ourselves by the tried and tested doctrine of Marxism-Leninism whose principles are consolidated and enriched with the

progress of science and society provided there is a close link with the vital problems agitating the people and provided these principles are creatively applied to reality.

The Guatemalan Party of Labor, the Party of Guatemalan Communists, is exerting great effort to make a worthy contribution to the struggle for the common cause of the revolution and socialism. We are striving loyally to serve the interests and aspirations of the workers, peasants and our entire people so as to act as the vanguard of the Guatemalan revolution, which at the present stage is agrarian and anti-imperialist, but is aimed for the subsequent building of socialism. This is what the great Lenin taught the Communists. Many failures, mistakes and shortcomings have beset our path, but the total result has been positive and however the circumstances shape, the enemy has not succeeded, and will never succeed, in breaking us.

A national conference of our Party was held at the end of February. It was marked by broad self-criticism and a lofty militant spirit and laid the necessary foundations for strengthening its unity and discipline and also for enhancing the Party's role in the revolutionary struggle.

Our struggle has enjoyed valuable support of the peoples and fraternal Parties, for which we full-heartedly thank them today from this lofty rostrum of the 23rd CPSU Congress. But we want particularly to emphasize the valuable and fraternal assistance we have been invariably rendered by the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, which guides itself by the principle of the international proletarian solidarity. The heroic Cuban Revolution, not speaking of its significance for the revolutionary movement in Latin America, is also a stimulus and example for us. We also want to note that we are inspired by, and draw fresh strength in, the heroic struggle of the glorious Vietnamese people, a strength which is a nodal point in the present international situation, a struggle with which we are in complete solidarity.

We acclaim the great Soviet people as personified by their finest sons and daughters, delegates to the 23rd Congress of the CPSU, and convey special greetings to the scientists, engineers and workers whose labor made possible the magnificent flight of Luna 10, the object of pride and admiration of the international working class.

Speaking about the situation in our country. I would like to say that the Guatemalan people have been compelled to resort to revolutionary violence in reply to the terror and counter-revolutionary violence let loose by the anti-communist reactionary forces after the imperialist intervention in 1954. For our part, we are trying to utilize all forms of organization and struggle corresponding

to the present development of our revolution along the path of armed struggle. We have embarked on this path, being aware that, alongside with great possibilities it opens up, it is also fraught with a serious risk in Guatemala.

Comrades, on behalf of the Central Committee of our Party, confident that we express the sentiments of all Guatemalan Communists, of our comrades languishing in prisons and those missing, the list of whose names is opened by our dear Victor Manuel Guttierez, an outstanding leader of our country's working class, and Leonardo Castillo Flores, a noted peasant leader, both members of our Central Committee, by our guerrillas who are valiantly fighting in the mountains and our staunch fighters in the towns, and also the sentiments and thoughts of our comrades who fell in battle, we proclaim in this hall:

Hail the 23rd Congress of the CPSU!

Long live the unity of the international Communist movement!

Forward, to new victories in building socialism and communism!

Forward, to new battles of the revolutionary national liberation movement!

SPEECH BY COMRADE HASSAN KHOREITAM
Member of the Political Bureau
Secretary of the Central Committee, Lebanese Communist Party

Dear Comrades, on behalf of the Central Committee of the Lebanese Communist Party and all Lebanese Communists our delegation voices the most sincere wishes to the 23rd Congress of the CPSU and conveys warm, cordial greetings to the great Soviet people, the people who are the first in the world to have built socialism and to undertake the construction of communism. Allow me, comrade delegates, to express on behalf of our Party the sincerest wishes of success to your historic Congress. We are confident that all progressives, all patriots and the masses of the Lebanon are today following with great interest your Congress and attach great importance to its work and decision. In our country, as the world over, the people see in each Congress of the Party of Lenin a tremendous international event which exerts a profound direct impact on the entire international Communist and revolutionary movement, on the solution of the problems facing mankind.

The political report of Comrade Brezhnev shows that your Congress will open up to the Soviet people a new stake in building the material and technical basis of communism, that it will make a tangible contribution to strengthening the cohesion of the world

socialist system and consolidating the unity of the international communist movement. This creates a strong basis for fresh victories of the peoples in the struggle for peace, peaceful coexistence, national liberation, for social progress and socialism.

At its 23rd Congress the Communist Party of the Soviet Union once again appeared before all the Communists and the revolutionaries of the world, before all the peoples, as the tried and tested vanguard of the world communist and revolutionary movement, as the standard-bearer of proletarian internationalism, which, as no one else, is able to apply in action the principles of international solidarity. A common powerful and inspired call rings out at your Congress and in the speeches by delegates of the fraternal Parties, a call urging all Communists, all forces of freedom, peace and progress the world over to unite their ranks and coordinate their struggle designed to cut short the aggressive actions of imperialism against the liberation movements of the peoples.

This is a call to resolute struggle by joint effort to end the barbarous American aggression in Vietnam, to help the heroic Vietnamese people in their fight for the just cause. Your Party and your people are setting a remarkable example of international solidarity, giving the Vietnamese people all the material, military and moral assistance they need to repulse criminal imperialist aggression.

We fully support the stand of your Party, expounded in Comrade Brezhnev's political report, on the difficulties which had risen in the international Communist movement and the ways and means for overcoming these difficulties and strengthening the unity and cohesion of the world-wide army of Communists. A weakening of the cohesion in the communist ranks plays into the hands only of our common class enemies, imperialism and reaction. Any activity designed to split the international Communist movement is utilized by them in their class interests, to achieve their criminal plans directed against the peoples. Today, as in the past, the Lebanese Communist Party is fully resolved to make its contribution, to utilize all its opportunities for pursuing a policy of united action against imperialist aggression, against the plot of the reactionary forces who are fanning the anti-communist hysteria and are waging a campaign of terror, repression and physical extermination against the Communists. Our Party has likewise made, and will always make, its contribution to supporting and successfully arranging meetings and conferences of representatives of the fraternal Parties in order to exchange opinion and experience and strengthen the international solidarity between them. It backs the idea of an international conference of the Communist Parties when the conditions for it become ripe. Such conferences are a vital, tried and tested form for ensuring the international unity of the Communists

and collective discussion of new problems put forward by life.

Together with the overwhelming majority of the fraternal Parties, the Lebanese Communists are resolutely supporting the general line of the world communist movement collectively drawn up at the Meetings in 1957 and 1960.

All experience has confirmed that this line is correct and applicable to present-day realities. Today more than ever before the Lebanese Communists are convinced that a comradely, fraternal attitude to the Communist Party of the Soviet Union based on friendship and respect has been, and remains, the criterion of fidelity to scientific socialism and proletarian internationalism. One cannot be loyal to the unity of the socialist community, to the cohesion of the communist movement and the interests of all the world revolutionary forces and at the same time foment hostility for the Party of Lenin, the first socialist country in the world, the great socialist state which is the shock detachment of the revolutionary movement the world over.

We wholeheartedly support and welcome the determined, principled position taken by the delegates of the fraternal Parties who declared here that there had never been anti-Soviet communism in the world nor could there be any. We know from the experience of the revolutionary movement in the Lebanon and other Arab countries that friendship with the Soviet Union is the decisive factor of successful struggle against colonialism and imperialism and for deepening the progressive content of the national liberation movement. The Arab peoples know that the profound socio-economic reforms effected in the newly-free Arab countries in recent years are organically linked with the moral, material and military support the Soviet Union has rendered, and is rendering them. The experience of many newly-independent countries has confirmed that the stronger the ties of solidarity and cooperation between them and the socialist system and its vanguard, the Soviet Union, the more reliable and swifter is their advance along the road of complete political liberation and social progress, along the non-capitalist path of development which leads to socialism.

Comrades, in recent years the Lebanon has been witnessing a mighty upsurge of the struggle by the people for their urgent demands, for the consolidation of the country's independence and the strengthening of democracy, for economic development and social progress. The struggle of the peoples has gained in size and strength, setting into motion and attracting ever new needy social sections of town and country. An active part in the struggle has been taken by the masses and also many parties, by political, patriotic and progressive forces, movements and trends, democratic and trade union organizations. Together with other patriotic and progressive forces,

our Party has been able to play a big role in organizing and directing the struggle of the people. One of the primary factors facilitating this development has been the policy pursued by our Party aimed at eliminating mistrust and suspicion which had existed in relations between Communists and other revolutionaries and Socialists, the Party's urge for the establishment of active cooperation between them, for the consolidation and unity of all the patriotic, democratic and progressive forces in the country.

Our Party has devoted much attention to improving the organization of the working class and its trade union movement, to ensuring the unity of its ranks and stimulating its activity. Workers have actively participated in various mass actions, which helped raise the prestige of the working class and the trade unions in the people's movement. One of the first fruits of joint action by the workers has been the promulgation of a social security law by the state, and increase of the minimum wages, etc.

In the course of mass campaigns and joint action by Communists, Socialists and other progressive groups, a front of patriotic and progressive parties and leaders has begun to take shape for the first time in our country. This front is waging a struggle against neocolonialism, against the economic and political domination of the imperialist states and the reactionary minority associated with the greedy monopolies of these states. It is fighting for economic independence and economic progress, for the interests of the working class, peasantry and all the working sections of society. In a short time the joint actions of the working people, organized by the front, have exerted considerable influence on the country's political life and the policy of influential governmental circles.

Thus, last year the people's struggle helped foil the attempt to impose on the Lebanon a colonialist-inspired agreement on guarantees of American capital, and compelled the "government of millionaires" which put forward this draft to resign. Under the impact of the mounting popular movement, influential governmental circles began to show an interest in the socio-economic demands of the masses, to draw up plans of economic development and to carry out measures for purging and reconstructing the state administrative machine.

In the sphere of inter-Arab and international policy the Lebanese leaders holding responsible posts have taken positive measures which reinforce the country's independence. In reply to pressure by the organizers of a new reactionary imperialist pact named the Islamic Pact, they have declared that they reject the policy of pacts and on various occasions have given assurances that they adhere to a policy of neutrality, non-alignment, peace and inter-Arab solidarity. Certain steps have also been taken to extend trade

and improve the relations of the Lebanon with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries.

All this shows that the struggle of the Lebanese people tends to acquire a deeper economic and social content and rise to a higher political evel. The slogans inspiring the masses to struggle contain now broad basic demands aimed at satisfying the country's objective development needs and effecting profound changes in its foreign policy. The forces advocating progress and socialism are growing daily in the Lebanon under the influence of the tremendous economic, scientific and cultural achievements of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries and also the important progressive changes carried out in fraternal Arab countries. In our country there grows ever wider a front of social forces who, together with the Communists, are convinced of the need to interrupt the country's capitalist development, to release it from the fetter of the "free economy" and neocolonialism and to lead the Lebanon along the non-capitalist road to socialism.

The liberation movement in the Lebanon and the other Arab countries has recently been confronted with an urgent task: to cut short the frenzied activity of the reactionary forces and the imperialists to build up the so-called Islamic Pact. This pact, hiding behind a religious mask, is nothing else but a reactionary imperialist bloc directed against the independence of the Arab countries, against the struggle of the peoples in the South of the Arabian Peninsula for their liberation from colonial oppression, for their freedom. This pact is directed against the rights of the Palestinian Arabs and against progressive regimes in the newly-free Arab states. One of the primary purposes of this pact is to arrange a plot against the United Arab Republic which has rejected the capitalist path of development and has set itself socialist aims; against the Syrian Arab Republic where a progressive government has been formed, which has proclaimed its resolve to pursue a determined liberation policy against imperialism and lead the country along the road to socialism. There is no doubt that the way to frustrate this new imperialist plot is the way of struggle and unity of all the forces of liberation and progress both in each Arab country and on an all-Arab scale.

Mass action for cooperation and solidarity with Vietnam, which our Party began to organize a few years ago together with other patriotic and progressive forces, is becoming ever wider. Not long ago tens of prominent intellectuals, members of parliament, political and trade union leaders of the most different trends took the initiative in organizing a Committee of solidarity with the Vietnamese people. The aim of this Committee is to demand an end to the bombings of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, the with-

drawal of the troops of the American invaders and their mercenaries from South Vietnam and granting the Vietnamese people the opportunity freely to decide their future.

The patriotic, progressive and democratic forces of the Lebanon the Communists in the first place, are fully determined to develop the economic and political struggle of the people for isolating representatives of the feudal-financial oligarchy and inveterate reactionaries, enemies of progress, who still preserve strong positions in the country. These men openly champion the Islamic Pact and are hatching plots against the people's movement. The country's interests demand that they be given no chance to recapture key posts in the state.

Comrades, the Lebanese Communists, and also other patriots and progressives of our country always remember that the Soviet people and their Communist Party have invariably been on their side at all stages of their struggle and extended them a helping hand. The Lebanese people will never forget the determined support of the Soviet Union which enabled them to achieve the evacuation of foreign troops from the territory of their country in 1946, to oust the U.S. marines in 1958 and helped the Lebanese people to combat the numerous imperialist plots. That is why we know that the successful work of your Congress will still more strengthen the positions of the forces of freedom, progress and socialism throughout the world. The successful fulfilment by your Party and your people of the next five-year plan will be the best international assistance on your part to the world liberation movement.

Long live the Party of the great Lenin, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and its 23rd Congress!

Long live its Leninist Central Committee!

Glory to the Soviet people who are marching along the road of building communism!

Long live Lebanese-Soviet and Arab-Soviet friendship!

May the unity of the communist movement triumph, may the international solidarity of the Communists grow stronger!

SPEECH BY COMRADE AMIN SADEK
Head of the Delegation, Iraqi Communist Party

Dear Comrades, on behalf of the Iraqi Communists allow me to greet the 23rd Cgonress of your Party which represents the Communists and working people of your country. Allow me to wish you success in mobilizing the great forces of the Soviet people, in leading their struggle for new victories in building communism

in the USSR, in strengthening the entire socialist camp and supporting the liberation and revolutionary working-class movement the world over.

Every Congress of the CPSU is an outstanding event not only for the peoples of the Soviet Union, but also for the world revolutionary movement, because history has placed your Party in the van of the communist and the world revolutionary movement.

Thanks to their close bond with the people, thanks to the creative application of Marxism-Leninism, Soviet Communists have justified the trust of the working people of their country and the millions of revolutionaries in all countries of the world. They have performed great exploits marching in the van of their people. They have overcome difficulties, fighting against the invaders and reactionaries during national wars and engaging in constructive endeavor in peacetime.

We Iraqi Communists regard every fresh success of the Soviet Union or any other socialist country as a success of our working people, as a success of the working people of the world. We see in the economic, scientific and technical progress made by the Soviet state under the leadership of the Communist Party an effective factor for preserving and developing the gains of the international working-class movement, of which the creation of the world socialist community is the most essential one.

Dear comrades, the situation in which the world Communist movement is working today is marked by certain difficulties and complications associated in particular with the development of abnormal relations within the socialist community and the world Communist movement. Reactionary and imperialist circles headed by U.S. imperialism have exploited these difficulties to carry out their plans, to exacerbate tensions and extend a struggle against revolutionary movements, escalate armed aggression against South Vietnam and continue the barbarous air raids on the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, to export and encourage counter-revolution and reactionary coups against the liberation movements and national governments in the newly-free countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America.

This situation confronts all Marxist-Leninist Parties with a pressing task—jointly to study the existing situation by arranging bilateral and multilateral talks, which would be a continuation of the reasonable step made at the Consultative Meeting of 19 Parties in Moscow and at subsequent meetings and talks between fraternal Parties, in order to map out the best ways and methods for resolving differences and restoring unity in the ranks of the communist movement and in the socialist community.

The vital interests of the international working class and all the

peoples demand of the Marxist-Leninist Parties, particularly of Parties in the socialist countries, to display initiative in coordinating efforts and organizing joint action—despite the existence of ideological differences and prior to overcoming them—to repulse the onslaught of the imperialist and reactionary forces on democratic Vietnam and the national liberation movements, to support and strengthen the progressive forces and all forces in the world opposed to war and imperialism.

The Iraqi Communist Party sees in international solidarity of the Communists of all countries the foundation on which relations between Marxist-Leninist Parties should be built. It holds that it is the duty of these Parties to wage an energetic ideological struggle against sectarian tendencies of national seclusion. Consolidation of the international solidarity of the Marxist-Leninist Parties, far from running counter, fully meets the need of establishing relations between them on the basis of equality and respect for the independence of each Party in settling its internal questions, on the basis of mutual comradely criticism. Tremendous harm on the communist movement and the entire world revolutionary movement is inflicted when the method of constructive comradely criticism and business-like discussion is replaced by the method of insulting charges and also splitting activities designed to accentuate differences and the struggle of opinions or to realize purposes hostile to communism.

Let us unite our forces, rally closer the mighty ranks of our revolutionary movement against our common enemy, imperialism, for what unites us is stronger than what disunites us.

Dear comrades, the Iraqi Communist Party underwent a great trial which fell upon it as a result of the fascist coup on February 8, 1963 when hundreds of Communists and progressives were killed, in the first place, the leaders of our Party, headed by Salam Adil, the Secretary of the Central Committee of our Party. But our Party has again emerged on the political scene of Iraq as an effective political force. The Iraq Communists gratefully recall the position of fraternal solidarity taken by the fraternal Party of the Soviet Union and other fraternal Parties during those trials.

Today with the country in the grip of military dictatorship our Party is waging the struggle underground. The Iraqi Government is preserving the state of emergency in the country; it has abolished democratic freedoms and continues the aggressive war against the Kurdish people who merely demand their legitimate right to autonomy within the bounds of the Iraqi Republic; the government is making a compromise with the imperialist oil monopolies. The land reform has actually been frozen, industrialization and construction work have been stopped in the country. More than 5,000

political prisoners languish in jails and concentration camps. Thousands of factory and office workers, and civil servants, dismissed from their jobs for political reasons, are deprived of means of subsistence; poverty and mass unemployment are on the increase. The Iraqi authorities are isolating themselves from the people more and more.

Our Party is urging all the democratic and national anti-imperialist forces jointly to work for the establishment of a coalition patriotic government which would work out a peaceful democratic solution to the Kurdish problem on the basis of autonomy of Iraqi Kurdistan within the bounds of the Iraqi Republic, would give the people democratic freedoms and solve the pressing problems confronting our country.

Comrades, allow me to express confidence that the struggle of our people against imperialism and reaction, for the attainment of freedom, democracy, peace, progress and well-being will meet with the sympathy and support of the friendly Soviet people and all progressive forces of the world.

Glory to the Communist Party of the Soviet Union!

Long live ever-lasting friendship between our Parties and our peoples!

May the unity of the socialist camp and the world Communist movement grow stronger!

SPEECH BY COMRADE HENK KLERKS
Member of the Presidium, Central Committee, Communist Party of the Netherlands

Dear Comrades, it gives me great pleasure to convey heartfelt greetings to the 23rd Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union from the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Netherlands, from all Dutch Communists.

We are following with great interest your work, the discussion by the Congress delegates of the problems confronting you.

Allow me to tell you in brief about the struggle of our Party and the situation in the Netherlands. Elections of the provincial parliaments have been held recently in our country, and their results are of national significance. They have reflected the big changes in the country's political life. Considerable groups of voters turned away from the ruling parties, thereby clearly expressing their desire for a change in policy. The Communist Party of the Netherlands has won new important positions in a number of areas, including the southern, predominantly Catholic provinces.

We Dutch Communists aim to unite the peace-loving forces in the struggle against the nuclear arming of West Germany which would endanger the existence of our people, peace in Europe and throughout the world. The threat of arming West Germany with nuclear weapons is arousing ever greater indignation among all sections of the Dutch people. There are good prospects for consolidating unity of action between the Communists and the Socialists in the struggle against this threat.

American aggression in Vietnam and the barbarous bombings of towns and villages in the Democratic Republic of Vietnam are also arousing great indignation in our country. On this question, too, the Communists act jointly with the Social-Democrats and other peace-loving people. They call for an end to American aggression and immediate withdrawal of the troops of the United States and its satellites from Vietnam.

Demonstrations and protest meetings have been held in many of our cities, at which spokesmen of all sections of the population voiced their unqualified solidarity with the courageous struggle of the Vietnamese people. This struggle is a source of inspiration for all our people fighting to preserve peace.

We wish the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and all Soviet people great success in accomplishing the tasks your Congress will put forward.

Long live the struggle for peace and socialism!

Long live communism!

SPEECH BY COMRADE FRANCISCO NEVES
Representative of the Democratic, Patriotic Forces of Angola

Comrades, on behalf of the Democratic, Patriotic Forces of Angola, on behalf of the Angolan people fighting for national liberation, allow me to express sincere gratitude for the honor accorded me of attending the 23rd Congress of the glorious Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the party which is marching in the van of the forces upholding freedom, man's dignity and peace.

The progressive forces of my country have instructed me to convey to the peoples of the Soviet Union and to the Communist Party wishes of greatest success in the work of the Congress and fulfilling the new five-year plan.

Those who are waging the struggle in Angola consider themselves inseparably bound with this unusual event because the victorious October Revolution, having created the first great socialist country in the world, heralded the birth of a new social

system and inspired confidence in the possibility of achieving freedom and progress for the working classes and the oppressed peoples.

It is thanks to the indestructible power of this revolution which was effected nearly half a century ago and stirred up mankind that the socialist camp is steadily extending; that it has become possible to assemble here representatives of the peoples in all continents united in their aspirations, in their struggle for the triumph of justice, progress, equality and peace among the nations.

Our peoples, just as the peoples of Vietnam, and the Dominican Republic, together with the peoples of the other Portuguese colonies, are waging a persistent struggle for the complete abolition of foreign rule on our territory, for genuine independence, for the expulsion of the overt and covert forces of exploitation and oppression once and for all.

In their struggle the Angolan people rely on the fraternal and effective solidarity of freedom fighters in all countries and all continents. But it must be stressed that in the van of this solidarity we always see the people of the Soviet Union and their Communist Party whose generous assistance is reaching a truly imposing scale.

The Soviet people concretely display their friendship for the Angolan people in a decisive phase of our history, and such friendship is never obliterated by time.

Our struggle began five years ago. During this period the embattle people of my country have offered stubborn resistance to the brutality of the colonialists, the terror of the Portuguese fascists who are out to annihilate our people. The colonialists, against whom the peoples of so-called "Portuguese" Guinea and Mozambique are waging an armed struggle, daily feel ever stronger the power of the blows struck by our fighting men. More than 1,000 Portuguese soldiers were killed last year in the northern part of the country; the information services of the colonial army are regularly compiling reports of their losses.

In an attempt to evade inevitable defeat, our enemy is resorting to the policy of begging for economic handouts. Today it is no longer only Portugal that rules Angola. The United States of America, the Federal Republic of Germany, Great Britain and other capitalist countries are extending their economic privileges in our country.

Thousands of soldiers of the Federal Republic of Germany utilize Portuguese military bases as a jumping-off ground for invading Angola and the so-called "Portuguese" Guinea and Mozambique. The Salazar government is getting from these countries and also from Israel financial resources and military supplies, it is given

support in other forms as well. And all this is done to continue oppressing the peoples in the colonies.

But the Portuguese young people themselves, recognizing the unjust nature of the colonial war, under the influence of democratic organizations, are refusing to take part in this war and are fighting against it.

We are fully convinced of our right to independence. We intend to continue the struggle to a victorious end and are confident that we will win freedom in the near future.

Imperialism has succeeded in striking painful blows on the African continent recently. Its objective is so preserve its rule over the peoples and continue exploiting their national wealth.

Imperialism is trying to divide us, to demoralize our ranks and prevent the fraternal support which Africa is giving our liberation struggle.

We are firmly convinced that the struggle against colonialism must also be combined with a determined fight against neocolonialism and imperialism. Without this combination, the gains achieved will be quite illusory.

In other words, we are convinced that it is impossible consistently to fight against colonialism, while simultaneously entering into agreement with the imperialists. Our struggle is inseparably linked with the socialist camp and it is in our interests to see it united and strong.

Support of the need to utilize revolutionary violence in response to the violence of the imperialists—here is the lesson drawn from the work of the Tri-Continental Conference in Havana. This is what now inspires the African continent.

In any case, the African peoples, supported by the socialist camp and the revolutionary forces, will be able to unite so as to prevent any form of domination.

The heroic Angolan people arms in hand shall win!

Comrades, I am present for the first time at a Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, and therefore allow me to greet the Communist Parties and progressive organizations of other countries present here. Among them I would like specially to mention the Portuguese Communist Party, its consistent and heroic struggle against fascism and its solidarity with our struggle for the independence of the Portuguese colonies.

Fraternal greetings to the delegation of the South Vietnam National Liberation Front; we once again express our solidarity with its heroic struggle.

I thank the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and its Central Committee for the opportunity to speak from this rostrum on behalf of the embattled people of Angola.

I wish you, comrades, the greatest success in the work of your Congress and in carrying out the new five-year plan.

Long live the people of the Soviet Union!

Long live the Communist Party of the Soviet Union!

Hail the 23rd Congress!

Long live friendship between our peoples!

SPEECH BY COMRADE ALI YATA
First Secretary, Central Committee, Moroccan Communist Party

Dear Comrades, allow me to convey to you the warmest and fraternal greetings from the Moroccan Communist Party, to voice sincerest sentiments of respect for, and gratitude to, the glorious Communist Party of the Soviet Union and wish for the full success of its fruitful work in carrying out the decisions of the 23rd Congress.

After the Second World War ended there were few Party congresses whose opening was awaited with such impatience as the opening of your 23rd Party Congress. Since March 29 the attention of all people throughout the world, both your friends and your enemies, has been focussed on this hall. All sections and classes of society in all corners of Africa, on all continents are closely following the work of the Congress.

The reason for this attention is that the Congress decisions undoubtedly are of world-wide importance. This Congress signifies a new stage in the immense building of the foundations of communist society. Fulfilment of the new five-year plan will greatly strengthen the might not only of the Soviet Union, but also of the entire world socialist system. The Congress is summing up the experience, exceedingly rich and entirely new in many respects, which is of great value to all forces building the new society.

Comrades, your Congress is drawing the attention of the nations of the world also because it is being held in one of the most critical periods of history in the past 20 years, in a period replete to the utmost with important and ominous events.

The international situation is deteriorating and becoming more complicated daily. It is fraught with the danger of another devastating world war, a danger we must not underestimate.

The aggressiveness of the imperialists has substantially risen of late. It has reached its highest point in the flagrant violation of the sovereignty of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam by the United States, in its armed intervention in South Vietnam and

cold-blooded and barbarous slaughter of the Vietnamese people, whose sole crime is the striving to exercise their sacred right to self-determination, a striving to achieve the unity and integrity of their country.

From this lofty rostrum we, on behalf of the Moroccan Communist Party and on behalf of our entire people, join our voice to the voices which have resounded in this hall and resound ever louder throughout the world, demanding that the monstrous American aggression against the Vietnamese people be branded.

We voice our indignation at the unparalleled fiendish actions of the aggressors which can be compared only with the crimes of the nazis during the Second World War. We extend our deep respect, admiration and gratitude to the courageous Vietnamese people who have displayed models of staunchness and fearlessness. We assure the representatives of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and the National Liberation Front of our full and effective solidarity.

The aggressiveness of imperialism is displayed not only in Vietnam, but also in other countries and other continents. In Western Europe the U.S. imperialists are giving every encouragement to the revival of German militarism and revanchism. In Latin America they are intervening in the internal affairs of the peoples, not shrinking before armed intervention, as has been the case in the Dominican Republic.

In Africa, the Americans are applying the same policy of force, the policy of violating international obligations and intervening in the internal affairs of other peoples. An example of this policy is afforded by their aggression in the Congo (Leopoldville) committed with the connivance of the Belgian colonialists. In their struggle against the forces of progress they resort to putsches, overthrowing progressive and independent governments and placing in power obedient puppets. Several coups have been made on their order and under their guidance in Africa recently, and we consider it our duty to declare from this rostrum at the top of our voice that a skein of plots is now being woven against Algeria which remains loyal to her choice, against the United Arab Republic, Guinea and Mali who preserve their independence and orient the development of their society along the non-capitalist path.

The imperialists are implanting their agents in the ranks of Africa's freedom fighters, are trying to divide them, make them abandon the struggle, to paralyze and defeat their forces.

It would be unwise and wrong to deny that in Africa the imperialists have to a certain extent succeeded in carrying out their plans, while the revolutionary movement has had to retreat temporarily. We must seriously analyze the causes of the retreat, overcome

its adverse consequences and outline ways for a fresh advance of the anti-imperialist movement for the peoples' national and social liberation.

The growth of imperialism's aggressiveness by no means implies that the relation of forces in the world has changed in its favor. It is beyond all doubt that the change in the relation of forces in favor of socialism, in favor of progress and peace is a real irreversible process.

But the steady growth in the might of the Soviet Union, China and the other socialist countries, the development of the national liberation movement which increasingly gravitates towards socialism, intensification of the struggle by the proletariat and other democratic forces in the capitalist countries, and the aggravation of inter-imperialist contradictions—all this engenders the imperialist aspiration to revert the wheel of history. To this end they are trying to exploit the discord which in recent years has shaken the unity of the socialist camp and the solidarity of the international Communist and working-class movement. They are also seeking to utilize any weakening of the solidarity bonds uniting the struggle of the peoples for national liberation and the world Communist and working-class movement. In this connection imperialism is intensifying its meddling in the affairs of other peoples in order to prevent the extension of the socialist zone and to restore in a new form its colonial domination, which in its turn engenders the threat of another world war.

But the revolutionary forces of the world are capable of blocking the road to imperialist aggression. They are sufficiently strong to stay the blood-drenched hand of imperialism in Vietnam, to frustrate its offensive in the countries of the third world and to ensure conditions for another, still more powerful advance of the national liberation movement and also to prevent another world war and establish a lasting peace on earth. The revolutionary forces, however, will be able to achieve this only if they succeed in combining their actions and creating a powerful, united and invincible world-wide anti-imperialist front.

We must do this without delay in order to give due rebuff to the aggressive aspirations of imperialism. This must be our response today to the greater aggressiveness of American imperialism.

It is a primary task of each Communist Party to bend every effort, to display maximum initiative and high sense of responsibility so that the world Communist and working-class movement regain its unity and adopt a common general strategic line, within the bounds of which each Party will act independently and on an equal basis, taking into account the specific conditions of its country. Similar efforts must be exerted to strengthen ties between

the national liberation movement and the international working-class movement so that their cooperation be of maximum benefit.

Africa's national progressive and revolutionary elements must find mainly in their own midst the forces necessary to withstand the hard trials, although they can always also count on international solidarity. Political realism demands that these forces exercise the greatest vigilance, unite even more closely on the basis of community of interests and aims and pool their efforts to foil the imperialist and reactionary plots. Only in this way will they be able to give a crushing rebuff to the aggressors, to regain the lost positions, resume the initiative and create prerequisites for attaining the unity and full liberation of Africa.

Our movement in Africa needs neither revolutionary phraseology nor empty chatter about socialism nor political romanticism. What we need much more is constructive realism and well-planned and organized concrete action relying on the vital forces of the people. What we need is not dictatorial methods, but democratic institutions, greater trust in revolutionary elements loyal to scientific socialism.

We African Communists belong to peoples whose development has been retarded by centuries of colonial and feudal domination. We are linked with a proletariat that is still young and has no deep-rooted revolutionary traditions. Therefore, no task is more important for us than that of establishing the closest possible ties with other progressive and revolutionary forces, irrespective of the diversity of concrete conditions, combining firmness in applying the principles of Marxism-Leninism with exceptional flexibility in tactics. Otherwise we risk for a long time or even for decades to be in a position of reliable but inadequately effective militant detachments, which, having no means for exerting decisive influence on the course of events, will be unable to discharge their historic role.

Moreover, in conditions when the revolutionary movement in Africa is making its first step, we must also be on guard against adventurism which is encouraged and utilized by imperialism and reaction and can doom to failure the activities of the widest forces, the biggest and most active parties.

It is from these premises that our Party proceeds in its activity. In Morocco we now witness an aggravation of contradictions between France, which is trying to preserve her economic, political and strategic positions, and the United States, which wants to impose on our country its influence and even tutelage in an attempt to convert it into a bridgehead for its expansion on the African continent. Both France and the United States would be quite willing to utilize the grave economic and social crisis which has hit our

country where semi-colonial and semi-feudal order still prevails notwithstanding the independence won ten years ago.

In these conditions the main task of the day is to preserve and strengthen our national independence, to ensure the country's administration on the basis of democratic principles. This is the main requisite for transition to the next stage, the stage of the country's development along the non-capitalist road which opens up to it the prospects of socialism so needed by our people and is a historic necessity for our country.

This is a task not only for the Communists but also for all patriots, all progressive-minded people.

It is for this reason that we are tirelessly working to unite the efforts of all who want to live in a free, independent, democratic Morocco. Under all circumstances we are striving for cooperation with our brothers from the National Union of the Popular Forces, one of whose leaders, Ben Barka, has recently fallen victim to a despicable crime in Paris. We are also striving for cooperation with the biggest trade union center in our country, the Moroccan Union of Labor, whose independence we always respect. We want to see this union ever more strong, united and staunch in upholding democracy and the interests of the workers. We are also striving for cooperation and alliance with all the forces loyal to the interests of our homeland.

Thanks to this we have to a certain extent succeeded in overcoming the numerous difficulties which arose as a result of the unlawful ban on our Party in 1960. We have succeeded in displaying creative initiative, in extending the influence and augmenting the ranks of our Party. In our country we have become a force which has to be reckoned with.

We are deeply aware that we largely owe our successes to the experience we have borrowed, and continue to borrow, from the glorious Communist Party of the Soviet Union. This experience will be enriched by the 23rd Congress of the CPSU.

Long live the great Communist Party of the Soviet Union!

Long live the unity of the world Communist movement!

Long live the cohesion and solidarity of the national liberation movement and the world Communist movement!

Long live socialism, long live peace!

SPEECH BY COMRADE MOHAMMED HARMEL
Secretary of the Central Committee, Tunisian Communist Party

Dear Comrades, it is a great honor to be present at the 23rd Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the Party of Lenin, the Party of builders of communism, and I am confident I will express the sentiments of all the Communists and all progressive-minded Tunisians, the sentiments of the workers and peasants, the broad masses of our country, if I convey to you, to the glorious Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the heroic Soviet people the warmest fraternal greetings.

The Tunisian people will always remember and never forget the Soviet Union's noble stand in support of their struggle for independence. They are well aware that the Soviet Union is a real, devoted friend of all the young newly-free countries which it is supporting in the struggle for the strengthening of independence and selflessly helping, without any conditions, to develop their national economy and eliminate their backwardness.

History has shown that no one can belittle the importance of this assistance and violate the eternal friendship and strong alliance between the Soviet Union and the peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America. And should anyone try to do so, this would run counter to the interests of our peoples.

The five-year plan which your Congress is discussing and which will be carried out by your people fills our hearts with inspiration and happiness. There is no doubt that this plan will be another determined step on the road of your remarkable accomplishments aimed at building the material and technical basis of communism, that is, at bringing happiness and well-being to your people.

Each success of the Soviet Union in the most diverse spheres directly serves the interests of all the peoples, particularly the peoples of young independent countries fighting for final deliverance from colonial bondage, for building an independent and prospering national economy. That is why your five-year plan will be an event which will still more change the relation of world forces in favor of the peoples' independence and world peace. It will create still more favorable conditions for the struggle of our peoples, extend their possibilities for scoring final victory over colonialism, old and new, the possibilities for embarking on the road of building a new society.

Dear comrades, the Tunisian people have recently celebrated the tenth anniversary of their independence. Justly expressing their pride and joy on this occasion, our people have not, and could not, limit themselves to this. They have soberly assessed

the results scored since the proclamation of independence and the policy pursued by their national government and have drawn lessons from the past. They are supporting all the positive results and trying to eliminate the weak points and shortcomings. Since the proclamation of independence, our country has made noticeable progress in a number of spheres. Tunisia has become a republic After the evacuation of French troops from Bizerta we no longer have any imperialist bases. Definite successes have been scored in the public health services and education. Tuition in Arabic has been introduced, national personnel is being trained and the national cultural heritage is being regenerated. Beginning with 1961 the Tunisian government has been pursuing an economic policy which is more in line with the country's interests and which in Tunisia is called a policy of planning; it is characterized by the growing interference of the state in economic life and by the expansion of the state sector. Notwithstanding these positive changes, the country's basic socio-economic problems remain unsolved.

There are objective obstacles and difficulties on the path of our country's development, which are explained by its backwardness and also the pressure exerted on Tunisia by the imperialist powers and the internal reactionary forces. There are also obstacles which stem from the governemnt's policy. The government has not chosen, and does not wish to choose, the only road that would ensure our country the elimination of its backwardness and the consistent accomplishment of the democratic social tasks of the Tunisian revolution. It does not want to break its ties with the Right-wing reactionary sections and to implement radical reforms in order to change the socio-economic order. It does not give the masses the opportunity to participate in building up the country and does not want the people to enjoy democratic freedoms.

In 1963 the government banned the Tunisian Communist Party and suppressed the Left-wing press. Moreover, the government has not parted ways with its pro-Western policy. The experience of the past ten years demonstrates that the position of our country demands a clear-cut and precise choice of the way for radical development, including fundamental reforms, especially a land reform, the country's industrialization through the development of the state sector, improvement of the condition of the workers, peasants and all the masses, demands struggle struggle against neocolonialism and solidarity with all the revolutionary democratic forces of the world. In this connection we demand that the government declare its solidarity with the Vietnamese people who are fighting against the aggression of American imperialism.

Proceeding from the present situation in our country, we consider it necessary that the masses be given the opportunity to

participate in building the national economy. The people must be given guarantees of democratic freedoms, and the ban on the Tunisian Communist Party must be lifted.

Our country needs national unity, but this unity cannot have the same content it had during the struggle for independence. The basis of this unity must be the progressive forces and the revolutionary-minded social sections who are not afraid that the country's development will infringe their interests.

Today our people must fight for the spread of the national revolution, for the accomplishment of its democratic and social tasks. It must fight against the attempts of the neocolonialists and ractionary forces in the country to prevent a forward movement and freeze the very policy of planning, even though this policy is limited and inadequate.

The Tunisian Communists, notwithstanding the ban on their Party, notwithstanding ideological and political differences with the government and the fact that they are firmly opposed to many negative sides in the government's policy, have supported and are supporting its every positive measure. We are ready to cooperate with all progressive forces, both within the Socialist Dustur Party and also outside of it, in struggle against reactionary trends and in marching forward along the road of buliding a new Tunisian society.

Dear comrades, we appreciate the efforts of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union to strengthen the unity of the world Communist movement and fight against imperialism. These efforts directly serve the cause of the national liberation movement. We likewise appreciate the constant efforts of the CPSU to overcome differences in the world Communist movement on the basis of the principles of Marxism-Leninism. We wish you fresh success in your sweeping undertakings.

Long live the Communist Party of the Soviet Union!
Long live friendship between the Soviet and Tunisian peoples!
Long live communism!

SPEECH BY COMRADE TUNJI OTEGBENYE
General Secretary of the Central Committee, Socialist Workers' and Farmers' Party of Nigeria

Comrades,

Permit me on behalf of the Central Committee of the Socialist Workers' and Farmers' Party of Nigeria to convey to you warm fraternal greetings on this epoch-making occasion which marks a

great milestone, not only in the life of the USSR but also in the international arena where capitalism is fast losing ground to socialism.

The victory of the October Revolution led to the establishment of the first socialist republic in the world and opened a new page in the struggle of man for total liberation — for socialism.

Despite the losses and setbacks of the Second World War, the Soviet Union has established beyond any reasonable doubt the superiority of the socialist system over the capitalist system.

Today the Soviet Union holds the lead in space research, nuclear physics, mathematics, electronics, radio-engineering, metallurgy, rocketry, aircraft building and in other fields of science and technology.

The success of the Soviet Union in scaling these heights is a great inspiration and a beam of hope to the national liberation movements of Asia, Africa and Latin America and the entire international Communist and workers' movements.

In the current five-year development plant, the CPSU has paid great attention to the improvement of the living conditions of the working class and other sections of the toiling masses—a genuine example of the devotion of the CPSU to the working people of the Soviet Union and a confirmation of its creative policy of peaceful coexistence.

This great victory in the field of all-round economic achievement constitutes the biggest propaganda for socialism. It is the duty of the international working-class and Communist movement to strengthen its propaganda in order to spread these great victories of the Soviet Union and the successes of other socialist countries in all fields as a counter-offensive to the blackmail propaganda of the crumbling system of capitalism.

The changing scene in Africa unfolds the dialectical changes in a society struggling against colonialism and neocolonialism in a world that was formerly in the grip of imperialism. Only in South Africa, Southern Rhodesia, Mozambique, Angola, Southwest Africa are vestiges of colonialism still lingering on under the heavy fire of the Africans and the entire progressive mankind.

But as Africa sheds the colonial cloak, it is falling a prey to a more subtle but rather more devastating enemy—neocolonialism.

Today the importance of the working class is, in certain circles, regarded as secondary to the National Liberation Front. This error has led to misplaced emphasis in Asia, Africa and Latin America. The Ghanaian scene, where a reactionary junta has seized power, presents us with object lessons.

Comrades, no revolution can win full victory without the conscious participation of the working class.

It is true that the working class is small in Africa. At the same time we must realize that it is the most rapidly growing, disciplined class in our society. The working class of Africa has shown that with more positive political education they can confidently play the role of the hegemons in the building of a new society. In Dahomey, Congo (Brazzaville), Upper Volta and Nigeria, the working class has decidedly stopped the advance of the forces of reaction. To speed up the revolutionary process in Africa therefore the working class must be drilled in the ever conquering ideology of Marxism-Leninism. This is the great task that faces the international Communist movement. Without the necessary rise in the consciousness of the working class, without the leadership of a Marxist-Leninist Party, the gains of today may become illusions in a second tomorrow. Those who peddle the idea that Africa is ready for a total revolt are far from appreciating the objective factors operating in our continent.

Nigeria won political independence from the oppressive and humiliating British rule on October 1st, 1960. But five years after home rule Nigeria is at the cross-roads. We are faced with the problem of carrying forward the revolutionary gains of our people derived from the defeat of British colonialism that led to the establishment of a nominally politically independent but economically enslaved country—Nigeria.

We have to break the economic and cultural chains of neocolonialism, to enlarge democracy by uprooting the remnant of feudal practice, thus building a new Nigeria, truly independent, democratic and economically viable.

The main feature of our country is that political power is being used to serve the interests of a few rich people and their foreign business friends while the masses of our people are forced to live a life of misery.

The headquarters of ICFTU, Christian Federation of Trade Unions, USAID, American Peace Corps, American space observatory and other agencies of the neocolonialist powers centered in Nigeria have reinforced the remnant of British colonial tradition to make Nigeria the nerve center of neocolonialist intrigues in Africa.

Our struggle has confirmed the great teaching of Lenin that the struggle for economic independence is a more protracted struggle than the struggle for political independence.

Faced with the aggressive machinations of neocolonialism and feudalism and the impotence of the corrupt political paties in power that act as agents of neocolonialism, the Nigerian working class in alliance with the peasantry and progressive intellectuals formed the Socialist Workers' and Farmers' Party of Nigeria as

the vanguard of our struggle against neocolonialism and feudalism, for full national independence and democracy—a stepping stone to the building of a socialist Nigeria with the consequent elimination of the exploitation of man by man.

Our young Marxist-Leninist Party has grown steadily from strength to strength and has won for itself the prestige of being the strongest and most consistent front against neocolonialism, for the peoples' welfare and progress.

The military coup of January 15, 1966, ended the corrupt, feudal compradore regime which dominated the politics of the Federation of Nigeria for the first five years of independence. This coup was in accord with the wishes of the Nigerian people who daily cry aloud under heavy pain against the corrupt, tribalistic, nepotic and neocolonialist ventures of the First Republic. The mirage of Nigeria being a model of democracy has been smashed. The forces of neocolonialism and its allies have suffered a serious setback.

The forces of progress now have a great chance to provide reliable answers to the many problems facing our nation by the creative application of Marxism-Leninism.

Against us are the forces of USA, Britain and West German imperialism with a powerful group of newspapers and other propaganda machinery heavily financed to deceive our people.

We need to step up our propaganda, to show vividly to our people the superiority of the socialist system over the capitalist system which the great people of the Soviet Union have thoroughly established, to expose all the vestiges of imperiailsm and to prepare our people for the inevitable confrontation and decisive struggle which will sound the death bell of neocolonialism in Nigeria. Realizing that Nigeria, with a population of 56 million is the largest country by population in Africa, the duty of the international Communist and workers' movement is both clear and urgent.

May I take advantage of this platform to put before the international Communist movement the Resolution of the First Congress of our Party calling for the establishment of a Lenin's Library in Nigeria in honor of the great contribution of our great leader and teacher V. I. Lenin and in pursuit of the ideological struggle between capitalism and socialism—a venture for active cooperation for all the forces of peace, national liberation and friendship.

This library must act as an education center in the heart of Africa and radiate the splendor of socialism as the only answer to the African people.

The successful completion of the seven-year program and the consequent fulfilment of the five-year program in your country open a new epoch to the emerging countries of Africa, Asia and Latin America, create a platform for the completion between the

socialist system and the capitalist system, thus weakening the hold of capitalist monopolies on the young independent states and enhancing the chances of broadening the basis of their economy, enlarging the public sector of the economy and positively striving to establish an independent national economy along the path of non-capitalist development.

This great economic impact will lead to a general rise of the living condition in the African countries under an economic system that reflects the deep interest of the African people.

This economic impact of the strengthening of the Soviet economy and that of other states of the socialist community also strengthens the struggle of the peoples of the emerging states of Africa, Asia and Latin America against colonialism, neocolonialism and imperialism, for full economic independence. It is thus a vital contribution to national liberation and the cause of peace.

The achievements of the CPSU and the heroic Soviet people in the construction of the material basis of communism is a living confirmation of the Marxist-Leninist theme that socialism as a higher system will survive the ruin of capitalism and establish for all times a truly free, happy and prosperous society for all the people.

These achievements are a great inspiration to the national liberation movements of Africa and a source of strength to their iron determination to break the chains of colonialism and neocolonialism and build a truly independent, United States of Africa.

The Socialist Workers' and Farmers' Party of Nigeria and our working people share with you the joy and pride of this epoch—a resounding victory for Marxism-Leninism, for the liberation of all the oppressed.

We wish to express our firm solidarity with our valiant comrades in Vietnam who are facing the naked aggression of U.S. imperialists. We are confident the forces of the heroic Vietnamese people will emerge victorious and build the foundation of a united and happy Vietnam.

We express our solidarity with the Socialist Unity Party and the peace-loving people of GDR. We are sure the mounting offensive of the forces of peace will win a great victory over West German militarism and American imperialism.

Our epoch which is marked by the heightening of capitalist crisis and imperialist resolve to aggressive plans is a very trying period when the Communist and Workers' Parties of all nations should put their heads together and provide a united action for the progress of mankind.

The bitter exchanges in the international scene, the negative

propaganda do grave harm to the cause of communism and weaken the national liberation movement.

We commend and fully support the effort of the CPSU to strengthen the unity of the Communist movement on the basis of Marxism-Leninism.

Once again, on behalf of the Central Committee of the Socialist Workers' and Farmers' Party of Nigeria we congratulate the heroic Communist Party of the Soviet Union on the occasion of this historic Congress which aims at the construction of the material basis of communism.

Long live the Communist Party of the Soviet Union!

Long live the unity of the international Communist movement!

Long live the national liberation movement!

Long live the friendship of the peoples of the Soviet Union and Nigeria!

SPEECH BY COMRADE YAKUB DEMIR
First Secretary of the Foreign Bureau Central Committee, Communist Party of Turkey

Dear Comrades, allow me on behalf of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Turkey and all Turkish Communists warmly to greet the 23rd Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and wish it success.

The 23rd Congress of the CPSU is being held at a time when the economic and technical might of the Soviet Union has reached a high level and when we clearly see the positive influence exerted on the international situation by the peaceable foreign policy steadfastly pursued by the Communist Party and the Soviet Government. The successful completion of the seven-year economic development plan not only reinforced the economic, political and defense might of the Soviet Union and the socialist community, but also raised the militant spirit of all the peoples fighting for their national liberation, reinforced the militant determination of all the progressive and peace-loving forces of the world. The Directives for the five-year economic development plan, summing up the achievements of past years, offer a magnificent picture of the new aims. The triumphant building of socialism in the USSR has laid a tangible basis for advance along the road of transition to communist society. The leadership of the CPSU as the chief well-spring for the creative development of Marxism-Leninism and the organizer of great victories, and also the constructive potential of the Soviet people who are standing on the threshold of communism—

here are the guarantees of the successful completion of the new five-year economic development plan.

We Turkish Communists and also the patriotic and peace-loving forces of Turkey, together with all progressive mankind, are watching with delight and admiration each step forward, made by the Soviet Union in the economy, technology and culture, its each advance to communnsm. Our interest in the achievements of the USSR is determined above all by the fact that in the Soviet Union and other socialist countries we see an embodiment of the ideals, of which we only dream so far. At the same time we know well that the successes scored in these countries are exerting a positive and decisive influence on the struggle for our immediate aims, for the vital interests of the Turkish people.

The Turkish people are fighting against the political and economic domination of the imperialists and their partners in robbing the masses—the local reactionaries who brought our country poverty and calamities. They demand national liberation, democracy and peace. Turkey's political and military cooperation with the aggressive imperialist states is bringing tremendous suffering to our people. Together with the endlessly mounting military expenditure, the taxes weighing down the people are continuously raised. The consequences of the economic and social crises which have become chronic in our country are felt more and more painfully. Broad sections of the people have started an active struggle for eliminating the factors causing these crises and other obstacles blocking the road to the development of a national economy. In the van of this struggle is the working class which is playing an ever more important part in the country's social and political life. Certain successes have been registered in recent years in organizing the Turkish workers who are utilizing for this purpose the certain legal rights won by them as a result of protracted and arduous struggle. On joining the open and active struggle for economic and political rights, the Turkish workers show that their class-consciousness has matured and that they are now a force which must be reckoned with. It is this that is the main characteristic feature of Turkey's social and political life today.

Another characteristic feature is the deepening of contradictions between various sections of the bourgeoisie. Contradiction between the bloc of the big bourgeoisie and the big landowners who together with the foreign monopolies are jointly robbing Turkey, on the one hand, and the national bourgeoisie suffering from the grip of foreign caiptal, on the other, have assumed the form of open and bitter political struggle. Political differences have arisen between bourgeois parties which formerly hardly differed from each other both in their actions against the working classes and on

questions of foreign policy; these are differences whose significance must not be underestimated today. The keener struggle between these parties has brought nearer the Left wing of the national bourgeoisie to the democratic forces and prepared favorable grounds for uniting various political and social organizations, which have different aims and act independently, into a single front of struggle against the common enemy. All this has extended the opportunities to rally all the progressive and peace-loving forces in a national democratic front against imperialism and reaction.

The strengthening of the economic potential of the Soviet Union and the entire socialist community; the growth of their prestige in the world; the policy of peaceful coexistence of countries with a different political system; American imperialism's self-exposure of its aggressive essence, especially as a result of the events in Vietnam; the indisputable fact that the presence of American and NATO bases in Turkey endangers the country's security and even the existence of our people; the insolent intervention of U.S. ruling circles in the internal affairs of Turkey and their open support of local reactionaries—all this has intensified the anti-imperialist struggle in our country and stimulated the militant initiative of the progressive and patriotic forces. Turkish reactionaries are utilizing every means to restore the undermined prestige of imperialism and to ensure the complete safety of foreign capital. To this end they are fanning the anti-communist hysteria and are employing new means of terror against the working-class movement. These are the initial steps of the reactionary elements in the total drive against the democratic forces they are contemplating. Their purpose is to deprive the working class of the rights it won and to suppress the progressive, peace-loving forces. But the present conditions in the country are by no means conducive to the attainment of these ends by the imperialist monopolies. As long as forces encroaching on the country's independence and endangering the peace continue to dominate Turkey, as long as the factors which led our country into an economic and political blind alley are not eliminated, as long as radical social reforms our people need are not implemented, the militant determination of the Turkish patriotic forces will not slacken.

Today the conditions in the country considerably differ from those which existed from 1950 to 1960. It is fully possible and necessary for the present Turkish rulers to follow a different foreign policy than during the time of Menderes, to arrange more realistically their relations with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries. We Turkish Communists will positively accept and support every step in this direction made by the present govern-

ment. We are confident that this will serve the interests of our country and our people and strengthen peace.

The international situation is tense at present. The struggle of the forces of socialism and peace against imperialism has grown keener. The United States has created ignition points of war in different areas of the world. The Vietnamese people are courageously fighting against the American invaders. The voice of the peace-loving, upright people of our country is added to the voice of all progressive mankind protesting against the insolent invasion of the American troops.

The unity of the international Communist movement and the solidarity of the peace-loving anti-imperialist forces of the world acquire ever greater importance today. The dirty war of the American aggressors in Vietnam shows that the enemies of peace and communism are trying to exploit and deepen the differences existing in the Communist movement.

We want to note with gratification the exceptional part played by the Communist Party of the Soviet Union in the struggle for unity. The great party of Lenin, which has always been loyal to the decisions of the Moscow Meetings of the Representatives of the Communist and Workers' Parties in 1957 and 1960, is the strongest and most consistent defender of unity and cohesion in the communist ranks. We are convinced that the differences which now exist and seriously hinder our movement will sooner or later be eliminated.

The 20th and 22nd Congresses of the CPSU illumined the road to the world Communist movement by the light of creative Marxism-Leninism.

The 23rd Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union is making this source of creative light ever brighter.

Long live the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

Long live peace and friendship among the nations!

Long live the unity of the Communist movement!

Long live communism!

SPEECH BY COMRADE AMBROISE NOUMAZALAY
First Political Secretary of the Political Bureau, Party of the National Revolutionary Movement of the Congo (Brazzaville)

Comrades, on behalf of the people of the Republic of the Congo (Brazzaville), on behalf of the Central Committee of the Party of the National Revolutionary Movement, I convey warm fraternal

greetings to the 23rd Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

Comrades, we have followed with close attention the Political Report of the Central Committee, delivered by the First Secretary of your Party. We are firmly convinced that such a courageous people like yours led by such an advanced party as the Communist Party of the Soviet Union which is never afraid to subject its activity to self-criticism and is constantly improving the methods of its leadership in all spheres of economic and social life—such a people led by such a party can look with joy and confidence to the morrow.

The Report of the First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union touched on all major questions which came up in the interval between the 22nd and 23rd Congresses of your Party.

Knowing well your past achievements, we are highly confident that the Soviet people will accomplish all the main tasks of improving their living standard outlined in the five-year plan.

We assure you that your victories are also our victories, your setbacks are also our setbacks, because in its essence the revolutionary process is single, although the specific conditions of various countries predetermine different forms of revolution.

Comrades, the Congolese revolution has opened up to our people fresh prospects. But, as Bacon said, nature can be changed only by submitting to it, that is, by knowing its laws of development.

In the last two years we have paid special attention to studying theory so as to understand deeper the economic, political and social problems facing our country.

Prior to the 1963 August revolution, the Congolese people had been completely barred from the country's social life. At present we are beginning to understand more clearly the specific laws governing the development of the socialist revolution in the conditions of our country. In our forward movement we must firmly stand on solid ground, constantly drawing lessons from the experience of other nations which had made a revolution before us and also taking into account our own experience.

Although we have not yet recognized to the end all the laws of social development, we have undertaken economic, political and other reforms, carrying them out cautiously, without undue haste.

Fruitful cooperation has been established between the Soviet Union and our country. We are satisfied with the inestimable assistance rendered us by the Land of Soviets and we will do everything to use it in the best and most beneficial way.

In foreign policy our country adheres to non-alignment to blocs. But this non-alignment policy has nothing in common with neutral-

ity. Our non-alignment policy implies purposeful defense of peace wherever it is threatened. This is the policy of consistent anti-imperialist struggle which you all know full well.

Comrades, the 23rd Congress of the CPSU is proceeding in an exceptionally crucial historical period when imperialism is making desperate attempts to regain the position it has lost of late and we have won thanks to the unity of the revolutionary forces on a worldwide scale.

It is the Asian, African and Latin American countries which have taken the path of revolutionary development that have now become the target of a frenzied offensive by the reactionary forces.

In Asia, the Vietnamese people both in the North and in the South are repulsing the hordes of American imperialism and its Saigon lackeys. We are confident that the will and unity of the great Vietnamese people will defeat the American aggressors.

The Congolese people are supporting, and will always support, the just struggle of Vietnam. Our people fully support all the demands of the Government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and the position of the South Vietnam National Liberation Front.

In Indonesia, the internal accomplices of imperialism are persecuting the progressive forces. We declare at the top of our voice: "Stop the witch-hunt and give the people of Indonesia the possibility of restoring unity and resuming the solution of the intricate problems of national development and consistent anti-imperialist struggle!"

In Latin America, U.S. imperialism continues, as before, to brandish the Big Stick over the heads of those who are fighting for their freedom.

But Cuba stands firm. This is the main thing. Its example undoubtedly will be followed by others.

In any case revolutionaries must utilize in the struggle against imperialism the motto of Voltaire: "Crush the reptile!"

Comrades, recently Africa, too, has suffered cruel blows of imperialism which, with the help of aggression, tries, before it is too late, to retard the ever faster growth of the political consciousness of the masses. The imperialists are resorting to aggression not only because the African peoples are becoming increasingly mature, but also because they want to exploit the difficulties facing the revolutionaries of our continent who set themselves no easy tasks.

These difficulties derive from the fact that some of our requirements in no way correspond to the present development of the productive forces. We are confronted by objective difficulties because our countries have social sections connected with the world

capitalist system and also because of other, no less important reasons.

At the present stage of the revolution in Africa we can say that we did, are doing, and will do, everything in our power to reinforce the revolution and to speed the establishment of control over the economy.

Comrades, we highly value the policy of cooperation and assistance to the national liberation movements, discussed in the Political Report of the First Secretary of the Central Committee of your great Party.

We are confident that greater assistance in the present conditions will help draw into the revolutionary ranks fresh forces which so far are vacillating and are not joining the struggle because they cannot clearly visualize the country's economic and political future. Our experience demonstrates that political training and propaganda alone are insufficient to win over these forces to our side.

Comrades, we have considered it necessary to speak about these problems from the rostrum of the 23rd Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. We know that consolidation of the economic and political might of the Soviet Land is an inestimable contribution to our common cause.

We are confident that the working people of your country—scientists, engineers, workers and peasants—thanks to the wise Leninist leadership of your great Party, will accomplish the new tasks and speed the bright dawn of communism.

Long live firm friendship between the Soviet people and the peoples of Africa!

Long live unbreakable friendship between the Soviet people and the people of the Congo—Brazzaville!

Hail the 23rd Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union!

SPEECH BY COMRADE REZA RADMANESH
Chairman of the Bureau, Central Committee, People's Party of Iran

Dear Comrades, on the occasion of the 23rd Congress and the outstanding victories you have scored in all spheres, allow me on behalf of the delegation of the People's Party of Iran to extend to you and all the peoples of your great country heartfelt greetings from our Party, from the working people and all progressive elements of our country and to wish you fresh great successes.

The 23rd Congress of the CPSU is another big step in building

the material and technical basis of communist society in the Soviet Union, an event of the greatest world significance.

The present Congress undoubtedly will play an important part in increasing the might of the socialist community, strengthening the unity of the international Communist and working-class movement, in advancing and developing the national liberation movements.

The Soviet Union, marching in the front ranks of the socialist countries and all progressive mankind, is the most powerful defender of world peace, of the freedom and independence of the oppressed peoples. It deservedly acts as the standard-bearer of the construction of socialism and communism the world over.

The Political Report of the Central Committee of the CPSU, delivered by Comrade Brezhnev, positively appraised the present state of Iranian-Soviet relations. We have always advocated the broadest possible development of Iranian-Soviet relations. We consider this necessary not only for our country's economic development, but also for Iran's freedom and independence.

Your assistance in building the first steel works—an age-old dream of the Iranian people, whose realization owing to the fault of the imperialists has been delayed for approximately half a century—is of great significance for the young industry of Iran, it is a big contribution to reinforcing her economic and political independence. On behalf of the members of our Party, the working people and all Iranian patriots we sincerely thank you for this and for other assistance you are rendering our country.

The change in the relation of world forces in favor of the camp of peace, democracy and socialism, the struggle and pressure of Iran's national, democratic forces, the steadily increasing economic and social difficulties—all this has compelled the country's ruling circles to change their methods and to agree to some reforms. The most important of them is the land reform, although it is inconsistent and restricted in scale.

The main purpose of these reforms is to extend capitalist relations in the countryside and the towns, therefore, they are of limited significance for the country's development. Our Party advocates the non-capitalist road of development which would ensure Iran's swift economic and social progress. Nevertheless we positively assess the reforms, inasmuch as they undermine feudal relations in the country. It is necessary, however, to stress that these reforms and changes in methods do not alter the essence of the present anti-national, despotic system: the country's political and military dependence on the imperialist powers, above all American imperialism, continues and the Iranian people, as hitherto, are deprived of democratic rights. The following facts will

suffice as an illustration. During the last year military tribunals in Iran sentenced to death 39 people holding different political views. Twenty of these sentences were carried out. Eight of our comrades are now being tried behind closed doors in the military tribunal of Teheran. The prosecutor demanded the death sentence for two of them—Comrades Parviz Hekmatju and Ali Havari. We are confident that international solidarity will play its part in saving our comrades.

Notwithstanding all difficulties, the struggle for the establishment of a national and democratic government has spread in Iran in recent years. It is joined by ever new sections of workers and peasants, patriotic elements, students in Iran proper and abroad and part of the progressive clergy. All this places the ruling top in a difficult position.

Imperialism and reaction, through open intervention in the internal affairs of other countries and the absolutely undisguised aggression, through deception, prisons, tortures, and executions and coups, are trying to change the trend of historical development and to retard the world revolutionary process. They are also making use of the differences in the international communist and working-class movement which have arisen in recent years. The armed attack of U.S. imperialism on Vietnam is a striking example of this imperialist policy. Our Party and the entire Iranian people are admiring the heroic struggle of the people of Vietnam, the courage with which they are resisting the most predatory imperialism. Victory of the Vietnamese people in this struggle will also be our victory, the victory of all the peoples of the world in the fight for freedom, independence and peace.

The intrigues of imperialism in the Middle East is another manifestation of its general policy which exacerbates the international situation.

The American and British imperialists, provoking discord between countries of this area, are doing everything to prevent their rapprochement, consolidation of mutual ties to hinder the establishment of friendly relations between our country and the Arab states.

The CENTO bloc and the so-called Islamic Pact are a striking example of this imperialist policy of fomenting disunity. The Iranian people are condemning such imperialist blocs and are resolutely fighting against any policy leading to the destruction of their fraternal ties with the Arab peoples, with the peoples of other Middle Eastern countries.

Any discord and disarray in the ranks of the forces fighting for peace, independence, democracy and socialism encourages the forces of reaction, aggression and war. From the experience of

our country we know the full harm of this discord. In recent years life has furnished many examples conclusively demonstrating its disastrous nature on a world scale, too. That is why we think that the prime task of all Communists is to restore the complete unity of the socialist community, the international Communist and working-class movement on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, on the basis of the general line mapped out at the Meetings of the Communist and Workers' Parties in 1957 and 1960.

We fully support the measures taken in this sphere by the Central Committee of the CPSU and the other Communist and Workers' Parties.

Dear comrades, allow me in conclusion once again to wish you fresh great victories. Your victories are our victories, the victories of all progress mankind.

Long live the CPSU and its historic 23rd Congress!

Long live friendship between the peoples of the Soviet Union and Iran!

Long live the unity of the world Communist and working-class movement!

SPEECH BY COMRADE UMBERTO RAMIREZ
Secretary of the Central Committee, Communist Party of Bolivia

Dear Comrades, allow me to convey on behalf of the Communist Party of Bolivia fraternal revolutionary greetings to the glorious Communist Party of the Soviet Union, its Central Committee and the heroic Soviet people.

The 23rd Congress of the CPSU is of epochal significance. The attention of people in all countries is focused on the decisions which are being adopted by the builders of the most just and humane society, the builders of communism.

At the present historical stage, marked by the transition from capitalism to socialism, by the consolidation of the peace forces, the upsurge of the people's liberation struggle, the growth of the anti-monopoly actions of the working class, the beneficial influence of peaceful coexistence on mankind's development, by the intensification of contradictions between the obsolete system and the developing, thriving system, your Congress is a great contribution to the triumph of Marxist-Leninist ideas. It confirms the correctness of the general line of the international Communist movement, mapped out in the decisions of 1957 and 1960.

Implementation of the decision of your Congress will further advance the material and cultural standards of the Soviet peoples. This is demonstrated by the data presented in the Political Report of the Central Committee on the forthcoming increase of the public consumption funds by 40 per cent. The successful carrying out of the five-year plan will provide a mighty stimulus to the struggle for better living and working conditions for the proletariat in the capitalist countries, for the impoverished and exploited masses in the countries groaning under the oppression of imperialism, colonialism and neocolonialism.

The building of communism in your country is attracting the attention of all the ordinary people on earth and will promote the final abolition of the capitalist system.

Comrade Brezhnev's report noted the assistance of the Communist Party and the Soviet people to the struggle of the peoples against colonial oppression and discussed the fraternal multi-sided cooperation with developing countries on the basis of equality, respect for soverignty and non-interference in the internal affairs of these countries. We Bolivian Communists note this and support this policy with great satisfaction.

The Communist Party of Bolivia, in the unanimously adopted resolutions of its Second Congress, confirms its agreement with, and loyalty to, the decisions of the 1957 Declaration and the 1960 Statement which represent the general program and the general line of the world communist movement.

Latin America, of which the Bolivian people are a part, is stepping up the anti-imperialist struggle. It is beyond all doubt that the forces of internal reaction and imperialism will be defeated in our continent.

The struggle of the Bolivian working class in defense of its rights, democratic freedoms and a better life has reached a point of armed clashes with the Americanized forces of our country. As a result of this struggle Bolivian troops were sent neither to heroic Vietnam nor to the little but invincible Dominican Republic. Bolivia, located in the heart of South America, will stand shoulder to shoulder with the revolutionary Cuban people who are building socialism.

We Bolivian Communists have championed, and are championing, the unity of the world Communist movement and are supporting the patient efforts exerted by the Communist Party of the Soviet Union to achieve it.

Comrades, we are present at the 23rd Congress, a congress of the builders of communism. Your contribution to the building of a new society exceeds everything created by man's genius. The people of Bolivia from their towering mountains are watching with admiration your magnificent sputniks.

The Bolivian people will never forget the lofty striving of the Soviet Government and the Soviet people to cooperate with our country in developing her mining and oil industries.

On behalf of the Communists, the democratic and progressive forces of Bolivia we greet the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, its Central Committee and the entire Soviet people and wish them success in fulfilling the five-year plan.

Long live the glorious Communist Party of Lenin!

Long live proletarian internationalism!

Long live friendship of the peoples of Bolivia and the Soviet Union!

SPEECH BY COMRADE ARMANDO NICOLAS
General Secretary, Communist Party of Martinique

Dear Comrades, on behalf of the Central Committee of the Martiniquan Communist Party, on behalf of the Communists and the working people of our country, we are glad to convey our sentiments of admiration and affection, our fraternal greetings and our best wishes to the 23rd Congress of the CPSU, the Party of Lenin, and to the Soviet people.

We realize that here, at your Congress, we are witnesses to a great event, on which depends not only your own future, but that of all mankind. Millions of people have turned their gaze on this hall today, which confirms the leading role played by the Soviet Union in world development. For the imperialists, the 23rd Congress is a source of anxiety: while for the peoples it is a source of confidence and hope.

Indeed, not only does your Congress sum up the results of four years of successful work in building communism, the results of four years of struggle in safeguarding peace and freedom, but, what is more important, it opens up new imposing possibilities that will speed the victory of socialism in the competition against capitalism.

We owe it above all to the Soviet people and their Marxist-Leninist Party that socialism has become a living reality, an example, a source of immense attraction, that capitalism is proving more and more to be an obsolescent, historically doomed system, and that no man can oppose socialism without at once opposing progress.

In less than 50 years you have turned a backward country into one of the world's leading economic powers, one that stands in the van of science and technology. You have created a social sys-

tem that has wiped out the exploitation of man by man and that guarantees, work, higher living standards, culture and social justice for all. By doubling industrial output in seven years, the Soviet working people have created a kind of second industrial giant. Thus, the facts hold up the lie to the capitalist prophets, who have ever since 1917 daily predicted the collapse of socialism.

Your Congress is deliberating a new five-year plan of immense proportion, which will secure rapid rates of economic development and social progress. The new plan will have a tremendous international impact. The successes of the Soviet economy indeed strengthen the entire socialist camp, the positions of socialism in the competition with capitalism. We shall never stop saying that the biggest contribution the Soviet people and their Party can make to communism is to strikingly demonstrate the superiority of the socialist system. We know that the steady growth of the Soviet economic potential is the source of the tremendous assistance rendered by the Soviet Union to the young independent states and to the countries still languishing under the colonial yoke. The Soviet Union has proved in practice that it is the most dependable bulwark of the national liberation movement. As the Soviet Union grows stronger and more prosperous, it increases its assistance that consolidates the independence of these peoples. What is more, its assistance extends the possibilities for more successful struggle against the intrigues of neocolonialists, for liberation from the chains of colonialism. The stronger the Soviet Union, the stronger are the forces championing world peace. Today the might of the Soviet Union is a guarantee of continuously increasing aid to the people of Vietnam, who are in the frontline of struggle against imperialism.

The U.S. imperialists conduct subversive activities and support the reactionary forces in their striving to export counter-revolution. They are bombing and ravaging Vietnam, they have occupied the Dominican Republic, they are wreaking brutal violence, and conducting subversion against Cuba.

Like the nazis, the U.S. imperialists employ methods of international gangsterism and encroach upon the sovereignty and the freedom of self-determination of the peoples. The progressives of Martinique, the Communists of our country, side with the heroic people of Vietnam who have fallen prey to imperialist brutality, and they side, too, with the fraternal peoples of Latin America who are being plundered by the Wall Street monopolies. They side with the Dominican Republic, trampled on by the Pentagon's Marines, and with gallant and indomitable Cuba that holds high the torch of socialism in America. They side with the finest sons of the Indonesian people, who are being butchered by the reac-

tionaries, and with the revolutionary forces of Africa and the world's progressives.

We are convinced that unity of the three streams that constitute the world revolutionary movement is absolutely essential for thwarting the imperialist offensive and securing man's advance along the road of progress and freedom. This is why we condemn everything that is liable to slow down or impede this unity which, in turn, depends above all on the unity of the world Communist movement, the main anti-imperialist force. The crude slander and fulmination against the CPSU and other fraternal Parties, disruptive activity and rejection of united action, are dangerous and harmful. This is why we call for a discussion of controversial issues on a comradely internationalist basis, for a patient search of ways and means to united action in the spirit suggested in the Report of your Central Committee. For our part, we still believe that Marxist-Leninist unity must be achieved on the basis of the general line defined in the 1957 Declaration and 1960 Statement.

Dear comrades, our delegation was deeply gratified by Comrade Brezhnev's statement that the Soviet Union will continue to support the peoples languishing under the colonial yoke. This will give fresh impetus to the anti-colonial movement in Martinique.

Martinique is a small country, one of the last remaining fragments of the French colonial empire. Our people are fighting against the colonial policy pursued by the authoritarian regime, which is maneuvering artfully and disguising its colonial rule by the status of a so-called French overseas department.

In defiance of history, the de Gaulle government is accentuating the policy of assimilation, which goes against the basic interests of our people.

But the progressives, headed by the Martiniquan Communist Party, the main motive force of the anti-colonial movement in our country, are fighting for the right to self-determination and autonomy in Martinique, so that the nation can regain its national image and dignity, and decide its future by itself.

We have made some progress but are also encountering difficulties. The French colonialists are trying to prevail upon the Martiniquans that autonomy, in whatever form, will lead to poverty, that our people are not numerous and poor, and that their future is best served by integration with France. The French Government is trying to turn Martinique into a "show-window" of France in Latin America. At the same time, the anti-colonial movement, and primarily the Communist Party, are being persecuted. People are put in prisons, tried in courts, or heavily fined. Abuse and police methods reign in Martinique. Freedom is being ravaged.

But the sound forces of the people revolt against this policy,

which prejudices their democratic freedoms, keeps the country in a state of economic backwardness and leads to economic degradation and greater unemployment. The closure of five sugar-processing factories and the deliberate destruction of several thousand tons of bananas in the course of four years are but two deplorable examples of this policy. The strike of the sugar-factory workers, of farm laborers and building workers has so far lasted for more than a month. Workers' united action is making headway. The General Confederation of Labor of Martinique, the country's main trade union center, and the trade unions of the Force Ouvrier have signed an agreement on united action. Four hundred law school students organized a strike during the visit to Martinique of the Minister for Overseas Departments to protest against the reform that concerned their school. Some headway has been achieved lately in uniting the anti-colonial forces. This is borne out by the fact that a joint Martiniquan delegation participated in the Tri-Continental Conference. It was headed by one of the leaders of our Party. The anti-colonial forces, who control the municipalities of the two main towns in the country, have improved their positions at the latest municipal elections in March 1965.

Violent unrest breaks loose in our country from time to time. Colonial troops killed three people and wounded dozens in December 1959; in March 1961 they killed three people and wounded two, and in October 1965 they killed one person and wounded dozens.

The people of Martinique are backed in their struggle by the progressive forces of France and the rest of the world. The day will come when Martinique becomes a member of the great family of free nations.

Comrades, this brief exposition of our problems and struggle will give you a better idea of why we depend on still greater Soviet solidarity and why we look forward to the results of your Congress with so much interest and hope. May the 23rd Congress make the Soviet Union, the world's first communist country, still stronger and still more prosperous. May your Congress further the struggle and unity of the world revolutionary forces, and may it help to cement the unity of the world Communist movement. This will be a great service to the cause of progress, freedom, peace and socialism.

Long live the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the builder of a new society, the champion of the oppressed peoples!

Long live communism!

SPEECH BY COMRADE MAJHEMOUT DIOP
General Secretary, African Independence Party of Senegal

Dear Comrades, the representatives of the African Independence Party of Senegal are happy of this opportunity to extend the warmest greetings to the delegates of the 23rd Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, and through them to all the working people, all the peoples of the Soviet Union. The African Independence Party also greets the delegations of the fraternal Communist and Workers' Parties and the revolutionary national liberation movements.

In its 49 years, the Soviet Union has, under the leadership of Lenin's glorious Party, achieved decisive successes in all fields of endeavor. In adopting its new five-year plan, your country, as was so strikingly shown in Comrade Leonid Brezhnev's report, is successfully building the material, technical and cultural basis of communist society.

The African Independence Party holds in high esteem the policy of the CPSU, which is designed to ensure the unity of the socialist camp, cement the world Communist and working-class movement, achieve unity of action by the world revolutionary movement, extend active support to the national liberation movement and effectively assist the economic development of the young independent states in Asia and Africa.

The African Independence Party regards the Soviet Union as an indomitable bulwark of peace against the dangers created in the world by the aggressive actions of U.S. imperialism and West German militarism and revanchism.

Our Party, which will celebrate its tenth anniversary next year, has for six years already fought underground, in difficult conditions, with the purpose of establishing in Senegal an independent national-democratic state. To achieve this goal, the Party is carrying on tireless and versatile activity, and working for the unity of all the progressive and patriotic forces of Senegal society. Our Party is working consistently for African unity, for the principle of equality of all races and peoples. Our Party opposes neo-colonialist conspiracies against Africa and the disgraceful system of apartheid in South Africa. It supports the legitimate right to independence of the peoples of Zimbabwe, Angola, Mozambique and "Portuguese" Guinea.

We firmly support the heroic struggle of the South Vietnamese people under the leadership of the National Liberation Front and the struggle of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam against the U.S. imperialist aggression.

From this rostrum, we declare our unequivocal solidarity with

the people of Cuba and the other Latin American peoples against whom the United States is pursuing a policy of provocation and interference.

Comrades, our Party is confident that, acting on the immortal teaching of Lenin and leaning for support on the experience of the international working-class and revolutionary movement, above all that of the CPSU, it shall do its part in safeguarding the interests of the people, and of peace.

May socialism triumph the world over!

May the friendship of the peoples of Senegal and the Soviet Union flourish!

Long live the glorious Communist Party of the Soviet Union and its Leninist Central Committee!

SPEECH BY COMRADE GERHARD DANELIUS
First Secretary of the Board of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany— West Berlin

Dear delegates to the 23rd Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union,

Dear Comrades,

Allow me, on behalf of the leadership of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany, West Berlin, of all members of our Party and of all its sympathizers, to convey to you hearty, fraternal greetings.

We thank you for inviting us to your 23rd Congress, whose work and decisions will have an extremely important bearing on the further full-scale building of communism in the Soviet Union, on the international revolutionary working-class movement and on the people's struggle against exploitation, oppression and war, for peace, freedom and progress.

Wherever a sensible and realistic policy is pursued, it is prompted by the general desire for peace and security. This is what the Socialist Unity Party of Germany—West Berlin proceeds from in shaping its own policy.

The revenge-seeking policy of the ruling quarters in West Berlin is fraught with immense dangers, above all to West Berlin. Postwar experience shows that our city has no future as a seat of political crises. West Berlin will not have any prospects of peaceful and happy development, until an end is put to the cold war that makes our city a front-line city and until its population makes a positive contribution to the fight for peace and works for the

rapprochement and mutual understanding of the two German states and for the development of European cooperation.

We strive to work hand in hand with the Social-Democrats, trade unionists, students and professors against the U.S. aggression in Vietnam and the nuclear ambitions of the West German rulers. The latter support the United States, the world policeman, for their own, revenge-seeking ends.

So far, 22,000 West Berliners have put their signatures to the demand to withdraw U.S. troops from South Vietnam and cease the piratic bombings of North Vietnam. Four thousand workers and students took part in a powerful "Peace to Vietnam!" demonstration against the support of West German rulers to the dirty U.S. war in Vietnam.

Gradually, a new situation is taking shape in West Berlin. The bulk of the population does not want Washington and Bonn to use the city as a seat of provocation.

More and more people are seeing reason and condemning the cold war policies and the anti-communist hysteria. They want normal peaceful relations between West Berlin, on the one hand, and the East and West, on the other. It is essential to normalize relations with the German Democratic Republic, the first workers' and peasants' state in the history of Germany, symbolizing peace and the national future of our people and working consistently for European security.

Comrades, the role played by the Soviet Union in the attainment of the partial test ban treaty and its good services in restoring peaceful relations between India and Pakistan, have been a great help to us in our struggle, because they held up the lie to the imperialist slander about the alleged aggressiveness of the Soviet Union. The Soviet policy of peace and peaceful coexistence stimulates general confidence in the Soviet Union, that mighty bastion of peace and international friendship.

As this historic 23rd Congress of the CPSU is taking place, the West Berlin Communists think with friendship and gratitude of the Soviet peoples, who have, under the leadership of their glorious Communist Party, liberated the German people and the peoples of Europe from the brutal rule of Hitler fascism. We are proud that today, twenty years after the war ended, a peaceful German state, the German Democratic Republic, has strong fraternal bonds with the Soviet Union. Such relations are a model for the whole German working class, for the whole German nation.

Comrades, we are sure that the 23rd Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union will lead to further striking successes in the economic and cultural fields and that it will help

to cement the world Communist movement and promote united action in the struggle against imperialist aggression.

Long live the great Communist Party of the Soviet Union!
Long live the friendship of the German and Soviet peoples!
Long live peace!

MESSAGE OF GREETING FROM THE DELEGATION OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF PARAGUAY TO THE 23rd CONGRESS OF THE CPSU

Comrade members of the Presidium and delegates to the 23rd Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union,

Comrade members of delegations of fraternal Communist and Workers' Parties and representatives of national liberation movements,

Dear Comrades,

The Communist Party of Paraguay charged us with the honorable mission of conveying hearty fraternal greetings from the Communists of our country to the 23rd Congress of Lenin's great Party. Moved by profound patriotic and internationalist sentiment, may we express our gratitude to the CPSU, the Soviet Government and the people of the Soviet Union for the constant support of the national liberation struggle of our people.

The attention of all the peoples of the earth is focussed on the work of the 23rd Congress of the CPSU. The peoples are certain that its result will contribute greatly to the common struggle for peace, democracy, national liberation, socialism and communism. The Report of the Central Committee delivered by Comrade Brezhnev has lived up to the hopes and expectations of the peoples. Together with all Communists, democrats, revolutionaries and peace champions all over the world, we rejoice at the magnificent accomplishments of the Soviet people in the past seven years. These triumphant results are rooted in the full restoration of the Leninist standards of collective leadership, democratic centralism and socialist democracy, and the promotion of the people's creative activity.

The implementation of the five-year plan deliberated at this Congress will give fresh and powerful impetus to the productive forces, the building of the material and technical basis of communism and the noble efforts of continuously improving the living standard and cultural level of the Soviet people. The fruitful creative labor of the Soviet people in advancing their economy, the basis for strengthening the defensive capacity of the Soviet Union

and the rest of the socialist camp, helps to frustrate the bellicose and interventionist plans of imperialism, to step up assistance to peoples recently liberated from the colonial yoke and to give effective support to peoples fighting for their freedom.

The implementation of the five-year plan will constitute a new major success for the world revolutionary movement. Each achievement in the building of socialism and the material and technical basis of communist society furnishes practical proof of the superiority of socialism over capitalism. It contributes substantially to the spread of Marxist-Leninist ideas among the masses and helps to expand the struggle for liberation from the yoke of imperialist capital. Those who deny the world-wide revolutionary impact of the building of socialist economy and the construction of the material and technical basis of communist society, depart thereby from the Marxist-Leninist standpoint.

It is not surprising that while the Soviet people are fortifying socialist relations of production and building the foundations of communist society, the ideologists of the imperialist bourgeoisie hold forth about an alleged return to capitalism in the Soviet Union. But it is strange and shocking that slander borrowed from the arsenal of imperialist psychological warfare is being repeated and spread from so-called ultra-revolutionary positions.

The Communist Party of Paraguay is faithful to the program statements collectively framed and adopted by the world Communist movement at its 1957 and 1960 Meetings. In this basic issue, our Party takes a common stand with the overwhelming majority of Communist and Workers' Parties and, first and foremost, with the great Party of Lenin. The presence at the 23rd Congress of the CPSU of delegations from Communist, Workers', National-Democratic and Left-Socialist parties of 86 countries is a striking indication that disruptive plans and activities are suffering failure. It is a clear indication of the growing isolation of the dissenters and an acknowledgment of the determined and flexible struggle waged by the CPSU for the Marxist-Leninist unity of the world Communist movement.

The Communist Party of Paraguay agrees wholeheartedly that it is necessary to organize a consistent ideological struggle against revisionism, dogmatism, bourgeois nationalism and great-power hegemonic ambition.

We welcome the first statement contained in the Report of the Central Committee of the CPSU to the 23rd Congress, which says: "The Vietnamese people will be the masters of the whole of their country, and nobody will ever extinguish the torch of socialism, which has been raised on high by the Democratic Republic of Vietnam."

Our Party wholeheartedly supports the policy aimed at achieving united action of all Communist Parties and all revolutionaries against imperialism, the main common enemy of the people. We believe, in particular, that this united action is essential in rendering all-round support to the heroic national liberation struggle of the Vietnamese people against the North American aggressors and their henchmen. The Tri-Continental Conference held recently in Havana shows conclusively that such is the will of the people. All activity aimed at accentuating differences and dissension, all denials of unity and coordinated action by countries of the socialist camp and the world Communist movement in rendering the maximum of help to the struggle of the Vietnamese people, encourage the criminal aggressive plans of North American imperialism against Vietnam, against Cuba, against the Dominican and other peoples fighting for national and social emancipation.

The policy of accentuating differences and using them as an excuse to obstruct joint assistance to Vietnam leads inevitably to the conclusion that the differences are being artificially exaggerated in order to camouflage the egoistic goals of nationalism.

True to its consistent internationalist position, the Communist Party of Paraguay has firmly rejected and crushed the attempts of the agent provocateur Oscar Kreidt, the former General Secretary of the CPP, to deviate from the Party's political line toward bourgeois nationalism and "left" anti-Soviet opportunism, and to repudiate the program documents of the world Communist movement adopted in 1957 and 1960.

Allow us to deal briefly with the political situation in our country and the struggle of the people of Paraguay. The persistent efforts of the North American interventionists to politically shore up the terrorist military regime have failed again. The people rejected the new maneuver — a compact between the domestic reactionaries and the Stroessner dictatorship, financed by large U.S. loans, in the elections of October 24, 1965. But the economic crisis is growing more acute. It is a crisis of the entire socio-economic structure of Paraguay, based on landowner and imperialist exploitation, personified in its concentrated political form by the anti-national military regime. The workers, peasants and all other sections of the people are aware of the need for radical change and are looking for ways to carry through revolutionary reconstruction. Despite the terrorism, the labor and popular movements are growing in scale and gaining fresh influence. Armed groups of peasants, the nucleus of a partisan movement, appeared in the country and have been carrying on the struggle for some years. The idea that a nation-wide revolutionary uprising is essential to overthrow the dictatorial anti-national regime and to liber-

ate the country from North American imperialist domination is gaining strongly among the people. The Paraguay Communists stand at the head of the people's struggle.

In the last few years, the U.S. interventionists and the dictatorship, no more than a puppet in their hands, have killed four comrades from the higher organs of our Party and more than 100 other Communists. For as many as eight years, Comrades Antonio Maidana, Julio Rojas and Alfredo Alcorta are being tortured and gradually done to death in prison. Also languishing in gaol are other Communist Party leaders, such as Severo Acosta Aranda, Gonzalez Santander, Ananias Maidana, Palacios, Ignacio Fernandez, Aveiro, Marciano Vilagra, Anibal Garsette and Isabel de Kasal. But neither demagogic maneuvers nor bloody terrorism have been able — and never will be able — to block the struggle of the working class and the people. They will not break the fighting spirit of the communist patriots, democrats and all revolutionaries of Paraguay who are determined to fight on until victory. There is every reason to say that the Paraguay Communists have enough strength and determination to overcome the effects of long enemy work aimed at an inner-party split and at paralyzing the work of the Party. The Paraguay Communists will unite and reorganize all the sound forces of the Party on the basis of the principles and standards of Marxism-Leninism and will perform their mission as the vanguard of the democratic revolution of national liberation.

From this eminent rostrum, we want to express our deep gratitude to the Communist Party of the Soviet Union for its unceasing support of the struggle of the Paraguay people for national liberation and, in particular, for its active and all-round assistance to the solidarity movement for the release of Comrade Antonio Maidana and all the other imprisoned patriots. The release of Comrade Jesus Faria was secured by joint actions, the campaign of international solidarity and the heroic struggle of the Venezuelan people. This fortifies our faith that we, too, shall deliver our comrades from the prisons of the anti-popular dictatorship.

In expressing the interests and sentiments of the working class and the whole people of Paraguay, we wish the Soviet people, the vanguard of mankind, new and still greater successes in their fruitful creative work and in the building of communist society.

Delegation of the Paraguay Communist Party to the 23rd Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union:

RALMOND RIOTORTO, RAUL RAMIREZ
MIGUEL ANGEL SOLER, CALIXTO BOGADO

MESSAGE OF GREETING FROM THE DELEGATION OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF SALVADORE TO THE 23rd CONGRESS OF THE CPSU

Dear Comrades, on behalf of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Salvadore and all our Party membership, we heartily greet your 23rd Congress with fervent revolutionary enthusiasm.

Each of your Congresses has not only national importance, bounded by the frontiers of your Soviet land, but also international importance, because the working people's state was first established in your country, ushering in a new era, that of socialist revolutions, for all mankind. This is why the gaze of the people of the whole world is now turned to your Congress, which will adopt a new five-year plan. We know that this plan will benefit not only the Soviet people, but will also exercise a beneficial influence on the development of other socialist countries and countries fighting against imperialism.

Your 23rd Congress is highlighted by immense economic, cultural, scientific, technical, artistic and educational triumphs. We believe that all these victories are epitomized by your striking successes in the exploration of outer space, because each step in that direction calls for the joint effort of millions of people in your Soviet land. This proves that apart from the supreme achievements of science and culture, economy and technology, the Soviet people also have a boundless capacity for lofty dreams — blazing the trail to man's radiant future, their thoughts turn far away to future centuries.

Of all your achievements, we should like to single out the close and unbreakable bonds your Party has with the people and the monolithic unity of the multi-national Soviet state, a factor that constitutes the foundation of your political and moral strength.

Your 23rd Congress is taking place at a time when important historical events are unfolding on the international scene. The socialist camp, with the Soviet Union at its head, is steadily growing stronger, while imperialism, rotten to the core, is falling apart under the powerful blows of anti-colonial and anti-neocolonial movements of liberation. There are grave contradictions within the imperialist camp, and the political consciousness and fighting spirit of the masses in the imperialist metropolitan countries are growing, too, in the struggle for the solution of urgent problems. Dreading the rapidly developing selfless struggles of the peoples, the forces which are trying to retard the ascendant march of history by desperate though futile means, are threatening the world with a nuclear disaster, organizing bloody aggressions against the

peoples, and violating the sacred principles of self-determination and non-interference.

We note with deep concern and regret that, alongside its successes, the anti-imperialist front has had to cope with grave difficulies for some years. The differences in the world Communist movement benefit none but our enemies. As experience has shown, departure from the Marxist-Leninist line, nationalist conceptions and the trend owards hegemony create certain obstacles in the hard and difficult struggle of the peoples against imperialism.

The Communist Party of Salvadore has always, without the least hesitation, fully and completely, rejected such positions. Acting on the teaching of Marx and Lenin, we have always opposed all deviations, whether to right or left, and will always firmly follow the path shown to us by our great leaders and teachers.

Here at your highly important Congress, we again declare our respect and firm support of the 1957 Declaration and 1960 Statement of Communist and Workers' Parties, and stress our respect for the norms adopted in the aforesaid collective documents to cement the unity of the world Communist movement, such as complete equality and independence, non-interference in each other's internal affairs, mutual support and international solidarity. We also stress that practice has demonstrated the importance of bilateral consultations between Communist and Workers' Parties. We may cite the following fact by way of an example. For some years, the Communist and Workers' Parties of Central America, Mexico and Panama have held conferences at which delegates from our Parties consult each other on questions of common interest, exchange valuable experience, and finalize certain aspects in the tactics of our common struggle. So far, we have held three such conferences.

The historical development of the revolutionary movement unavoidably creates new problems requiring collective deliberation. For this reason, wishing to promote the unity of the world Communist movement, we favor a new international conference of Communist and Workers' Parties as soon as suitable conditions are created for it. We also wholeheartedly agree that despite the existing differences, united action is possible and necessary on such specific question — which we believe have cardinal importance for the peoples of the world — as the struggle against U.S. imperialist aggression in Vietnam and the North American intervention and occupation of the Dominican Republic, against imperialist conspracies in the newly-independent African countries, the struggle for the national liberation of Asian, African and Latin American peoples, and effective support of the Cuban revolution.

Comrades, our delegation shares in all the aspirations that animate your Congress. We are sure that the more than 12 million Soviet Communists represented at this historic Congress, and the entire Soviet people, linked closely with their Communist Party, will successfully fulfil the tasks of the new five-year plan.

The wisdom of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, based on the rich experience acquired in nearly half a century, the sustained success in socialist and communist construction, the heroic defense of your country, the struggle for peace and peaceful coexistence, strict observance of the principles of proletarian internationalism — those are but a few of the reasons why the CPSU is the recognized vanguard of the peoples fighting for the final conquest of happiness for all men.

Your five-year plan coincides with two glorious anniversaries— the fiftieth anniversary of the October Socialist Revolution which ushered in a new era in man's history, and the hundredth anniversary of the birth of the great Vladimir Lenin. The Salvadore Communists are sure that you will celebrate these anniversaries fittingly.

Long live the 23rd Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union!

Long live the Communist Party of the Soviet Union!
Long live the people of the Soviet Union!
Long live the unity of the world communist movement!
Long live communism!
Workers of the world, unite!

DELEGATION OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF SALVADORE

MESSAGE OF GREETING FROM THE DELEGATION OF THE PARTY OF PEOPLE'S UNITY OF HAITI TO THE 23rd CONGRESS OF THE CPSU

Dear Comrades, on behalf of the Party of People's Unity of Haiti we convey fraternal greetings and congratulate all Communists of the Soviet Union on the 23rd Congress of your Party.

As you know, comrades, the whole world is following the Congress with close interest. The attention of Communists, of all progressives, even of reactionaries in the capitalist countries, is focussed on your Congress. It stands to reason, that all of them proceed from their class attitudes in appraising its work. Imperialism, after all, is still extant. It is irreconcilably opposed to the world socialst system, which, being the greatest gain of the world

proletariat, makes its own imprint on the entire modern epoch. Ever since the victory of the October Revolution, the fighters for socialism in all countries have always drawn inspiration from the living example and rich experience of the CPSU and the new socialist society, which they use in their struggle against capital and reactionary ideology.

We Communists of Haiti attach special importance to the Congress of the CPSU. Your Congress is taking place at a time of an acute deterioration of the international situation, precipitated by the U.S. intervention in South Vietnam, the U.S. aggression against the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, the revival of the U.S. "big stick" policy in Latin America, the arming of the West German revenge-seekers and the violation of international agreements by the imperialist powers. Furthermore, certain new difficulties stemming from the differences in the world Communist movement, have arisen for the liberation struggle of the oppressed peoples.

We note with satisfaction that the 23rd Congress of the CPSU has reaffirmed the unwavering solidarity of the CPSU and the Soviet state with the peoples fighting against capitalism, imperialism, for national liberation and socialism. It has reaffirmed that the CPSU stands by the Statement of the Meeting of 81 Communist Parties and has declared its intention to work for the unity of the world Communist movement.

Your Congress is deliberating an imposing program of continued economic, cultural and political development, which is to reinforce the basis of communist construction.

Yet, while the Soviet people are marching to communism, under the leadership of their Party, the peoples of Latin America, and that of Haiti in particular, are suffering imperialist and feudal oppression. The people of Haiti live in dire poverty and terror under a blood-thirsty dictatorship. Our life today is much like the life of the peoples in tsarist Russia.

Our peasants live like slaves, and workers suffer unheard-of hardships. It is estimated that a mere 5 litres of milk fall to every Haitian per year. Eighty per cent of the population cannot afford meat and eggs. There is just one doctor for every 15,000 people. The average life expectancy is as low as 32 years. Ninety per cent of the population are illiterate.

The Duvalier government employs terror and police repressions reminiscent of a foreign occupation regime to combat the burgeoning popular movement. The number of political prisoners has risen to 2,000 The finest sons of our country, principally Communists, are languishing in prisons, suffering torture, even death. Among them is the founder of our Party, its General Secretary, Jacques Stephen Alexis, a writer known to the Soviet people and all progressives.

The dictatorship of Francois Duvalier, one of the most brutal in the world, represents the interests of the most reactionary classes of Haiti, the feudal landowners. It serves U.S. imperialism, which monopolizes 60 per cent of our sizal crop, the entire sugar corp, and our output of copper and bauxites.

Under the leadership of the Haitian Party of People's Unity, our people are waging a heroic struggle against the Duvalier dictatorship. Numerous patriots have given their lives for national liberation. In the meantime, predatory U.S. imperialism, which dreads the popular revolution that could ensue if Duvalier's dictatorship were to fall, intends to commit the same crime in Haiti that it committed in the Dominican Republic in pursuance of the so-called doctrine of "preventive intervention."

The people of Haiti have already had a taste of Yankee occupation. From 1915 to 1934 the U.S. Marines sowed death and destruction in our country. So our people will never agree to new slavery.

While directing the struggle of the masses against the Duvalier dictatorship, our Party is also preparing the people for struggle against a foreign armed intervention, against the political and economic oppression of feudalism and imperialism. Marxism-Leninism is the only true compass that can help us bring the struggle to a victorious end and perform our revolutionary task.

We are sure that your economic, scientific, cultural and social achievements of the past seven years, which have been summed up at the 23rd Congress of the CPSU, will have a far-reaching influence on the political awareness of the working people in our country and in the world. Socialist distribution of national wealth, the economic and cultural living standard of the peoples of the Soviet Union and the advanced role of Soviet science and technology, are not just your own achievements, but also indisputable evidence of the advantages of the socialist system.

The prospects which the 23rd Congress opens for the peoples of the Soviet Union give us an idea of the summits that a people who only yesterday languished under the yoke of tsarism and the bourgeoisie can scale under socialism.

The people of Haiti, and other peoples of the world, can take the sky by storm, as Marx put it, provided the proletariat and the peasants win political power. The experience of the Soviet people and the great Party of Lenin is a striking example for all the oppressed peoples, who always receive concrete assistance from the Soviet Union in their struggle for national liberation and socialism.

Soviet Comrades, your fellow Communists in Haiti admire the efforts of the Soviet people, their heroism, their achievements in creative labor, which enabled them to score major economic and

cultural successes. All this was attained despite the imperialist intrigues that necessitate a continuous strengthening of the defensive capacity of the socialist camp. We wish the Soviet people still greater success in implementing the program of communist construction!

Every Soviet success in communist construction, every scientific victory, reinforces the socialist camp, serves as a warning to the imperialist aggressors and constitutes a palpable contribution to the peoples' struggle for emancipation.

Long live the Communist Party of the Soviet Union!

Long live the solidarity of the peoples of the world in their struggle against capitalism and imperialism!

Long live communism!

TO THE 23rd CONGRESS OF THE CPSU

The Patriotic Front of National Liberation wishes every success to your Congress, which is an important contribution to the struggle of all the peace-loving peoples against fascism, colonialism and imperialism.

THE PORTUGUESE REVOLUTIONARY JUNTA

THE MESSAGE FROM AFRO-SHIRAZI PARTY DELEGATION TO THE 23rd CONGRESS OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE SOVIET UNION

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union,

Fellow delegates,

Comrade workers of the Soviet Union,

It is our privilege, on behalf of the Afro-Shirazi Party and the people of Tanzania, to convey the message of greeting from the people and Abeid Amani Karume, President of the Afro-Shirazi Party and the First Vice-President of the Republic of Tanzania, to all comrade delegates of various states, who are attending the 23rd Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. We also salute and thank the Communist Party leaders of the USSR and their Government, for extending invitations to all progressive organizations of various countries, and particularly to the Afro-Shirazi Party of Tanzania, Zanzibar.

It is our obligation to clarify this well-known fact, that the

opening of the 23rd Communist Party Congress in the USSR is an important event not only for the people and Communist Party of the Soviet Union, but also for the people of Tanzania, Zanzibar, and the people of various countries and their progressive organizations.

We are fully aware and convinced that the people and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union have been holding high the banner of struggle against imperialism, capitalism, colonialism, neocolonialism, the international reactionary forces and the acts of aggression of U.S. imperialism, in various parts of the world.

The people and Communist Party of the Soviet Union have also been actively supporting the national liberation struggles in Africa, Asia, and Latin America. And also have been making an important contribution to the strengthening of all progressive revolutionary movements in various parts of the globe.

Comrades, allow us to express our own gratitude to the Soviet people and the Communist Party for their active material assistance, which was rendered to our revolutionary government, immediately after overthrowing the devil's regime, which kept the working-class people of Zanzibar under ruthless domination and exploitation for about one hundred and fifty years, to defend our freedom which was achieved through the struggle of bloodshed.

Comrades, we feel it is our duty once more to express our profound thanks to the people and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, and other parties for the active support in the fight of our comrades, the people of Vietnam, against the aggressive war of American imperialism, and other reactionary forces.

Comrades, we, as Zanzibar delegation, feel that one of the important duties of all members of the Communist Party, socialist party, democratic party, and all progressive movements from various countries, attending the 23rd CPSU Congress, is to think seriously, that the only way to exterminate the aggressive war of world imperialism and colonialism is our joint struggle against our enemies.

So let us with the 23rd Congress succeed in constructing our unity and solidarity on the basis of Marxism-Leninism, that emphasizes the past achievements and makes bold forecasts.

In fact, the people of the Soviet Union have already advanced in science, philosophy, and economics, to a higher stage than any nation in the world. We witness many scientific achievements performed by the Soviet Union.

Comrades, we regard the 23rd Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union as a manifestation of Communist advance and success in its campaign against imperialism, capitalism, and colonialism, which create miserable life in human society.

Long live the Communist Party of the USSR.
Long live all Communist Parties in the world.
Long live all progressive movements in the world.
Long live all national struggle against imperialism, colonialism, and neocolonialism.

Delivered by
Comrade Seif Bakari and others

MESSAGE OF GREETING FROM THE SOCIALIST PARTY OF NICARAGUA TO THE 23rd CONGRESS OF THE CPSU

Comrades, on behalf of the Socialist Party of Nicaragua, its Central Committee and all the Communists of Nicaragua, we send heartfelt fraternal greetings to the delegates of the 23rd Congress of the CPSU. We share the enthusiasm of the world's Marxist-Leninists, who cannot fail to rejoice today over the convention of the 23rd Congress of the glorious Party founded by Lenin.

This event is of immense historical importance not only for your Party and the Soviet people, but also for the world communist movement, for all the peoples of the world, because it is the forum of a party which has for nearly 50 years exercised a far-reaching beneficial influence on the course of world events.

The Communist Party of the Soviet Union, which enjoys the strong and firm support of the Soviet people, is demonstrating the immense possibilities of the socialist system and its advantages over the system based on the exploitation of man by man. The CPSU stands in the vanguard of the world Communist and revolutionary movement.

The tremendous successes of the Soviet people under the leadership of their Marxist-Leninist Party in the economic, political, cultural, scientific and technical spheres have served, and continue to serve, not only the steady improvements of their living conditions, but also as a powerful support for all the other peoples of the world in their struggle to be masters of their own fate.

The Socialist Party of Nicaragua trusts firmly that the decisions of the 23rd Congress of the CPSU will again live up to the hope of the peoples that peace will be safeguarded. The CPSU has always been the most powerful bulwark of the peaceful coexistence of countries with different social systems. Furthermore, the Communist and Workers' Parties of the world trust that the decisions of the 23rd Congress will cement the unity of the Communist movements. Differences within the great world-wide family of Communists, in

effect, grind the axe of the enemies of socialism and communism. Communist Parties may have different points of view, but this does not rule out united action by all the Communist and Workers' Parties against the common enemy of the peoples. Differences injure our objective of establishing socialism on earth in the shortest possible time. United action by all Communist Parties against imperialism is the guarantee that the regime based on exploitation of man by man will be abolished.

At present, when Soviet society is ascending to a higher stage in its development, when the party of the Soviet people is deliberating and passing Directives that will pave the way for a further advance to communism on the basis of Leninist principles, we have no doubt whatsoever that the fulfilment of your plans will not only deliver another blow to capitalism in the economic competition, but will also serve as a strong impetus for the strengthening and expansion of the world revolutionary process.

This is why our Socialist Party, the party of Nicaraguan Communists, cannot but join with revolutionary enthusiasm on the optimistic uplift that grips you, Soviet comrades, today over the bright outlook opened by the 23rd Congress of the heroic Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

In this fraternal and enthusiastic message, we, the Nicaraguan Communists, send you our most cordial and sincere wishes of success and effective work at the 23rd Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, which is unquestionably a great historic event of world importance.

Long live the 23rd Congress of the CPSU!

Long live the glorious and heroic Party of Lenin!

Long live the unbreakable friendship between the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Socialist Party of Nicaragua!

Long live the unity and solidarity of the world communist movement!

On behalf of the Socialist Party of Nicaragua:
MANUEL PEREZ ESTRADA,
General Secretary of the Central Committee;
JUAN LORIO,
Member of the Central Committee;
OSCAR VANEGAS,
Member of the Central Committee

MESSAGE OF GREETING FROM THE PEOPLE'S VANGUARD PARTY OF COSTA RICA TO THE 23rd CONGRESS OF THE CPSU

Our greetings to the 23rd Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union!

Dear Comrades, the people of the Soviet Union are today an inexhaustible source of hope for mankind, suffering from poverty and horrible threat of a third world war.

All thinking people on earth know today that the military and economic power of the Soviet Union was built up not to suppress weaker nations, but to help the weaker nations enslaved by imperialism to win and safeguard their independence and to open up prospects for all people of a new social system that would enable them to live in peace and achieve the fullest possible flowering of life and culture.

All this is posible, because the Soviet people, inspired by Marxism-Leninism, have, for the first time in history, created a party of a new type, which bases its activities on a profound knowledge of the laws governing the development of human society and capable, besides, to conduct its work calmly despite the tense political situation of our time.

The CPSU is inflexible in its defense of the principles of Marxism-Leninism yet brilliantly flexible and humane when it deals with the colossal power that science and the labor of the Soviet people have put into its hands. At such times, it is just as modest and considerate as Lenin was.

For the sake of man's welfare, it does not succumb to the impatience shown by those who have no faith in the laws of historic development and want to accelerate the course of events. It refuses to be lulled by the dulcet sing-song of the imperialist sirens, who are eager to preserve the colonial and semi-colonial regime for their own interests. It is calmly accumulating strength and forging the unity of the progressive world — an essential condition for destroying imperialism, which yields mankind nothing but grief and want.

We wrote this message of greeting to the 23rd Congress of the CPSU under the inspiration of all the above factors. This is why our message is a token of our fraternal affection, deep admiration and legitimate joy. We are deeply convinced that this Congress will be yet another step forward not only of the CPSU and the Soviet people, but of all mankind, along the road of peace and socialism.

On behalf of the Central Committee,
People's Vanguard Party of Costa Rica:
MANUEL MORA VALVERDE, First Secretary.

MESSAGE OF GREETING OF THE IRISH WORKERS' PARTY TO THE 23rd CONGRESS OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE SOVIET UNION

Dear Soviet Comrades,

It is for me a pleasant duty and a great honor to convey ardent fraternal greetings to the delegates of the 23rd Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union from the Executive Committee and membership of the Irish Workers' Party. Our Party thanks you most sincerely for your invitation to be present at this great gathering. Your Congresses are great events in the life of the international working-class movement. Your decisions are of paramount importance and consequence to friends and foes alike. They will have far-reaching effects on the peoples of all countries, be they big or small lands.

Thank you for the opportunity of sharing in the experiences of this Congress. Thank you for the opportunity of sharing in its wisdom.

The Irish people's long and continued fight for national freedom gives the lie, if such was needed, that the term "West" is synonymous with freedom. For hundreds of years our people have fought for the right of self-determination, an objective that has not yet been fully realized.

This 23rd Congress is a landmark in the life of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, a landmark in the life of the international working-class movement, a landmark in the life of the national liberation movement; it coincides with a great national and revolutionary occasion for the Irish people—the 50th Anniversary of the Irish Revolt of 1916.

The insurrectionary forces, composed of the working class organized in the Irish Citizen Army under the leadership of the outstanding Marxist James Connolly who united with the radical nationalist forces organized in the Irish Volunters under the leadership of Padraig Pearse, struck a heroic blow in 1916.

They rose at a time when imperialism was at the zenith of its brutal power. Thanks above all to the Great October Revolution of 1917 the progress of events since then have changed the whole balance of world forces. Today, although still strong, imperialism is in its decline. When James Connolly and his comrades-in-arms rose in revolt, their action was condemned by the Right-wing Social-Chauvinists who had sold the peoples as cannon fodder for the great imperialist war then raging.

Their action was dismissed by the Left Sectarians of that time because they, the Leftists, failed to perceive the vital link between the struggle for national liberation and the fight for socialism. Far away from our little island, however, it was championed by the

great Lenin, the founder of the Party of the Bolsheviks, the founder of the Party which is holding its historic 23rd Congress today.

All honor to the great Lenin who defended and championed the Irish men and women who rose in arms against British imperialism in 1916!

Is it not natural, therefore, Comrades of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, that though many miles seperate us, and that we are but a small country, that we should be present at this Congress of a great Party in your vast land?

In addition to class and national interests, the great Lenin forged a close link between your people and ours, between your Party and ours.

Today our people have big problems. Our island has been partitioned by the British imperialists—a situation which frustrates our progress to full national independence, political freedom and social progress.

This situation plus the effects of centuries of imperialist misrule has prevented the development of a sound national economy. Therefore there still exist problems of unemployment and the continuous emigration of our people to other lands in order to seek work.

We, of the Irish Workers' Party, are proud to say that we consider it to be to our national credit that our people have rejected any attempts to involve them in any war blocs or military alliances.

Although our people have always been fiery in battle for their own cause, their zeal for world peace is so keen that they have successfully opposed all efforts to entangle our country in the NATO war bloc.

The entwined cause of peace with the cause of national liberation are seriously affected by, and related to, the issue of unity in the international movement of Communist and Workers' Parties. In that international movement of ours all Parties, big and small, are equal. As a small Party we consider that the continual existence of disunity in our movement is a serious setback for the small Parties and above all for those who fight or aspire to fight for national independence.

We unhesitatingly admire the wise, reasoned and patient efforts of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union to overcome that disunity.

In the national liberation struggles of today the heroic people of Vietnam are waging the most crucial fight of all. Their sacrifices, their suffering, their valor demand the cohesion of the international ranks.

The Vietnamese people occupy the central position in the national liberation struggle of today. Likewise do they occupy the same position in the struggle for world peace. Two weeks ago 27 of our

most prominent Irish personalities — writers, journalists, public figures, and others demanded the end of the brutal war in Vietnam. The list was significantly headed by three of our most outstanding guerrilla leaders in the fight against British imperialism in the war of 1920. This reflected the growing consciousness that the cause of national independence and of world peace is indivisible, and transcends all frontiers.

Our Party wishes your Congress fruitful deliberations.

Our Party salutes your great progess.

Our Party expresses its great debt to the Soviet people whose great fidelity to the cause of working-class internationalism has changed the whole course of history.

Long live the Party of Lenin!

Long live the Soviet people!

Long live the cause of national independence!

Secretary of the Executive Committee,
MICHAEL O'RIORDAN,
Irish Workers' Party.

MESSAGE OF GREETING TO THE 23rd CONGRESS OF THE CPSU FROM THE DELEGATION OF THE SUDANESE COMMUNIST PARTY

Comrades, we are deeply grateful to you for your invitation to attend this historic 23rd Congress of the CPSU, the Party of the great Lenin. We greet your Congress on behalf of all Sudanese Communists and the Sudanese people. In your person we greet your mighty Party and your heroic people.

We are inspired by the history of your struggle and by your selfless heroism during war and peace, a heroism symbolized by the exploit of Alexander Matrosov. This heroism manifests itself in the struggle against aggressors and in peaceful socialist construction—industry, agriculture and science, in ensuring the prosperity of the people, in space exploration, in the fulfilment of your internationalist duty, and in your sincere efforts to secure the unity of the international communist movement. Drawing inspiration from your history, we are profoundly convinced that all the decisions of your Congress will be carried out. We believe that the policy you adopted in October 1964 will help to promote your further development. All your achievements and triumphs are victories of the whole of mankind. The consolidation of the military and economic might of the Soviet Union strengthens socialism in general, renders tremendous assistance to the peoples striving to build a

national economy that would be free of the destructive activity of the imperialist monopolies, and invigorates the forces fighting for peace.

Comrades, we should like to take this opportunity to greet all the fraternal and friendly delegations and wish them every success.

Comrades, the puppet military dictatorship that oppressed our people when we were attending the 22nd Congress has been overthrown and crushed by our people during the glorious popular revolution in October 1964. In that revolution our main weapon was a general political strike, whose vanguard consisted of the masses of workers, peasants and the national intelligentsia. An anti-imperialist national government was formed as a result of that revolution. For the first time in the history of our country we had a government consisting of representatives of the workers, the peasants, the national intelligentsia, and the Communist Party. Despite the specific conditions springing from the balance of forces in the country, this government considerably activiated the masses and opened up new vistas for democracy, socialism and progress.

The victory scored by our people has shown imperialism and reaction that the Sudanese people, particularly the workers, peasants and intellectuals, are swinging to the left and support the stand and recommendations of the Communist Party on questions concerning our country's development.

The imperialists and reactionaries hastily joined forces and, utilizing the weakness of the government, overthrew it as a result of a scoundrelly, behind-the-scenes conspiracy. Immediately after the coup, before the democratic forces could organize, they hurriedly held parliamentary elections only in the northern regions and obtained a majority in parliament. Eleven seats were won by Communist Party candidates. However, the reactionaries and imperialists, who had earlier forced the country to the path of backwardness and dependence, which had been rejected by the people, did not reconcile themselves to this situation either. They did not want to hear the voice of Communists from the parliamentary rostrum and hatched another conspiracy, gambling on religious feelings. They disbanded the Communist Party, drove its representatives out of the parliament, repeatedly amending the Constitution.

Our Party is determined to continue the struggle to uproot reaction and smash it decisively. With this objective in view, it will utilize various means and rely on the world forces of socialism and progress.

In this context, our Party attaches great importance to the unity of the forces of socialism.

Our Party wholeheartedly supported the 1957 Declaration and the 1960 Statement of the Moscow Meetings. These important documents are aimed at ensuring the unity of all the forces work-

ing for socialism and communism, the unity that is today so vital for all the revolutionary forces of the world.

On the basis of this assessment we condemn all efforts to split and undermine the unity of Communists.

We support Comrade Brezhnev's statement on the need for unity in the international Communist movement and among the forces working for socialism, and emphatically declare that we shall always and unfailingly march under the banner of creative Marxism-Leninism.

May the Communist Party of the Soviet Union exist eternally!

Long live the inviolable friendship between the Soviet and the Sudanese peoples!

Long live the unity of the world Communist movement!

Long live Marxism-Leninism!

GREETINGS OF THE PEOPLE'S PROGRESSIVE PARTY OF GUIANA TO THE 23rd CONGRESS OF THE CPSU

Comrades,

On behalf of the People's Progressive Party of Guiana I extend warm and cordial greetings to the Soviet people and their Party on the occasion of the 23rd Congress of the CPSU.

The Soviet people, guided by the CPSU, have won outstanding victories at every stage of their country's development, both in peaceful construction and in defense of their socialist gains against rulthless and powerful enemies.

Your astounding achievements in space technique represent but one aspect of your many achievements which began with the creation of the Party of Lenin and the establishment of the system that put an end to the exploitation of man by man.

The October Revolution opened the way for the development of of the colonial liberation movement, while your great victory over fascism in the Second World War—at such great sacrifice—provided the conditions for a new powerful upsurge of this movement. Inspired by the succeses of the Soviet Union, the colonial people rose to put an end to the hated colonial system of imperialism.

We could se that Soviet power brought freedom to the former colonial peoples. The tsarist "prison of nations" was transformed into a land of free and equal peoples. We have watched with keen interest the rapid progress made by all the nationalities since the establishment of Soviet power. And this has taken place within a relatively short historical period, thus completely exploding the reactionary myth of the exploiters and their spokesmen that it

would take hundreds of years for the "backward" peoples to achieve substantial progress. Racial discrimination and national animosity was ended. This was a powerful factor drawing our attention to the Soviet Union. And we discovered it was the socialist system and Lenin's national policy pursued by the CPSU that solved this problem.

Today the Soviet Union upholds world peace and actively supports all oppressed peoples struggles to win full freedom from imperialism.

Our Party is privileged to be represented for the first time by an observer delegation at a Congress of the CPSU. We cherish your invitation and are deeply honored.

Your 23rd Congress takes place at a time when the national liberation movement in Guiana is entering a new phase. The People's Progressive Party, which leads the struggle for genuine freedom and socialism in Guiana, was dismissed from the Government by the British imperialists in December 1964 at the bidding of American imperialism. A puppet government was installed which has since been faithfully serving its Anglo-American masters and Big Business, to the detriment of the Guianese working people.

In these conditions our Party is working for the unity of the working people in defense of their interests, and on this basis is striving to develop the struggle against Anglo-American imperialism and its local puppets.

On May 26 the British flag will come down and Guiana will nominally become independent. In reality, however, the basic position will be that of a neocolonial state.

Our Party is determined to continue the struggle for genuine independence, against neocolonialism and imperialism, until victory is won.

We condemn U.S. barbarity and aggression against the freedom loving people of Vietnam and applaud your country's active assistance to the Vietnamese in their just and heroic fight.

We wish your 23rd Congress success in its deliberations. We are confident that the Soviet people, guided by Lenin's Party, will rise to ever new heights with every passing day.

Long live friendship between the Soviet and Guianese people!

PEOPLE'S PROGRESSIVE PARTY OF GUIANA

STATEMENT TO THE 23rd CONGRESS OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE SOVIET UNION FROM THE DELEGATION OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY, NORTHERN IRELAND

Dear Comrades,

On behalf of the Executive Committee and all the members of the Communist Party, Northern Ireland, we bring warmest fraternal greetings to this 23rd Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and to all the Soviet people. On behalf of our members, and many Irish people,we greet the new success of the Soviet space scientists by circling the Moon with Luna-10.

The attendance at this Congress of representatives of 86 countries, and messages of solidarity to the Congress, are a great manifestation of the warm feelings the international working class hold for the CPSU and the entire Soviet people.

The comprehensive report to the Congress made by Comrade Brezhnev on behalf of the Central Committee is a sure sign that the CPSU will continue to tread the path of Marxist-Leninist development in all its spheres of activity. With flexibility where necessary and strength on principle the report undoubtedly marks a high water point in communist work.

Steadfast in defense of the principles of proletarian internationalism, the 23rd Congress reaffirms the general line of the 1957 and 1960 Conferences of Communist and Workers' Parties for the defense of peace; for peaceful coexistence between states with different social systems; for different roads to socialism and support for the peoples struggling for democracy and national independence. It confirms the high hopes of the international working class who see in the Soviet Union a great champion of peace as exemplified in the Tashkent Agreement.

Based on these principles which life itself is proving are realistic, our Party is able to show our people the only real alternative to a nuclear holocaust which is the logic to the policies of imperialism. The aggressive imperialist circles led by the United States has roused the anger of the whole international Communist movement and all peace-loving people by its dirty war in Vietnam and our delegation is in complete agreement when the Report of the Central Committee states that the "Soviet Union and the peace-loving peoples of the whole world are demanding that the USA stop its aggression against Vietnam and withdraw all interventionist troops from that country."

Our Party has demanded this in demonstrations to the U.S. authorities in Belfast, in car cavalcades, and in demonstrations to the Stormont Parliament. Our young people have held many peace

vigils on the Vietnam war and trade union leaders and factory committees have demanded the Americans leave the Vietnamese people in peace. Our people have shown sympathy in a practical way by collecting funds for medical aid to Vietnam.

At the same time peace in Europe requires the utmost vigilance. In our statements and election propaganda we expose the role of the Bonn politicians and the revenge-seekers in the Federal German Republic whose demands for nuclear weapons and change of frontiers menace the lives of millions of people.

The threat to peace in Europe, the Vietnam war, imperialist intervention in the affairs of new nations are a challenge to the whole international Communist movement to close ranks. Our delegation salutes the patient work of our Soviet comrades to achieve this object.

Our delegation has been most impressed by the achievements of the Soviet people during the course of the seven-year plan and their struggle to build the foundations of a communist society. By these achievements the Soviet people have written new noble pages in their glorious history. Now the Central Committee has laid before Congress great new tasks to be fulfilled in the next five years that will strengthen the work already undertaken to build communist society, by developing communist consciousness of the Soviet people; by greater efforts in science and technology; by further increasing living standards; raising pensions, building more homes; extension of the five-day week; by improvement in durable goods and bringing about qualitative changes in the production of consumer goods. Of the utmost important for the realization of these great plans is the maintenance of peace. We are confident that the Soviet people and the strength of the armed forces will play a decisive role in achieving this.

Of interest to our delegation is the price reductions on consumer goods reported to the Congress. For the consumer goods prices is one of the big questions facing the working class of our country. Monopolization of the economy has led to increased prices on all consumer goods. Rents and fares are soaring in costs to the workers and the general pattern is to throw the burden of the capitalist crisis on to the shoulders of the working class by these increases and higher taxations. At the same time the huge arms program of the British Government further accentuates this and the people of Northern Ireland are paying the cost in less social services, high bank charges that puts restrictions on essential services and crippling burdens on those in need of homes. To meet the increasing living costs our working class, many of them led by our comrades in the trade unions, are fighting for wage increases, saying no to the hated wage freeze imposed by the capitalists and will

challenge the restrictive measures on the trade unions to hamper their right to defend their living standards.

Our great united Irish trade union movement has and is refusing to accept the capitalist solutions. It is fighting back and in strike movements, demonstrations, lobbies to Parliaments is demanding better living standards for our people.

In Northern Ireland, government has been in the hands of the reactionary Unionist Party since British imperialism imposed partition on our country 44 years ago. The Unionist Party supports the policies of British imperialism, relies for the retention of its power on politico-religious sectarian policies to divide the people, undemocratic laws and opposition to a solution to the national question. Its economic policies are based on private enterprise and national questions. Its economic policies are based on private enterprise and huge handouts of public money to attract branches of foreign monopolies. Though the introduction of foreign monopolies into Northern Ireland's economy in the post-war years has helped to diversify industry, it has failed to solve the problems of unemployment (6 per cent of working population) and emigration (150,000 in last 15 years from a population under 1½ millions).

Our Party is foremost in exposing the reactionary nature of the ruling Unionist Party and its acting as agent of British imperialism's neo-colonialist policies in Northern Ireland. Our Party demands an end to the undemocratic laws, such as the Special Powers Act (right to intern without trial). It demands an end to the electoral system whereby business people have more than one vote in elections to the Stormont Parliament and local councils and condemns the system of voting in local council elections which denies the right to vote to 250,000 people in Northern Ireland (only householders and business people can vote in these elections).

The situation whereby the people are divided presents our Party with the problem of building unity of the working class. In our program we call for unity of the labor movement and all progressive forces, that in elections the Unionists should be opposed by a single candidate based on electoral agreements between the parties in opposition. Success is attending this line of policy and in the recent British General election the West Belfast seat was won for Labor against the Unionist. Other seats showed a considerable increase in the Labor votes and the line of our Party can be further successfully based on these changes.

It is appropriate that the 23rd Congress of the CPSU is meeting in the year of the 50th anniversary of the 1916 Uprising of the Irish people against British imperialism. For it was our great Comrade Lenin who defied the doubters of the Irish people's struggle for national independence half a century go when he said "who-

ever expects a 'pure' social revolution will never live to see it." On the occasion of our great 50th anniversary Irish Communists treasure Lenin's foresight and noble words.

Comrades and delegates to the CPSU 23rd Congress, our delegation is honored to be present at this historic gathering and expresses sincere thanks to the Central Committee for the invitation to attend. The successes which will attend your labors in the coming five years will be an inspiration to the international working class and a powerful answer to the anti-communist propagandists. Your labors will be an enormous help to the work of our Party in defending the socialist ideas. For the economic, political and peace-loving successes of the first socialist state reinvigorate all Communists in their struggles in their respective countries.

Long live the fraternal friendship of the Irish and Soviet people!

Long live the glorious Communist Party of the Soviet Union!

Long live the unbreakable strength of the international Communits movement!

HEW MOOR,
General Secretary, Communist Party of Northern Ireland.

MESSAGE OF GREETING FROM THE SAN MARINO COMMUNIST PARTY TO THE 23rd CONGRESS OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE SOVIET UNION

Comrades, I have the great honor of conveying warm, fraternal greetings to the 23rd Congress of your Party from the Communists and working people of San Marino.

Our Party, which frequently joins forces with the San Marino Socialist Party, is carrying on a difficult struggle for the restoration of democratic freedoms and for the abolition of the fraudulent electoral law, which keeps the ruling parties in power. It is working for a new foreign policy which would help to strengthen peace, relax world tension, achieve general disarmament and ensure the sovereignty of our republic, a foreign policy that would bring us unquestioned economic advantages. We are also doing our best to promote unity of action by the working and all other people in our country with the purpose of creating a new democratic majority that could once again place the administration of the state into the hands of the working people in the interests of social progress and the well-being of the whole of our society.

Comrades, the Communists and the best section of the people of San Marino deeply admire your remarkable achievements in all

spheres of life. Your brilliant successes in science and technology, amazing achievements in space exploration, the complete triumph in the building of socialism in your great country and the progress you are making towards communism are undisputed reality and a reliable guarantee for all the peoples moving towards socialism. Your tremendous achievements and your spirit of internationalism are a great stimulus in the struggle that the peoples oppressed by capitalism and colonialism are waging for liberation from exploitation and from the yoke of colonialism.

Your Congress is held at a time when the international situation harbors a serious threat to peace and the freedom of peoples. U.S. imperialism is conducting a war of extermination against the Vietnamese people in the vain hope of breaking their will. The just struggle of the Vietnamese people for freedom and independence has the support of the Soviet people, the people of all the socialist countries, the Communist and Workers' Parties and all peace-loving people. Today the pressing duty of our entire movement is to achieve concrete unity of action in the struggle for peace.

In our view, the militant unity of all the socialist countries and Communist and Workers' Parties of the world can force the imperialist aggressors to retreat and ensure lasting peace in an atmosphere of relaxed tension and peaceful competition.

We warmly thank you, dear comrades, for the honor of attending this Congress, which is so important for your people and for the whole of mankind, and wish you still greater successes in the building of communism in your country.

Long live the glorious Communist Party of the Soviet Union!
Long live proletarian internationalism!
Long live peace and fraternity among nations!

ERMENEGILDO GASPERONI,
General Secretary
San Marino Communist Party

TO THE 23rd CONGRESS OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE SOVIET UNION

Dear Comrades, on behalf of Israeli Communists, Jews and Arabs, we convey ardent fraternal greetings and the most heartfelt wishes for success to the 23rd Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the glorious Party of Lenin.

We cordially congratulate you on your fresh outstanding achievement in sending the first lunar satellite into orbit round the Moon.

This joyous, epoch-making events is further proof of the growing might and scientific and technical superiority of the first socialist power.

The peoples of the world know that the achievements of the Soviet Union strengthen the cause of peace, democracy, the independence of nations, and socialism throughout the world.

The Directives for the 1966-70 Five-Year Plan open broad realistic prospects for the Soviet Union's economic development and for boosting the living standard of the Soviet people.

From the bottom of our hearts we wish you and the whole Soviet people success in the fulfilment of this great plan, which will move the Soviet Union farther towards the happy communist future.

We express our complete solidarity with the peace-seeking policy of the Soviet Union, with your struggle against imperialism and the threat of a world nuclear war, against the proliferation of nuclear weapons, for the setting up of atom-free zones, for complete disarmament, for peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems, and for the complete abolition of shameful colonialism and neocolonialism in Asia, Africa and Latin America.

The Soviet Union's persevering struggle against the attempts to give nuclear weapons to Hitler's successors in West Germany has the wholehearted support of the people of Israel.

We highly appraise the success of the Soviet peace initiative at the Tashkent talks between representatives of India and Pakistan. This initiative will undoubtedly facilitate a peaceful settlement of international conflicts in other parts of the world as well.

We condemn the criminal aggression of U.S. imperialism in Vietnam. We are emphatically against this dirty adventure of the U.S. military. We deeply sympathize with the long-suffering and heroic Vietnamese people. We align ourselves with the Soviet policy of rendering all-sided assistance to the fraternal Vietnamese people in their just war against the imperialist aggressors, in their struggle for peace, freedom and the independence of the whole of Vietnam.

By their protest demonstrations and rallies the people of Israel have expressed their warm support for the heroic struggle of the Vietnamese people against U.S. imperialist aggression.

Now, more than ever before, in view of the mounting aggressiveness of the policy of imperialism, particularly of U.S. and German imperialism, there is a need for unity among all anti-imperialist forces, primarily for unity among the socialist countries and the world Communist movement. We regard the undermining of this unity as serious harm to the cause of peace and socialism. We have supported and shall continue to support every step and every undertaking of your Party and of other fraternal parties

directed towards restoring the unity of the international Communist movement on the basis of Marxist-Leninist principles and proletarian internationalism, on the basis of the general line laid down in the programmatic documents of the Moscow Meetings of Communist and Workers' Parties in 1957 and 1960.

Our Party is proud of and will continue to cherish its historic friendship and solidarity with the CPSU.

We draw inspiration from your Party's solidarity with our struggle for a reorientation of Israeli policy towards peace, independence from imperialism, neutrality, and friendship with the Soviet Union, towards democracy and social progress.

The forces advocating an improvement of relations with the Soviet Union are growing in Israel.

Long live the glorious Communist Party of the Soviet Union and its 23rd Congress!

Long live the heroic Soviet people, courageous builders of communism and fighters for peace and the happiness of nations!

Long live the unity of the world Communist movement and all anti-imperialist forces!

Long live friendship between the peoples of Israel and the Soviet Union!

Long live peace and communism!

Delegation of Communists of Israel
at the 23rd Congress of the CPSU:
S. MIKUNIS, M. SNE,
M. VILNER, E. HABIBI

TO THE PRESIDIUM OF THE 23rd CONGRESS OF THE CPSU
The Kremlin Palace of Congresses, Moscow

Dear Comrades, on behalf of all the members of the Party, the Main Committee of the National Democratic Party of Germany conveys warm congratulations and best wishes to the delegates of the 23rd Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

The whole world is following the proceedings of your Congress with unflagging attention. Your Congress is showing the way to ensure peace on earth, the way to continue the building of communist society in your country.

Friends of the Soviet Union throughout the world know that the maintenance of world peace largely depends upon the strengthening of the economy and defense potential of your country. This is linked up with the further development of socialist demo-

cracy and the satisfaction of the material and cultural requirements of all Soviet citizens. Fulfilment of the grandiose plans covering the next five years will further enhance the role and importance of your country. The camp of peace fighters, who are curbing the aggressive forces of imperialism and militarism, will become more united. The balance of forces in the world will further change in favor of peace, democracy and socialism. In the relations between countries the principles of peaceful coexistence will receive increasing recognition. The Soviet Union's successful work at the Tashkent talks is fresh confirmation of this. The attractive force of the ideas of socialism, which are more and more determining the nature of our epoch, will grow as a result of the work and decisions of your Congress.

The program of communist construction is being carried out in your country step by step. Basing itself on this program, the 23rd Congress of the CPSU will provide further proof of the peace-seeking policy of the Societ Union, which is bending every effort to ensure peace and defend its gains.

This lofty aspiration makes it binding upon us, who have the closest bond with the Soviet Union, to step up our efforts to curb by peaceful means the forces of the past, which are predominant in West Germany. The fierce struggle that is being waged against these forces daily provides new proof of the vitality of the unshakable principles of our National Democratic Party of Germany.

Inviolable friendship with the Soviet Union is the cardinal foreign-policy guarantee of the settlement of our national question. Being advocates of social internationalism, we support the unity of the socialist states. The German Democratic Republic has affective bonds of friendship with the Soviet Union. This friendship opens up far-reaching prospects for us. Nothing can conquer those whom common ideals and aims closely unite with your country, those who in the era of technical revolution occupy a leading place in the key spheres of science and technology. They are unconquerable first and fortmost thanks to the collective system, which has delivered people from the sufferings of the past and gives them every opportunity to display their abilities.

This friendship and alliance of the democratic parties and organizations, united under the leadership of the working class and its vanguard — the Socialist Unity Party of Germany — in the National Front of a democratic Germany give us strength and inspire us with the confidence that the vital questions of the German nation will be settled despite the intrigues of the FRG imperialists, who are the mortal enemies of the nation. For our part, we shall do all we can to preserve peace. In this we shall draw strength

from the 23rd Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, to which we wish every success.

On behalf of the Main Committee
of the National Democratic Party of Germany;
DR. LOTHAR BOLZ, President of the Party;
HEINRICH HOMANN, Vice-President of
the Party

MESSAGE OF GREETING TO THE 23rd CONGRESS OF THE CPSU FROM THE AFRICAN NATIONAL UNION OF TANZANIA (TANU)

Dear Comrades, on behalf of our leader Julius K. Nerere, the members of the TANU Party and the entire people of the United Republic of Tanzania, we representatives of the TANU Party from Tanzania welcome this opportunity to greet the delegates of the 23rd Congress of the CPSU, the whole Soviet people and all the representatives of foreign countries present at the Congress.

Dear comrades, in the days of colonialism in Tanzania the imperialists made every effort to prevent contact between the peoples of Tanzania and the Soviet Union in any form whatever. They did so deliberately in order to perpetuate their rule over our people. For that reason, there were, in effect, no relations between our country and the Soviet Union. These times have receded into the past. Today, with Tanzania having achieved independence, our country and the TANU Party will strengthen fraternal relations with all parties struggling against colonialism and neocolonialism, against the aggressive plans of the imperialists, with parties whose policy is to promote the national economy and build a new life on the foundations of socialism.

For that very reason the TANU Party gladly accepted the fraternal invitation of the CC, CPSU to attend the 23rd Congress of the CPSU in Moscow.

We representatives of the TANU Party would like to reiterate our gratitude to the CC, CPSU, to all members of your Party and to the whole Soviet people for the warm reception accorded us by the leadership of the CPSU.

Every sitting of the Congress has taught us many useful things and acquainted us with the work of the CPSU in the economic sphere, in raising the standard of living, and in foreign policy, with the achievements of the Soviet Union, and with the major targets of the new five-year plan. We representatives of the TANU Party of Tanzania, attending the 23rd Congress of the CPSU as

observers, would like specially to point out some of the things that have deeply impressed us:

firstly, we should like to note the splendid organization at the Congress. Every undertaking is carried out according to a specific plan. Delegates from various organizations of the CPSU who speak at the sittings of the Congress state their opinions comprehensively and frankly. We consider that the CPSU is conducting its 23rd Congress democratically, and this is a sure guarantee that the Congress will be successful;

secondly, the delegates who have come to the Congress from all parts of the Soviet Union represent the broad masses of workers and peasants. It gives us particular pleasure to see among the delegates scientists, engineers, technicians and ordinary workers, and that all of them have absolutely equal rights. This incontrovertibly shows that the Congress of the CPSU is being conducted in an atmosphere of complete equality.

The next important point is that at this Congress we had the opportunity of meeting representatives of many Communist and non-Communist Parties from all over the world and hearing different points of view.

The highlight of the Congress was the Report of the CC, CPSU delivered by Comrade L. I. Brezhnev. In the Report it was stated that the CPSU would redouble its efforts to fulfil its internationalist duty and would continue to support the peoples carrying on a liberation struggle against colonialism and neocolonialism. The CPSU and the Soviet Union will continue promoting relations with the peoples who have achieved independence and help them in the training of national cadres and in the struggle against neocolonialism.

This is extremely important to us, citizens of Tanzania, and we are very grateful to the Soviet Union for its efforts in the struggle against colonial slavery in the African continent. Tanzania cannot consider herself absolutely free as long as our brothers in Mozambique, Zimbabwe, Angola, Southwest Africa and other countries of the African continent are fighting the colonialists and racists. To this day colonialism remains the curse of Africa.

We members of TANU feel sure that the peoples of Africa will tirelessly fight colonialism, neocolonialism and imperialism until these disgraceful phenomena are completely eradicated. For that reason, on behalf of the TANU Party we express our profound gratitude to the CPSU for the practical assistance rendered to us Africans and for the assistance being rendered to the people of Vietnam in their struggle against colonialism, exploitation and U.S. aggression.

Everything that we have seen and heard in the Palace of Congresses and in Moscow shows the tremendous achievements and

successes that spring from the dedicated work and unity of the Soviet people, who are advancing along the road of communist construction, along the road mapped out by the immortal teaching of Marx and Lenin.

This inspires the confidence that the relations between the CPSU and TANU will be inviolable.

Down with colonialism in all its forms!

Long live the unity of all the peoples and long live world peace!

Long live the Communist Party of the Soviet Union!

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ON THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNIST MOVEMENT

RESOLUTION OF THE 13TH CONGRESS OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF CZECHOSLOVAKIA

In the sphere of foreign policy, the 12th Congress of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia outlined the need for strengthening in all respects the security and the international position of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, for striving to develop closest cooperation with the first socialist country—the Soviet Union—and other fraternal socialist countries, for contributing towards strengthening the cohesion of the socialist community, the international Communist movement and of all other revolutionary forces in the struggle against imperialism, for peace, democracy, national independence and socialism. This line was implemented in a very complicated international situation, when world imperialism, especially the United States, was intensifying its aggressive course and taking advantage of the contradictions in the socialist community and in the international Communist movement for its own purposes.

Despite this, however, and due to the successes in the construction of socialism and the consistent adherence to Leninist principles in foreign policy, the authority and the influence of the Soviet Union and the other countries of the socialist system—a reliable mainstay in the struggle of nations for social progress—grew. The mass struggles of the working class in the capitalist countries, striving to ensure the basic democratic and social demands of the working people, to curb the economic and political power of the monopolies, are an important part of the revolutionary process. The struggle of the national liberation movement for the complete liquidation of the colonial system, for the creation of independent states and for the removal of the ill-famed heritage of imperialist rule, which for centuries brought only poverty, hunger and suffering to the nations, has been developing successfully under complicated conditions.

Under the decisive influence of these forces, the Leninist policy of peace and of struggle against imperialist war has gained further recognition in the world and has stood up to all tests. The experiences which the international Communist movement gained in implementing the common line, as worked out at the consultative meetings of the Communist and workers' parties in 1957 and 1960, are a proof of its vitality and effectiveness. The Leninist policy of

the peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems has been proved to be correct. Side by side with all Communist and workers' parties guided by Leninist principles, the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia will continue purposefully on this road.

The need for a unified effort on the part of the world socialist community, the international working class and the national liberation movement, was proved in the past period more than ever before. The 13th Congress continues to consider the task of contributing towards the unity and cooperation of these main progressive, anti-imperialist forces to be of primary importance at the present time; it rejects any moves and actions that might in any way divide and interfere with their solidarity.

The discussion on the Theses of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia which took place prior to the Congress, reflected again the international nature of the way of thinking of our people. The working people of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic understand well the complicated character of the present developments in the world and are aware of the exacting nature of the demands made on Party work in international politics.

The Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, together with the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the other fraternal Communist and workers parties, has been actively contributing towards the successful struggle for the fulfilment of the historical objectives of the international working class. The 13th Congress approves the political line and the activities of the Party's Central Committee in the sphere of foreign policy and in the international Communist carried out during the period since the 12th Congress of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia.

★ ★ ★

In all its activities, our Party will continue to make every effort to oppose the intensified aggression of imperialism, its endeavors to weaken the world socialist community and the progressive movements, and to halt the revolutionary process in various parts of the world.

The United States of America, in particular, is stepping up its aggressive policy in various parts of the world. *This is confirmed especially by the aggressive war of American imperialism against socialist Cuba and against a number of other countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America. The imperialists intensify their pressure on all developing countries.* Taking advantage of the internal difficulties in certain of these countries, they are activating reactionary elements by means of political and economic pressure, putting them into power and supporting them openly in the suppression of democratic progressive forces.

The Communist Party of Czechoslovakia therefore considers it as its foremost duty to participate in every possible way, together with all revolutionary and progressive forces, in an effective struggle against imperialism. *We shall continue giving moral and material aid to the fraternal Vietnamese people in their just struggle for putting an end to American aggression, for freedom and independence. The 13th Congress equally condemns provocations of American imperialism against the Cuban Republic and assures that the working people of Czechoslovakia stand firmly by the side of the people of Cuba.*

Our Party will continue its resolute struggle against the dangerous course in the foreign policy of the German Federal Republic which, despite all its "peaceful" assurances, is seeking the revision of the outcome of the Second World War and is intensifying its efforts to gain nuclear weapons. We are not prejudiced against the German people. A proof of this are our friendly relations and wide cooperation with the German Democratic Republic and recently also the broadening contacts with the democratic forces in West Germany.

The Czechoslovak Socialist Republic will make an allround effort to further cooperation between the socialist countries within the Warsaw Treaty Organization, in keeping with the interests of security in Europe.

We would welcome a meeting of the Communist and workers' parties of the European socialist countries and of Communist parties in Western Europe to discuss problems of European security, as proposed by a number of fraternal parties.

The Congress confirms that the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia and the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic are consistent advocates of a peaceful foreign policy and, in view of the existing danger of a world nuclear conflict, will make every effort to seek the implementation of the traditional demand of the working class that a lasting peace be effectively ensured and that all causes of devastating wars be removed from the life of nations.

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The most important task of our Party is to contribute, according to all its possibilities, to the cohesion and unity of world Communism. The influence of the international Communist and workers' movement on world affairs is constantly growing. The Communist and workers' parties, which advocate the teachings of Marx and Lenin and scientific socialism and fight for their implementation, are today developing activities in the overwhelming majority of countries, and their ranks are constantly growing. The revolutionary workers' movement has an active effect on all basic spheres of life

in society today and is speeding up the process of progressive changes taking place in these spheres.

The Communist Party of Czechoslovakia is aware that all the activities of the Communist and workers' parties today, their efforts to enhance the attractiveness of socialist ideas in the world, to increase the influence of the Communist parties on political activities in the individual countries and to strengthen the unity and capacity for action of the movement, are taking place in complicated and diverse conditions. Life confirms the Leninist theses that the variety of forms and ways of the transition to socialism is increasing. We esteem the active efforts of the Communist and workers' parties which are solving problems of the struggle for the democratic rights of the people in a creative way, under the specific conditions of their countries, and which are seeking fitting approches towards socialist revolution. The fraternal parties are in this way enriching Marxist-Leninist teachings. We are aware that, together with peaceful forms of struggle, armed struggle also plays an important role in the just efforts of a number of countries for their liberation from imperialist rule. To the broad front of the national liberation struggle we are giving and will continue to give effective aid, according to our possibilities, in accordance with the traditions and the present activities of our Party.

At the same time, however, experience has confirmed that success in revolutionary activities is inseparably connected with a common approach of the Communist parties to the basic issues of the present time. The important national tasks of Communist parties are closely connected with the implementation of common objectives and with the strengthening of international bonds, on the basis of Marxism-Leninism. Respect for the independence and equality of the individual fraternal parties is not and cannot be in contradiction with the obligation of each party to pursue the common interests of the entire movement.

In the opinion of the Congress, it is at present necessary, despite the existence of contradictions in ideological and political matters, to organize a common approach and to purposefully coordinate actions that are a decisive precondition for repelling the aggressive crusade of the imperialists and are the best way of gradually solving contradictions, strengthening the unity of the movement and increasing its capacity for action.

The 13th Congress of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia notes with satisfaction that the efforts of the absolute majority of Communist and workers' parties to achieve unity in action, to unite the movement, have been markedly intensified of late. This was amply shown at the 23rd Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, which is an expression of the high international responsibility of Lenin's Party towards the entire international

Communist movement. Our Party supports the attitude of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union which, at its 23rd Congress, once again proffered a comradely hand to the leadership of the Communist Party of China and suggested a meeting at which problems of mutual relations would be solved.

We greatly appreciate the important role played by the CPSU and by the Soviet Union in the world revolutionary process and are against any attempts to discredit this role. Slanders and attacks against the CPSU and the Soviet Union have always been an inseparable part of the activities of world reaction, which used it for its antipopular objectives. The edge of these attacks has been, and continues to be today, too, aimed against the basic interests of the entire Communist movement.

Our Party has always rejected public polemics between the Communist parties, conducted in a coarse and offensive way. The Party considers such polemics as inadmissible and extremely harmful now, too, and again expresses itself in favor of a cessation. At the same time, however, the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia has never avoided an open comradely exchange of views, as it is of the opinion that the richer the Leninist exchange of ideas in the international Communist movement, the more successful will be its activity as a whole and in the individual national sections. Such an exchange of views within the movement must naturally proceed in harmony with the norms of relations between fraternal parties, on the basis of Marxism-Leninism, in the struggle against all expressions of revisionism and dogmatism.

We also believe that the common interests of the movement require that the activities of the Communist parties should be coordinated, that common viewpoints and evaluation of the basic social phenomena and processes should be formulated, that common views on the basic issues of strategy and tactics in the struggle for the victory of the cause of the working class should be shaped. This is all the more indispensable as life does not remain unchanged, but brings ever new experiences, and the Marxist-Leninist theory must react in a creative way to the social changes taking place and be an effective guide in the activities of the individual Communist parties and the entire movement.

The 13th Congress of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia is in favor of the broadest possible exchange of experience and of rich bilateral and multi-lateral relations between Communist and workers' parties. We value positively the importance of regional consultative meetings at which views are exchanged between parties, whose conditions of work and the tasks in the given period are similar.

Our Party considers international consultative meetings of all Communist and workers' parties to be very effective for genera-

lizing new experiences and for the forming of the basic unity of the movement. We are aware of the obstacles standing in the way of holding such a meeting in the nearest future. At the same time, however, we are of the opinion that each party should participate actively and purposefully in creating such an atmosphere in the international Communist movement that would be favorable for holding a meeting and for its fruitful results.

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The Communist Party of Czechoslovakia will continue to develop relations with Communist and workers' parties and with revolutionary movements in the entire world.

The basis of our policy is all-round cooperation and indestructible friendship with the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, with which we are linked by firm ideological and action unity in all the basic issues of the present period. Its fraternal bond with the USSR is for the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic a reliable guarantee of security, sovereignty and freedom. Cooperation with the Soviet Union creates the best conditions for further harmonious development, for the successful building of socialism and Communism in our country.

The new tasks facing our society require that close cooperation with all the socialist countries should be further intensified and that cooperation with the fraternal parties of the countries of the socialist community in the basic issues of socialist and Communist construction as well as in matters of international relations should be strengthened. We shall strive especially for a further effective development of the international socialist division of labor.

Our Party will also continue to strengthen comradely relations and develop a broad exchange of experience with fraternal parties in the capitalist countries. We welcome the successful moves on the part of many of these parties aimed at creating tight links between the working people and at achieving unity of the working class in the struggle against the rule of the monopolies. We are also prepared to develop friendly relations with progressive socialist and democratic parties and organizations and to enable them to get acquainted directly with the life of our country and our people.

In its relation to the national liberation movement—in which an important part is played by Communists—and in its relation to the developing countries, the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia will contribute towards strengthening the united anti-imperialist front and, as hitherto, will consistently support the national liberation struggle. Our sympathy and support belong to all forces in the developing countries that are sincerely striving for their further progressive development, for the liquidation of the influence of neo-

colonialism, for the development of their national economies by non-capitalist methods. The Party will continue to maintain and establish new friendly relations with revolutionary national democratic parties and with movements that in these countries represent an important force on the road towards complete political and economic independence and towards carrying out socialist changes.

The 13th Congress of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia extends warm comradely greetings to all fraternal Communist and workers' parties that are unwaveringly fighting for the achievement of our common goals. We express our solidarity and support for all revolutionary forces that are waging a selfless struggle for freedom, national independence and social progress under difficult conditions. Militant greetings are extended especially to all Communists and democrats whom reactionary regimes have deprived of freedom for their convictions and are keeping in prisons and concentration camps. The Congress expresses its profound indignation at the mass terrorism against the Communist Party of Indonesia and other progressive forces, it resolutely condemns repressions against left-wing movements in Spain, Portugal and other countries. History has clearly proved that the victorious advance of progressive ideas cannot be permanently halted by any terror or torture.

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The 13th Congress of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia is convinced that in the future, as hitherto, the policy of the Party and of the Government of the Republic in the international political sphere will meet with the full support of our people.

As in the past, so in the future, the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia will approach all internal issues with regard to the common interests of the Communist movement, from positions of proletarian internationalism. It is aware that the construction of socialism under the specific conditions of Czechoslovakia, the development of socialist democracy, the consistent ensuring of the material and cultural needs of man, is the main contribution of our country towards the historical struggle of the world revolutionary forces.

Our Party will see to it that social organizations and creative unions develop their international activities in the spirit of proletarian internationalism, that they strengthen and deepen relations of friendly cooperation with organizations of the fraternal socialist countries, that they increase their activities in their relations with peace and democratic organizations and forces in the capitalist and the developing countries, in the interest of the further extension of the anti-imperialist front and of strengthening its combat capacity. In international democratic organizations we shall support all efforts at strengthening their unity in action, all concrete effec-

tive actions in the struggle against imperialism, for peace and understanding among nations. We shall also make efforts so that international democratic organizations should increasingly support the struggle for the supreme rights and interests of the exploited masses of the working people—trade unionists, women and youth.

The Congress imposes upon all organs and organizations of the Party the task of continuing to give foremost attention to the systematic internationalist education of our working people and strengthening the awareness of our close cohesion with all revolutionary sections in the world. An inseparable part of this are also efforts to provide Party members and the entire public with detailed information on the wider contexts of all important events in the world, on the basic problems of the manifold and complicated activities of the Communist and workers' parties.

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The 13th Congress of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia declares that the Party will defend the unity of the international Communist movement and the socialist countries and support all moves leading towards the knitting together of all revolutionary forces. According to its possibilities, it will contribute towards the creative development of Marxism-Leninism and the practical application of the common line of the Communist and workers' parties in the interest of a further successful struggle for peace, against imperialism, for national independence, democracy and socialism.

FROM THE PROGRAM OF THE MONGOLIAN PEOPLE'S REVOLUTIONARY PARTY*

INTRODUCTION

The Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party has traversed a long glorious path which testifies to the correctness and effectiveness of its political line as defined in the previous three Party programs.

Thanks to the Marxist-Leninist policy and correct leadership of the MPRP the Mongolian people have achieved historic successes in recontructing society along socialist lines.

Today, basing itself on the experience in building a new life in its own country and taking into account the experience of socialist construction in other countries, the MPRP sets itself new programmatic tasks for the near future.

The new Program defines the aims, tasks and chief directions of the Party's work to ensure the complete victory of socialism in the Mongolian People's Republic.

I

THE FOREIGN POLICY AND INTERNATIONAL TASKS OF THE PARTY

The present epoch, whose chief content is the transition from capitalism to socialism, is an epoch of struggle between the two opposing social systems, an epoch of socialist and national-liberation revolutions, an epoch of transition of more peoples to the socialist path, of the triumph of socialism and communism on a world-wide scale.

The chief contradiction of our time is the contradiction between socialism and imperialism. The central factors of our day are the international working class and its epoch-making creation, the socialist world system. The main content, main trend and main features of mankind's historical development are determined by the socialist world system and the forces fighting against imperialism, for a socialist transformation of society.

The socialist world system and all progressive forces have a powerful and reliable mainstay in the Soviet Union, which has ensured the complete and final victory of socialism and is building a communist society, blazing a trail to a radiant future for all man-

*Novosti Mongolii, April 29, 1966.

kind. The communist construction in the Soviet Union, its fraternal assistance and support facilitate and accelerate the building of socialism in the other socialist countries and exert an increasing influence on world development. Other countries of socialism have scored historic victories in the solution of vital socio-economic problems, in promoting socialist economy and culture, and many of them are successfully building a developed socialist society.

The growing economic and defense might of the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries reliably guarantee their socialist gains against imperialist encroachments, stands in the path of imperialist aggression, creates favourable conditions for the development of the world revolutionary process, and makes it possible to prevent the export of counter-revolution. With their every success on the economic and cultural fronts the socialist countries strike a blow at imperialism and render effective support to the revolutionary forces fighting for peace, democracy and socialism.

In the capitalist world, rent by deep-seated internal contradictions, the struggle between labor and capital is growing in acuteness. Led by their vanguard, the Communist and Workers' parties, the proletariat and the other working people of the capitalist countries are waging an active struggle for political freedom and democratic rights, against monopoly oppression, for peace, democracy and social progress.

The vigorous rise of the national-liberation movement of the people is hastening the liquidation of the imperialist colonial system; many peoples of Asian, African and Latin American countries who have cast off the colonial yoke are fighting to consolidate state independence and their socio-economic gains. This further tips the balance of world forces in favor of peace and socialism.

In determining its foreign policy and international tasks the MPRP proceeds from the Marxist-Leninist understanding of the essence of the present epoch, the trends of world development and the prospects for the development of the socialist world system. Just as other fraternal parties of the socialist countries, the MPRP strives to ensure peaceful conditions for the building of socialism, and communism, to strengthen the unity, friendship and cooperation of the countries of the socialist system, to support the national-liberation movement of the peoples and the revolutionary struggle of the working class in the capitalist countries, to contribute to the consolidation of all the revolutionary forces of our time, to safeguard and strengthen universal peace and the security of the peoples.

Together with the fraternal Communist and Worker's parties and all the progressive forces of the world, the MPRP will work untiringly to preserve and consolidate universal peace, frustrate the preparation of a new world war, put an end to local wars unleashed

by the imperialists, secure prohibition of the manufacture, proliferation and use of nuclear weapons and achieve general and complete disarmament.

It will be an invariable policy of the MPRP to actively promote the rallying of all the forces opposed to imperialist aggression and war, to maintain constant vigilance towards the aggressive intrigues of the enemies of peace headed by U.S. imperialism, the mainstay of world reaction, to strive for the abolition of military blocs with all their bases, to wage a resolute struggle against the encouragement of the bellicose forces of revanchism and militarism and the provision of modern mass-destruction weapons to them. The Party stands for the settlement of disputed international issues by peaceful means, for greater mutual confidence and development of cooperation between states on the principles of peaceful coexistence.

The MPRP regards it as its prime duty to wage an irreconcilable struggle against all forms of racial discrimination, national oppression, colonial plunder and economic exploitation employed by international imperialism, to work resolutely for the immediate, complete and final liquidation of colonialism in all its forms and manifestations.

The MPRP will pursue a consistent policy of rendering utmost support to the national-liberation struggle of the peoples to overthrow the imperialists' colonial rule, win and consolidate political and economic independence and eliminate all consequences of colonial oppression. It will support just wars of liberation against imperialism.

The MPRP firmly abides by the thesis, confirmed in practice, that the national-liberation movement can achieve lasting successes on the basis of a close and unbreakable alliance with the international working-class movement and above all with the socialist world system.

The Mongolian People's Republic is an integral part of the socialist world system. Its successful advance towards the complete victory of socialism is possible only in closest alliance and friendship with the countries of the socialist camp — an economic and political community of free sovereign peoples bound together by relations of mutual respect, friendship, fraternal cooperation and mutual assistance and having common interests and a common ultimate goal—communism.

The Party proceeds from the indisputable proposition that utmost consolidation of the unity of the socialist world system on the basis of socialist internationalism is necessitated by the objective laws of development of socialist society and is indispensable for the rapid progress of all the states comprising it, that fraternal unity and cooperation of the peoples conform to the supreme national inter-

ests of every country. The disappearance of class antagonisms in the socialist countries removes the causes of strife between nations. The socialist world community provides for a harmonious combination of the interests of the whole socialist system and the interests of each socialist country.

The MPRP will do everything to further the objectively-conditioned historical process of all-round cohesion and union of the peoples of the socialist countries, the drawing together of their national economies, the mutual enrichment of national cultures. Mindful of what Lenin foresaw as an abjective trend towards the establishment of a Communist world economy regulated by a single plan, the MPRP will continue its consistent policy of promoting in every way all-round cooperation and mutual assistance between the peoples of the socialist countries in all areas of material and spiritual life. It will go on contributing to an ever closer unity of the socialist states in the common fight against imperialism, to the development and perfection of international socialist division of labor, specialization and cooperation in production, comprehensive coordination of long-range economic plans, the extensive exchange of cultural scientific and technical achievements and the experience of economic and cultural development.

Proceeding from the need for a rapid economic progress of the Republic and taking into consideration the interest of other socialist countries, the Party will pay special attention to the development of international socialist production contacts, specifically the joint reclamation of natural resources, joint construction and exploitation of economic projects, etc.

The MPRP sees it as its sacred duty and internationalist obligation resolutely and constantly to protect and strengthen unbreakable friendship and unity with the peoples of the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries, the cohesion of the peoples of the socialist world system. The MPRP opposes the anti-Marxist course towards undermining the unity of the socialist countries and setting one people against another, towards development in isolation from the fraternal countries; it comes out against any actions which can harm the sacred friendship of the peoples of the socialist countries.

The MPRP will go on educating Communists, all working people, in the spirit of proletarian internationalism and friendship of the peoples, in the spirit of intolerance towards any manifestation of nationalism and chauvinism—imperialism's political and ideological weapons against socialism. The Party will combat national egotism and the propaganda of national exclusiveness; it will always remain highly vigilant towards reactionary ideas of nationalism.

The MPRP is an integral part of the Communist and working-class movement. It regards it as a supreme internationalist duty to work for the constant consolidation of the unity and solidarity

of the world Communist movement, consistently to implement its general line and strictly to adhere to the appraisals and conclusions as regards the common tasks of the struggle against imperialism, for peace, democracy and socialism jointly worked out by the fraternal parties.

The MPRP sees it as its sacred task to wage a consistent struggle for the purity of the Marxist-Leninist doctrines, against revisionism, dogmatism and sectarianism, against all deviations from Marxism-Leninism.

Realizing that ideological struggle is a highly important part of the class struggle of the proletariat, and that the principle of peaceful coexistence does not apply to the ideological sphere, the Party will relentlessly combat the ideology and policies of imperialist reaction vividly manifested in anti-communism, this poisoned weapon of the bourgeoisie in the struggle against the socialist system and the revolutionary movement of the peoples. By multiplying the successes in socialist construction and promoting solidarity with the working class and other strata of the working people of the capitalist countries the Party will support the struggle of the working class for its goals, against imperialist monopolies and all forms of imperialist exploitation and oppression.

The Party regards it as a top-priority task to promote in every way the fraternal relations of friendship, cooperation, mutual support and assistance with the other Communist and Workers' parties, to coordinate with them and the other revolutionary forces its actions in the joint struggle against imperialism, for the interests of the working people, for peace, democracy and socialism. The MPRP will continue to make a deep study of and creatively apply the experience of the fraternal Communist and Workers' parties and first and foremost the historic experience of the CPSU, the most steeled contingent and generally recognized vanguard of the world Communist movement, in the struggle against imperialist reaction, for human progress.

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Successful implementation of this Program calls for steady enhancement of the leading and guiding role of the Party in all areas of life of socialist society.

It is a central task of the Party constantly to improve the political, ideological and organizational work of Party organizations, to ensure the uniformity of this work, to perfect the methods and forms of activity of the Party, to raise the standard of Party guidance of economic and cultural development, of all aspects of the life of society.

The MPRP considers it to be an immutable law of its activity to

observe unfailingly the Leninist norms of Party life, the principles of Party democracy and collective leadership. To ensure constant growth of the militancy of Party organizations, a keener sense of responsibility of leading Party organs and their functionaries to the Party rank and file, and stronger links of the Party with the masses of working people is an indispensable aspect of the policy and practical activity of the Party. Steady improvement in the selection, placing and training of cadres, perfection of Party control, promotion of intra-Party democracy, rank-and-file initiative and principled criticism and self-criticism, this reliable method of revealing and correcting mistakes and shortcomings, correct education of cadres are a constant concern of the Party and a paramount principle of its organizational work.

The Party regards it as its sacred duty to cherish as the apple of the eye the unity and cohesion of Party ranks, to nip in the bud any attempt to undermine the ideological and organizational unity of the Party—a prime source of its might and a guarantee of successful accomplishment of its tasks in socialist construction. Strict observance of the Rules by every Party organization and all Communists is a prerequisite of the continued growth of the militancy of the Party and an earnest of success in the effort to implement its Program.

Under the leadership of its tried and tested vanguard, the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party, the Mongolian people will complete the building of socialism and create conditions for the transition to the construction of communist society, our great and ultimate goal.

FIRST CONGRESS OF THE SUGP WEST BERLIN
May 1966

PROPOSALS OF THE SUPG, WB FOR A PEACEFUL AND HAPPY FUTURE FOR WEST BERLIN*

FOR AN ALLIANCE OF TRADE UNIONS AND INTELLECTUALS, FOR THE COOPERATION OF ALL DEMOCRATS

The SUPG West Berlin is against the undivided rule of the millionaries. It stands for co-management by factory and office workers, for the democratic rights of the people and their chosen representatives. This is in keeping with the spirit and letter of our Constitution. The policy of the CDU and its Bonn government, their policy of strengthen both at home and abroad, their drive for emergency legislation, for atomic arms, for a revision of the map of Europe are incompatible with the Constitution mandate to serve peace and social progress. West Berlin can resist this dangerous pressure only if its democrats rally to defend democracy, if the trade unions, the intellectuals, the members and organizations of the Social-Democratic Party (SDP) and the SUPG, WB, the democratic associations of women, youth and students take the cause of freedom into their own hands and cooperate in the common interest despite differences over other issues. The SUPG, WB is ready to join in such cooperation without reservations. From its First Congress it appeals to all democrats:

Put aside all reservations, you too! The threat of an "emergency" dictatorship and the risk of atomic war affect us all. Freedom to defend ourselves against this threat cannot be divided between you and us. It is unthinkable without freedom for the SUPG WB to take part in shaping the political will of the population.

The division of Germany and Berlin are the results of a policy we have always combated. Had the situation developed according to our ideas and efforts, the Germans would long since have arrived at a unified, democratic, peace-loving state with Greater Berlin for its capital. The fact that things have turned out differently is the fault of the CDU and its big-capitalist customers. They have split Germany and Berlin in order to salvage their power and their millions in at least one part of the country. They have invariably torpedoed every step toward easing tension and drawing the two German states closer together. They threaten to perpetuate the

*Abridged from Neues Deutschland, May 23, 1966.

split through their emergency laws and atomic arming. Their revanchist plans endanger peace in Europe.

It is absurd to accuse precisely us, the most determined opponents of this policy, of adhering to the "theory of three states." We have been against the split and maintain today that it must be overcome. This can be brought about only against the CDU, against the cold war party, a party favoring an atomic mine belt across Germany.

Only against the CDU, which would like to downgrade West Berlin to a protectorate of its "established" society of emergency laws, the West Berlin Senate to a subordinate institution and the Mayor to a viceregent of Bonn, can our city play its independent role in a German policy of reason and peace. Only against the CDU can West Berlin contribute to the overcoming of deadly hostility to the GDR and to a rapprochement of the two German states. This, however, is a prerequisite for West Berlin to win peace and security and finally to take its place in a German confederation, until the whole of Berlin becomes once again the capital of a unified Germany.

WHAT SHOULD A FUTURE GERMANY BE LIKE?

It can only be a Germany ruled not by the militarists but the people, a state in which decisions are made not by a hundred multi-millionaires but the millions of working people. It can only be a state refusing to use force, a Germany of democracy and peace, a powerful factor for European security.

This sound goal of tomorrow calls for a sound policy today.

In the case of West Berlin, a sound policy can only be a realistic one. An unrealistic policy is one ignoring the existence of two German states and the special territory of West Berlin, backing Bonn's claim to be the sole spokesman for the whole of Germany and seeking to alter existing frontiers through political blackmail and economic or military pressure.

A realistic German policy should be based on the following principle:

NO MORE WAR STARTING FROM GERMAN SOIL, NO MORE WAR ON GERMAN SOIL

West Berlin must not be subservient to the policy of atomic armament and of support for the U.S. war in Vietnam. All that this policy has in store for West Berlin is crises and risks. It gives our city no chance. Only by opposing this policy can the people of West Berlin safeguard their peace and their future.

PEACE TO VIETNAM

This is the first commandment of humaneness. The withdrawal of U.S. troops from South Vietnam is a condition for reducing the war danger and lessening international tension, changes which our city, too, needs so badly.

The population of our city may rest assured that it will always have in the SUPG, WB a staunch advocate of peace and security. We gave timely warning against turning West Berlin into a front-line city and a center of provocation against the GDR. August 13, 1961, proved this warning correct. At that time we said that anyone who tried to force the state frontier of the GDR and resorted to provocation at the wall was making things worse.

DO GOOD RELATIONS WITH THE GDR MEAN BAD RELATIONS WITH THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC?

The SUPG,WB does not want our city to have bad relations with either side. It is striving for West Berlin to maintain good relations with West and East alike.

An independent policy offers West Berlin every opportunity of normalizing its relations with the GDR. If West Berlin ceases to be the foremost trench against the GDR and helps to end the cold war, it will be able to hold fruitful talks with the GDR with a view to solving its own problems by peaceful means. Thereby it will also play a useful role in an all-German policy, and in the promotion of European security and cooperation.

FOR AN INDEPENDENT POLICY, FOR A LIVING DEMOCRACY

A responsible and independent policy in West Berlin is possible only if the majority of our population takes an effective part in shaping it. The democratic development of our social life calls not for a restriction of the rights of the people, but, on contrary, for their promotion and extension, for the deputies, the Senate and the Mayor not only governing the city but doing it on the principles of freedom and progress.

A LIVING DEMOCRACY CALLS FOR THE OVERCOMING OF THE HARMFUL GULF SEPARATING DEPUTIES AND ELECTORS

As matters stand today, the elector is unable effectively to control the activity of his parliamentary representatives after he has cast his vote. The deputies themselves are handicapped by the lack of contact with their electorate in protecting the electors' rights and in ensuring that the laws and measures adopted by them are

effective. The executive, the administrative bureaucracy, is increasing its control over the people and their elected bodies. The Chamber of Deputies, for example, is becoming a voting machine whose decisions are determined not by the will of the people but all too often by powerful interests, the pressure of the government agencies of Bonn, and the sheer weight of the administrative apparatus.

Can the Chamber of Deputies and the Senate be something more than mere vehicles of these unconstitutional practices, something more than a mere administrative agency of Bonn in West Berlin? We definitely hold the opinion that they can.

Of course, this will require new, bold steps toward democratizing our social life. In view of its manifold and complex functions, a modern parliament can exercise its constitutional powers and perform its duties provided it cooperates most closely with the entire population, enlists the assistance of competent and professionally qualified representatives of the entire electorate, and in this way provides a broad basis for its own parliamentary activity and for the promotion of the democratic activity of the population.

Democratic bodies closely cooperating with parliament can carry on fruitful work benefiting the people in the most diverse fields—housing and the rights of tenants, transport planning, social, legal, educational and cultural matters. Should the Chamber of Deputies and the Senate secure the democratic support of the population, they too, will be able to resist pressure from Bonn and to reject the adoption of undemocratic and anti-social laws.

If this road is taken there will no doubt be many men and women among the two and a quarter million West Berliners perfectly capable of accomplishing important administrative, legislative, social, educational and cultural tasks thanks to their knowledge and their democratic-mindedness. This could make West Berlin an exemplary democratic community.

There are several hundred thousands trade unionists in West Berlin. The Fundamental Program of the German Federation of Trade Unions says:

PEACE IS A PREREQUISITE FOR ALL SOCIAL AND CULTURAL PROGRESS

Should not this correct idea underlie all parliamentary activity to a greater extent than before? The unions, prompted by their allegiance to peace, have put forward demands against atomic armament and for taking the initiative on disarmament. Would it not be a great gain for every German, whether in the FGR, the GDR or West Berlin, if the two German states renounced atomic armament and any part in the use of atomic weapons? Would it

not benefit all of us if the two German states made the principles of a peace policy their own, recognized existing European frontiers, and established diplomatic relations with the NATO and Warsaw Treaty countries? Would it not benefit our German cause if the governments of the two German states avoided all that aggravated the split and blocked reunification, and if they renounced atomic armament and emergency legislation, held talks with each other and normalized their relations?

The State Council of the GDR made a proposal to the Bundestag in that sense early this year. A CC, SUPG letter to the SDP spoke of understanding between workers and their parties and other organizations on these basic aspects of a German peace policy as a pressing need.

Should not precisely we, the West Berliners, help to make such a policy of reason and conciliation a reality?

At their West Berlin congress, the trade unions showed themselves once again to be a solid pillar of democracy. In accordance with the wishes of the four democratic student organizations and prominent scientists active in our higher educational institutions, they rejected Bonn's emergency laws and practices. They countered the CDU program of "established" society with a program for the competent participation of wage-earners, office employees, technicians and scientists in decision-making in industry and the economy generally, in the state and the social sphere. It is not time for a law envisaging extended and competent co-management to be put on the agenda in West Berlin, where there is a majority different from that in reactionary Bonn?

The Chamber of Deputies and the Senate should pass a law on extended and competent co-management as visualized by the unions. Our Constitution positively insists on resisting through co-management by industrial staffs and their unions, the abuses which the owners of big corporations commit, having concentrated economic and political power in their hands.

Should these gentlement continue to enjoy all the fruits of technological progress by themselves? Should not this progress rather go hand in hand with the social progress of the working people? The SUPG, WB considers that this would be only fair and should therefore be the case. It advocates co-management by those who produce goods and create wealth. They should have a say wherever it is a question of their jobs and working conditions, of prices, profits and investments. This means a higher standard of living and greater social and economic security for all working people. It means more democracy for the whole of our city.

OUR FIRST CULTURAL POLICY DEMAND IS EQUAL OPPORTUNITIES FOR EDUCATION AND PROMOTION FOR ALL

This is the only way to meet the demands which the younger generation and modern development make on our social organization in the economic and scientific spheres.

The modern school of democracy calls for a revision of the content and system of education. Public education on modern lines should correspond to this age of technical revolution and progress. It should provide a much higher general education in the humanities, devote more attention to the natural sciences, foster the students' capacity for judgment, and sharpen their vision of social interrelations. The school can meet these requirements only if it secures widespread democratic support by public opinion and enlists the cooperation of parents, educators, and representatives of the unions and youth organizations on an equal footing.

We want an educated population and an informed public opinion. We therefore maintain freedom of the press and the right to inform against diktat in matters of opinion. As a result of economic concentration, 80 per cent of the newspapers and magazines appearing in our city are published by the Axel Caesar Springer press corporation and are committed to its reactionary policies. Therefore we stand for the inclusion of this corporation in the list of the big enterprises in which it is necessary to introduce extended and competent co-management by the staffs, by printers, office employees, journalists and their unions.

When diktat of opinion by the monopoly has been abolished, the whole of spiritual and cultural life will be freed from the shackles of mediocrity. Only in this way can humanistic arts and letters, varied in form and content, develop in West Berlin.

We shall serve our common cause best if we earnestly discuss all these matters. Let us in so doing put aside all that disunites us!

Let us bring about the cooperation of all men of goodwill against militarism, atomic policy and neo-nazism!

Let us first of all ensure joint action by the working class, by its parties and other organizations, so that West Berlin can win peace and security and take the road of social and cultural progress!

23rd CONGRESS OF THE CPSU*

Jose Gonzalez

Not long ago the Communist Party of the Soviet Union held its 23rd Congress. It was a major event and the Congress decisions will influence world politics for a long time to come. Nor is this accidental. The Congress represented the vanguard of the world proletarian revolution. It was attended by the champions of human progress.

UNITY OF THE COMMUNIST MOVEMENT

The peoples of the world looked to Moscow during the Congress. As for the enemies of socialism, they followed the deliberations of Lenin's Party with interest and concern. The Congress discussed and took decisions on problems relating to the promotion of world peace, to national liberation, to the right of the peoples to sovereignty and a free life. In short, it dealt with the ways of development of the new society which is replacing the decaying capitalist society.

On the eve of the 23rd Congress the enemies of socialism and of the Soviet Union were all but certain that differences in the world Communist movement would be aggravated. What made them think so was the unfriendly letter, a letter devoid of any Communist spirit, by which the CC, CPC declined the Soviet leaders' invitation to attend the Congress. But once again the hopes of the enemies of socialism were shattered and it was the policy of the CPSU—a reasonable and principled policy truly inspired by proletarian internationalism—that triumphed.

The presence at the Congress of delegates from 86 Communist, Workers' and national democratic parties and national-liberation movements was incontrovertible evidence of the prestige and sympathy won by the CPSU among genuine revolutionaries on every continent. This fact also indicated the solid unity of international communism on Marxist-Leninist princples. This unity and this increasingly close cohesion form the chief basis on which to fight and defeat the common enemy.

THE RELATIONS BETWEEN OUR TWO PARTIES

On April 1 last Comrade Luis Corvalan, General Secretary of our Party, speaking to the 23rd Congress of the CPSU, said:

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*Excerpt from article published in **Principios**, journal of the CC, CP of Chile, No. 113 May and June 1966.

"Between the Communist Party of Chile and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union there exist the most fraternal relations based on the granite foundation of common principles and objectives, on close solidarity and mutual appreciation and respect. Ever since Comrade Luis Emilio Recabarren founded our Party—for over 40 years—we have been marching shoulder to shoulder with the CPSU."

"This," Comrades Corvalan added, "is a source of revolutionary pride to us, a guarantee of firmness and of loyalty to the principles and interests of the working class, a decisive factor for the solid unity of our Party."

This statement of our General Secretary fully reflects the sentiments every member of our Party has for Lenin's Party.

Comrades Corvalan had every reason to assure the 23rd Congress, a congress of builders of communism, that no one and nothing—neither the maneuvers of the enemy, the virus of nationalism, pressure, nor a turn in the course of history — have ever been, or will ever be, able to break the bonds linking us with the glorious Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

KEEP BASES OUT OF BELGIUM!

RESOLUTION* OF THE CC, CP OF BELGIUM

In view of the grave crisis NATO is passing through, Belgium has been asked to admit the leading bodies of the Atlantic Alliance on to its territory.

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of Belgium considers that in the present situation the installation of NATO headquarters on Belgian soil would tie Belgium to the Atlantic Alliance more strongly than ever. It would lead to still greater integration and greater dependence on the policy inspired and directed by the United States, and would help to increase the role of West Germany in NATO.

Such an orientation would constitute a serious and unpardonable mistake at a time when large segments of Belgian opinion are aware that NATO, far from affording their country the safeguards they are legitimately concerned about, is, in fact, a major obstacle to the abolition of the policy of military blocs and a hurdle to the development of new necessary formulas for establishing real collective security in Europe.

Moreover, the installation of the leading NATO agencies on Belgian territory would make inevitable the risk of massive destruction in the country in the event of a third, nuclear world war breaking out.

The CC, CPB insists that the government has no right to take independent action on this issue.

The importance of the decision to be taken and the vastness of its political and other implications necessitate a discussion of the problem before the broadest section of public opinion, which should be enabled to state its views in clear terms.

The commissions of Parliament cannot cover an eventual government decision on the matter.

Under all circumstances, the issue must be submitted to Parliament as a whole.

But if Parliament is to perform effectively its role of lawful spokesman of the people's will, it is important for the people to express their will widely and emphatically.

This is why the CC, CPB calls on the peace-loving forces of the country, on all political, trade union, youth and women's organizations, to follow the example set by the congress of office, technical

*Le Drapeau Rouge, May 23, 1966.

and administrative personnel, the organ of the Walloon Popular Movement, the representatives of the Liege branches of the General Federation of Labor and the Christian Workers' Movement, which belong to the Liege Association for Peace in Vietnam, and clearly to express their opposition to intensification of the Atlantic policy, and more particularly, to the installation of NATO headquarters on Belgian soil. We call on them to signify their resolve to have Belgium embark on a search for a new policy corresponding to the present conditions and making it possible to put the security of Belgium and the whole of Europe on solid foundations.

COMMUNIQUE

ON THE PARAGUAYAN COMMUNIST PARTY

I.

A National Committee for the Defense and Reorganization of the Paraguayan Communist Party has been set up today, May 15, 1966. This is a result of important achievements in upholding the consistently revolutionary, patriotic and internationalist line of the PCP, and of progress in rallying and reorganizing the sound, Marxist-Leninist forces of the Party.

The first step toward setting up this supreme body of the central leadership of the Party in the present situation of emergency and transition was the formation of the Commission for the Defense and Reorganization of the PCP in August 1965 and the public statement made last January by the Party group which led the action of November 28, 1965. The 23rd Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union was attended by a joint PCP delegation comprising Comrades Ramon Riotorto, Raul Ramirez, Miguel Angel Soler and Calixto Bogado.

The National Committee for the Defense and Reorganization of the PCP has constituted itself on the basis of ideological unity, of unshakable allegiance to the program propositions of the Declaration and Statement collectively formulated by the Communist and Workers' Parties in 1957 and 1960, the decisions of the 1964 meeting of the Latin American Communist parties and of the Consultative Meeting held in March 1965, the National-Liberation Program, and the consistently proletarian line of the PCP in the democratic national-liberation revolution. These solid ideological and political foundations, which form a single whole, will serve as a basis and a guide for the entire practical activity of the National Committee.

II.

At its first plenary meeting, on May 15 last, the National Committee decided to convene a national conference preparatory to the Third Congress of the CPC. The conference is to elect a Central Committee, with terms of reference valid until the Congress.

These decisions take into account the deep wounds inflicted on the Party by the combined blows of the anti-national tyranny and the hostile activity of Oscar Creydt and Arturo Lopez, agents pro-

vocateurs. As far as possible in the conditions of the rigorous secrecy in which the Party has to operate, all the fundamental questions bearing on political preparations for the Third Congress will be discussed and settled strictly on the principles of centralism, inner-Party democracy and collective leadership.

The National Committee will submit to the National Conference a document report on the main aspects of the hostile activity of Oscar Creydt and Arturo Lopez. After being exposed by the Party and the world Communist movement as enemy agents, these renegades set out to form a bourgeois nationalist and anti-Soviet group, precisely because the Soviet Union and the CPSU are at the centre and in the van of the great revolutionary changes of our times. In carrying on their hostile work, they deliberately misrepresent the consistently revolutionary line of the PCP in a "Left" opportunist, fraudulent and Trotskyist sense. They use certain of the fundamental errors of the leading Chinese comrades and put about infamous calumnies, in particular by accusing the glorious Party of Lenin of interfering in the internal affairs of fraternal parties in order to alter their line and block the revolutionary movement of the peoples.

Waging an ideological and practical struggle against this group of provocateurs is an integral part of the revolutionary fight against the anti-national tyranny and the domination of U.S. imperialism. It is inseparable from the effort to found a revolutionary party of a new type, a Marxist-Leninist party, that could assume the guidance of the people's revolutionary movement and lead it to victory. Prominent in all preparations for the Third Congress should be ideological work to bring into the Party all those fair-minded members of the cadre and rank-and-file Communists whose faith was shaken and who were led to withdraw from the PCP by Oscar Creydt's hostile activity.

III.

The main purpose of the entire ideological and practical campaign of defending and reorganizing the Party should be to promote deep-going and long-range work among the masses, to organize joint actions by the workers, peasants, students and other sections of the people intent on winning their pressing economic and democratic demands, to achieve unity of action of all the revolutionary, democratic and patriotic forces in order to defeat the new conciliating manoeuvre centering on the Stroessner farce known as the "National Constituent Assembly" and to uphold Paraguay's sovereign title to the Guaira Falls.

Our Party delegation to the 23rd Congress of the CPSU was applauded by the CPSU and the 86 delegations from fraternal

parties for proposing a world-wide campaign to secure the release of Antonio Maidana, Julio Rojas, Alfredo Alcorta and all other imprisoned patriots. Ever since May 14 preparations have been going on for the international week for the freedom of Maidana and his fellow-prisoners, to be held from August 6-13 and coinciding with the *eighth* anniversary of Maidana's imprisonment.

All the forces of the Party, all its organizations and members, wherever they may be, must proceed systematically to mobilize the masses and ensure that the voice of the Paraguayan people rings out forcefully during the world-wide campaign.

Before, during and after each action by the masses we Communists must steadfastly explain the National-Liberation Program and the documents stating the Party line. We must enlist in the Party the more socially-conscious and militant sons and daughters of the working class and other sections of the people, must form and strengthen Party groups in the major enterprises, rural communities, educational institutions and residential areas. We must consolidate the positions of the Party in the trade unions, agrarian leagues and peasant associations, student centres and all other mass organizations. We must consistently continue all forms of struggle. We must consistently advocate the slogan of arming the masses in every way and hasten the formation of self-defense groups in order to counter the criminal violence of the tyrants and imperialists with the just violence of the masses. We must steadfastly develop the first armed groups of peasants into a nation-wide guerrilla movement.

Thus, by consistently combining all the forms of struggle, the people's revolutionary movement will gradually gather strength and conditions will be provided for the practical organization of a general rising by the people, which is indispensable for uprooting the anti-national military regime and for liberating the nation from U.S. domination.

May 15, 1966.

For the National Committee for the Defense and Reorganization of the Paraguayan Communist Party:

Luis Centurion, Augusto Canete, Julio Vega Roman, Diosmedes Mora, Obdulio Barthe, Raul Ramirez, Jose C. Acosta, Ramon Riotorto, Alipio Yegros, Jose Chilabert, Juan Jara, Calixto Bogado, Dora Frei, Luis Casabianca, Antonio Alcaraz, Victor Alonso, Efrain Morel, Pedro Aguero, Miguel Angel Soler, Albino Sosa.

(Party leaders who are in prison are regarded as full-fledged members of the National Committee for Defense and Reorganization of the PCP.)

ON LAND RECLAMATION

DECISION* OF THE CC, CPSU

A highly developed agriculture is indispensable for promoting the socialist economy as a whole and for steadily improving the Soviet people's standard of living. For this reason the 23rd Congress of the Party, specifying guidelines for communist construction at the present stage, attached prime importance to the effort to speed agricultural progress to steadily intensify agriculture by implementing the set of economic and organizational measures worked out by the CC, CPSU in March and September 1966.

Increasing per hectare yields is the basis on which to speed agricultural development in general and to increase grain production in particular.

Plenum considers that the economic level attained by the country makes it possible to carry out, with these objects in view and as parts of a complex, important measures both on a country-wide scale and on every collective or state farm to raise soil fertility and the standard of land cultivation, to expand land reclamation.

Irrigation should be the prime measure in this complex for regions exposed to the disastrous effects of drought. In the nonchernozem area, where overmoist lands abound and the soils are overacid and poor in nutrient substances, priority should be given, along with drainage, to liming and the systematic use of organic and mineral fertilizers. To assure effective farming, many regions of the country should make extensive use of the measures of combating wind and water erosion of the soil recommended by science and the foremost farms. Throughout the country, steps should be taken to improve meadows and pastures.

Plenum points out that the standard of farming on irrigated and drained lands is still low on many collective and state farms. The utilization of these lands is unsatisfactory. The quality of reclamation is low, drainage and measures to reduce loss of water in irrigation systems are underestimated, there are numerous unsurveyed lands, labor organization is unsatisfactory and the material incentive offered for securing high and stable yields on reclaimed land are inadequate. There is an excessive gap between the completion of building the irrigation works and the agricultural development of new irrigated or drained land. The liming of acid

*The decision, entitled "Measures to Expand Land Reclamation with a View to Obtaining High and Stable Yields of Grain and Other Agricultural Crops," was published in **Pravda** on May 28, 1966.

soils and the gypsuming of alkaline soils are underrated, little use is made of fertilizers and manure, and soil erosion is not combated properly.

In a number of cases the best lands are taken for industrial and residential construction, whereas less valuable tracts could have been used instead; there are excesses in the allotment of land for the right way, and farms often leave sizable tracts of fertile land unused. Nor is there any justification for the fact that in building hydro-electric power stations, water reservoirs and other projects no proper measures are taken to protect farmlands from being flooded.

Scientific institutions are still lagging in reclamation research. Sometimes they fail to furnish adequate economic evidence in support of a rational sequence of reclamation operations and of projects for the best utilization of drained or irrigated lands. They do little to evolve high-yielding and wind- and rain-resistant varieties of agricultural crops on these lands, and are slow in designing new reclamation machinery. The utilization of the achievements of science and technology and the experience of the foremost farms is absolutely inadequate.

Plenum resolves:

1. To approve the measures worked out by the Political Bureau of the CC, CPSU to expand land reclamation with a view to obtaining high and stable yields of grain and other agricultural crops. These measures envisage:

—expanding the irrigated land area by 7 to 8 million hectares and the drainage area by 15 to 16 million hectares within the next decade, and thus increasing the country's total area of reclaimed land to 37 to 39 million hectares in 1975;

—improving the condition of all reclaimed lands in the areas of existing irrigation and drainage systems to ensure that each hectare of these lands yields a maximum of high-quality agricultural produce meeting adequately high economic indices;

—considerably speeding water-conservation development in the North Caucasus, southern Ukraine, Moldavia, Kazakhstan, on the lower Amu Darya and in the Far East, launching irrigation projects in the Volga region, and organizing in these areas large-scale production of grain, particularly rice, as well as of other farm products;

—expanding irrigation in Central Asia and Transcaucasia;

—liming all arable lands, meadows and pastures with acid subsoils in the non-chernozem area;

—carrying out, from 1966 to 1970, measures for the radical improvement of meadows and pastures on an area of 9 million hectares and for the irrigation of pastures on an area of 50 million hectares;

—adopting measures against water and wind erosion of the soil;

planting shelter belts wherever necessary, planting grass on eroded slopes, building erosion-resistant structures, and of foresting sandy soils.

To instruct the Political Bureau of the CC CPSU and the Council of Ministers of the USSR to adopt appropriate decisions.

To instruct the Party, trade union and Komsomol organizations concerned, the government, agricultural and water-conservation bodies, the heads of ministries, departments, industrial enterprises, building organizations, collective farms and state farms to take proper steps for the unfailing execution of these decisions.

2. The fulfilment of the program adopted by the Party to raise soil fertility, expand land reclamation, and implement comprehensive mechanization, electrification and chemicalization in agriculture in consistent fashion and according to plan will make it possible to increase the productivity of every branch of agriculture and to raise the people's standard of living.

The task of the Party, government, agricultural and water-conservation bodies is to organize and lead a countrywide effort toward promoting the standard of land cultivation and raising the productivity of farmlands, toward establishing exemplary order on all collective and state farms, and obtaining high and stable crop yields on every hectare of land. They should help collective and state farms to devise specific measures for raising soil fertility and making effective use of every hectare of their farmland.

Plenum considers it necessary to establish a more rigid procedure of allotting land for industrial, construction and other uses. Building should be done primarily on less valuable land or on land unfit for farming.

Plenum recognizes the necessity for legislation on the basic principles of land tenure and the use of water, the protection of farmlands, and increased responsibility for their use.

3. Plenum stresses that, in carrying out the program for extensive reclamation, fuller use should be made of the economic measures worked out by the Central Committee of the Party in March and September 1965.

Of special importance is the problem of offering greater material incentives to those who operate irrigation or drainage systems and help to raise high and stable crop yields on reclaimed land. The Party, government, agricultural and water-conservation bodies and the collective and state farms concerned must work out and implement measures to improve the organization, rating and remuneration of the labor of those farming on reclaimed land.

4. As well as strengthening the material and technical base of agriculture in every part of the country, to take pacific steps toward equipping specialized organizations and the collective and

state farms in the non-chernozem area and in the irrigation farming area with reclamation and excavating machinery, toward supplying them with adequate quantities of mineral fertilizers, chemical weed- and pest-killers, equipment, building and other materials.

The vast program for land reclamation will necessitate the delivery to the countryside of powerful tractors and sets of highly efficient excavating and building machines.

Plenum calls on industrial personnel, on the heads of industrial ministries and departments, to do everything in order to fulfil and exceed plans for supplying collective and state farms and water-conservation organizations with efficient machinery and equipment, fertilizers, chemical weed- and pest-killers, various materials and other items used in farming.

Plenum expects the central committees of the Communist parties of the Union republics, the territory, regional, city and district committees of the Party, and the primary Party organizations to take proper steps for industrial enterprises and building organizations to meet orders for the countryside without fail.

5. In connection with the launching of large-scale reclamation, Plenum calls the attention of the State Planning Commission, the Ministry of Agriculture, the Ministry of Land Reclamation and Water Conservation, the Academy of Sciences, the Lenin Academy of Agricultural Sciences of the USSR and the relevant research and design institutions to the need to decide in time and correctly such questions as:

—working out a rational sequence of reclamation measures to be carried out, as well as recommendations for the use of investments for these purposes;

—carrying out reclamation projects by scientific, technological and industrial methods, as one of the measures for the economic development of land, without allowing any gap between the completion of irrigation work and the agricultural use of land.

6. Science has an important part to play in the realization of the reclamation program for increasing output of grain and other products. Scientists must considerably expand theoretical and applied investigations in the sphere of reclamation, make them more fruitful, offer production units sound recommendations for reclamation projects in various regions of the country and for intensive farming on irrigated or drained land, and ensure the evolvement of high-yielding and wind- and rain-resistant crop varieties to be grown on reclaimed land. Engineers and designers are urged to make a greater effort toward creating new highly efficient and economical excavating and reclamation machinery.

To instruct the Ministry of Agriculture, the Ministry of Land Reclamation and Water Conservation, the State Planning Commis-

sion, the Academy of Sciences and the Lenin Academy of Agricultural Sciences of the USSR to formulate between 1966 and 1970, in collaboration with the councils of ministers of the Union republics, economically justified proposals for the lines of development of agriculture according to the natural belts of the country for the next 10 to 15 years and to submit them to the CC, CPSU and the Council of Ministers of the USSR before January 1, 1969.

7. To instruct the central committees of the Communist parties of the Union republics, the territory, region, city and district committees of the Party and the primary Party organizations to explain this decision to the collective farmers and to the Soviet people as a whole, and to carry out appropriate organizing and political work for its fulfilment.

Plenum is confident that the implementation of the radical measures that have been worked out for increasing soil fertility, of the program for extensive land reclamation, will constitute a new important advance toward developing the productive forces, strengthening the collective and state farms, and organizing large-scale production of grain and other agricultural products on a stable basis.

ACTIVITIES OF THE COMMUNIST AND WORKERS' PARTIES

May 23—The first conference of representatives of Party organizations of the army ended in Santa Clara. Speaking at the conference, Minister of the Revolutionary Forces Raul Castro called upon the servicemen to make a deeper study of Marxism-Leninism in order to have a better understanding of the tasks facing the Party.

May 26—The CC of the CP of Austria discussed the report of Egon Kodicek, member of the Political Bureau, on work in the trade unions.

May 25-27—The CC, CPSU met in Moscow to discuss problems of extensive development of land betterment to ensure high and stable yields of grain and other crops.

The meeting was addressed by L. I. Brezhnev, General Secretary of the CC.

A corresponding resolution was adopted.

May 26—A plenary meeting of the CC of the CP of Czechoslovakia summed up the results of the preparations for the Thirteenth Congress of the Party, which opened in Prague on May 31.

May 27—L. I. Brezhnev, General Secretary of the CC, CPSU, received Comrade Nikezic, Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs of Yugoslavia, and had a cordial friendly talk with him.

May 27—A delegation of the Sudanese Union Party of Mali led by Comrade Diara, Political Secretary, arrived in Moscow.

May 25-27—Directives for changes in agriculture and for the Third Five-Year Plan, on which CC Secretary Rezso Nyers made a report, were discussed by the CC of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party. The CC also examined current problems, reported on by Miklos Ajtai, alternate member of the Political Bureau, chairman of the State Planning Committee.

The plenum was addressed by Janos Kadar, First Secretary of the CC.

A corresponding resolution was adopted.

May 27-29—The CC of the CP of Colombia discussed a report on political problems, presented by Joaquin Moreno, member of the CC Secretariat, a report on organizational matters, presented by Alvar Vasquez, member of the CC Secretariat, and a report on the 23rd Congress of the CPSU, presented by Jesus Villegas, Secretary of the CC, and adopted resolutions on these reports.

May 30—Invited by the CC of the Communist Party of Czecho-

slovakia, a delegation of the CPSU headed by L. I. Brezhnev left for Prague to attend the 13th Congress of the CPC.

The delegation included P. Y. Shelest, member of the Political Bureau of the CC, CPSU and First Secretary of the CC of the CP of the Ukraine; P. M. Masherov, alternate member of the Political Bureau of the CC, CPSU and First Secretary of the CC of the CP of Byelorussia; R. F. Dementyeva, alternate member of the CC, CPSU and Secretary of the Moscow City Committee of the CPSU; K. V. Rusakov, member of the Central Auditing Commission of the CC, CPSU, first deputy chief of a CC, CPSU Department, and S. V. Chervonenko, member of the CC, CPSU and Ambassador of the USSR to Czechoslovakia.

May 30—Janos Kadar, First Secretary of the CC of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, arrived in Yugoslavia for an unofficial visit. At the airport he was welcomed by Josip Broz Tito, General Secretary of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia.

June 1 marked 20 years since the establishment of the Central Party School of the Korean Party of Labor.

The meeting to celebrate the anniversary was attended by Comrade Kim Il Sung.

June 4—The 8th conference of the Vienna organization of the CP of Austria opened in Vienna.

The guests at the conference included CC, CPSU Secretary P. N. Demichev.

June 6—A delegation of the CPSU headed by A. N. Shelepin, member of the Political Bureau and Secretary of the CC, CPSU, arrived in Ulan-Bator to attend the Fifteenth Congress of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party.

June 7-10—The Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party held its 15th Congress in Ulan-Bator. The agenda of the congress:

—report of the CC;

—report of the Central Auditing Commission;

—adoption of the new Program of the MPRP;

—approval of directives for the Fourth Plan for the economic and cultural development of the Mongolian People's Republic in 1966-70;

—elections to the central organs of the MPRP.

In **June**, a delegation of the CP of Finland led by Erkki Salomaa, Vice-Chairman of the CPF, spent eight days in Italy as guests of the CC, CPI.

The 7th plenary meeting of the CC of the Mexican Communist Party heard the report of General Secretary Arnoldo Martinez Verdugo on the work of the 23rd Congress of the CPSU, and

unanimously approved the activities of the MCP delegation to the congress.

The membership of the Party of Working People of Vietnam has grown from about 5,000 in 1945 to 766,000 today, with peasants comprising nearly half of the membership—364,000, President Ho Chi Minh reported at the conference on the results of the work of Party organizations in the past three years which was held recently in Hanoi.

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INTERVIEW WITH
NICOLAE CEAUSESCU

FOR PEACE AND SECURITY
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STATEMENT

OF THE 15th CONGRESS OF THE MPRP IN SUPPORT OF THE VIETNAMESE PEOPLE'S STRUGGLE AGAINST THE U.S. AGGRESSION

In recent years, despite persistent demands on the part of world opinion, the U.S. imperialists have been escalating the war in South Vietnam and openly infringing the sovereignty of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, a socialist country which is a brother to us. They have been making provocative attacks on the territory of Laos and Cambodia, seriously endangering the security of the countries in that area and other Asian countries.

The delegates to the 15th Congress of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party, expressing the will of the Communists of their country and the entire Mongolian people, emphatically condemn the U.S. aggression against the people of Vietnam and brand it as a most serious crime against the freedom, independence, peace and security of the peoples.

The colonial war which the USA is waging in Vietnam lays bare the bestial nature of U.S. imperialism, the international policeman and strangler of the freedom of the peoples. Flouting the elementary standards of international law, the aggressors widely use poison gas and napalm and strategic bombers in their punitive operations against the patriotic forces and the civilian population of South Vietnam. They launch piratical raids on the towns and villages of the DRV, dropping bombs on industrial enterprises, dwellings, schools and hospitals, and killing women, old men and children. The crimes of the U.S. aggressors are indicative of their savage hatred of the peoples fighting for freedom and independence, and show up the hypocrisy of their declarations in favor of "peace".

Whatever atrocities the U.S. imperialists may commit, they will never succeed in bringing the Vietnamese people to their knees. The popular movement for an end to U.S. occupation and for the overthrow of the venal Saigon regime is growing daily in South Vietnam. Under the leadership of the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam, the only legitimate spokesman of the South Vietnamese people, the patriotic forces of South Vietnam are striking telling blows at the invaders as they fight with determination to save the country.

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*Novosti Mongolii, June 12, 1966.

The people and the armed forces of the DRV, led by the glorious Party of the Working People of Vietnam, staunchly defend their socialist gains, successfully repelling the armed attacks of the U.S. imperialists.

The fortitude and heroism of the Vietnamese people in the struggle against the U.S. aggression evoke the sincere admiration of the members of our Party and the entire Mongolian people.

The 15th Congress of the MPRP expresses its deep fraternal solidarity with the Party of the Working People of Vietnam and the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam and declares that it firmly supports the heroic and just struggle the Vietnamese people are waging for their freedom, independence and unity.

Now as in the past, the Mongolian People's Republic fully supports the four-point proposal of the Government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and the five-point statement of the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam as a solid basis for a fair settlement of the Vietnam problem.

In accordance with the will of all Party members and of the working people of the MPR, the Congress delegates again insist that the U.S. Government immediately stop bombing DRV territory, that it abolish its military base in South Vietnam, and abide without reservations by the 1954 Geneva Agreements on Vietnam.

The struggle of the Vietnamese people against the U.S. aggressors and their menials is a vital common of all the countries of the socialist world system, the international working-class and national-liberation movements, and all other peace forces. Rendering all round assistance to the embattled Vietnamese people is a prime internationalist duty of the socialist countries and all the revolutionary forces of the world. The Soviet Union and other socialist countries are helping the DRV more and more to increase its defence capacity and repulse the imperialist aggression.

The Mongolian Communists firmly support the Statement of the 23rd Congress of the CPSU on the U.S. aggression in Vietnam, which calls on all Communist and Workers' parties to work with redoubled energy for united action against the U.S. aggression in Vietnam and for effective assistance and support to the Vietnamese people.

Congress declares that the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party and the entire Mongolian people will, in keeping with their internationalist duty, continue to render the fraternal Vietnamese people all the assistance and support they can in the sacred struggle against the U.S. aggressors.

We delegates to the 15th Congress of the MPRP are deeply convinced that the just struggle of the heroic Vietnamese people, who are strongly supported by the progressive forces of the world, will be crowned with complete success.

From the bottom our our hearts we wish the Party of the Working People of Vietnam and the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam, the working people of the DRV and the courageous South Vietnamese people, further success in their struggle for the freedom, independence and salvation of their country, against U.S. aggression.

May the unity and solidarity of all the peace-loving and democratic forces with fighting Vietnam go from strength to strength!

June 11, 1966.

STATEMENT ON U.S. AGGRESSION IN VIETNAM

The member nations of the Warsay Treaty Organization represented at the Bucharest Meeting of the Political Consultative Committee—the People's Republic of Bulgaria, the People's Republic of Hungary, the German Democratic Republic, the People's Republic of Poland, the Socialist Republic of Rumania, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the Socialist Republic of Czechoslovakia—have discussed the situation created by the U.S. aggression in Vietnam, particularly in the light of the new criminal actions of U.S. armed forces, aimed at extending the war against the Vietnamese people.

The conference regard the bombing of the suburbs of Hanoi and the port of Haiphong, the biggest cities in North Vietnam, as a new and still more dangerous stage in the American policy of "escalation" of the war in Vietnam. As a result, the war in Vietnam, seriously aggravating the international situation, is assuming a new character still more dangerous to world peace and security.

The conferees condemn these criminal actions and declare their full support for the courageous struggle of the fraternal Vietnamese people in defense of their freedom and independence, for the unity and integrity of their homeland.

I.

The U.S. war in Vietnam is the most cynical manifestation of the aggressive policy of U.S. imperialism. It is an outrage against international law and international agreements and a gross breach of the U.N. Charter. It was the United States that frustrated the implementation of the 1954 Geneva Agreements which provided for all-Vietnamese elections and reunification of Vietnam without any foreign interference.

U.S. troops came to Vietnam as invaders, as stranglers of the freedom and independence of the Vietnamese people. In this gangster war against Vietnam the United States increasingly employs brutal inhuman means, destroying the civilian population and not stopping from using napalm and toxic agents. The perpetrators of these crimes are following in the footsteps of Hitler war criminals. The actions committed by U.S. troops and their satellites in Vietnam are crimes against peace and humanity, crimes for which they bear a grave international responsibility. The aggres-

*Pravda, July 8, 1966.

sors must consider the lessons of history and bear in mind that they will never evade retribution for their atrocities.

The American aggressors will not escape requital for the tremendous material destruction and losses caused to the Vietnamese people, for the ruined towns and villages, for the burnt down hospitals and schools, for the destroyed roads, for all the barbarity committed against the peaceful population.

The government of the United States should know that the more crimes that are committed against the Vietnamese people, the heavier the guilt, the graver the punishment.

The government of the United States is striving to foist on the South Vietnamese population by armed force its own order, to preserve there the rotten regime of military dictatorship, deeply hated by the people and holding out only due to American bayonets. Nobody has the right to dictate their will to the Vietnamese people, just as to the people of any other country. Only the people of Vietnam can decide what order to establish in their country, and this is their inalienable right.

The United States of America would also like to enslave other countries of the Indo-China Peninsula. It is stepping up its rude interference in the internal affairs of Laos, subjecting its territory to air raids, and continuing provocations against independent Cambodia.

All this is evidence that U.S. imperialism is out to stamp out the national-liberation movement of the peoples, to deprive them of the sacred right to decide their own destiny and choose the road of development at their own discretion.

The danger arising from the aggressive actions of the U.S. government increases due to the fact that it is seeking to involve its allies in the war in Vietnam. Australia and New Zealand, Thailand and the Philippines, and also the South Korean puppet regime have already dispatched or are sending military contingents to take part in the war against the Vietnamese people. The United States of America is rendered political and material support in Vietnam by the Federal Republic of Germany. The countries that are helping the aggressors with arms deliveries, that are permitting the United States to use their territory for shipping U.S. troops and war supplies to Vietnam, are accomplices in the aggression. Sooner or later the governments of all these countries will have to answer to the people for these actions.

Nobody will be deceived by the U.S. government's assertions that it is ready to conduct talks on the settlement of the Vietnamese problem. These statements on "peaceful intentions" and "peace talks" are false from beginning to end, because they are accompanied not only by the continuation but by the expansion of hostilities.

There is a crying incompatibility between the continuation of the war in Vietnam and the U.S. assertions that it wishes to take steps towards disarmament.

The parties, governments and peoples of our countries expresses admiration at the courage, staunchness, and resolution of the heroic Vietnamese people to achieve victory in the struggle against the invaders. No matter how the aggressors persist, no matter what new atrocities they commit, they will not break the will of the Vietnamese people for freedom and independence. The participants in the Meeting hold that by their struggle against U.S. imperialism, the Vietnamese people are not only upholding their own national rights, but are making on important contribution to the struggle of the countries of the socialist world system, of all the peoples, for peace, independence, democracy and socialism. The righteous cause of the Vietnamese people meets with the deep sympathy and complete solidarity of the socialist countries, of the international working class and the Communist and Worker's parties, of the national-liberation movement, of all the forces of peace and progress.

II

The parties to the Warsaw Treaty, signatories of the present Statement, confirm most resolutely their stand on the Vietnamese question.

The U.S. government must immediately stop the war of aggression in Vietnam and respect the basic national rights of the Vietnamese people to peace, national independence, territorial unity and integrity, envisaged by the 1954 Geneva Agreements on Vietnam.

Proceeding from the fact that the right to decide their affairs belongs to the Vietnamese people exclusively, the participants in this Meeting fully support the four-point program of the government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, and the five-point program advanced by the South Vietnamese National Liberation Front, which provide a just basis for the political settlement of the Vietnamese issue. They fully conform to the 1954 Geneva Agreements and meet the interests of peace in Southeast Asia and all over the world.

The United States must embark upon the road of strict observance of the Geneva Agreements on Vietnam; it must stop the aggression against the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, putting an immediate, final and unconditional end to air-raids on its territory, discontinue the armed intervention in South Vietnam, dismantle all its war bases in that country, recognize the National Liberation Front as the only genuine representative of the South

Vietnamese population, recognize the rights of the Vietnamese people to determine their destiny without outside interference and to decide independently the question of national unification along peaceful lines.

III

Hoving discussed the situation in Vietnam arising from the expansion of hostility by the United States, the parties to the Warsaw Treaty:

1) sternly warn the government of the United States about the responsibility it assumes before mankind by continuing and expanding this war, for all the unforeseeable consequences that may arise from this, consequences for the United States itself among others;

2) are rendering and will continue to render the Democratic Republic of Vietnam ever increasing moral and political support and every kind of assistance, including economic help and assistance with means of defense, materials, equipment and specialists, needed to victoriously repulse the U.S. aggression, with due account for the requirements of the new phase of war in Vietnam;

3) declare their readiness, if the government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam request, to allow their volunteers to go to Vietnam in order to help the Vietnamese people in their struggle against the U.S. aggressors;

4) vigorously condemn the actions of the United States aimed at extending the war to Laos and Cambodia; express their solidarity with the peoples of these countries, demand strict observance by the United States of the 1954 and 1962 Geneva Agreements concerning these countries, and respect for their sovereignty, independence, neutrality, and territorial integrity.

IV

The parties and governments of our countries hold that united action by the socialist countries is needed to ensure the victory of the Vietnamese peole. Each of our countries is resolved not to stint efforts in the future, too, and to take every necessary measure to help the Vietnamese people cut short the U.S. aggression.

The participants in the Meeting urge all the states that cherish peace, all progressive and peace-loving forces, world public opinion, the international working-class movement, the Communist and Workers' parties to rally the front of struggle against the U.S. aggression, to come out resolutely against the brutal war in Vietnam; in support of the courageous struggle of the Vietnamese peolple.

The parties to the Warsaw Treaty call on the governments of all countries to do everything they can to put an end to the U.S. aggression in Vietnam, to do away with the seat of war in South-east Asia, to bring about a relaxation of tension and normalization of international relations. No state, no government concerned over the destinies of the world, can or should be indifferent to the actions of the United States in Vietnam. These actions not only threaten the independence and freedom of the Vietnamese people, but create an ever graver menace to world peace.

Our countries express their conviction that the forces of peace supporting the struggle of the Vietnamese people can make the U.S. imperialists stop their aggression in Vietnam, and thereby contribute greatly to the cause of safeguarding world peace.

The just cause for which the Vietnamese people are fighting shall triumph! The people of Vietnam shall win!

For the People's Republic of Bulgaria

TODOR ZHIKOV,
First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party, Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the People's Republic of Bulgaria.

For the Hungarian People's Republic

JANOS KADAR,
First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party

GYULA KALLAI,
Chairman of the Hungarian Revolutionary Workers' and Peasants' Government

For the German Democratic Republic

WALTER ULBRICHT,
First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany, Chairman of the State Council of the German Democratic Republic

WILLI STOPH,
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For the Polish People's Republic

WLADYSLAW GOMULKA,
First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers' Party

JOZEF CYRANKIEWICZ,
Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Polish People's Republic

For the Socialist Republic of Rumania

NICOLAE CEAUSESCU,

General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Rumanian Communist Party

ION GHEORGHE MAURER,

Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Socialist Republic of Rumania

For the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics

L. I. BREZHNEV,

General Secretary of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union

A. N. KOSYGIN,

Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics

For the Czecholovak Socialist Republic

ANTONIN NOVOTNY,

First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, President of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic

JOZEF LENART,

Chairman of the Government of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic.

Bucharest, July 6, 1966.

DECLARATION ON THE STRENGTHENING OF PEACE AND SECURITY IN EUROPE

The People's Republic of Bulgaria, the Hungarian People's Republic, the German Democratic Republic, the Polish People's Republic, the Socialist Republic of Rumania, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, and the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, parties to the Warsaw Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation and Mutual Assistance, represented at the Bucharest Meeting of the Political Consultative Committee, adopt the following Declaration:

I

The sofeguarding of enduring peace and security in Europe accords with the ardent desires of all the peoples of the European continent and the interests of universal peace.

The peoples of Europe, who have made and are making a tremendous contribution to mankind's progress, can and must create in this part of the world a climate of relaxation and international mutual understanding which would make is possible fully to use the material and spiritual resources of every nation, every country in conformity with their will and decision.

The state of relations between European countries greatly influence the state of affairs throughout the world. It must be borne in mind that the two world wars, which caused the death of tens of millions and tremendous destruction, broke out on the European continent.

The problems of European security did not arise today or yesterday. Half a century ago it was placed on the order of day with the outbreak of World War I. It confronted the peoples with its entire vital significance two decades later, when Europe and the world stood face to face with savage fascism which was crushing one state after another.

The peoples who entered in a life-and-death struggle imposed upon them, were inspired by the hope that they were waging the last of world wars.

In 1945 the goal of ensuring European security appeared to be close; the roads to it seemed to be open. Defeated German fascism was awaiting its sentence. Justice won victory. The peoples who had just lived through a war of unprecedented brutality against Nazi Germany, demanded that everything be done to prevent the forces of militarism and aggression from again interrupting the

*Pravda, July 9, 1966.

peaceful life and constructive labor of the present and future generations.

The Potsdam Agreement, which crowned the relations of alliance between the powers of the anti-Hitler coalition, proclaimed an extensive program for securing peace, projected into the future. For the first time in history Europe obtained a real possibility of solving the problem of her own security. It was then generally acknowledged that the main condition of security in Europe is prevention of the revival of German militarism and Nazism, the guarantee that Germany never again will threaten her neighbors or world peace. It was also generally accepted that this required honest and friendly cooperation between the states of Europe, between all states interested in the maintenance of European and universal peace.

However, developments did not justify these aspirations. The hope of the peoples of Europe did not come true. Their desire for a life without fear of war has not yet been fulfilled. The responsibility for this rests with those powers which immediately after the victory over the German aggressor renounced the cooperation which had been forged in the great anti-Hitler coalition, did not follow a common road of building peace in Europe, and, more, began to pursue aggressive policies themselves.

Now, two decades after the end of World War II, its consequences in Europe have not been liquidated yet, there is no German peace treaty, hotbeds of tension, abnormal situations in the relations between states continue to exist.

In the opinion of the socialist states which signed this Declaration, the removal of this state of things and the creation of firm foundations of peace and security in Europe requires that international relations should proceed from a renunciation of the threat or use of force, and the need to settle international disputes only by peaceful means, and should be based on the principles of sovereignty and national independence, equality and non-interference into domestic affairs, on respect for territorial integrity. The European states should strive for the adoption of effective measures to prevent the danger of an armed conflict breaking out in Europe, and to consolidate European collective security. The realization of the common striving of all European nations presupposes the responsibility and contribution of each state, big or small, irrespective of its socio-political system, to the development of appropriate cooperation between sovereign, independent and equal states.

In the opinion of the states participating in this Meeting, in the present situation all European peoples, all peace-loving forces should display still greater determination and activity in the struggle for stronger peace and security in Europe.

II

The growth of forces coming out for the preservation and strengthening of peace is one of the determining features of the present international situation. The socialist states with their huge economic, political and military might, the international working class headed by its Communist parties, the national-liberation movement, the newly-free states, the progressive and democratic forces of the whole world resolutely come out against the imperialist policy of aggression, for the security of the peoples. Tendencies are increasingly developing in Europe towards the liquidation of the accretions of the cold war and the obstacles to normal European cooperation, towards the settlement of outstanding issues through mutual understanding, towards the normalization of international life and rapproachement of the peoples.

This course is opposed by the imperialist reactionary circles, which, pursuing aggressive aims, strive to aggravate tensions, to poison relations between European states.

European peace, the security of the European peoples are directly threatened by the present policy of the United States of America, the very same policy which in another part of the world—Southeast Asia—has already resulted in an aggressive war against the Vietnamese people, and which, more than once in recent years, has worsened relations between countries until they reached a state of international crisis. The United States interferes in the domestic affairs of other states, violates the sacred right of each people to decide its own destiny, resorts to colonial repressions and armed intervention, hatches plots in various countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America, and supports everywhere reactionary forces and venal regimes hated by the people.

There can be no doubt that the aims of the United States policy in Europe have nothing in common with the vital interests of the European peoples, with the tasks of European security. The U.S. ruling circles would like to impose their will on their allies in Western Europe, to make Western Europe an instrument of the United States global policy, which is based on the striving to stop and even to turn back the historic process of national and social liberation of the peoples. Hence the attempts to involve some West European states into military ventures even in other parts of the world, in particular, Asia.

The United States' aggressive circles, which have the support of the reactionary forces of Western Europe, strive with the help of the North Atlantic military-bloc and its military machine to deepen the division of Europe, to keep up the arms race, to increase international tensions, to hinder the establishment and de-

velopment of normal ties between West European and East European states.

It is to further these aims, alien to the interests of the security of European peoples, that U.S. troops still remain in Europe, U.S. military bases are located in West European countries, nuclear stockpiles are created, nuclear submarines are sent to the seas washing European coasts, the U.S. 6th Fleet plies the Mediterranean, and planes carrying nuclear bombs fly over European countries.

The U.S. postwar policy in Europe is all the more dangerous to the European peoples since it is increasingly based on collusion with the militaristic and revanchist forces in West Germany. These forces are openly pushing the United States towards an even more dangerous course in Europe.

This policy is reflected in the projected creation of a sort of alliance between the U.S. imperialists and the West German revanchists.

The militaristic and revanchist circles in West Germany ignore the vital interests of the German people itself; their aggressive aims manifest themselves in all their deeds—in the militarization of the country's economic potential, in the creation of a 500,000-strong Bundeswehr, in the glorification of the history of German conquests, and in the instigation of hatred for other peoples whose lands are again coveted by them.

The demand for possession of nuclear weapons is the focus of this policy today. The creation of a scientific, technical and industrial base, to serve at an opportune moment for the manufacture of atomic and nuclear bombs, is being openly and secretly accelerated in the FRG. By joint efforts, the peace-loving countries and peoples have so far succeeded in delaying the creation of a NATO joint nuclear force which would give the FRG access to nuclear weapons. But the plans for this have not been shelved.

The cardinal interests of all the peoples demand renunciation of the plans for creating a NATO multilateral nuclear force. However, if the NATO countries, acting contrary to the interests of peace, proceed to implement these plans or give West Germany access to nuclear weapons in any form whatsoever, in that case, in view of the serious consequences this would have for peace and security in Europe, the Warsaw Treaty states will be compelled to take necessary defensive measures to ensure their security.

The territorial claims of the West German revanchists must be resolutely rejected. They are absolutely groundless and have no validity. The question of borders in Europe has been settled finally and irrevocably, and the peoples of Europe will be able to bar the road to revanchism.

The inviolability of the existing European borders, including the

borders of the sovereign German Democratic Republic, Poland and Czechoslovakia, is one of the main prerequisites for ensuring European security. The states represented at this Meeting reaffirm their resolution to crush any aggression against them on the part of the forces of imperialism and reaction.

On their part the Warsaw Treaty states declare that they have no territorial claims on any state in Europe.

The policy of revanchism and militarism pursued by German imperialism has invariably ended in a fiasco. With the present balance of forces in the world and in Europe, this policy, far from producing any advantages or benefits for the Federal Republic of Germany, is fraught with irreparable consequences for it.

The interests of peace and security in Europe and throughout the world, just as the interests of the German people, demand that the ruling quarters of the Federal Republic of Germany reckon with the real state of affairs in Europe. And this means that they should proceed from the fact of the existence of two German states, abandon their intention to recarve the European frontiers and their claims to the exclusive right to represent the whole of Germany, give up their attempts to bring pressure to bear on states ready to recognize the German Democratic Republic, renounce the criminal Munich dictates, and acknowledge that it has been null and void from the very beginning. They must prove by deeds that they really have learned the lessons of history, that they will put an end to militarism and revanchism and will carry through a policy of normalizing relations between states and promoting international cooperation and friendship.

The German Democratic Republic, which is a major factor in safeguarding peace in Europe, has addressed the FRG government and Bundestag with constructive proposals: to renounce nuclear arms on a reciprocal basis, to reduce the armies of both German states, to pledge not to use force against each other, to sit down at a conference table to settle ripe national problems of common interest. However, the government of the FRG does not display interest in these proposals. The states which signed this Declaration support the above-mentioned initiative of the German Democratic Republic.

Having examined all aspects of the present situation in Europe, having weighed the main factors determining its development the states represented at this Meeting came to the conclusion that in Europe, where almost half the states are socialist, it is possible to prevent undesirable developments. The problem of European security can be solved by the joint efforts of the European states, all public forces that are coming out for peace, irrespective of their ideological views, religious or other convictions. This task will be accomplished all the more successfully the sooner the influence

of the forces bent on continuing to aggravate tension in the relations between European states, are paralyzed.

In the post-war period it has been possible more than once to upset plans for subverting peace in Europe. Of decisive importance in this were the unity and solidarity of the European socialist states, all countries of socialism, the peaceful foreign policy they pursue while remaining vigilant towards the potential violators of peace, their readiness to cooperate with all states wishing to contribute to the strengthening of European security. The working class of the West European countries, its vanguards, democratic progressive organizations and the peace movements, shaping the public opinion of the broadest masses of the working people, are working most vigorously for the same aim.

A major factor increasingly complicating the implementation of war gambles in Europe is the growth of the influence of the forces in the West European states which are aware of the necessity of rising above the differences in political views and convictions, of coming out for a relaxation of international tension, for the all-sided development of mutually advantageous relations between all European states without discrimination, for the complete independence of their countries and the maintenance of their national entity.

The states signatory to this Declaration note as a positive feature the fact that in the Federal Republic of Germany there are forces which come out against revanchism and militarism, for the establishment of normal relations with the countries both of the West and the East, including normal relations between the two German states, and are pressing for a relaxation of international tension and the safeguarding of European security so that all Germans could enjoy the blessing of peace.

The influence of those who advocate European peace and security is growing constantly, while the proponents of an aggressive course are beginning to lose ground. Ever more European countries and peoples realize from where comes the real danger to each of them and to Europe as a whole and what is needed to protect the security of all European states.

The conferees hold that every European state is called upon to play a worthy role in international affairs and to become a full-fledged participant in the construction in Europe of such a system of relations between peoples and between states where the security of each would simultaneously be security for all. The European states are capable of solving the questions of relations between them without outside interference.

The socialist countries consider that one of the main conditions of European security is the establishment and development of normal international relations based on observance of the principles

of sovereignty and national independence, equality, non-interference in internal affairs, and mutual benefit. The situation in Europe proves that despite various obstacles, these principles are winning increasing recognition as a reasonable basis for cooperation between peoples and for improvement of the international climate.

Of great importance is the strengthening of peace-oriented political relations between states, irrespective of their social systems.

The European countries, linked as they are by traditional trade relations, can only gain by developing their economic cooperation on a reciprocal basis. Extension of economic relations between European states, elimination of discrimination and obstacles existing in this sphere, constitute a particularly important factor for rapprochement and establishment of an atmosphere of trust and mutual understanding among the peoples. Promotion of economic relations between European countries make it possible to extend their trade with partners in other parts of the world. These relations, together with a comprehensive development of scientific, technical and cultural cooperation, which makes for better mutual acquaintance, can, as they develop, provide the material basis for European security and for the consolidation of world peace.

Despite all the differences in their socio-political systems, ideology and political views, the European states and peoples have a common cause which conforms to the vital national interests of all—it is the task of preventing a violation of peace in Europe, of curbing the forces of aggression.

III

The states signatory to the present Declaration hold that the situation developing today requires vigorous actions toward the consolidation of European peace on the part of all European states.

The governments of European states cannot rely on the reassuring declarations of those who harbor aggressive plans, cannot trust the statements of those who seek a revision of the results of World War Two and at the same time claim that they need nuclear weapons for their own security only; they cannot remain passive, thereby encouraging, willy-nilly, the forces which hold for Europe the prospect of becoming an arena of a homicidal conflict.

Aware of their great responsibility to the peoples, the governments of European states should undertake steps that could ensure a turn towards a relaxation of tension in Europe, consolidation of security, development of peaceful, mutually advantageous cooperation between European states.

This is not the first time that Europe finds itself faced with this task. The first and second world wars were prepared by the forces of aggression in deep secrecy, under the cover of deceptive state-

ments of peaceful intentions. A giant machinery of propaganda and misinformation had been used each time to lull the vigilance of the peoples. The peoples' eyes did open, but only when millions of them were already dying, when flourishing cities and villages were being turned into heaps of ruins. This cannot be allowed to happen for a third time—in the age of nuclear energy and powerful missiles.

The countries participating in the Meeting strongly favor constructive measures to be carried out as quickly as possible to strengthen security in Europe. They are convinced that the present conditions offer real opportunities to take such steps. They are prepared to cooperate with other states to this end.

Provision of firm guarantees of peace and security in Europe is an important task which requires the participation of all European states, patient and constructive discussion of the points of views to achieve universally acceptable decisions.

The European socialist countries have repeatedly come forward with well-substantiated proposals constituting a concrete program of action.

The signatories of the Declaration hold that measures for strengthening European security can and should be taken, first and foremost, in the following main directions.

First. The states participating in the Meeting call upon all European states to promote good-neighborly relations on the principles of independence and national sovereignty, equality, non-interference in internal affairs, and mutual advantage—the principles of peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems. Proceeding from this, they come out for the strengthening of economic and trade relations, for more contacts and forms of cooperation in science, technology, culture and art, as also in other areas which provide new opportunities for cooperation among European countries.

There is no area of peaceful cooperation where European states could not find opportunities for further mutually advantageous steps.

Development of all-European cooperation makes necessary the renunciation by all states of any kind of discrimination and pressure, either political or economic, against other countries; it calls for their equal cooperation and establishment of normal relations between them, including normal relations with the German states.

The establishment and development of good-neigborly relations between European states with differing social systems can make their economic and cultural contacts more active and thus increase the possibilities of European states to make an effective contribution to the cause of improving the climate in Europe and the promotion of mutual confidence and respect.

Second. The socialist countries have always consistently come out against the division of the world into military blocs or alliances and for the elimination of the dangers following from this for universal peace and security.

In reply to the formation of the military aggressive NATO alignment and the inclusion of West Germany into it, the Warsaw Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation and Mutual Assistance was concluded as a defensive pact of sovereign and equal states, as an instrument of defense of the security of the member-states of the Treaty and of peace in Europe.

However, the Warsaw Treaty states considered, and consider now, that the existence of military blocs and war bases on the territories of other states, imposed by the imperialist forces, constitutes an obstacle to cooperation between states. A genuine guarantee of the security and progress of each European country should be, not the existence of military alignments, which do not accord with the present-day sound trends in international affairs, but the establishment of an effective security system in Europe, based on relations of equality and mutual respect between all states of the continent, on the joint efforts of all European nations.

The countries signatory to this Declaration consider that the situation has matured for steps to be taken towards a relaxation, above all, of military tension in Europe. A radical road to this would be the simultaneous dissolution of the existing military alliance, and the present situation makes this possible. The governments of our states have pointed out more than once that in case of the discontinuance of the functioning of the North Atlantic alliance, the Warsaw Treaty would become invalid and their place must by taken by a system of European security. Now they solemnly reaffirm their readiness for the simultaneous liquidation of the aforesaid alliances.

If, however, the member-states of the North Atlantic Treaty are still not ready to accept the complete dissolution of both alignments, the states signatory to this Declaration deem it expedient already now to reach agreement on the liquidation of the military organizations of both North Atlantic Pact and the Warsaw Treaty. At the same time they declare that as long as the North Atlantic bloc exists and the aggressive imperialist circles encroach on world peace, the socialist countries represented at the Meeting, maintaining high vigilance, are fully resolved to strengthen their might and their defense potential.

At the same time we deem it necessary that all member-states of the North Atlantic pact and the Warsaw Treaty and also countries not participating in any military alliances, exert efforts on a bilateral or multilateral basis with the object of advancing the cause of European security.

Third. Of great importance are now also such practical measures towards military relaxation on the European continents as;

liquidation of foreign war bases;

withdrawal of all foreign armed forces from alien territories within their national frontier;

reduction, on an agreed scale and within agreed time limits, of the numerical strength of the armed forces of both German states;

measures to eliminate the danger of a nuclear conflict: the setting up of denclearized zones, a pledge by the nuclear powers not to use these weapons against states in such zones, etc.;

discontinuance of flights by foreign planes carrying atomic or hydrogen bombs over the territories of European states and of entry of foreign submarines and surface ships with nuclear arms on board into the ports of such states.

Fourth. Bearing in mind the danger the nuclear claims of the Federal Republic of Germany present to the cause of peace in Europe, it is essential that the states concentrate their efforts on ruling out the possibility of the Federal Republic of Germany gaining access to nuclear weapons in any form—directly or indirectly through alignments of states, for exclusive control or in any form of sharing in the control of such weapons. The way this problem is decided will largely determine the future of the European and not only European peoples. In this issue, too, half-hearted decisions will not do.

Fifth. The integrity of frontiers in the foundation of an enduring peace in Europe. Furthering the normalization of the situation in Europe demand that all states, both in Europe and outside the European continent, proceed in their foreign political actions from recognition of the actually existing frontiers between European states, which materialized after the most devastating war in the history of mankind, including the Polish frontier on the Oder-Neisse line and the frontiers between the two German states.

Sixth. A German peaceful settlement would accord with the interests of peace in Europe. The socialist states represented at this Meeting are ready to continue the search for the solution of this problem. This solution must take into consideration the interests of the security of all the countries concerned, the security of Europe as a whole.

The approach to this question, just as to other aspects of security in Europe, can be constructive only when based on reality, above all, on recognition of the fact of existence of two German states—the German Democratic Republic and the Federal Republic of Germany. At the same time such a settlement is inconceivable unless the existing frontiers are recognized and both German states refuse to possess nuclear weapons.

Equal participation of both German states in the efforts to pro-

mote inter-European cooperation in various fields of activity—political, economic, scientific, technical, cultural—will enable their working class, peasantry, intellectuals, the entire population to make their contribution, according to their possibilities and constructive abilities, together with other European peoples, to the cause of progress and peace.

As for the reunion of both German states, the way to this liies through relaxation, through gradual rapproachment between the two sovereign German states and agreement between them, through aggreements on disarmament in Germany and Europe, and on the basis of the principle that when Germany is reunited, the united German state would be truly peaceful and democratic and would never again be a danger to its neighbors or to peace in Europe.

Seventh. Convocation of a general European conference to discuss questions of ensuring security in Europe and organizing general European cooperation would be of great positive importance. Agreement reached at such a conference could find expression, for example, in a general European declaration on cooperation for the maintenance and strengthening of European security. Such a declaration could provide for an undertaking by the signatories to be guided in their relations by the interests of peace, to settle disputes by peaceful means only, to hold consultations and exchange information on questions of mutual interest, contribute to the all-round development of economic, scientific, technical and cultural relations. The declaration should be open to all interested states to join.

A conference on European security and cooperation could contribute to the establishment of a system of collective security in Europe and would be an important landmark in the contemporary history of Europe. Our countries are ready to take part in such a conference at any time convenient to the other interested states, both members of the North Atlantic Treaty and neutrals. Neutral European countries could also play a positive role in convening such a conference.

It goes without saying that the agenda and other questions pertaining to the preparation of such a meeting or conference should be decided upon by all participating states together, with due regard to the proposals submitted by every one of them.

The countries represented at this Meeting are prepared to use other available methods of discussing problems of European security: talks through diplomatic channels, meetings of foreign ministers or special representatives on a bilateral or multilateral basis, top-level contacts. They hold that the considerations stated above cover the principal, most important aspects of ensuring European security. They are also ready to discuss other proposals which have

been or may be submitted by any state for the solution of this problem.

As regards participants in such a discussion, the Warsaw Treaty states make no exceptions. It is up to each state to choose between participating and not participating in the discussion and solution of European problems.

It is not, of course, a matter of indifference to the peoples what political course this or that state might take — one corresponding to the interests of peace and security or contradicting these interests.

The participants in the Meeting are convinced that countries of other continents, too, cannot be indifferent to how things develop in Europe. The flames of the two world wars shot up on European soil, but they seared almost the entire planet. Devastation and losses were suffered by many countries, including those on continents lying far from Europe. Therefore any government concerned with the destinies of the world cannot but welcome and support every step leading to a relaxation and improvement of the situation in Europe.

Expressing their concern for strengthening European security and their readiness to participate in appropriate steps toward this goal, our countries are convinced that it is the duty of all European states to contribute to the solution of problems of world-wide importance which would unquestionably have a favorable effect on the situation in Europe too. This applies to the problems of ensuring non-interference in the internal affairs of states, prohibition of the use of force or threat of force in international relations, disarmament, prohibition of the use of nuclear weapons, and other major measures aimed at eliminating the danger of a nuclear conflict, finally abolishing colonialism in all its forms and manifestations, dismantling foreign military bases, and promoting international economic cooperation on the basis of equality. For their part the states represented at this Meeting will continue to do everything in their power to contribute to the earliest solution of these world problems. They attach great importance to the strengthening of the United Nations Organization through strict observances of its Charter, the guaranteeing of the universal nature of the United Nations and bringing its activities in line with the changes which have taken place in the world, and they will help in every way to increase the effectiveness of the Organization for the preservation of world peace and security and the development of friendly relations between peoples.

The states signatory to this Declaration express readiness to search, jointly with other states, for mutually acceptable ways of strengthening peace in Europe. They are firmly determined to uphold in the world arena the line of peace, international cooperation

of states, the rallying of all freedom-loving and progressive forces, to fight against imperialist aggression, against the policy of dictate and violence, to support the cause of freedom, national independence and social progress.

The participants in the Meeting appeal to all European governments and nations, to all the forces of peace and progress of our continent, regardless of their ideological, political or religious concivtions, to join forces so that Europe, one of the most important centres of world civilization, should become a continent of all-round fruitful cooperation of equal nations, a mighty factor for the stability of peace and mutual understanding throughout the world.

FOR THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF BULGARIA

TODOR ZHIKOV,

First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party, Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the People's Republic of Bulgaria.

FOR THE HUNGARIAN PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC

JANOS KADAR

First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party

GYULA KALLAI.

Chairman of the Hungarian Revolutionary Workers' and Peasants' Government

FOR THE GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

WALTER ULBRICHT,

First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany, Chairman of the State Council of the German Democratic Republic

WILLI STOPH,

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FOR THE POLISH PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC

WLADYSLAW GOMULKA,

First Sercretary of the Central Committee of the Polish Unity Workers' Party

JOZEF CYRANKIEWICZ,

Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Polish People's Republic

FOR THE SOCIALIST REPUBLIC OF RUMANIA

NICOLAE CEAUSESCU,

General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Rumanian Communist Party

ION GHEORGHE MAURER,

Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Socialist Republic of Rumania

FOR THE UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS

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Bucharest, July 5, 1966.

THE SUPREME GOAL OF THE PARTY IS TO SERVE THE PEOPLE

Electoral Speech by L. Brezhnev, General Secretary of the CPSU

The international situation affects the situation at home. It may benefit or hamper the effort of the Soviet people, who are building communist society and who, being internationalist-minded, appreciate the interests of other peoples, of every working man and woman on our planet.

The national interests of the Soviet people and their loyalty to their internationalist duty find harmonious expression in the foreign-policy activities of our Party and state. The objectives of our foreign policy are well known, they were specified by the 23rd Congress of our Party.

We are seeking more favorable conditions for the building of communism in our country. The building of communism is a concern of vital importance to the Soviet people, their great goal. But to carry on communist construction also means fulfilling our internationalist duty to the working class of the world, to the liberation movement. It means contributing in decisive measure to the world revolution, to the liberation of all peoples.

A major objective of Soviet foreign policy is to build up the might and unity of the socialist world system. This meets the interests of the Soviet Union and the fraternal socialist countries, as well as the interests of the working people of all countries. For the mightier and the more solidly united the socialist system, the stronger its influence on world developments.

Our invariable policy is to give full support to the peoples upholding their freedom and independence against imperialism, to assist the liberation and revolutionary movement. We see this as our sacred internationalist duty. It also meets the interests of our socialist country.

Soviet foreign policy is aimed at waging a steady and resolute fight against the imperialist policy of aggression, for peace, against a nuclear world war, for the establishment of the principles of peaceful coexistence. This is in the best interest of our people. It is also in the best interest of all other peoples of the world, for

*Condensed from **Pravda**, June 11, 1966.

a new world war would claim incalculable sacrifices and cause untold suffering.

The aims of our foreign policy are such that, as well as being supported by the Soviet people, they earn us the heartfelt sympathy of other peoples, of all working men and women, all people of goodwill who cherishing peace and progress. This is a source of the tremendous impact of the Leninist foreign policy of our Party and state.

Our young people, let alone the older generation, are witnesses to tremendous changes in the world. Whether we take a period of twenty, fifteen or ten years, we see the peoples advancing irresistibly to freedom from capitalist exploitation and bondage, to national independence, see the balance of forces changing steadily in favor of socialism, peace and progress.

But this general trend of world development should not prevent us from seeing the dangers of the present international situation is fraught with. Imperialism, an enemy of socialism and peace, still commands considerable strength. The imperialists refuse to leave the historical scene of their own free will. They use every opportunity to intensify their activity and to counterattack. Evidence of this is the imperialists' acts of aggression—the criminal U.S. war in Vietnam, America's provocations against Cuba, intrigues against the countries that have rid themselves of colonialism, the revival of German militarism in the FRG, West Germany's revanchist claims. These are realities which have aggravated the international situation, and we must draw proper conclusions from them.

As we combat the war menace and imperialist intrigue it is our primary duty to strengthen our country, a bulwark of peace and the security of the peoples of the earth. The courage and heroism of the Soviet people are known to the world. The Soviet people have gone through a hard and glorious school of struggle and have won victories of historic significance. Our Party and people know well the road they have to follow in defending their country, the great gains of socialism, the cause of peace and progress.

Today our country must devote still greater energy and attention to the strengthening of its defences. We will keep our armed forces up to the highest standard and maintain their superiority, so that at any moment they can deliver a crushing rebuff to the aggressor.

The Party says openly to the people that our spending for the armed forces and armaments is a big burden on our budget and our national economy. We would have liked to speed our advance to communism by easing at least part of this burden off our shoulders. But the situation prevents us from doing so for the time being. All Soviet people know well the price they would have to pay for

being inadequately prepared to repulse aggression, and they fully support the policy of the Party and the government aimed at increasing the defense might of our country.

The present international situation brings us to the conclusion that closing the ranks of the world Communist movement is an increasingly imperative task. The Central Committee of the Party is doing all in its power to accomplish this task.

You are familiar with the tremendous effort made lately in this direction. It has produced good results. The relations between the CPSU and the other Communist parties which are aware of the importance of the unity of our glorious movement, especially at so crucial a moment in history as now, have become closer and friendlier.

Lately there has been a growing desire for more resolute action to promote world Communist unity. We are well aware of the obstacles and difficulties that will have to be overcome in achieving this goal.

But we also realize the vast importance of the unity of the international army of Communists for the destinies of peace and revolution, for the fortunes of mankind. This is why we consider it our duty to work steadfastly and patiently, in common with other fraternal parties, for world Communist unity on Marxist-Leninist principles.

Our Party is convinced that all who cherish the cause of victory over imperialism, the cause of world socialism, will rally in the one international army of Communists.

We attach great importance to closer friendship and cooperation with the new free states of Africa and Asia. We feel certain that more extensive relations with these states will benefit our peoples, the forces of freedom and progress, and world peace.

The situation obliges us to continue working actively for a constructive solution of international problems, steadfastly to strive for the unity of all peace forces, without refusing to cooperate with political leaders and groups in the West capable of a sober approach to pressing international issues.

The 23rd Congress put forward a broad and concrete program of positive measures toward creating a healthier international climate. Our program provides for the settlement of the more important and challenging international problems, including, first and foremost, the U.S. war of aggression in Vietnam and the problem of European security.

Our invariable position is that the U.S. aggression against the Vietnamese people must stop and that the Vietnamese question must be settled on the basic of the legitimate demands of the government of the DRV and the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam.

The world is coming to realize that the U.S. imperialists are sustaining a serious defeat in Vietnam. Their plan to quell the liberation fight of the people of that country quickly and easily has suffered a complete fiasco. This adventurous plan was foiled by the mass heroism of the Vietnamese patriots, and by the growing support their fight has been receiving from the socialist community, the labor and national-liberation movements, and all fair-minded people the world over.

Instead of winning easy victories as they had expected, the U.S. invaders came up against a protracted and hopeless war claiming more and more sacrifices. In view of their atrocities against the Vietnamese people, the United States is being isolated more and more in the world.

The world-wide movement of solidarity with the Vietnamese people is expanding. We will do all in our power to establish a united anti-imperialist front in support of heroic Vietnam, to make this front increasingly active and effective.

The Soviet people are linked with the gallant people of Vietnam by bonds of fraternal friendship and fighting solidarity. Our country and other socialist countries render the Vietnamese people the assistance they need in their just fight, and will continue to render it on a growing scale.

Our assistance is varied. It is military and economic aid, as well as active political support for our Vietnamese brothers. We are taking new measures and exerting further efforts to hasten the victory of the courageous people of Vietnam. And we are confident that the Vietnamese people will win.

The situation in Europe is fraught with serious dangers. There are, first of all, the revanchist claims of the West German militarists, and their persistent attempts to gain access to nuclear weapons with U.S. help. The policy pursued by the U.S. and West German imperialists has led to the division of Europe into opposing military blocs, has turned this continent into a huge arsenal of deadly weapons, and has created the danger of the emergence of a new seedbed of war that would inevitably develop into a world-wide conflagration.

That is why it is so important to bring about a radical turn in European affairs. We had precisely this aim in view when we advanced proposals for thoroughly improving the situation in Europe, ending the split of Europe into military blocs, and fostering peaceful, mutually beneficial cooperation between all European countries. Europe, the continent where two world wars have broken out in the past five decades, must become a continent of peace and collective security. This is the substance of the proposals made by the Soviet Union and other socialist countries.

We consider this objective realistic. In Western Europe, sound

trends prompted by the national interests of the European peoples have been gaining ground of late. We note with satisfaction positive changes in our relations with a number of West European powers.

This applies above all to France with whose people our people are linked by traditional bonds of friendship and cooperation. Further advances in Soviet-French relations would help to create an atmosphere favorable to greater security and closer cooperation in Europe. In our view, there are problems on which the Soviet Union and France could cooperate in the interests of the peoples of the two countries, in the interest of European peace.

Our relations with Italy are improving. The relations between our country and Finland, Sweden, Denmark and a number of other countries are developing favorably.

The Soviet Union stands for close relations and cooperation with all European countries on the principles of peaceful coexistence, of peace and security in Europe and the rest of the world.

The solution of these major problems—ending the U.S. aggression in Vietnam and safeguarding European security—would reverse the world situation and make it easier to attain other goals important to the peoples, such as stopping the arms race and the proliferation of nuclear weapons, and bringing about controlled and universal disarmament.

To sum up, we may say that the international position of the Soviet Union is solid. Our country's prestige is high. We have true friends—the bonds of the fraternal alliance linking the socialist countries are becoming stronger, our friendship and solidarity with the revolutionary and progressive forces of the world are gaining in depth. The peoples of all continents regard the Soviet Union as a dependable bulwark of world peace.

The Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Soviet state are following their Leninist course with firm step. We will persevere in this policy as we draw on the unanimous support of our people, the support of our friends and allies, and the sympathy of the world of progressive mankind.

We are grateful to the peoples and governments who support our effort for peace and security, for the national independence of the peoples, against imperialism, against violence and other evils, for free life for all nations.

STATEMENT BY THE SOVIET GOVERNMENT

Aircraft of the U.S. Air Force have raided a number of objectives on the outskirts of Hanoi, capital of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, and Haiphong, the main seaport of that country.

The U.S. air bombing of the Hanoi and Haiphong areas is a particularly dangerous development. It shows that the U.S. government has set out to extend the disgraceful war against the DRV and the whole Vietnamese people. There are reports to the effect that Washington is making barbarous plans to destroy dams and dikes in North Vietnam, which may endanger the lives of hundreds of thousands of people and deprive them of food and shelter.

These crimes, committed on direct instructions from the U.S. government, have deeply angered the world. The Soviet people and other peace-loving peoples of the world condemn the aggressive circles of the USA for their crimes against the Vietnamese people. The United States grossly violates international law and the Geneva agreements on Indochina, putting force, and nothing but force, above the most elementary moral and legal standards accepted in relations between men and states.

The U.S. militarists' new piratical raids in Vietnam show the world once again that the U.S. government's talk about its desire for a "peaceful settlement" in Vietnam is no more than empty words.

The Vietnamese people did not flinch in the face of the piratical U.S. attack. They counter the intervention in South Vietnam of hundreds of thousands of American troops armed with the latest weapons, and the raids on DRV territory with an unshakable resolve to maintain the freedom and independence of their country, with the determination to defeat the foreign invaders.

The lives of thousands of young Americans are the price the American people are having to pay for the U.S. rulers' criminal policy in Vietnam. Continuing and extending the war of aggression against Vietnam will lead to the unjustified loss of more American lives. Those who shape U.S. foreign policy, and who are motivated by political ambitions and spurred on by the war-industry monopolies, are dragging the country into further ventures imperilling world peace and spelling nothing but dishonor and disgrace for the United States.

Escalating the war will never bring the Vietnamese people to their knees, will never make them renounce their inalienable right to shape their own destiny. A solution to the Vietnamese

*Pravda, July 1, 1966.

problem can only be found on the basis of the programs put forward by the DRV government and the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam. The way to peace in Vietnam lies through the discontinuance of foreign aggression and interference in the internal affairs of the Vietnamese people. The U.S. armed forces must be withdrawn from Vietnam.

The Vietnamese people's heroic fight against the aggressors is widely supported by the progressive forces of the world.

The Soviet Union has been rendering the Democratic Republic of Vietnam every form of assistance—political, economic and defense—in its fight against the imperialist attack, and will continue to do so. The Soviet people have been supporting, and will continue to support, the liberation struggle of the people of South Vietnam for national independence, democracy, peace and national unification. This support will be extended on such a scale as is necessary to help the Vietnamese people to uphold their just cause.

The criminal raids on the Hanoi and Haiphong areas—evidence of a further extension of the piratical U.S. war against the Vietnamese people—are aggravating the situation in the Vietnam area and the whole international situation. No state, however, distant from Vietnam, and no government showing real and not ostentatious concern for peace can remain indifferent to this.

The Soviet government feels confident that the peoples and governments of those states which want to avoid a dangerous aggravation of the international situation and an extension of the war of aggression begun by the USA will come out resolutely for an end to the U.S. war against Vietnam, in defense of the just cause of the Vietnamese people.

EXCERPT FROM ZENON KLISZKO'S SPEECH

Our people are grateful to the socialist system, which has provided conditions for the fraternal Polish-Soviet alliance, for cooperation and alliance with all Poland's neighbors. They are grateful for the possibility to live and work in the Baltic area feeling completely safe. It is without any apprehension for the inviolability of our frontiers but with concern about the destiny of peace on this continent and elsewhere in the world—a concern common to all the peoples of Europe—that we now see West Germany seeking a revision of frontiers and making revanchist insinuations.

There is no problem of frontiers in Europe today because the frontiers were established in final form the the Potsdam agreements. But the problem of European security and peace has yet to be solved, and all other problems, primarily that of reunifying Germany, should be subordinated to it.

Yet the Bonn politicians cannot understand or refuse to understand this. Contrary to the new trends toward a political détente in Europe, the West German government continues its cold war policy aimed at aggravating divergences and antagonisms on our continent. The widely advertised "initiatives" lately put forward by that government are, in effect, an attempt to impart the sembalance of goodwill to an old and barren policy, or merely a tactical game that in no way modifies the actual aims. This was also the meaning of the March note of Bonn declaring the intention to enter into "negotiations" with Poland and other socialist countries and yet cynically reaffirming Bonn's territorial claims and the demand for "joint control" over atomic weapons. It is impossible to read into West Germany's manoeuvres a sincere desire for détente and security in Europe.

On the contrary, all the lates maneuvring of Bonn has been aimed at stepping up West Germany's policy intended to engulf the other German state, the German Democratic Republic. The proposals contained in the West German note I have mentioned, and the plan to float a trial balloon in the form of Berzel's* recent "bombshell' serve the same purpose.

However, the Bonn policy-makers are very wrong if they expect to "unify" Germany by seizing the GDR, a state which has broken with imperialist and revanchist policies and is building socialism, playing an important part in the maintenance of European peace

*Abridged from **Trybuna Ludu**, June 23, 1966. Zenon Kliszko, member of the Political Bureau and Secretary of the CC PUWP, addressed an open-air meeting in Puck, Poland.
*Chairman of the CDU/CSU group in the Bundestag.—Ed.

and security. The security of the GDR and of its Elbe frontier are inseparable from the security of Poland and the other Warsaw Treaty countries. The Bonn rulers are wasting their time if they think they will some day succeeded in moving the Bundeswehr from the Elbe to the Oder and Neisse. They are indulging in an illusion if they think they can "unify" Germany by extending the rule of West German imperialism and militarism to the whole of Germany and in this way create a larger bridgehead for further expansionist ventures.

Bonn policy lack a sense of reality. It is a blind policy of daydreams about revenge, about nullifying the results of World War II, during which the German imperialists were defeated and had to surrender unconditionally.

Some Western politicians accuse us of disregarding the new forces in West Germany. They are wrong. We see that in West Germany there are also forces which realize the necessity for a détente and are trying to resist Bonn's dangerous policy. But these forces are still weak and are being terrorized. They still exercise too little influence on the policies of the FRG, which are dominated by the idea of continuing and accentuating the state of cold war in Europe.

West Germany is the only European state seeking a revision of existing frontiers. It is the only non-nuclear state in the world openly seeking a share in control over nuclear weapons.

Lastly, West Germany is the only state in Europe which in a perfectly absurd manner links the problems of lessening tension in Europe with the adoption of preliminary measures that Bonn evidently thinks should consist in unifying Germany on Bonn's own model. Yet it is not the existence of the two German states that causes tension. Indeed, it is because of tension, one of the main sources of which is the policy of Bonn, that the prospect of unifying Germany remains dim. The German people's legitimate desire for unifification can be met only if there is a détente in Europe, if the West German government recognizes Germany's existing frontiers, and renounces nuclear arms in any form. Lastly, it can be met through a gradual rapproachement of the two German states.

A unified Germany can come into being only as a peace-loving and democratic state that would constitute no threat to Europe. All other concepts of unification would lead not to the reunification of Germany but into an impasse since they would run counter to the fundamental interests of European security and peace, and to the most vital interests of the peoples of this continent. This is why West Germany should, if it really wants to see the situation in Europe normalized, change not the label or the tactic, but the

main line of its policy by recognizing, first of all, the situation that has shaped in Europe.

The peoples of Europe are striving for a mutual rapproachement. They want to safeguard themselves against being involved in revanchist ventures with which Bonn policy has been fraught to date. An expression of the desire for an international détente and for closer relations between Western and Eastern Europe is the present foreign policy of France, which President de Gaulle is steadily implementing. The socialist countries, including our own country, which is successfully promoting its relations with France, meet that policy half-way. General de Gaulle is on an official visit in the Soviet Union. We are convinced that his visit will contribute substantially to a European détente and to the development of the prospect of a new European policy that has been evident for some time.

Establishing a system of all-European security should be a natural and logical object of this policy. Of course, this aim is not easy to attain, but we should advance to it step by step as we rally all European nations for a common effort. Today it is particularly necessary to prevent an intensification of the nuclear arms race in Europe. The Federal Republic of Germany should give up its nuclear claims. All attempts at putting these claims through whatever the form in which they are made, would do away with the chances of concluding a treaty on nuclear non-proliferation. They would destroy the chances of a favorable solution of the German problem and endanger peace in Europe. The socialist countries will never agree to the West German imperialists being equipped with nuclear arms.

We are compelled to attach particular importance to the issue of European security now that the world situation as a whole is strained as a result of the U.S. war of aggression against the Vietnamese people, a war that is a mockery of international law. Our people and state identify themselves with the Vietnamese people in their just war, which they will undoubtedly win. Almost every European country, except West Germany, is aware of the dangers which the U.S. policy of aggression spells for world peace. To end the U.S. venture in Vietnam and guarantee the sovereign rights of the Vietnamese people are demands expressing the vital interests of the world, including Europe.

The United States must stop bombing the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and withdraw its forces from South Vietnam. The program for solving the problem of Vietnam put forward by the DRV and the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam constitutes the only fair basis for a peaceful settlement. Our country fully supports this program.

All the problems of peace and security in Europe and elsewhere are common to the peoples of our continent.

With the present alignment of forces in Europe and the rest of the world, it is perfectly possible to turn the Baltic sea, once an arena of numerous armed conflicts, into a sea of peace and co-operation among nations. As for Poland, it is doing all in its power to this end. We develop friendly relations with our Scandinavian neighbors on the Baltic, and will continue to do so. We appreciate and support every initiative aimed at calling a halt to the arms race in this area, particularly with regard to nuclear weapons. We maintain that the sea should bring the nations closer together and not separate them, and that international cooperation on the Baltic coast serves the interests of all European countries.

RESULTS OF THE MUNICIPAL ELECTIONS

The Leadership of the Italian Communist Party has made a preliminary study of the election results, which show that in some of the more important centres, such as Genoa, Forli and Florence, the Communists have registered indisputable and noteworthy gains, going beyond the advanced positions reached at previous elections. Elsewhere the Communists have achieved varying results, which often reflected the traditional distinctions between political and administrative elections, as well as the difficulties of the objective situation in a large part of the South. Taken as a whole, the ICP on June 12 strengthened its positions in comparison with the results of the general election of 1963. This reveals the artificial and false character of the attempt of the Christian Democratic Party and the employers' big press to concentrate the attention of public opinion on the alleged trend toward regress in the ICP.

The Centre-Left failed to win a majority in some of the more important municipalities. The presence of the ICP and the cooperation of the Lefts had a decisive effect on the constitution of democratic **Giunte.***

But even in municipal councils like that of Rome, where the Centre-Left secured 41 seats and the ICP increased the number of its representatives by two, the conspicious swing of the CDP to the right and the very orientation of its elected condidates cannot but pose once again the problem of the heterogenity of the Centre-Left majority and of its inability to pursue a renovating policy.

Nor can this policy be better guaranteed as a result of the gains of the Italian Social-Democratic Party, and the meaning of this party's success should prompt all labor parties, particularly the Italian Socialist Party, to do some hard thinking.

The ICP Leadership reaffirms that the Communists must carry on the broadest possible unitary action against the Centre-Left, which is degenerating, for the formation of a new majority. In this connection it stresses that establishing the correct relationship between all democratic and Left forces, secular and Catholic alike, are more imperative than ever fo rensuring the functioning of the elected bodies, the solution of the problems of the masses and the country, and the development of democracy. This would meet, above all else, the most urgent requirements of the working people, who today wage arduous struggles actively supported by the entire democratic alignment.

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*A communication by the ICP Leadership published in **l'Unita**, June 17, 1966. The elections were held on June 12.

*Executive bodies of the municipalities.—**Ed.**

These new relationships are sought, without any discrimination, by those forces now represented in the government majority that are concerned with the functioning of the democratic institutions and with the need of social progress, and by the Left opposition forces, among which the election results have put the Italian Socialist Party of Proletarian Unity, having lent it greater influence and prestige.

The ICP Leadership proposes:

(1) that where the Lefts have won a majority, or where the Centre-Left cannot form a local administration, every necessary initiative be taken to reach a policy agreement and to avoid recourse to the prefectural commissar* or to the support of Right-wing groups;

(2) that in all local bodies an effort be made, with a view to overcoming the grave crisis they are passing through, to achieve a fruitful cooperation of all the forces which intend with due regard to the sentiments expressed by the electorate to oppose the CPD claim to hegemony and to find positive solutions to the most vital and urgent problems.

The ICP Leadership calls on all Communist organizations to promote these unitary proposals promptly and vigorously, and to make every citizen aware of the vital importance of a democratic solution based on the study of specific problems and on the discussion of programs.

The ICP Leadership warmly thanks the electorate, all the federations and every member of the Party who contributed to the election campaign with tenacity and fervor. At the same time it stresses the need of a critical analysis of the work done and the results achieved, and the necessity for new prompt action to reinforce the Party and strengthen its links with the masses, to carry forward the recruiting campaign and the campaign for the Communist press.

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*Representative of the government.—**Ed.**

SPEECH BY C. H. HERMANSSON

It is a little more than two years since the previous congress of the Communist Party of Sweden met. The next congress is to be held in May 1967, in connection with the fiftieth anniversary of the Party. It will dicuss drafts of the new Program and Rules. The draft Rules are under discussion in the Party organizations and the draft Program will be circulated for discussion after the elections.

You will recall that the previous congress of our Party advanced the slogan of renovating Swedish policy on socialist lines. What does this slogan imply? In our view, it comprises, first and foremost, the following three demands:

First, the entire labor movement should again base its policies and activities on clearly-defined socialist objectives.

Second, the Communist Party should develop a socialist strategy explicitly and convincingly linking the working people's fight for everyday demands with the necessary long-range changes.

Third, the Communist Party should carry on its political and organizing work in such a way as to become a vital democratic factor for social development.

If we view the overall situation in the country since the Party congress in terms of the Swedish perspective proper, development as a whole has been favorable. It has been distinguished by an obvious leftward shift in public opinion, which reflected itself, among other things, in a number of political decision. For the first time after many long years Left-wing groups, including the Social Democrats, are coming out in organized fashion.

An expression of these sentiments and trends, primarily in the trade unions, was the gains scored by the Communist Party at the last general election. In recent years it has been interesting to note that the positions of the trade union movement and the CP on many issues coincided more often and to a greater degree than those of the former and the Social-Democratic government. On many issues radical opinion compelled the authorities to take measures which were an obvious success compared with former polices. This is evident, specifically, from the following facts:

The government did not accept the advice of the Social-Democratic group in the state commission for taxation policy. Indeed, the government this year has shown an inclination to act on the Communist proposal for preventing the further growth of military spending;

we note a tougher course than before in the policy of taxing

*Delivered to the National Conference of the CPS. Abridged from **Ny Dag**, No. 21, 1966.

dividends and profits from the sale of real estate, although more drastic measures would be desirable in principle;

for a number of years our Party has insisted that sick benefits be paid throughout the period of illness and that there be no days on which no benefit is paid; the procedure is being revised now;

more attention is now paid to the industrial development of the remote and sparsely populated area of the country and to the position of the low-paid categories;

during the 1964 election campaign the Communists were virtually alone in demanding measures against price increases; today all the political parties want the same.

The activity of the Communist Party has helped to orient Swedish policy leftwards. But the decisive factors were international developments, on the one hand, and social changes at home, on the other.

It follows that as far as practical politics are concerned, our Party has made some progress. Our proposals carry weight both with public opinion and in paliamentary quarters. However, we have yet to make a deep analysis of the present economic, social and political situation if we are to show the working people how practical development in our country can lead to socialism. More and more people are beginning to question the possibility of arriving at socialism by following the road which the majority of the Swedish labor movement has been following so far. The nationalized industries and the social reforms that have been carried out tend to adapt themelves to the capitalist system and to become its props. The upper crust of the labor movement and other mass movements are becoming part of a ruling social elite, which is ready to accept anytihng but radical social changes.

In what ways could the working people effect socialist changes indispensable for the real emancipation of man? It is all the more necessary for a socialist party to clearly answer this question because even the solution of pressing social problems those of housing, and, the development of certain areas, the employees' influence in the enterprises—calls for changes in existing property and power relations, that is, for measures of a socialist nature.

There is now more frank and lively discussion in the Swedish labor movement than was the case earlier. The new draft of the Party Rules is intended to go further toward creating a climate favorable to this kind of open discussion. Perhaps there are those in our Party and in other parties woh think that our discussions are much too heated and that there is a need for greater discipline. It is important, of course, that every movement and every party should seek unity as a basis for maximum success. But unity and effort will never produce a lasting effect unless based on free discussion and recognized necessity.

The Swedish class society persists. This expresses itself in the omnipotence of the monopolies in the economic sphere, in the distribution of property and incomes. It expresses itself in the spheres of justice, health, the right to higher education and to hold key government and economic posts.

We do not minimize the obvious gains of the labor movement as regards the standard of living, social security and the influence of the working people on society. The Communist Party has taken an active part in this struggle ever since it came into being, and it is proud of the positions won by the labor movement through unity. But we realize how much more has yet to be done if society is to be reorganized according to socialist ideals, and the difficulties we will have to overcome in the process.

For many decades the labor movement in Sweden has had a majority in the Riksdag, and the Social-Democratic Party has for more than thirty years been at the helm. Needless to say our criticism refers not to the reforms that have been carried out, but to the fact that all this is nothing more than attempts to manage capitalist society. The entire political strategy based on collaboration is bound to lead to defeat.

Should the Social Democratic persevere in this policy, they risk being defeated in the general election as well. What we need is that the labor movement adopts a new policy whose main point should be not to shrink from conflict with the capitalists and the monopolies if their interests prevent the solution of important social problems. The labor movement in our country has been following different roads and today we must choose between a policy of collaboration with big capital and a policy of combating it.

We are for the unity and cohesion of the labor movement in the fight for common interests and goals. We are always willing to begin a discussion on how the labor movement can best coordinate its political activity in order to become an influential factor in social development. But, of course, there can be no question of solving the problem of working-class unity mechanically. The different views which really exist should express themselves in organizational and political terms under a democratic system.

We have grounds to count on further Communist gains at the coming election, for the situation is favorable in this respect. Whether we actually win them will depend in decisive measure on the work Party members and sympathizers do in the months ahead.

Our Party is inspired by optimism and we are convinced that some efficient campaigning will be done. In the autumn election the Communist Party will come forward as the only organized Left-wing party. Whoever wants the Left to grow will back the Communists. A Communist victory in the election will be another step to the left in Swedish policy.

INTERVIEW WITH NICOLAE CEAUSESCU BY A GROUP OF ITALIAN JOURNALISTS

Q. How is Rumania's economic cooperation with the countries affiliated to the Council of Mutual Economic Aid and the other socialist countries progressing?

A. We give a great deal of attention to the promotion of economic exchange and all-round fraternal cooperation with all socialist countries. It is fair to say that there economic relations are on the whole making good progress. Over 60 per cent of our foreign trade is with the socialist countries, the Soviet Union accounting for more than 35 per cent of it. I think these figures speak for themselves. Economic agreements, signed with almost all socialist countries, provide for a substantial increase in the volume of exchange between now and 1970.

I would like to stress that we are developing economic relations with the CMEA countries as well as with the other socialist countries. We do not regard the existence of the CMEA as a hindrance to expanding cooperation between countries in the socialist world system.

At the same time we advocate and act in favor of increasing cooperation with all the countries of the world, with due regard to the international division of labor. Like the other socialist countries, we carry on trade and scientific, technological and cultural cooperation with a number of capitalist countries and with new independent states.

In our relations with socialist and non-socialist countries alike, we advocate a search for the most suitable forms of cooperation in the production sphere.

We believe respect for national independence and sovereignty, complete equality, mutual benefit and non-interference in internal affairs to be the basis for promoting cooperation between countries, irrespective of their social political systems.

Q. Ninth Congress documents and certain speeches made by you and other Rumanian leaders repeatedly stressed problems relating to national tradition. What do those references mean?

A. To make this problem quite clear, I wish to note that our appraisal of the evolution of modern society is based, among other things, on our conviction that nations play an important part in the development of human society generally and, obviously, in the building of socialism and communism, and will do so for a long

*Abridged from **Scintela**, June 16, 1966.

time to come. Lenin emphasized this, saying that nations would persist even when communism had triumphed on a world scale.

You know that socialism has triumphed in only fourteen countries. The capitalist system still exists in many countries, including economically developed ones. A grim struggle is going on in the world to overthrow imperialist and colonalist tyranny. Many peoples are fighting for national liberation, striving to unite and form a single, free nation. Ignoring this circumstance could only prejudice the overall progress of the revolutionary movement and of the fight for socialism. You also know that socialism has triumphed in countries that have attained different socio-economic levels and are at different stages of national development. The relations between socialist countries must therefore guarantee and stimulate the development of every nation, every socialist state, the flourishing of free and equal socialist countries.

In the light of these considerations you will realize the necessity for having a sound knowledge of the people's past at various stages in the development of human society, of their fight for national and social liberation—of the factors that fostered and speeded their development and of those that hindered progress. This is why we consider it necessary to know the progressive traditions in the life and struggle of our people and to use them in building a socialist civilization.

For centuries the Rumanian people lived under foreign tyranny. They waged a strenuous fight and succeeded through sacrifice in maintaining their nationhood. History has shown more than once, and this applies to other countries as well, that there are no insurmountable obstacles in the struggle to promote and establish the nationhood of peoples.

The flourishing of any socialist state does not contradict socialist internationalism and international solidarity. Indeed, the stronger every socialist state and every socialist nation, the greater will be the development of fraternal cooperation and solidarity between socialist countries, the unity and strength of the socialist world system, and the higher the prestige of this nation and its influence on the development of modern society and on international events.

Q. I recent years it has become evident that the problems of European security can be discussed on a new basis. What is Rumania's position on this matter and what contribution can your country make in this field?

A. I would like to begin by stressing that, as I see it, the world forces advocating the solution of international problem in the spirit of cooperation between people have lately been growing.

True, we are in the presence of a series of imperialist acts of aggression, particularly on the part of the U.S. imperialists: interference in the internal affairs of other countries, the organization of

military conspiracies and aggression. I have in mind the U.S. aggression in Vietnam, the events in Indonesia and Ghana, the intervention and pressure the U.S. imperialists resort to in Latin America, Asia and Africa. These are attempts by reaction to hold up the general process of the revolutionary democratic and national movement, to regain lost positions. I think these circles may be said to take advantage of the differences existing between socialist countries, in the labor and Communist movement.

All this notwithstanding, an analysis of international developments shows that increasingly broader popular forces are coming out against the policy of strength pursued by the U.S. imperialists, for the solution of international problems through agreement between peoples.

In almost every European country today there is a desire to find new approaches to problems of the continent. Europe has played an important role in the development of civilization, in the creation of the material and spiritual wealth of the nations. The peoples of Europe realize that a new world war, one with nuclear weapons, would caue enormous suffering to mankind. Hence their effort to preclude the possibility of a new world war.

I would like to stress the changes that are taking place in this respect also at the top in certain capitalist countries. In recent months we have had meetings and talks with the representatives of many countreis, including NATO members. Almost all of them, irrespective of their political position, were concerned about the U.S. policy of aggression, and showed a desire to dissociate themselves in one form or another from that policy, to pursue an independent policy. These tendencies cannot be expected to bear fruit overnight, but they will develop favorably if the socialist countries, the Communist parties and the anti-imperialist forces generally encourage and support them.

During those talks we registered an interest and a desire shown in different forms and from different standpoints, of course, to safeguard the security of our continent by establishing equal relations based on respect for national independence and sovereignty, on non-interference in the interal affairs of other countries. A number of countries made proposals to that effect. As for Rumania, last autumn it was the initiator of a resolution, approved by the U.N., on good-neighborly relations between European countries with different social systems, an initiative to which eight co-author countries, socialist and non-socialist, adhered.

Lately the problem of European security has been discussed more and more often in political quarters and in the press, which stress that favorable conditions have developed for seeking solutions acceptable to every European country.

An important task in this connection is to solve the German

problem with due regard to the existence of two German states, the German Democratic Republic and the Federal Republic of Germany. The German nation, one of the great nations of Europe, should contribute to European security along with the other countries of the continent. German reunification should result from agreement between Germans, without foreign interference. Of course, I am speaking of democratic and peaceful reunification, such as would lead to the establishment of a democratic state and prevent a resurgence of German militarism and revanchism. This is in the interest of all European peoples, for each of them suffered to a greater or lesser degree from the aggessiveness of German imperialism.

We must not forget that active in Europe are also reactionary forces which resist favorable trends, and will go on resisting them. You know that the U.S. imperialists back the most reactionary European circles, primarily the militarist and revanchist forces in the FRG, which are keen on undermining European security. For this reason, European security can be only a result of widespread activity, of stubborn struggle to expose and isolate the reactionaries. It also hinges on the fight against the policy of aggression pursued by the USA and the militarist and revanchist circles in West Germany.

We consider that there are opportunities for this struggle to develop and to yield favorable results.

Q. Do the Rumanian comrades think the situation in Europe today makes it possible to pose the question of abolishing military blocs?

A. The existence of NATO, an aggressive military pact, is an obstacle to the organization of European security. The development of peaceful cooperation between peoples in closely linked with the abolition of military pacts and of the division of Europe into military blocs, the withdrawal of non-European troops and, in general, the pulling back of all foreign troops into the boundaries of their national states, with the dismantling of military bases and the banning of atomic arms. In this sense we point to the necessity for dissolving military blocs, both NATO and the Warsaw Treaty organization. To be sure, there can be no question of abolishing the Warsaw military pact as long as NATO exists. As long as the aggressive Western bloc is there and U.S. troops remain in Europe, the socialist countries must exercise vigilance, steadily strengthen their defences, and be prepared to thwart any attempt at aggression against them and to defend peace in Europe. But military blocs, including the Warsaw pact, would be out of place in a Europe where relations are based on respect for the sovereignty and independence of the peoples.

Another problem in the minds of the peoples is that of atomic

arms. Of course, the most radical and effective solution would be completely to destroy all stockpiles of atomic arms. But until this happens it is necessary to search for ways of eliminating the danger of these arms being used. Establishing denuclearized zones would meet this requirement if accompanied by a commitment of the nuclear powers not to use atomic weapons and to give relevant guarantees to the non-nuclear countries. This would impel the countries concerned to renounce the acquisition of atomic weapons, and would make for atomic non-proliferation. It is very important for security and peace that the revenge-seeking militarists of the FRG should be prevented from gaining access in any form whatsoever to nuclear weapons.

Q. What do you think of the situation created by U.S. imperialist aggression against the Vietnamese people?

A. We are particularly concerned about the situation in Vietnam, first of all because the policy of extending the war seriously imperils peace.

Rumania has rendered the Vietnamese people and the DRV material, moral and political assistance from the outset, and continues to do so. Not long ago Vietnam was visited by a Rumanian delegation which stated the position of our Party and people once again, reaffirming our resolve fully to support the Vietnamese people in their just struggle. Rumania supports the courageous fight of the National Liberation Front, the only lawful spokesman of the South Vietnam population.

We consider that solving the Vietnam problem is out of the question until the U.S. aggression stops. To accept a solution of it while the U.S. forces are in South Vietnam would mean encouraging the American imperialists. This is something neither the Vietnamese people, nor, for that matter, any other people who want to live free can accept.

The U.S. aggression in Vietnam has brought protests from the peoples and from a large body of public opinion. Even capitalist countries voice their disapproval of the American policy of aggression. You know of the French position on this issue. Other countries also take a more or less open stand against U.S. interference in the internal affairs of the Vietnamese people. In the United States itself there are those who call for an end to the aggression and for the withdrawal of U.S. troops from Vietnam.

That is why we believe there are conditions for stepping up the campaign to compel the U.S. imperialists unconditionally to stop bombing the DRV and end the aggression, to have the U.S. and all other foreign troops pulled out of Vietnam, and to enable the Vietnamese people to solve their problems by themselves, without foreign interference. If all the socialist countries and the Communist and Workers' parties set aside existing differences and concen-

trate on this objective, they are bound to achieve tangible results. We consider that if the socialist countries, Communist parties, democratic and anti-imperialist movements, and all the peoples concerned act firmly and in close unity, they can bring the U.S. aggression in Vietnam to a halt.

Q. We would like you to comment on the attitude of the Rumanian Communist Party to the problem of world Communist unity.

A. The RCP sees it as a focal object of its foreign policy to develop cooperation with every socialist country and fraternal links with the Communist parties. We have good relations with all socialist countries, and these relations are developing in the interests of our parties and peoples. Our Party believes that what unites the Communist and Workers' parties is the fundamental and paramount thing and outweighs all differences of view. The common socialist system, and the joint fight for the triumph of the cause of socialism and peace constitute the foundation on which we can build the unity of the socialist countries and the cohesion of the Communist and Working-class movement.

We think it normal that due to existing distinctions in the economic and historical development of the various countries, there appear different interpretations and opinions on a number of political and social issues, and different solutions to the problems of socialist construction or the revolutionary struggle. The discussion of these problems should not affect the cooperation and unity of the socialist countries and the Communist and Workers' parties, provided it is done in an objective and scientific spirit, in a spirit of mutual respect and confidence, wth the aim of clearing up matters.

We maintain the right of each autonomously to evolve its own political line, its strategy and tactics, in keeping with the specific conditions in which it is operating. We think this is the only way in which the Communist parties can become true spokesmen of the mass of the people and play the decisive role in the political life of their countries.

We think it is no longer possible to have one centre elaborating a single line and giving instructions to all Communist parties. This was recognized when, in 1943, the Third International decided to dissolve itself. Equality is the only basis on which relations of cooperation between Communist parties can be established and the unity of the world Communist and Working-class movement promoted.

As regards the relations between our Party and the Italian Communist Party, we consider them good. We have had exchanges of views with the ICP leadership and have exchanged delegations. We plan similar exchanges this year. We think fraternal internationalist cooperation between the RCP and the ICP has every opportunity of making steady progress. Thereby the two parties will help to

strengthen the unity of the world Communist and Working-class movement.

THE 8th PLENUM OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF ISRAEL

The 8th Plenum was held on the 20th and 21st of April 1966 with the participation of members of the Central Control Commission. Comrade Pinhas Tubin, member of the secretariat of the Central Committee, was chairman of the session.

The members of the delegation to the 23rd Congress of the Soviet Communist Party, the General Secretary C. Shmuel Mikunis, and Moshe Sneh, member of the Political Bureau and secretary of the Central Committee, reported on their mission.

After an extensive discussion in which most of the participants of the session took part, the following resolution was adopted:

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of Israel, after having heard the report by the members of the delegation to the 23rd Congress of the CPSU, Comrade S. Mikunis and M. Sneh approved the report and confirmed their mission.

The CC of the Communist Party of Israel welcomes the resolutions of the 23rd Congress of the CPSU and wishes the great Party of Lenin, the whole Soviet people, that the resolutions of the Congress may be implemented in full, for the benefit of the Communist upbuilding in the Soviet Union, for the caue of peace, democracy, national independence and socialism in the whole world.

The successful implementation of the Five-Year Plan for 1966-1970, the growth of the economic and defensive potential of the Soviet Union, a considerable increase of the living standards of the Soviet people, further extension and deepening of Soviet democratism, further achievements in the implementation of the Leninist national policy, further successes of the Soviet policy of peace, all these will deal additional blows to the imperialist-aggressive reaction. All these will add impetus to the revolutionary movements of national and social liberation all over the world.

The Central Committee of the CP of Israel expresses its unreserved solidarity with the Communist Party of the Soviet Union in its efforts to establish the first communist society in history, in its aid to the liberation movements of all peoples, in its noble struggle to safeguard peace throughout the world.

*Abridged from the Information Bulletin of the CP of Israel, May 1966.

FORTY YEARS OF STRUGGLE FOR THE MOTHERLAND AND THE PEOPLE

STATEMENT OF THE CC, COMMUNIST PARTY OF ECUADOR

May 23, forty years ago, saw the founding of the Socialist Party of Ecuador, which later became the Communist Party. The birth of the Party was the embodiment of the freedom-loving aspirations and traditions of the Ecuadoran people, a reflection of the achievements of the world working-class movement and above all the Great October Socialist Revolution, which transformed tsarist Russia into the first state of the victorious proletariat, the embodiment of Marxist-Leninist ideology which our young working class began to embrace.

Behind us are forty years of struggle and work on all fronts, forty years of our Party's tireless struggle in behalf of the Ecuadoran people, the Ecuadoran nation, for their progress and independence. All these years we have been working to organize the masses, fighting common battles, winning common victories and suffering common hardships, being part of them, and endeavoring to be in their van.

FOR DEMOCRACY

All those years we have been in the front ranks of the fighters for freedom and democracy.

We have always been with the people, fighting for freedom and civil rights against all the dictatorships, especially the last one by military junta, and against all anti-popular oligarchic governments.

We have always fought, and will continue to fight, for greater democratic guarantees in the country.

Now as well, adhering to this invariable stand, we are fighting for a popular, democratic and patriotic government which would realize the aspiration of the people.

Our immediate objective is a popular and sovereign Constituent Assembbly which would not only adopt a democratic constitution but also give legal enactment to the popular striving for basic reforms.

FREEDOM FOR THE PEASANTS

We are waging an unremitting struggle to improve the life of the rural population, against the feudal oppressors, against abuse of

*Abridged from **El Pueblo**, organ of the CC, CPE, May 22, 1966.

power by the authorities, against the politicizing clergy for whom religion is a tool to serve the interests of the caciques.

Today, adhering to this invariable stand, we proclaim louder than ever before the slogan, "Land to the tiller," and insist on a genuine agrarian reform to make possible advance towards higher economic forms in the countryside, towards a cooperative, socialist way of farming.

LIBERATION FOR THE COUNTRY

It is for forty years now that imperialism has been confronted in Ecuador with stiff resistance from our Party. Opposing the economic, military and cultural domination of imperialism, U.S. imperialism in the first place, we have never slackened our struggle for the liberation of Ecuador.

We are fighting to safeguard our natural riches, oil, fish, forests, against imperialist economic penetration in all its forms from open plunder by the Alliance for Progress. We demand fair prices for our goods, opening of new markets, especially in the socialist countries; we oppose the destruction of our national culture and traditions; we are fighting for Ecuador to cease being a pawn in the hands of the U.S. State Department in world politics; we are combating U.S. spies and agent provocateurs.

Our activities have been vastly instrumental in evoking in the people a feeling of righteous protest against the imperialist rule.

Today, adhering to this invariable stand, we are redoubling our efforts to free our country from the imperialist yoke, to regain our natural wealth; we come out against any new concessions to the monopolies, for driving out of the country all those who are plundering it, for the defence of our cultural traditions, for an independent and sovereign foreign policy.

WELL-BEING FOR THE PEOPLE

Since its very inception our Party has been fighting staunchly for a better life for the people. We have always been in the front ranks of the fighters for higher wages and against the devaluation of our currency, for a better social legislation, for social security, for the rights of the young people and women.

We have greatly contributed to the formation of a trade union movement of workers, peasants and teachers, to the formation of the glorious Confederation of the Working People of Ecuador and its provincial and national federations, the Ecuadoran Federation of Indians, the Federation of the Agricultural Workers of the Coastal Zone, and hundreds of other trade union organizations.

Young Communists were among the founders of the Federation

of University Students and the Federation of High School Students; together with the Party they have been acting in defence of secular education.

Today, adhering to our invariable stand, we continue our struggle for a better life, for bread, for the land, for dwellings, for education and its secular character, for the organization of the masses, for complete trade-union freedom.

FOR PEACE

In keeping with our ideology, we have always maintained that international conflicts should be settled by peaceful means; we have always come out against militarist policies, against atomic weapons, for peaceful coexistence of states with different social and political systems.

We stand for peaceful relations with all nations.

Today, adhering to our invariable stand, we are fighting against the threat of a new war, in defense of the peoples suffering from aggression, for the principles of self-determination and non-interference, for peace among nations.

WITH LATIN AMERICA IN OUR HEARTS

We have always entertained feelings of love and affection for our brothers in struggle and suffering, the peoples of Latin America.

We are at one with the Dominican people, victim sof aggression by the criminal Yankees.

We are at one with the peoples fighting against the infamous dictatorships implanted on our continent by imperialism and reaction.

Our gaze is turned above all to socialist Cuba, the glorious free territory of America, which is an example for us and which is constantly threatened with imperialist aggression.

The Cubans can count on our solidarity and fraternal assistance. We condemn the Organization of American States, this Ministry for Colonies of the United States.

We support the decisions of the Havana Tricontinental Conference, which has expressed our striving for liberation.

FORWARD ALONG THE ROAD OF STRUGGLE!

We have been following the road of loyalty to the world Communist movement, the road of struggle to overcome the disagreements in it, for the unity of this movement as an essential condition for the victory of the peoples.

In this struggle we have employed all the means available to

us: organized and militant mass actions, parliamentary activity, election campaigns, and, when necessary, armed struggle, for instance, when we took part in the popular uprising in May 1944.

We continue to march along this road, intensifying our struggle.

We will carry on our fight for a democratic, popular and patriotic government.

- For the independence of our country and its liberation from the imperialist yoke.

For democracy and a better life for our people.

For peace among nations.

We will follow the road of the socialist countries headed by the Soviet Union, towards the building of socialist and communist society.

JOZEF LENART,

May 1966.

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SANTIAGO CARRILLO

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CP REPORT CHARTS PATH AHEAD

SUMMARY OF THE REPORT* BY GUS HALL, GENERAL SECRETARY OF THE CP, USA TO THE 18th CONGRESS OF THE PARTY

The war in Vietnam, Hall said, "casts its ugly shadow over our lives, over everything we do."

"The criminal, brutal U.S. imperialist aggression against the people of Vietnam," he said, "is the most vicious, savage, uncivilized assault on a small nation in all the annals of human history."

"We cannot rest until the last piece of U.S. military equipment, the last warship, the last plane, the last military personnel has been removed from the soil of Vietnam. We cannot rest until the people of Vietnam have the full right to determine their own affairs."

The aim of U.S. imperialism is profits, Hall declared. That "is the meaning of the unending policy of aggression, infiltration and provocation against Cuba."

For big business, Hall said, the "war orientation" is a "bonanza without precedent." He cited the vast profits gathered by the monopoly corporations.

The Administration's "war orientation" is being paid for by the people "through high taxes and high prices," by the workers "whose wages are kept down by the war-geared guidelines."

"What is wasted on useless weapons of nuclear overkill each year is enough to build 4,864 elementary schools, or 201,477 housing units, or 100,000 hospital bed units.

"The cost of each modern warplane is enough to build either 13 schools or 570 housing units."

Hall emphasized that the poverty of millions in the U.S. is being aggravated by an inflation which is eroding their living standards.

"For large numbers in the higher income groups, inflation is eating away past wage increases, past savings and reserves."

But "for the millions who live on the thin line between getting along and starvation it creates a serious crisis."

Furthermore, "when the boom withers, as it surely will, it will bring with it serious economic consequences for the millions who have been passed by in the affluence of the boom period."

"'We are now witnessing the development of state-monopoly capital into its full bloom," Hall said. "With the direct help of the

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The Worker, June, 1966.

government there is taking place an unprecedented polarization of wealth and monopoly control of finance and industry. With the direct intervention of the government our country's economic life is being totally directed into channels that serve the profit interests of the top money lords. State power is increasingly a direct economic factor — a powerful instrument for guaranteeing maximum profits to the biggest monopolies at the expense of the workers, the Negro, Puerto Rican and Mexican-American peoples, the small farmers and small businessmen."

The operation of the "unholy combination of state and monopoly," Hall said, is evident in the government's tax policies, the "so-called partnerships" between government and industry, the "industrial-military complex," and in the "cuts being made in anti-poverty programs, funds for education and other expenditures for social welfare."

Hall saw as the over-riding fact of our time that mankind is "writing 'finis' " to capitalism, the "last of the exploiting systems."

In its place, "socialism opens up the vast vistas of human progress free from the ball and chain of exploitation of man by man."

"This historic transition," he said, "takes the form of a sweeping world-wide revolutionary progress," embracing spectacular advances of the Soviet Union, the national-liberation movements, and the advances of the working class and progressive forces in the capitalist countries.

A new factor on the world scene is that "the people fighting for national liberation have arms," and "the support of the socialist world."

In the Americas, the "most dramatic breakthrough . . .is the pace-setting Cuban revolution."

The people of Latin America, including Cuba, the Dominican Republic, and Puerto Rico "must have the full support of our people," Hall declared.

The advance of the "revolutionary process," Hall said, suffered a "serious setback in Indonesia, where the savage forces of reaction have brutally and cold-bloodedly murdered hundreds of thousands of Communists and other progressive forces." It was set back also by the "Right-wing military coup in Ghana."

These repulses, however, he declared, are temporary; the "overall historical trend is irreversible."

At various times different sections of the people have forged to the front in the anti-war struggle, Hall indicated, but "at all times the movement has involved masses."

The Communist Party, Hall said, "made peace the central issue in all of our work — and every Communist is somehowe involved in some phase of this struggle."

The aim of the struggle, he said, must be "maximum mobiliza-

tion," without reference to any "preconceived form" of activity or organization.

He warned that anti-Communism, which is a "smokescreen behind which the Administration hides its war policy," is still accepted by some leaders of the peace movement. "To accept the smokescreen is to disarm the people," he declared.

In the struggle for a better life the worker "learns the meaning of class unity and class struggle." This path leads the working class to the "political arena of struggle," he said, "to socialism."

"This is not a spontaneous development." Communists and other advanced elements must strive consciously for its achievement."

Hall pointed out that the working class confronts new problems. These include "the qualitative leap in industrial technology," and the "effects of the war economy — inflation, speed-up, tax increases, the attacks and penetration of the ultra-Right, the shift of foreign investment to industrial production abroad and the resulting loss of jobs here."

Division in the working class is a "critical weakness." This includes the divisions between the organized and unorganized workers, between Negro and white, between employed and unemployed, betwen whit collar and the rest of the working class, between the youth and the older workers.

The "initiative and power" needed by the working class to meet the problems confronting it must come from the "ranks and that section of the leadership that will respond to it."

These include the "problems of labor-management relations arising from the close-knit conspiratorial ties between monopoly and the state," with the government "becoming a participant in the negotiations" as the "instrument of management, an instrument whose function is to hold wages down."

Labor must, therefore, "develop both an economic and a political power capable of breaking the government-monopoly conspiracy."

In this the working class confronts the "reactionary Meany-Lovestone-Dubinsky type of leadership," the "single most weighty factor retarding the trade union movement."

This leadership "follows a policy," Hall said, of "mild lip service to the struggles of the workers coupled with subservience to the whims of big business."

Hall charged that George Meany, president of the AFL-CIO, and Jay Lovestone, head of its international department, had transformed the department into "an arm of the Central Intelligence Agency."

"The civil rights movement, the struggle for full political, social and economic rights, has now entered upon a new stage," Hall said, because "it must now move into the realm of economic and

political equality." This includes "jobs, promotions, equality in professions, in business," an "end to the lucrative discriminatory practices in prices, rents, interest rates, insurance rates."

"It means one vote for one man. It means Negro public officials on all levels."

The key to victory in these struggles, Hall said, "lies in the fact that the working class, Negro and white, is coming eyeball to eyeball with the same foe as the civil rights movements."

The new stage of struggle for civil rights, Hall said, is concerned with the "essence of political power, with the essence of economic equality," not with merely formal integration.

Hall addressed himself to the "emotion being displayed in the press about the fact that some Negro leaders have been calling for a buildup of political power based on local levels where Negro voters constitute a majority."

After recalling the position which the party adopted on the Negro question at its last convention seven years ago, Hall said:

"Where Negro citizens are in the majority they must have the right to exercise that power."

"In political subdivisions where the relationship is reversed, the question of the rights of a minority, of political equality, becomes the main issue."

Similar to the repression suffered by the Negro people, he said, is the plight of the six million Mexican Americans and the one million Puerto Ricans in the U.S. The oppression of the Indians is "in some ways the worst of all," Hall said.

In the electoral arena, Hall said, there is a "new level of political consciousness" which is "reflected in a new and rising level of political independence."

"As the forces of political independence grow the limitations of the two old parties of capitalism become more evident to greater numbers.

"Both," he said, "are parties of the government-monopoly collusion."

As a result there are "built-in limitations as to how effective they can be as instruments of mass expansion."

The "forces now gathering to challenge the monopoly-government profit fraternity are going to give birth to a people's party," he said. But such a party, he said, "will be a reflection of a qualitative shift in the relationship of political forces."

"The newly independent millions who have for the first time stepped onto the path of political independence" are "ready to join independent movements and support independent candidates who are still in the two-party orbit, but they are not ready to break out of that orbit."

A "mass party of labor," Hall said, "is now being born" in the movements toward independence.

The reason we do not have such a party now, he said, is not that "someone did not issue a call for a founding convention," but because "U.S. labor has not been politically ready to create or to sustain such a party."

Hall said that it is not a foregone conclusion that President Johnson will be the Democratic Party candidate in the 1968 election. There is mounting opposition to his nomination, he said.

"Many political independents are raising the need for an alternative Presidential candidate, an alternative for peace," he said, citing the developments among Democrats in various parts of the country.

"Therefore, the time has come for all organizations and individuals who are for an alternative to gather their forces now, to prepare and set in motion the movement that will present to our people an independent candidate for President."

"Such a campaign started now can also serve as an effective mobilization for peace."

"The way to prepare for 1968 is to elect the candidates for peace, Negro and labor and Left candidates in 1966." "Defeating the candidates of the ultra-Right in 1966 is a necessary preparation for 1968."

The Communist Party has been compelled to struggle for 15 years for its right to function as a political party, Hall recalled.

When the Supreme Court in 1961 upheld the right of the Subversive Activities Control Board to proceed against the party, its leaders and members, Hall said, the party faced a "critical moment."

It "rejected all concepts of liquidation or dissolution, expelled a handful of disrupters and boldly accepted the challenge. We took the defense of the party's legal existence to the people."

Hall credited the "young generation" for breaking down the "walls of silence" thrown up around the party.

"We have a sense of confidence that in their defense of the democratic rights of all Americans the masses will demand the assurance of our party's right to place its position in the marketplace of ideas."

Experience has set the stage for a "mass assault on the ideological ramparts of white chauvinism," Hall said. Communists must "take the lead in this ideological airing."

He warned against complacency about the existence of anti-Semitism. It is a central part of the ideological "stock-in-trade of the fascist, racist, ultra-Right."

The conspiracy between monopoly and government, Hall said, "stands as a roadblock to social progress in every sphere, con-

fronting every movement and struggle of the people for every form of social advance."

This fact sets the stage for a coalescence — an anti-monopoly alliance — of all these movements," he said.

"State-monopoly capitalism," he said, "is a stage of capitalist development."

"Short of socialism the only qualitative change that will open the doors to meaningful social, economic and political progress is the breaking of the ties of conspiracy between the state and the monopolies.

"This would call for an Administration and a Congress resting on a very different class and political base. It would require a qualitative breakthrough in the balance of class and social forces in favor of those opposing the monopolies. With the rising mass political consciousness, such a development is very much in the cards."

"Such a government would not be a socialist government . . . It would be a government reflecting the new political consciousness, a government that would adapt itself to the realities of the new balance of political power.

"It would have to make ever greater inroads into the powers of the monopolies, in the face of ever stiffer resistance from them. And in the course of these struggles, the need to pass from curbing the monopoly to abolishing it, to establishing socialism, would become apparent to growing numbers.

"Such an anti-monopoly government, therefore, would be not a permanent or long-term institution, but rather a transitional stage, laying the foundation for the transition of our society from capitalism to socialism."

Capitalism, forsaking the appeal to reason appeals to "prejudice, to fear, to jingoism," Hall said. It seeks to "create suspicion and mistrust."

"The idea that it is all right to burn villages with women and children in Vietnam because they are a colored people," he said, "is both an appeal to those who have been raised on the poison of white supremacy, and an effort to spread the ideology of racist white chauvinism in greater degree to other sections of the population."

Hall cited also President Johnson's Chicago speech labelling people who disagree with his war policies as "nervous Nellies" and "unpatriotic."

It was, Hall said, "the most irresponsible appeal to backward emotions ever made by any president on record.

"The ultra-Right bases itself on such appeals to backward emotions. The rise of the ultra-Right is itself proof of the crisis of capitalist ideology."

"The crisis of capitalist ideology and its resort to unreasoning emotional appeals places a new and higher priority on the struggle on this front," Hall said. He stressed, in particular, the struggle against white-chauvinism and anti-Semitism.

"The winds of struggle have somewhat cleansed the ideological air of the pollution of racist white chauvinism," he said. "This has moved some white Americans to the lines of struggle for equality. Still others have moved to a position of neutrality.

"This cleansing has improved the moral climate in which the struggle can be conducted. It has also triggered off last-ditch desperation by some.

"The experience of these struggles has set the stage for a qualitative leap, a mass assault on the ideological ramparts of white chauvinism."

He called for "a bolder, more resourceful exposure of its class roots."

"Ideas of white supremacy are artificially, deliberately and maliciously created illusions," he charged.

"Communists must take the lead in this ideological airing. Communists must sharpen their sensibility to the more subtle manifestations of the effects of this appeal to backwardness. They must strive to impart a new sense of urgency to the whole struggle.

"Negro-white unity is the bedrock foundation of the struggle for progress in the United States. This unity will grow, and will solidify its ranks to the exact extent that the influences of white chauvinism are expelled from the ranks of white America.

"The crucial and pivotal element of the forces of progress," Hall said, is "the emerging Left trend." This trend, "the most advanced sector of the broad developing forces of the new political consciousness," exists in the peace, civil rights, labor, women's and youth movements, he said.

There are, however, "differences on the Left bank," he pointed out.

They revolve around two issues, "what position to take on anti-communism, and whether their tactics should reflect different levels of political consciousness as well as of different stages of struggle."

"Anti-communism," he warned, is a "compromise with militancy, with principles in struggle."

The acceptance by large sections of Left youth of a "revolutionary outlook," Hall said, explains the "success and the drawing power of the Du Bois Clubs" and the "increasing number of youths who are joining the Communist Party."

He cautioned that the ideological differences on the Left, between those who advocate reform and those who advocate a re-

volutionary change should not become a "source of division among the forces of the Left."

"Those who advocate the one course or the other must become ever more firmly united in struggle for the common goals of peace and social advance. At the same time, a clearer understanding of these ideological levels," he said, "can contribute greatly to firmer unity in struggle."

The "serious differences in the ranks of world Marxism" have gone "beyond the limits of polemics" and have caused "serious damage," Hall said.

"The continued refusal of some parties to join in a unity of struggle against imperialism and a continuation of the campaign of slander and vilification against other working-class Marxist parties and against other socialist states, daily adds to the political damage."

"In many ways," he said, "the swing away from the path of Marxist-Leninist conclusions based on accumulated experiences, does reflect the new tasks set by history."

"These new tasks, set by history, demanded extensions or new conclusions of theory and practice," he said. "They called for debate and discussion. They did not call for splits." He denounced the "theory that splitting is necessary as a method of progress and development."

World Marxism, he declared also, has "rejected any concept that military forms of struggle are the only forms of social progress. It has reaffirmed the propositions that all questions of forms, methods and actics can be geared only to each specific situation by the forces involved."

He said that in this sense the Havana conference of Marxist parties in 1964 was a "historic landmark."

He asserted that "the process of reunification of the world Marxist movement is taking place on a new level. It is taking place on the level of finding answers to the new questions which history has presented for solution."

RESOLUTION

OF THE 10th CONGRESS OF THE PEOPLE'S VANGUARD PARTY OF COSTA RICA ON THE REPORT OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE, JUNE 1966

Congress heard the report of the Central Committee on its activities and on the domestic and international situation. Although Congress found the report lacking in a deep analysis of some problems, it approved it as a whole and adopted, on its basis, the following resolution:

First. In the four years since the 9th Congress the international situation has been developing as predicted in the documents of the 1957 and 1960 conferences of the Communist and Workers' parties. Events have thus borne out the following propositions contained in the Moscow Statement of 1960: "Today it is the socialist world system and the forces fighting against imperialism, for a socialist transformation of society, that determine the main content, main trend and main features of the historical development of society. Whatever efforts imperialism makes, it cannot stop the advance of history. A reliable basis has been provided for further decisive victories for socialism. The complete triumph of socialism is inevitable."

Indeed, the socialist camp has continued to grow stronger. The Soviet Union has successfully completed its Seven-Year Plan and launched the Five-Year Plan for 1966-70. The material and technical foundations of the future communist society are being laid. Refuting the clamorous contentions of the world reactionary press that the changes in economic management and the raising of the question itself were caused by "failures," the Soviet socialist economy continues to develop faster than the economy of any of the capitalist states, its invariable principle being to ensure a constantly increasing well-being and a happy life for the people.

The Soviet Union's successes in space exploration and its scientific progress which stagger the world show vividly that socialism is winning and will score final victory in the peaceful competition with capitalism.

Our Party has always supported and will continue to support the foreign policy of peace and peaceful coexistence pursued by the countries of the socialist camp headed by the Soviet Union. We unreservedly agree with Lenin's proposition that the issue of the struggle between socialism and capitalism will ultimately be decided in the economic sphere.

Despite this, the danger of war, even of a devastating thermonuclear war, remains. Of late, especially since the death of President Kennedy, U.S. foreign policy has become more aggressive and dangerous. The dirty war against Vietnam is being extended on an alarming scale. The numerical strength of the U.S. land forces in South Vietnam reaches 300,000, and the criminal bombing raids on the Democratic Republic of Vietnam are growing in intensity, threatening to assume the character of serious provocations if big cities are hit, or if the pirate planes dare to intrude into Chinese air space.

Everywhere — in Vietnam, the Congo, Cuba, the Dominican Republic — imperialism is demonstrating its predatory aggressive nature. As long as imperialism remains, the war danger will persist. But the facts show that a thermonuclear world war is not inevitable. The military might of the socialist countries and their prudent policy are a formidable obstacle to imperialism's efforts to plunge the whole world into war. The forces of peace should remain vigilant and mobilized and fight jointly to stop the aggressors.

In the present struggle for peace, it is necessary to stress the importance of the struggle waged by the people of the United States itself. Our Congress salutes the courageous and valuable struggle of the American champions of peace headed by the heroic Communist Party of the United States.

Between its 9th and 10th congresses our Party worked much to promote international solidarity. Our Party has always held high the banner of proletarian internationalism. The 10th Congress put on record the strict fulfilment by our Party of its international duties.

However, we are not satisfied with what we have done to help the heroic people of Vietnam in their unexampled struggle against the powerful imperialist bandits. It is our duty to strengthen solidarity, to show to the imperialists here as well that their crimes against the Vietnamese people are crimes against humanity with which they will not dodge with impunity.

In the four years since the previous congress our Party has maintained combat solidarity with the Cuban revolution. As long as Cuba is subjected to the imperialist blockade, as long as imperialism keeps bases on its territory and continue its provocations and aggressive intrigues, we must remain on the alert. Imperialism has not yet abandoned its plans for direct or indirect aggression against Cuba. The struggle against the establishment of the so-called inter-American peace force and against the Central American army is a component of the struggle in defense of the Cuban revolution. It remains our internationalist duty, the duty

of our own democratic and anti-imperialist struggle. By defending Cuba we defend our own people.

Our Party had initiated the rise of a public movement which compelled the previous government to dismantle the Cuban counter-revolutionaries' training camps in our country. But there is the danger that imperialism, acting through the so-called Free Costa Rica Movement, may pressure the new government into allowing these "worms" to resume their work here. We must not give them respite. René Schik's recent statement in New York offering the use of Nicaraguan territory for an attack on Cuba, and the personal congratulations he received from our President, warn us not to slacken vigilance.

The successes of the socialist camp, it military and economic consolidation, the great battles waged by the Communist parties and the working class in the capitalist countries, and the rapidly developing national-liberation movement of the Asian, African and Latin American peoples are negatively affected by the split in the world Communist movement and the open ideological polemic. Our Party openly supported the Soviet Union's proposal on the termination of this polemic and the initiative for holding a new world conference of the fraternal parties, carefully prepared, to try to overcome the existing difficulties. We have a common enemy and common aims. There exist, therefore, pre-requisites for the restoration of unity. We will insist on this thesis, continue to fight against splittism, against Left and Right opportunism which contribute to the split, and work for the unity of the world Communist movement on the basis of Marxism-Leninism.

We shall go on working out independently our Party's foreign and internal policy line. We shall maintain fraternal relations with the fraternal parties and promote the cause of international solidarity, but we will never have any outsider tell us how to accomplish and how not to accomplish our revolution. We have been and will go on waging our struggle in conformity with the concrete conditions and peculiarities of our country. We shall explore the road of our revolution by applying Marxism-Leninism to our realities. Such is our position of principle, and nobody and nothing will compel us to change it.

As far as Central American policy is concerned, we hold that the situation is growing worse in view of the close relations between our present rulers and the Somoza camarilla. In this field our Party should continue its struggle, first, against the Central American army as such, second, against the participation of our troops in this army as long as it exists.

The agents of imperialism in Central America are trying to establish a trade union structure embracing the entire isthmus. The genuinely democratic and anti-imperialist labor movement should

seriously consider setting up its own unitary center or consultative council which would advance, in view of the projected economic integration, workers' demands on the Central American scale, coordinate their struggles, organize solidarity, and so on.

In the working-class movement and in other fields our Party should clearly distinguish between its attitude to the present economic integration, which serves, in the main, to facilitate the penetration of U.S. monopoly capital into the Central American economy, and its attitude to the striving for Central American unity democratically emerging among the masses themselves. This striving should find in our Communist parties the best means of expression.

Second. The 10th Congress has been able to verify the correctnese of its domestic-policy line determined at the 9th Congress and at subsequent Central Committee meetings.

This general line is one of stubborn struggle in defense and for the extension of the democratic freedoms won by our people — a component of a political regime which, together with the civic and democratic traditions inherent in the majority of our people, makes possible peaceful development of the revolution today. The facts show that the political line mentioned above helped achieve democratic gains in our country. It can be stated that in the four years since our 9th Congress the people as a whole and the working class in particular have enjoyed greater greedoms than before. We do not have complete trade union freedom, but its margins have been broadened somewhat. We do not enjoy complete freedom of assembly, but the conditions are more favorable for the workers to exercise this right. This freedom of the press is limited, but these limitations, with some exceptions, are inherent in bourgeois democracy generally.

Far be it from us to rest content with the present state of things. Genuine democracy in the country is unthinkable as long as power belongs to the big capitalists and landowners and as long as U.S. imperialism dominates our ruling classes. Genuine democracy presupposes in the first place government by the people, which is nonexistent in our country. Hence our struggle for a popular government to free the country from the imperialist rule, remove the reactionary classes and force from power and give power to the people, to the workers, peasants, the petty and middle bourgeoisie and even to those sections of the national bourgeoisie which have not sold out to imperialism.

But advance along the road of winning freedoms for the people is possible even before power goes into the hands of the people. Broader rights must be won to join in trade unions, hold strikes and conclude collective labor agreements. Greater freedom must be won to hold meetings and demonstrations. The police must be

deprived of the misappropriated right to prevent or break up meetings and demonstrations as "unauthorized." The freedom of the press must be extended not only in the sense of greater guarantees for the workers' and anti-imperialist press, but also to make possible the publication of democratic newspapers, to put an end to the monopoly o f the press exercised by *La Nacion,* a newspaper which is fully at the service of foreign monopolies and the more reactionary circles of our oligarchy.

The biggest fault of our democratic system is, without doubt, the existence of the Second Clause of Article 98 of the Constitution, which is invoked to maintain the ban on our Party and prevent the Left parties from taking part in elections.

In practice this clause is applied almost exclusively in the electoral field, the purpose being to make it impossible for the working people to participate in elections with their own party. However, during international crises it has been utilized, and can be utilized in the future on a bigger scale, to curtail still more the political freedoms of the working class.

Our Party's long struggle against the Second Clause has not been effective, for it has not been waged constantly and with proper vigor and militancy.

The 10th Congress stresses the need to continue and vigorously to develop this struggle in all forms, paying special attention to mass actions. Success in it will depend not on the good will of the bourgeois parties but on the pressure the masses will exert to force their way to elections, in which only the bourgeois parties take part today.

Congress approves the policy of support for the Popular Socialist Alliance Party which our Party pursued during the previous election campaign. At the same time Congress considers that the PSAP should have made preparations for mobilizing the masses to defend their electoral rights in view of the possible maneuver of the bourgeois parties, and that our Party should have brought home to the PSAP the need to combine personal contacts with mass actions in defense of the electoral rights of the people.

The 10th Congress considers also that the Central Committee was correct when it decided, at its meeting last November, to vote against the candidate of the National Union. The analysis it made of the bourgeois parties fighting among themselves, and of the social forces on which they relied, was an objective analysis whose correctness has been confirmed by developments. With Trejos' victory power went into the hands of the most reactionary circles of our oligarchy most subservient to imperialism. The facts show that, although Calderonism does get some satisfaction in the form of certain government posts, the government's policy increasingly tends to cater to the interests of imperialism, the landlords and

the big bourgeoisie. Acting concertedly, the progressive and democratic forces will certainly disrupt this trend.

The fact that at least half of the electorate voted against the National Union, that the National Liberation Party retains the majority in the Legislative Assembly, that the oligarchy had to rely on the Calderonists to secure victory — all that, plus a number of traditional factors, can prevent the extreme reactionaries from pushing the government onto the path of arbitrary rule and violence. Among the positive subjective factors, mention should be made of the cast of mind of the President himself. However, there is always the danger of the negative influence of the Civil Revolutionary Union, the Free Costa Rica Movement and the so-called November 11th Movement, combined with pressure on the imperialists' part, inducing the government to take the anti-democratic road. But, as pointed out above, this negative development can be presented.

Reports at some Central Committee meetings and the Central Committee's report to the Congress paid special attention to assessing the character of the National Liberation Party, which is now in opposition. This fact was also taken into consideration when the question of voting for this party in the February elections was decided at the November CC meeting.

The NLP is one of the national-reformist parties of Latin America. Its counterpart in the Dominion Republic, the Revolutionary Party, was recently characterized as such by the fraternal Communist Party of the Dominican Republic. However, these parties, which are also called "third-position parties," differ in their political complexion and line.

The policy of the National Liberation Party has always consisted chiefly in searching for a compromise, for a deal with imperialism. It bargains, but the aim is a compromise. Some of its members, without doubt, are against submission to imperialism. But the line of compromise prevails when party policy is shaped. At the present stage of the revolutionary struggle, the biggest difference between our Party and the NLP is in their attitude to imperialism. A change can certainly be brought about by the stand of the mass of rank-and-file members of the NLP. Likewise, the attitude of the NLP towards the question of direct alliance with the most progressive movements in Costa Rica will be determined, in the final count, by the attitude of the masses. That is why the anti-communist and pro-imperialist elements in the NLP, such as Gonzalo Facio, are so busy conducting anti-communist propaganda in their party. Regrettably, the events which sparked off armed struggle in 1948 facilitate the anti-communist activity of the reactionaries in the NLP.

The youth organization of the NLP can greatly help towards

a change in the party's orientation. There have already been collisions between it and some NLP reactionaries. On such occasions the stand of the youth organization has certainly been more progressive and democratic.

Before polling day Oduber had posed as a genuine spokesman of the NLP "Left wing." But after the electoral defeat he hastened to join Facio in making anti-communist statements. One of his aims might have been to secure the imperialists' favor in the event of his new nomination for the 1970 elections. The struggle for nomination has already started, and Oduber is taking part in it. Apparently, anti-communism is his banner. Figueres, his rival, has greater support in his party and enjoys greater prestige among the masses and the bourgeois sectors in the party. The impression is that the U.S. State Department is not inclined in favor of Figueres. His friendship with Bosch and his refusal to endorse the U.S. intervention in the Dominican Republic, combined with some other factors, have resulted in his quarrel with imperialism. But it would be a gamble to count on his determination to pursue a policy of consistent and resolute assistance to imperialism. It is not excluded that his political stand will be determined chiefly by his interests as owner of coffee plantations. Such people have both dealings and differences with the imperialists. Figueres wields ideological influence on his party's rank and file, but the latter, in turn, can influence him. Therefore here as well the position of the masses will be decisive.

Our Party should continue to study closely the character of the National Liberation Party and base its attitude to it, just as to the other paries, on objective considerations. Such was the viewpoint of the CC meeting last November which was approved at the 10th Congress.

Third. Congress considers that questions of Party building are of paramount importance, for a victorious revolution needs a strong, big, smoothly functioning and organizationally and ideologically united party steeled in class battles and educated in the spirit of Marxist-Leninist theory.

In the past four years the Party has continued to grow and succeeded in doubling its membership. Important successes have been achieved in the promotion and education of cadres. The influence of the Party on the masses has increased, although probably, it has not reached the level of the period of the 1948 civil war.

Referring to problems of the political situation, we stressed the importance of the struggle for the abrogation of the Second Clause of Article 98 of the Constitution, for full legality for the party of the working class. The Central Committee's report emphasized the significance of this struggle from the point of view of the Party's growth and development. The relative illegality of our Party is the

biggest obstacle to the growth of its ranks and of its influence on the masses. Experience shows, however, that this is not an insurmountable obstacle, that it is possible to build the Party, boost its influence and mobilize the masses in such and even worse conditions.

The 10th Congress made important changes in the Party Rules, which will also promote its growth. These changes are to help overcome certain difficulties in the matter of recruitment and to prevent the loss of Party members due to shortcomings in work and in organizational principles.

The growth of the Party achieved so far cannot fully satisfy us. It could be faster and qualitatively better; more new members of a higher standard could be recruited. After the present Congress the Party should thoroughly revise all forms of our work to establish genuine links between the local organizations and the masses, so that the former could learn how to win over and mobilize the masses and to draw upon the experience of the struggle in selecting the best for their ranks. It is necessary to put an end to routinism, to ensure that the Party cells constantly bear in mind the need to work primarily among the masses, both at places of work and residence.

Little has been done to improve the class composition of the Party and increase the working-class segment in it. The rapid industrialization of the country, the CC report points out, makes it possible to recruit more industrial workers. This is a task of ever increasing importance.

Party building calls for an adequate cadre policy. The CC report notes progress in the education and promotion of middle-level functionaries. The standard of the leading cadres has also improved. Nevertheless, we still have too few capable Party members. Congress recommends careful selection of comrades whom we want to make our cadre workers. We should pay more attention to them, be able to discern their abilities and help them in their theoretical and practical education. The need for cadres is perhaps the biggest on the front of mass struggle. We have few Communists capable of organizing and leading trade unions, peasants' leagues, progressive juntas and women's committees. We should pursue a bold policy which will ensure the influx of young blood into the Party organism. We do not belong to those who refer to revolutionary struggle as the question of "generations." But our Party needs young members not only in its local organizations, but also, and especially, among its cadres. Young Communists should be helped to learn both from the older comrades and from their own experience. Well-prepared young members bring into the Party their dynamism, enthusiasm and fighting mettle. Hence the great importance of the work done by young Communists, and

that is why the Party should do its utmost to help educate young people.

Fourth. The 10th Congress pointed to a substantial quantitative and qualitative improvement in Party propaganda. Note can be taken of an increase in the issue and circulation of newspapers and especially the legal weekly, the vast print of leaflets, the publication, in large editions, of numerous pamphlets, the extensive use of the radio, and so on. It was pointed out that the Party had been conducting extensive propaganda work. At the same time it appears that control over the distribution of pamphlets, leaflets and other printed matter is insufficient, with the resulting inadequate use of these publications. Besides, the real possibilities of the Party in the matter of distribution of propaganda are not always taken into consideration when determining the size of editions. Considerable successes were registered in raising the quality of propaganda materials. Both the make-up and content of our newspaper are constantly improving, and so is the make-up of leaflets and pamphlets. The technical quality of our radio programs has become much better. At the same time the following shortcomings of propaganda work should be pointed out: we did not work hard enough to explain our Party's policy to the masses before and during the civil war; we have not told the people properly about the gains the Party has won for the working people and the people as a whole; the stress was made on immediate achievements and not on the national-liberation and socialist prospects.

Congress is aware that Party propaganda has not been effective enough even to counter enemy propaganda. Still less satisfactorily does it perform its functions in educating the masses and mobilizing them for the revolution. The central programmatic objectives were explained, but not in a form convincing the masses of the need for a change of regime, for revolutionary change.

The majority of our people has not been over won to the side of the anti-imperialist, democratic and anti-feudal revolution. The ideological influence of the bourgeois parties continues to predominate. Imperialism is waging big-scale propaganda and, in a broader sense, an ideological battle in Costa Rica. Our enemies issue a hundred newspaper copies for every copy circulated by us. There are a hundred hours of enemy broadcasts for every hour of our broadcasts. Hence the need to work hard to increase the volume of our propaganda, and, harder still, to raise its political level. Under the current regime we shall never equal the enemy in the amount of propaganda, for it possesses incomparably greater resources. But we can counter its propaganda, increase our influence on the masses and stir them into action if we raise the political level of our slogans, if we make the content of our newspaper,

leaflets and pamphlets more understandable to the masses and if, ultimately, we succeed in ensuring, when necessary, the continuity of our campaigns.

We consider it necessary to do away with routinism in holding meetings, especially weekly meetings, to raise considerably the standard of meetings and mass undertakings in general, as regards both the participation and mobilization of the masses and the content of speeches at them.

Fresh efforts should be made to renew our radio broadcasts. Today the Party has the right people and proper technical facilities to organize good programs.

Congress notes the successes in utilizing the cinema as a propaganda medium, and visualizes the prospect of producing documentary and short-reel films.

The quality of illustrations in the newspaper, leaflets and pamphlets should be improved. The photography department should work much more efficiently.

Fifth. Congress takes note of indisputable successes in the education and theoretical training of Party cadres and rank-and-file members. The National Party School functioned with a certain degree of regularity. The Party organized study courses at different levels and provided them with a study aids. Study materials were also prepared for people wishing to join the Party. The Party's journal on problems of international policy continued to appear, and attention was paid to the theoretical training of the necessary cadres, although the latter were not always selected with proper care.

It is necessary to use the experience of the Commission for Education for systematizing the work of the National Party School, which operates on a two-year basis, and to improve the selection of trainees for it. The problem of finding better forms of distributing the journal still remains to be solved. The practice of popularizing the journal and other theoretical publications among the rank and file should be continued.

There remains the need to launch the publication of a theoretical journal to deal with the chief problems of the country.

Finally, Congress considers that political education work should include popularization of the program of the Party among the rank and file. Since we intend to adopt a new program in the near future, the study of this program at the base level should be organized.

Six. Congress notes a considerable increase in the activity of the unitary trade union movement headed by the General Confederation of Labor and some independent organizations, especially in San José and on the Atlantic coast. In addition, there has emerged a demo-Christian trade union movement whose leaders

take a more favorable view of the idea of unity of action than the leaders of Rerum Novarum, which recently changed its name to avoid liquidation. At the end of 1965 some Rerum Novarum leaders agreed that their trade unions should join the GCL and the Catholic Workers' Federation in the struggle for trade union rights. But at the last congress of that organization the leaders favoring unity were deposed and a highly divisive anti-communist policy was adopted — all that in the name of "unity of the democratic movement."

The majority of the working class remains unorganized, and this, together with the split among the organized workers, is responsible for the limited role the working class is playing in the political life of the country.

Splittism in the working-class movement of Latin American is chiefly financed and encouraged by U.S. imperialism as one of its weapons in the struggle against the national-liberation movement of the peoples of our continent. Rerum Novarum, which now has a different name and whose functionaries are paid in U.S. dollars, is the chief instrument of the imperialist policy aimed at splitting the national working-class movement.

But the consistent policy of unity of action with the Rerum Novarum, the CWF and independent unions, pursued by the GCL unions, will triumph. The Rerum Novarum rank and file will see that it is in their class interest to unite with their brothers in defending common interests.

The Communists active on the front of the trade union unitary struggle must not limit themselves to issuing appeals for unity of action, but constantly demonstrate, in concrete deeds, their sincere will for it, brushing aside any considerations of vanity.

The freedom to organize in trade unions, hold strikes and conclude collective labor agreements is restricted in our country. Therefore it is necessary to continue the struggle for trade union rights, for the freedom to hold meetings at banana plantations, for reforms which will guarantee complete freedom to conclude collective agreements. These and similar objectives can provide the basis for a unitary policy.

Seven. The 10th Congress puts on record that the peasants' movement is making little or no progress in the country, and that the Party's work in this field is weak and sporadical.

Worker-peasant alliance is the basis of any strategy aimed at organizing a great national-liberation democratic front. And such an alliance, capable of ensuring the victorious march of the revolution, is unthinkable if the peasant masses are disorganized and tend to serve as a reserve of reaction.

In the months preceding the congress the Party set up a Peasant Commission and more systematic work in this field was launch-

ed. On the whole, the conditions for a vigorous peasant movement are favorable, especially in the coastal regions. The recent experience in organizing the Puriscal tobacco growers' struggle points to the existence of other possibilities. To be sure, the slogan of a genuine agrarian reform is best comprehended and accepted by illegal settlers and landless peasants in the provinces with latifundia.

The 10th Congress recommends that a better study be made of, and greater attention paid to, the cooperative movement in the coffee and sugar cane producing regions. In fact, the cooperative movement requires greater attention not only as a form of union of peasants, but also as a means of educating them in the spirit of mutual assistance. Congress recommends that measures be taken to create an effective mechanism of stimulating the peasant movement on the basis of a deep and realistic study of the peasantry of different regions, the chief task being to mobilize the poor and middle peasants in a struggle for their interests. The launching of a special newspaper for the peasants is also a pressing task.

Congress considers that the Party's attitude to the Institute for the Problems of the Land and Colonization and to Law on the Land and Colonization was correct. Experience shows that this law cannot be instrumental in effecting a genuine agrarian reform, and that institute, which operates on the strength of the law, is unable to solve conclusively the major problems of agriculture. Nevertheless, the peasant movement should utilize the positive aspects of this law, no matter how limited they may be, for organizing the peasant masses and stirring them into action.

Eight. A positive feature of the work among the women conducted by the Women's Commission is that it has been permanent. This, combined with the responsible attitude and enthusiasm of the comrades working in the commission, ensured the periodic appearance of the printed organ and a definite degree of constancy of militant actions.

From time to time the women organized mass actions. The comrades in charge of this sector of Party activity became more aware of the importance of their tasks. But still greater efforts are certainly needed for the work among the women to assume a truly mass character.

At present the front of this work has taken a distinct shape. It is to be hoped that no more time will be wasted on work outside the masses.

It is not properly understood yet that the women's front does not constitute some special women's wing of the Party. This is recognized and accepted, but there remains the danger of mistakes being repeated in the course of everyday work.

Training of cadres is the biggest difficulty. The Party should give greater help to our women cadres, and assist in their education.

Nine. Congress realizes the importance of the mass work which can be conducted through the movement of progressive juntas. These juntas can united broad sactions of the population in the struggle for a wide range of demands, both in the towns and in the rural localities. The experience of this movement shows that in some instances popular actions of this kind can be developed into real revolutionary battles. This becomes possible when the movement assumes universal scope and its connected with problems of nation-wide importance, as happened when the National Federation of Progressive Juntas fought for the nationalization of the power industry, and during the movement against the Water Supply Agency.

It is the duty of the Communists to take an active part in any movement of a popular character. The Party cells having no connection with big production centers should strive to establish contact with the masses and head their struggle through progressive juntas.

The work of Communists in the progressive juntas should be rid from any manifestations of sectarianism. At the same time, the desire to achieve the unity of these organs of popular struggle must not be allowed to lead to a situation where they will be used by reactionary elements for attacks on our Party or in the interests of imperialism.

The activities of progressive juntas in the countryside should be closely coordinated with the peasant movement. In fact, the juntas are a component of this movement. They can develop in the direction of higher forms of organization and help stimulate the struggle for a genuine agrarian reform.

Ten. Congress notes with satisfaction the major successes achieved in the last four years by the Party's youth organization bot in increasing its membership and raising its standard and in improving the training of its cadres.

Our youth organization is the surest guarantee of the future development of the Party, of the constant renovation of its cadres. As is evident from the list submitted for the election of the new Central Committee, the leading bodies of the Party have both highly experienced cadres and young functionaries. Always ready for renovation, our Party more and more boldly promotes young Communists. Congress stresses the need to proceed along this road, to pay the maximum attention to young people, to help them organize, to encourage their promotion. In doing so it should adhere to Lenin's thesis on the organizational autonomy of the Communist youth organization. The question of autonomy is not yet properly understood among middle-level functionaries and the rank

and file. We must undertake fresh efforts to make it clear that consolidation of our youth organization is as important as consolidation of the Party itself.

The 10th Congress declares that no efforts should be spared to carry out the highly important task of helping the Communist Youth to become a powerful vanguard of the young people of our country.

Within the framework of this policy, and taking into consideration the importance of the students' movement, especially in the university, for the development of the national-liberation movement in Latin America, particular attention should be paid to ensuring the proper orientation and mobilization of the students as a foremost democratic force and a contingent called upon to figure prominently in the Democratic National-Liberation Front.

Eleven. Congress calls attention to the fact that work among the intellectuals and especially among the educational workers was to a certain extent neglected. It is only recently that we have taken up this work in earnest. In the future it should be conducted systematically, and we should always bear in mind that in a country dependent on imperialism such as ours the intellectuals are destined to play, and have already played, a lofty patriotic role.

Many of our prominent writers and artists have been distinguished and highly respected members of the Party. A recent and very valuable addition to its membership are young poets and writers who have devoted themselves to the cause of the revolution. Thus the tradition is continued.

The names of Carmen Lyra, Carlos Luis Fallas, Carlos Luis Seénz, Joaquin Gutiérrez Mangel, Fabian Dobles and Adolfo Herrera Garcia enjoy the great love and respect of our people, the intellectual elite included. This circumstance, which has already become a tradition, facilitates and will increasingly facilitate the propagation of revolutionary ideas among young intellectuals.

Twelve. Our Party took part in the First Conference of Solidarity of the Peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America and is a member of the Tricontinental Organization. It also supports the Organization of Latin American Solidarity.

Our Party has taken a clear-cut stand on this matter. It favors the most extensive and effective international cooperation of all peoples and their revolutionary movements, which form three streams. The Party stands for effective solidarity and for proper measures to rebuff the attempts at the export of counter-revolution. At the same time it disagrees with all the Left extremist trends favoring the export of revolution. We insist on absolute respect for the independence of the parties. This stand conforms to the principle of respect for the self-determination of peoples.

The solidarity movement should develop and organize more and more vigorously. This calls for extensive propaganda work, for it is obvious that imperialist propaganda has disoriented the majority of our people.

In addition to the solidarity movement, we should wage a tireless struggle for peace. The 10th Congress notes with regret that work in this field has been seriously neglected, especially in the matter of organization. The activities of the National Peace Council should be so organized as to ensure the continuity of the peace movement.

Thirteen. The 10th Congress has instructed the Central Committee to organize meetings at all levels to familiarize Party members with the questions of methods of work raised at the Congress and to generalize the experience that has been accumulated.

THE MILITARY STRIKE AGAIN

STATEMENT OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF ARGENTINA

The crime against the country has been committed!

On the night of June 28 a group of higher officers of three arms of the service accomplished a new reactionary coup and proclaimed Lieutenant-General Juan Carlos Ongania, notorious for his association with the Pentagon and the U.S. government, President of the Republic.

How could it happen that constitutional order was again violated by the same military who posed as its defenders?

It became possible because President Illia's government did not honor its pre-election pledges. It did not carry out the democratic and popular program it had promised. It could not, or did not want to, satisfy the just demands of the working class and the people generally and thus mobilize them to defend democratic freedoms and constitutional order.

As our Party had warned, the Illia government and the ruling party could prevent the coup by meeting without delay the just demands of the working class and the people, specifically those for higher wages, effective measures to stop the growth of the cost of living, full recognition of democratic freedoms and political rights for all people, an independent foreign policy, a policy of friendship with all peace-loving peoples, a policy of democracy and national independence. But the Illia government did not do that.

Moreover, while our Party constantly exposed the preparations for the coup, its leaders and its political aims, which were to liquidate not only the Illia government but the scant democratic freedoms the working class and the people had won in their struggles, spokesmen of the government and the ruling party strove in every way to reassure public opinion and insisted that there was no real threat of a coup.

Aware of the gravity of the situation, our Party repeatedly urged all the other parties and democratic forces to unite and organize the struggle to frustrate the coup and establish a genuinely democratic and popular government. With this aim in view we met with representatives of different democratic parties and popular movements. Communists working in the labor movement undertook similar steps in the trade union centers, the leadership of the General Confederation of Labor included. Regrettably, the efforts of our Party to bring home the gravity of the situation were not sup-

ported. Instead of calling for vigilance and struggle, some trade union and political leaders belittled or totally ignored the danger of the coup. Even if they did not take part in the coup themselves they hampered the struggle of the masses or cleared the way before the putschists.

As our Central Committee warned, this group of conspirators has established a pro-American military dictatorship in the country, although it camouflages it with democratic phraseology. Set on eliminating the vestiges of democratic freedoms, this dictatorship has deposed the President, the Vice-President, the governors and vice-governors, dissolved the National Parliament, the provincial legislative assemblies and the deliberative bodies, deposed the members of the Supreme Court, disbanded all political parties and seized their property, and abolished the Constitution, replacing it with a "Statute of the Revolution," which boils down to appointing Juan Carlo Ongania President and granting emergency powers to him. At the same time the statute vests him with legislative, judiciary and executive authority. He will be the mainstay of the military government. What we have, consequently, is a fascist-like military dictatorship similar to Castelo Branco's dictatorship in Brazil which is to serve not the interests of the working class, the people and the nation as is claimed, but the interests of U.S. imperialism, the landowning oligarchy and the big capitalists.

In addition to these fascist measures and this anti-popular and anti-national program, this dictatorship is known to contemplate establishing a two-year truce between the workers and the employers, between the peasants and the landlords, between the working people and their exploiters, in order to stifle the resistance of the working class and the people and their struggle for their just economic, political, social and other demands. The dictatorship intends to achieve this with the consent of some Peronist and independent trade union leaders and, as has been reported in the press, with the consent of Peron himself. This must not happen. The working people will not allow themselves to be deluded. The Argentinian working class has learned a great deal in recent years. Having traversed a long path of strenuous struggle, it has united into the General Confederation of Labor, around the common program formulated in the historic May Day declaration. And it must fight to carry this program into reality.

Furthermore, the first declarations of the new military junta reveals its intention to persecute those whom it calls "extremists" (meaning Communists in the first place, to be sure), i.e., those who are fighting for their demands. But there exists ample national and international experience from which we know that repressions are first launched against Communists in order to be extended to the other political forces and parties fighting for freedom and national

independence. The putschists had been demanding a ban on the Communists and Peronists even before the coup. Now, having seized power, they prohibit all political parties and liquidate all constitutional guarantees. This should be understood by all those who are sowing or entertaining illusions about the military dictatorship.

Our Party has pointed out more than once that the tenure of the Argentinian governments of recent years has been characterized by the existence of dual power; the power elected by the people (with all the limitations inherent in the present electoral system), i.e., formal, civil power, and a parallel power exercised by an element of the armed force, i.e., real power.

None of these governments have changed the economic and social structure of the country — none of them have effected the agrarian reform, nationalized the big imperialist enterprises, raised the standard of living, ensured democratic freedom and an independent foreign policy, and so on. And since the basic problems remain outstanding, the reactionary forces resort to pressure and the governments retreat more and more until, discredited, they are overthrown by another group of the military. Such was the fate of Yrigoyen, Peron, Frondizo, Illia.

The military dictatorship declares that it will boost morale in the country, establish order and discipline and improve the living conditions of the population. Our people are familiar with this kind of talk on the part of military putschists. As soon as they are in the saddle all problems are aggravated, the working and living conditions of the working class and the people are worsened to the benefit of the national and foreign exploiters, and ruthless repressions are launched against the patriots opposed to this policy.

Besides, the coup in our country is a component of a far-flung plan designed to impose governments obedient to imperialism upon all the Latin American countries. Therefore Argentinian experience should serve as a warning to the fraternal countries of the continent.

Thus we have a new and bitter experience. The dictatorship has no support among the people and is seeking to secure it. But the people can and must prevent this. There can be no illusions. It is necessary to act before it's too late! The first action of protest of some political sectors show that this can and must be done.

The Central Committee declared last February: "We hold that there are sufficient forces in the country to stop the advance of reaction and imperialism and to ensure a democratic, national and popular way out of the present situation — on the condition, of course, that the democratic forces, which have up till now been acting sporadically or separately, establish unity of action on the basis of a jointly worked out program, and form a single national center of coordination and leadership."

Consequently, it is not tomorrow, but today, on the eve of the

150th anniversary of the glorious political independence of the country, that all patriots and anti-imperialists, all men and women who want to safeguard the bread of their children, work, progress, democratic freedoms, national independence and peaceful coexistence, should unite, organize and fight for the minimum demands common for the whole people:

1. Satisfaction of the immediate needs of the working class and the people: higher wages and salaries, job security, reduction of the cost of living, an end to the evictions of peasants, transfer of the land to those who till it, etc.

2. Full observance of democratic freedoms and constitutional order — which have been liquidated by the military dictatorship — for all citizens, all political parties, for the University and other cultural institutions, for all popular and democratic movements. Release of all political prisoners and imprisoned trade unionists.

3. An independent foreign policy of peace without any concessions which tie the country to the military plans of imperialism, particularly U.S. imperialism.

4. Return of the military to the barracks, as is already demanded by those officers and non-commissioned officers who are inspired by the traditions of San Martin. Establishment of a government of a broad democratic coalition with the participation of all the progressive forces of the country, including the Peronists and Communists, which would satisfy the above-listed demands and convene without delay a Constituent Assembly to carefully consider the vital economic and social needs of our people and effect the deep-going changes which will enable our country to advance along the road of peace and progress.

Let us unite to fight against the reactionary, pro-imperialist and pro-oligarchy plan of the military putschists!

Let us unite to launch a democratic movement in conditions of the present military dictatorship!

United, the working class and the people can achieve everything!

COUNTER THE U.S. IMPERIALISTS' BOMBING OF HANOI AND HAIPHONG WITH VIGOROUS JOINT ACTIONS OF THE ENTIRE PEOPLE

STATEMENT* OF THE PRESIDIUM OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF JAPAN

On June 29, at 14:15 Japanese time, several units of war-plane of the U.S. imperialists bombed Hanoi, capital of the Democrati Republic of Vietnam, and the city of Haiphong.

Finding itself in a desperate situation resulting from the failure of the summer operations of reinforced American troops and th growth of the anti-American struggle in the occupied regions o South Vietnam, U.S. imperialism has undertaken a new escalatio of the aggressive war. The bombing of Hanoi and Haiphong is no only a cruel intensification of aggressive actions against the Viet namese people. It is an intolerable frontal attack on the entir socialist camp. It is a most serious challenge to peace in Asia an the world over.

In connection with this grave event the Communist Party o Japan resolutely denounces U.S. imperialism and urges the peopl and all the democratic forces of the country to launch withou delay joint actions against the U.S. imperialists' aggression in Viet nam.

The numerous resolutions adopted by trade unions and above al those affiliated with the General Trades Union Council of Japa (SOHYO), show that our working class is resolved to express un animously its protest against the U.S. imperialists' bombing o Hanoi by holding strikes. Precisely now must the Japanese workin class carry out the highly important task of voicing its protes against U.S. imperialism, demonstrating its solidarity with th people of Vietnam through various mass actions, strikes included and heading the struggle of the people.

Today, when the U.S. imperialists have started bombing Hanc and Haiphong, the most pressing task of the anti-imperialist demo cratic forces of the whole world is to step up international join actions and strengthen the international united front of struggl against the U.S. aggression in Vietnam and its escalation. The anti imperialist forces of the world should unite to strike an effectiv

*Akahata, June 30, 1066.

blow in reply to the shameless intensification of the U.S. imperialists' aggression and to blow up their plans for good. This calls for the international Communist movement and the socialist camp to stand at the head of the anti-imperialist struggle, pool their efforts, and become the chief contingent of the united anti-imperialist front.

This will be the most effective reply to the escalation of the U.S. imperialist aggression against the Vietnamese people and the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, to the new challenge to peace in Asia and to the socialist camp.

This will also be an effective retaliatory blow which will prevent U.S. imperialism from launching aggression against other Asian countries, i.e., setting off the conflagration of a third world war.

The Communist Party of Japan resolutely supports the heroic struggle of the Vietnamese people in defense of their country against U.S. imperialism, and it will fight side by side with the Vietnamese people till final victory.

INTERVIEW WITH SANTIAGO CARRILLO

NUESTRA BANDERA INTERVIEWS SANTIAGO CARRILLO, GENERAL SECRETARY OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF SPAIN*

Q. The Franco government tried to minimize the significance of the catastrophe in Almeria by concealing the facts from the population. Without going into the details of the event and its implications, just how could it happen that the southeastern part of our country came near being incinerated by thermonuclear bombs?

A. It is known, although not sufficiently well, that the Pentagon adventurers permanently keep in the air planes loaded with hydrogen bombs which can at any moment head for the frontiers of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries. So far they have been flying over countries allied with the United States, exposing them to the danger of the accident which happened in Palomares.

Some of the governments concerned — that of France, for instance — are beginning seriously to restrict the military activities of the Americans on their territory. Others, such as the Italian government, refused to provide bases for U.S. Polaris-carrying submarines. With a greater or lesser degree of determination, certain governments limit the use of their territory by the Americans. But the most servile, docile and obliging government, that of General Franco, met all the demands of the United States.

GROWTH OF DEMOCRATIC FORCES AND "NEOLIBERALISM"

Q. In your book *After Franco: What?* you maintain that we are in the initial stages of a movement to eliminate all forms of the totalitarian dictatorship of the finance and landlord oligarchy, to destroy the regime forcibly imposed on Spain 25 years ago. Some pessimists claim, however, that no changes are taking place in our country.

A. The political experience of Spain is very distinct. The world is accustomed to seeing other facist regimese fall as a result of war, military victory, frontal clashes between the forces of democracy and the forces of fascism. In such clashes, advance and defeat are clearly distinguishable. But in our country the disintegration and collapse of fascism are the result of an internal process of development of contradictions and class struggle, of the growth of the

*Abridged from **Nuestra Bandera** No. 47-48, Februory-March 1966.

democratic forces and the weakening and isolation of the reactionary and fascist forces.

Fascism is suffering defeats in numerous small-scale partial engagements, losing one position after another. These are minor positions which sometimes seem quite insignificant. An accumulation of such small gains increasingly broadens the base of the democratic forces.

While some structures of fascism are collapsing, there are appearing the foundations of new, democratic structures. The new and the old intermingle and tend to confuse some people, especially the shortsighted.

Along with the vertical trade unions whose corporative structure is disintegrating, there emerge workers' commissions which are making their first steps. Parallel with the democratic or independent union of students, which is taking ever firmer root in life, in Catalonia, for instance, there still exist the vestiges of the old University Union and professional associations. The Cortes proceed with their out-of-this-world palaver.

Officially, Spain is ruled by the so-called National Movement, but the "Left" Falangists come out against the regime, while the more or less "official" Falangists criticize its economic policy and talk of the right — if only a limited right — to strike. They recognize, at least in words, the need to reorganize the trade unions. They proclaim themselves "liberals" and even "socialists". Officially, there exists a single fascist party. But there is no single fascist party in reality. Instead, there are numerous Right and Left parties. They are still illegal, but everybody knows where to find them, and they carry on more or less extensive, real agitation work.

It is perfectly true that instances of arbitrary rule and lawlessness still occur, that every day events take place reminiscent of the atrocities the regime perpetrated on a large scale quite recently. Nevertheless it is obvious that these are the last bites of fascism.

Our time is characterized by a rapid and vigorous rise of the democratic forces. A new phenomenon is the students' rally in a Barcelona church, where 500 delegates discussed, in defiance of official ordinances, the question of setting up the first democratic students' union.

A new phenomenon is that churches are placed at the disposal of the democratic forces. The history of Spain knows of many instances when democrats were shot at from churches, and when the church, which served as the pillar of reaction, was attacked by democrats. Today, for the first time, the church serves as a bulwark of democrats and is assaulted by the forces of the reactionary "order."

The neoliberal trends are growing and gaining influence within the administration itself precisely because "freedom is already in

sight", being brought nearer by the democratic movement, a complex, variegated movement which is steadily gaining in strength. True, some democrats are apprehensive of this emergence of neoliberal trends, fearing that the democrats might lose as a result. They certainly remember the discussion in our Party, which is not over yet, on whether "liberalization" or democracy will replace the dictatorship. Some people, convinced of the omnipotence of the oligarchy, have been trying to persuade us that "liberation" should be supported and any independent, class policy renounced.

It is true that Francoists are turning liberal. But is there any danger in this? If there is, it is a danger to fascism, which is being deserted, as a policy and ideology, by those who personified and defended it. The liberalization of Francoists bespeaks a situation which impels people towards the left and not towards the right, a process of radicalization which has affected, in some form or other, the entire society.

It is not hard to foresee what would happen if a predominantly neoliberal government were to come to power even before a complete change in the present situation. Would there be any danger in this? This government would have to grant some freedoms, and the democratic movement would quickly organize and grow stronger. A neoliberal government can only be a transitional one, and in perspective it can only stand at the extreme right wing of a democratic regime.

In the final analysis, the growth of neoliberalism at the expense of Francoism is a significant sign of the decomposition of the dictatorship and the ripening of conditions for the victory of democracy.

The neoliberalist surge does not worry us. Nor do the other typical phenomena of the disintegration of the present socio-political system. The forces which at one time were inside this system include many breakaway groups and grouplets which do not know whom to join. Outside this system, there are persons and small groups lacking support, and without any clear idea of where they are going, who, seeing the regime in the throes of crisis are again talking of "opposition," "democracy" and even "Marxism-Leninsm." The situation is such that any bold spirit may raise a banner and momentarily find himself on the crest of the wave, to be promptly swallowed up by it.

Most unexpected things occur at a time like this. Age-long adversaries suddenly become temporary allies which can be very valuable for some time. Alliances which have been gradually forming mature and take distinct shape. It may, and does, happen that people close to us in every respect—as regards their past, their present position and their ideas — fail to grasp the essence of the

moment, get confused by the complexities of the situation and move away from us. And as the denouncement draws nearer these phenomena may accelerate and repeat themselves in this or that direction. It is risky to try to predict the trend of events proceeding from only one of these isolated aspects, to make generalizations on the basis of only one detail, without seeing the movement as a whole. Regrettably, this happens to very good people, who at times go into raptures and at times despair, the latter happening more frequently.

PROBLEMS OF THE NEW LABOR MOVEMENT

Q. In the second half of last February the newspaper *Mundo Obrero* printed a leader entitled "For Better Organization and Coordination of the Labor Movement." It was said there that important changes are taking place in this field to which even the present regime has to grant a certain degree of recognition, although doing so belatedly and in a vague form. What, for instance, is the significance of the changes in Article 222?

A. These changes are very important not so much because they grant certain freedom as because they negate the fascist principles.

Admission of the legality of strikes, or at least some of them, means recognition of the existence of class struggle and consequently, negation of the organizational principles of the present vertical trade unions in which the workers and employers are united on the plea of "community" of their interests and tasks, a community which is refuted today. It is also admitted that the Franco state is not something "superior" to capitalism and communism, as we have been told over the years, but merely a form of capitalist state, and the worst one at that.

The modification of Article 222 should facilitate the struggle to force through the holding of workers' meetings at factory and trade union levels; for the institutionalization of meetings of trade union jurors; for the establishment of hundreds of new workers' commissions at all levels. Without meetings to discuss their problems and unite, how can the workers exercise even those limited rights which are recognized in Article 222?

The modification of this article by the Cortes should lead to a situation in which, in certain cases, the very same social departments and so-called working people's councils, responding to the sentiments of the masses, should decide whether to strike or not. If it doesn't, what's the value of the protestations of the trade union procurators (deputees to the Cortes) that they champion the right to strike? What's the use of legalizing strikes if the existing trade unions cannot declare them?

Q. Consequently, a one-day strike to press the workers' demands,

which hitherto could be prepared propagandistically and organizationally only in an illegal way, with all the obstacles and difficulties of underground work, can now be planned and carried out in broad daylight, through not only illegal, but also legal forms of organization of the working people?

A. Exactly. Take one example. In a special document sent to the National Plenum of the Metalworkers Union, the Madrid provincial commission of metalworkers proposed holding a one-day nation-wide strike on the strength of Article 222 modified by the Cortes. It seems that at the plenum this document was received with applause.

Now, when this document has been in one way or another brought to the knowledge of, and discussed by, the workers' commissions of other branches and other provinces, the social departments of trade unions and the working people's councils to which the working people have succeeded in sending some reliable representatives, and if the idea of a 24-hour strike evokes wide response among the masses and their legal or illegal representatives, the initiative of the Madrid metalworkers can be materialized, considering that the movement is on the rise.

Q. The above-mentioned leading article associates the capitulation of some turncoat anarchists before the Falange union bosses with a plan, so to speak, for the renovation of the existing trade unions?

A. Yes. The Falange leaders, the government, the oligarchy know that the vertical trade unions with their fascist corporative structure are not useful to them any longer and, following the advise of such people as Morse, who appropriately happens to be an American, strive to create a fiction of "free" trade unions. This could happen in the following way.

Trade union elections are due to be held in Spain soon. But as little mention as possible is made of the fact, especially by the union bosses. Indeed, if they could, they would hold these elections in secret and drag through, if only with the help of half a dozen votes at each enterprise, men they could trust, as well as these new "anarchist" friends of theirs. Then, aided by their agents, they could form the local, provincial and national social departments. With the social departments safely behind them, the rest would be easy. The government would proclaim the "freedom" of the trade unions and trust the "representatives of the workers" with appointing the leading bodies. And the very same union bosses who are out to impose their political line on us today would be "democratically" appointed to leading posts by the hand-picked members of the social departments. Free elections, indeed!

Q. The socialists from the General Alliance of Labor and the members of the National Confederation of Working People who

reside as emigres in Toulouse have denounced the turncoats who surrender to Solis.

A. Correct, and we highly appreciate this. But some dissident socialists participate also in the "Professional Labor Alliance" (ASO). With the financial aid of the American and German trade unions they are trying, in pursuit of political aims, to "inflate" this alliance. Moreover, some of the socialist leaders of the ASO are on the best of terms with Minister Solis, whereas the latter is at loggerheads with the Toulouse Executive of the Spanish Socialist Workers' Party. It should be pointed out that the ASO was formed by these Socialists together with the turncoat anarchists who struck a deal with the bosses of the vertical trade unions. The ASO comprises these Socialists and anarchists plus the Catalan Socialist Movement and some Catholics. It has not yet stated its attitude towards the treasonous act of some of its members, has not denounced them. Pallach, who had been writing a great deal of late, has not yet found the time to explain this to us. This is an uncomely business, and instead of engaging in pathological anti-communism he would do well to say what he thinks of those who received 40 million from the government.

The ASO appears in an even more disagreeable light after the following significant event. Mr. Morse, director of the International Labor Office, visited Madrid and discussed trade union matters with government officials and leaders of the vertical trade unions. After the meetings with the Francoists he received representatives of the ASO, which passes for a clandestine organization, and had a friendly talk with them. This entitles us to ask: to what degree is the ASO not compromised by a "pact" with the leaders of the vertical unions? To what degree do the latter stay away from the current farce of the fascist corporative trade unions miraculously turning into "free" unions, without being disbanded or condemned?

Q. In face of such maneuvers, what truly working-class tactics should be adopted?

A. It is necessary to take part in the trade union elections, as the Madrid metalworkers' commission has already proposed, regarding them as a very important class battle. It is necessary to win over to our side the majority of trade union liaison men and jurors and to organize in such a way as to win in the second round the maximum possible number of social departments, at the local and provincial as well as national levels.

As a matter of fact, participation in the elections is not simply a matter of utilizing or not utilizing the vertical unions. As such, they have already been brushed aside by the fascist union bosses themselves. What is involved here is a major battle in the struggle for new trade unions to replace the existing ones. The issue is one of winning positions in this struggle, of making a step which can

predetermine their character by thwarting the maneuvers of the bosses of the vertical trade unions and the turncoat anarchists. On the other hand, if the unitary workers' commissions establish control over a large number of trade union jurors and liaison men, if, in addition, they establish control over hundreds of social departments at all levels and in some branches at the national level (which is quite possible), if links are established between these commissions and the trade union jurors and social departments, in this case the contracts and coordination realized in the course of the struggle waged in different forms will lead to the creation of such a powerful and extensive system of organization and rallying the masses of workers which, given favorable conditions, will be able to mobilize the entire working class and become the most effective instrument of the democratic opposition, the decisive weapon of the anti-Franco struggle.

RESULTS OF THE MOSCOW VISIT*

Etienne Fajon

Now that de Gaulle is back in France, it will be useful to make some comments on his visit to the Soviet Union, particularly on the joint declaration he signed together with President Podgorny.

Let us state outrigh. that this declaration is a positive document testifying to a real and substantial improvement in the relations between the two countries.

It announces increases in all kinds of exchanges between the USSR and France, the setting up of a permanent mixed commission to promote these exchanges, continuation of regular political consultations between the two governments, the establishment of a direct communications link between the Kremlin and the Elysé Palace, a future visit of Soviet leaders to our country. Besides, the two foreign ministers signed two agreements — on cooperation in space e..ploration and cn economic and scientific cooperation.

Naturally, the joint declaration is less specific where it passes from bilateral contacts to more general problems. On Vietnam, it stresses that the Geneva Agreements, which exclude all foreign interference, remain the sole basis for the settlement of the conflict. On European security and the German problem, the sides exchanged opinions in a favorable atmosphere but failed to overcome the divergencies and agree on the application of jointly proclaimed principles.

This is hardly surprising. It should be borne in mind that France is not an ally of the Soviet Union today, but, through the Atlantic pact, an ally of the United States and West Germany. However, consolidation of Franco-Soviet relations should certainly help towards a detente in Europe and thereby towards the settlement of the acutest issues.

In addition to having resulted in diplomatic agreements, the President's trip will strengthen the French people's feelings of friendship for the Soviet Union. To be sure, for millions of us this friendship has never weakened. But millions of others did not escape the influence of the campaign of slander against the socialist country conducted by the reactionaries.

It should be said in passing that at one time de Gaulle figured prominently in this campaign. Wasn't it de Gaulle who depicted

*L'Humanité, July 2, 1966.

the Soviet Union as a totalitarian, aggressive and threatening power?

But the new world realities and capitalist contradictions have compelled him to go right to the spot and proclaim there the truth, i.e., that the Soviet Union is a great power which suffered terribly during the war and which made a decisive contribution to our own liberation, that it "prospers and is full of peaceful ardour" and wishes us only good. These are important admissions which no one should forget, and which we shall recall when necessary.

Besides, it would be a fatal mistake to abandon the cause of Franco-Soviet friendship to the vicissitudes of a policy of convenience. De Gaulle sealed this friendship by the treaty of 1944, then he reneged on it, and now he admits its necessity once again. Let the people of France, impelled by other reasons, maintain it for their good, see to it that it prospers, and prevent it from being underminded.

On a more general plane, we urge them to speak out and act for a genuinely French peace policy free from the contradictions of Gaullism.

Take just one example. Is it normal, from the viewpoint of statesmanship, that, after stressing the peaceful aspirations of the Soviet Union and signing a declaration pointing to the danger of nuclear proliferation, the first thing de Gaulle did, having hardly unpacked his suitcases, was to order new nuclear blasts in the Pacific, that is, to furnish the German militarists and others with a pretext to demand their own strike force!

Several days ago the French Communist Party published its program for the parliamentary elections. Re-read the foreign policy part of the program. The striving for greater cooperation with all countries is closely linked in it with activities for a ban on nuclear weapons and destruction of their stocks, for general, simultaneous and controlled disarmanent.

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INTERVIEW WITH GUS HALL*

"This time the United States has no fighting allies, nor allies sharing in the big profits made by business on this war.

"The war is having a disastrous effect on the USA. The worst of it is the inflation now raging in the country. Prices elude all control and taxes keep rising. This is why the American people as a whole are more and more concerned about the threats to their standard of living created by the war. The strike of the civil aviation mechanics is a case in point.

"But the policy of aggression does not hit the working people alone. It also runs counter to the interests of a section of the capitalists.

"During my trip I propose to insist on the need to carry forward the maturing of protest by world public opinion against the U.S. aggression. For I think U.S. imperialism today is more vulnerable politically than militarily. Indeed, it is very sensitive to the reactions of world opinion.

"A new stage in the escalation might also lose the Democrats some votes, for the vast majority of American opinion is either neutral or hostile to the policy of aggression.

"It is significant that unlike what happened during the Korean war, nobody has succeeded in creating in the United States a movement in favor of the aggression or in bringing about an upsurge of war hysteria.

"The bomb raids on Hanoi and Haiphong were supposed to reinforce the Democrats before the elections, but they have only weakened Johnson's position.

"About fifty members of Congress, including Senators Kennedy, Fulbright, Morse, Gore and MacGovern, have taken a stand against escalation. This opposition reflects the evolution of American opinion, as well as differences between capitalist groups. A section of business rightly believes that continuation of the war spells disaster for the United States.

"Senator Kennedy has taken this opportunity to dissociate himself from Johnson and improve his chances of running for the Presidency some day.

"In the elections to be held in November, the Communist Party is going to support all candidates — there are about 200 of them — who have taken a clear stand in favor of peace and talks. In some constituencies it will nominate its own candidates for the House of Representatives, specifically in Chicago, Milwaukee, San Francisco and New York (Brooklyn)."

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*Translated from the French. **L'Humanite**, August 18, 1966.

Gus Hall next spoke briefly of the Negro civil rights movement. We asked him, in particular, whether the watchword of "black power" lately put forward by several Negro leaders had really given rise to serious differences in the movement.

"It would be an overstatement to speak of fundamental differences," Gus Hall said. "The slogan of 'black power' is justified where Negro population constitutes a majority and where Negro candidates can therefore be elected as members of legislative bodies, mayors, police officials and judges.

"But elsewhere the Negro leaders agree that they must cooperate with the progressive and liberal elements among the white population. They know full well that the colored population makes up only 10 per cent of the total and so there can be no 'black power' on a national scale.

"In the Negro ghettos the problem is to find organizational forms likely to make anti-racist struggle effective. Ten to fifteen billion dollars would have to be deducted from the war budget every year to finance vast social and economic programs. But Johnson's famous program of combating poverty is dead, a victim to the policy of war in Vietnam."

NODON SHINMUN ON TROTSKYISM*

The theory of "permanent revolution" is the main starting point underlying the position and policy of Trotsky's "Left-wing" opportunism. Trotskyism is also an anti-revolutionary theory denying the possibility of the victory of socialist revolution and construction of socialism in one country, the Pyonghang *Nodon Shinmun* writes in an article on Trotskyism.

Lenin's ideas concerning the possibility of socialist revolution triumphing in one country, the author of the article continues, carried forward the revolutionary theory of Marxism creatively opplying it to the new conditions of the epoch of imperialism.

The Trotskyites claimed that the improvement of material and cultural conditions of the people under socialism would lead to corruption and degradation of society and create the danger of the restoration of capitalism. Under this influence an erronous tendency appeared in the Soviet Union at one time the essence of which was that neither the Bolshevist cause nor socialism are possible without the existence of a stratum of the poor and that efforts should be made to preserve such a stratum because, allegedly, socialism and higher living standards contradict each other.

The counter-revolutionary essence of Trotskyism, the author points out, became most evident in the absolute denial of Lenin's theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Slandering the Soviet socialist society, Trotsky claimed that differentiation into classes would take place under socialism just as it does under capitalism, that relations of domination and subordination would revive and contradictions arise between classes. In accordance with Trotsky's theory, material values grow as production develops and, as a result of distribution according to the quantity and quality of labor, "bourgeois elements" inevitably emerge and gain in strength under socialism, and "all kinds of relations and habits inherent in bourgeois society" revive and develop.

The author writes that the Trotskyites vigorously opposed combining violent and non-violent methods in revolutionary struggle, against combining illegal forms of struggle with legal ones, and insisted only on "offensive" and reckless rebellion.

The national-liberation struggle in the colonies is a component of the world proletarian revolution and an important element of the anti-imperialist revolutionary forces. But Trotsky did not want to see the important role and place of the struggle for national

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Pravda, September 18, 1966.

liberation in the colonies and treated it with contempt.

The crime of the Trostkyites as traitors to the cause of proletarian revolution consist also in splitting and subversive actions which they committed to undermine the party of the working class, the international working-class and Communist movement. The factional and splitting activities of the Trotskyites aimed at subverting the working-class and Communist movement reached their peak after Trotsky had been expelled from the country. To lay a foundation for their factional activity against the International, the Trotskyites recruited everywhere traitors of the working-class movement, agents and spies bribed by imperialism, and did not shun overt enemies of the working class.

The Trotskyites, the author concludes, did their utmost to unite their associates in one or another country, inciting them to split the ranks of the world Communist movement. They also committed all kinds of subversive acts in an effort to prevent the revolutionary development and activity of Marxist-Leninist parties in various countries.

COMMUNIST AND WORKERS' PARTIES COMMENT ON THE 11TH PLENUM OF THE CC CPC

The Chinese press reports that the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party held its 11th Plenum in Peking from August 1 to 12 with Mao Tse-tung, Chairman of the CPC, presiding (the previous plenum met in 1962). The plenum discussed and passed the resolution "On the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution" and approved "major guidelines and measures bearing on internal and international matters".

CHINA: THE "GREAT PROLETARIAN CULTURAL REVOLUTION" AND "CHAIRMAN MAO'S THOUGHT"*

The Chinese press has been carrying on intensive propaganda over what is called "application of Chairman Mao's creative thought" in the most diverse activities of the country.

This campaign has been on a steady increase since the shifts and removals among the members of the Central Committee and numerous people holding key posts in the government and the armed forces resulting from the so-called "great proletarian cultural revolution".

Among the dismissed there are people who had been members of the CC CPC for over twenty years, members of the Political Bureau and deputy premiers. They include Peng Chen, ex-Mayor of Peking and First Secretary of the Peking City Committee of the Party, Liu Ting-yi, who was in charge of ideological work in the CC CPC, and many other Party leaders at various levels, university rectors, youth leaders, ministers, deputy ministers, and top-ranking military leaders.

The announcement of each dismissal has invariably been accom-

*Granma, August 31, 1966.

panied by the charge of "opposing the application of Chairman Mao Tse-tung's ideas".

Simultaneously with these removals important reforms were carried out in curricula and teaching methods. The beginning of classes in higher educational institutions was deferred, entrance examinations were abolished in favor of selection based chifly on the opinion of political organizations. Studying Chairman Mao's works was included in the curricula at all levels, from elementary school to university.

In the early months of this year the Hsinhua bulletins every months carried from nine to eleven reports on "the role of Chairman Mao Tse-tung's thought". From May 1966, when the first announcements were made of the dismissal of members of the government and of Party and military leaders and talks began about the "upsurge of the proletarian cultural revolution", the number of reports dealing with "the role of Chairman Mao's thought" soared. At that time the bulletins of Chinese agencies carried 36 reports of this kind, that is, many more than during the previous three months. Their number kept on growing — there appeared 119 articles, or almost twice as many as between January and May 1966. In July and August it was as great as in May and June. This propaganda stresses that Mao's philosophical ideas are applied in industry, culture, farming, trade, education, research, sports, etc.

It centres on "the great proletarian cultural revolution", which the Chinese leaders regard as one of the outstanding world developments of today.

It emphasizes the need to make a thorough study of "Mao Tse-tung's works" and "his philosophy". "Mao's philosophical thought" is said to be of "decisive help" to workers in smelting steel or making electric bulbs, to peasants in solving problems of agricultural production, to those in charge of distribution in selling watermelons and other goods, to educators in establishing academic systems, to doctors in treating burns, to scientists in solving complicated problems in the most diverse fields of science. Even table tennis players are said to apply Mao's philosophical ideas in order to win competitions in this game.

Simple scientific formulas or concepts prompted by elementary common sense, which have long been used in many countries of the world without there being a need to accomplish a social revolution and to study Chairman Mao's philosophy, dialectics and works, are assessed as "creative interpretations of Chairman Mao's philosophical thought."

Information on this propaganda floods the world press, especially the imperialist press, which has set out to disseminate it widely by printing word for word paragraphs from reports by Hsinhua and China's principal newspapers and journals.

Had information on the nature of this propaganda been reach-

ing us only through imperialist agencies, it would have been wrong to believe it. Some of these propaganda reports published by the imperialists might seem to be inspired by lack of respect for the Chinese people and their revolution. But it is Hsinhua itself that has released reports under such headings as "Mao's Thought Is Supreme Guide of Chinese Science", "Mao's Thought Is Applied in Treating Burns", "Mao's Thought Plays Leading Role in Manufacturing Vegetable Oil", "Chinese Champion Applies Dialectics to Table Tennis", "The Japanese Hail Successful Chinese Nuclear Test As Victory for Chairman Mao's Thought", "Philosophy in Selling Melons", "Shanghai Worker Applies Philosophical Ideas in Smelting Steel."

It would have taken too much space to list all those titles about the importance of "Chairman Mao's thought" in the most diverse political, economic, social, cultural, educational, sports, scientific and other activities. But to give our reader an idea of the nature of the propaganda, we are going to quote some extracts from it.

"Chinese Champion Applies Dialectics to Table Tennis"

"Peking. When a patient has high fever, a headache, or diarreha, tennis players, wrote of how to play table tennis his aim was to help players to improve their performance . . .

"However, the manner in which he uses dialectical analysis and reveals the influence of Mao Tse-tung's thought has aroused widespread interest in China, even among those who have never played table tennis. A player cannot avoid nervous tension during a crucial contest and this tells on his performance. But Su Yin-sheng learned from Mao Tse-tung's works that while external causes lead to a change, the root of the change lies in internal causes. External causes, that is, objective circumstances, become effective only through internal causes, that is, through the subjective attitude of the individual in question. By studying Mao Tse-tung's writings, he came to understand dialectics, which help him to analyze his own performance and that of his adversaries and to face any contestant confidently and calmly."

"Application of Mao Tse-tung's Thought in Treating Burns"

"Peking. When a patient has high fever, a headache, or diarrhea, when he is restless or has some other complication, treatment should concentrate, not on secondary aspects, but on the fundamental problem, namely, the injury, whose successful treatment makes it possible to deal with all other manifestations. In this way the patient is spared the strain caused by the use of a variety of palliatives . . .

"These were some of the considerations that occured to the young Peking surgeons as they were equipping themselves for their

task, both politically and ideologically, through an exhaustive study of Chairman Mao Tse-tung's works . . .

"The main cause of death from burns is infection of the surface of the injuries and septicemia. No complete solution has been found to this problem either in this country or in any other, and antibiotics do not always yield satisfactory results . . .

"The young doctors strove to understand the laws governing the development of septicemia and came to the conclusion that although the whole surface of the injury was contaminated with bacteria, it would depend on the patient's resistance whether or not septicemia set in. This is the decisive factor, tested through a careful study of cases of different ages, stages and conditions. Bacteria as a factor are the external cause while the functioning of the patient's body is the internal and more important cause . . .

"This is a noteworthy example of how a study of Chairman Mao's article 'On Contradiction' led on to the right track in tackling a very complicated problem."

"Chinese Worker Scientist Applies Mao's Thought in Making Electric Bulbs"

A Hsinhua report says that a Chinese "worker scientist" applied Chairman Mao's thought in making electric bulbs. Here is a passage from it:

"Why do we make bulbs? Because in making bulbs we draw on Chairman Mao's thought. Our team is made up of young workers educated in the spirit of Chairman Mao Tse-tung's thought and armed with it. "Never before," the Hsinhua report goes on to say, "have we workers and young people studied the sources of electric light of a new type. But in order to meet the requirements of socialist construction in our country and open the way for new sources of electric light, we have completely discarded blind faith in Western scientific technology and inspired ourselves with the noble desire to manufacture better bulbs. Under the leadership of the Party, after four years of work, we made progress in manufacturing over ten new types of electric bulbs."

"Dialectics should be applied in making electric bulbs," the Hsinhua report continues. "This is the basic lesson we have learnt in manufacturing bulbs. The methods set forth by Chairman Mao in his work *On Contradiction* are the most effective ideological weapon making it possible to overcome one obstacle after another in conducting scientific experiments and in scaling the steepest heights of science."

"Philosophy in Selling Melons"

"Peking. A fruit distributing company of Shanghai has discovered a method of eliminating what used to be big losses in selling water-

melons in summer. By this method the company has increased sales, reduced costs, and raised receipts and net profit."

An article written by the company manager (the company, operating in Chapei District, is a branch of the Shanghai municipal company dealing in fruit and other goods) has aroused widespread interest and has been reprinted by *Jenminjihpao* and later by the other national dailies published in Peking. Chou Hsin-li, the manager, attributes his great success to the study and application of Mao Tse-tung's work *On Contradiction.*

"We discovered our main contradiction and studied ways of tackling its main aspect," he wrote.

He went on to say that in 1963 the company had purchased melons at the average rate of 250 to 400 tons in the busiest season, summer. The staffs of its 29 retail shops, overwhelmed with work, felt positively helpless. They did their best but could not avoid a high proportion of loss.

Before the 1964 crop came in some employees of the company were sent to the countryside to consult suppliers. They saw melon patches dotted with thousands of melons. That meant that deliveries to that company alone would be increased by roughly 50 per cent.

How were they to sell all those water-melons?

Chou Hsin-li says that he and his fellow-workers got tremendous help at that juncture from the ideas contained in Mao Tse-tung's work *On Contradiction.* Mao wrote: "Everything contains a contradiction" and "the interdependence of the contradictory aspects of things and their conflict determine life and stimulate the development of these things."

The important thing was to individualize the contradictions and determine the main contradiction. A careful analysis brought them to the conclusion that the problem lay in the contradiction between an abundant supply within a limited period and the use of sales personnel. The contradiction lay in the inadequacy of the network of retail shops, the distribution of personnel, transport, storage and management.

The "discovery" of the contradiction helped them see the proportions and nature of the problems they had to solve. These problems seemed formidable and some members of the management wavered and suggested cutting purchases to bring them into harmony with the available network of shops. But the majority, regarding their job as part of the overall revolutionary effort to serve the people, decided to reorganize the network in order to bring it into line with growing output and consumption. The question was how to go about it.

That is when Mao Tse-tung's idea of the need to "concentrate a superior force in order to destroy enemy units one by one" proved useful. This principle applied to military tactics, but Chou Hsin-li

and his fellow-workers used it in solving their own problem of selling melons.

The company s chain of retail shops also dealt in vegetables, confectionary, cigarettes and wines. Of course, it was necessary to distribute the personnel properly in order to sell all that produce.

But in July and August of that year, the season of water-melons, they concentrated on selling water-melons. Moreover, they set up itinerant shops in factories and streets.

On the busiest days of this summer the extended network of retail shops employed 300 people in selling melons.

That year one of the larger retail shops sold 300 tons of melons. Most members of the personnel were engaged in selling melons. They were divided into seven teams, three of them handling storage and sorting and four serving the customers.

They knew from experience that the greatest sales fell in the period between July 25 and early August. They therefore sold the melons as soon as they were delivered and prepared adequately for the arrival of the last large batch, part of which they laid by for autumn.

When business was particularly brisk they signed contracts with other organizations for extra storage facilities.,

Besides, 87 per cent of the melons was transported in the company's own small trucks and the tricycles of the retail shops, instead of the large trucks supplied earlier by the city's transport company. This removed one of the main causes of loss of time and goods.

In the busiest period the staff every night analyzed the work done during the day, and planned its work for the next day, taking into account time and other factors.

The people of Shanghai like to have a water-melon on a hot summer day. Through its new planning system the company met the demand better than ever and at the same time stimulated production in the rural communes.

In 1964 the company sold 70% more melons than in 1963, cut costs by 30% and losses by 1.72%, and increased gross receipts from the sale of melons by 35%.

Last year, too, they used and improved these methods, achieving even better results. Today they are prepared to receive any quantity of melons.

"Chinese Barber Uses Mao Tse-tung's Theory on Contradiction in His Work"

Another article published in the Chinese press concerns the application of "Mao Tse-tung's theory on contradiction" in clipping hair!

The Hsinhua news agency reported that Li Teh-hsiung, a barber, "has for six years now studied Chairman Mao Tse-tung's work

every day. He has been trying to combine Chairman Mao's ideas with his work in the shop." According to Hsinhua, he has used Chairman Mao's work *Analysis of the Classes in Chinese Society* and Mao's writings on contradiction . . .

The barber in question was "good but slow", as Hsinhua puts it, but now he is "good and prompt". Studying Mao's works, he says, helped him to find a solution to the problem of "preventing children from crying when they are having their hair cut."

This shows, in the view of Hsinhua, that "when a barber pays special attention to politics he can serve the people and revolution even when he has nothing in his hand but a pair of scissors and comb".

The barber has benefited greatly, according to Hsinhua, from Mao's writings on contradiction. Having read "that external causes are the conditions for a change and internal causes are basic to the change, so that the former operate through the latter", the barber came to the conclusion, Hsinhua comments, "that children do not like strangers tampering with their heads and making them sit still". This barber "makes children skip around in the shop, and offers them toys and picture books". This is how the problem of children who cry when their hair is being cut was solved.

All these reports, repeated in a thousand different keys, bring the propaganda agencies of the PRC to the conclusion that "Chairman Mao is the beacon of the revolution among the peoples of the world", that "Mao is the greatest revolutionary leader of today", that "Chairman Mao is the red sun warming the hearts of the peoples of the world."

Encomiums of Mao Tse-tung's thought and of the role he plays in the promotion of Party, government, scientific, sport, commercial, agricultural and other activities exceed all bounds. They have no parallel whatever.

In an effort to prove that Chairman Mao Tse-tung, a man of 72, is in excellent health and splendid trim, the Chinese press devoted whole pages and numerous photographs to the Chinese leader's latest public appearances, including the 15-kilometre swim he took in the Yangtse in a mere 65 minutes.

Another example of this kind of propaganda was the Chinese press report on Chairman Mao's meeting with the scientists who had attended the Physics Colloquy in Peking. Following are some excerpts from the information published under the headline:

"Chairman Mao Is a Sun That Never Sets in the Hearts of the Peoples of the World"

"Peking, August 6 (Hsinhua). 'Here comes Chairman Mao!' 'Here comes Chairman Mao!' On July 31 last, at 10 p.m., Chairman Mao Tse-tung received the scientists from various countries who had

attended the Physics Colloquy in Peking. The hall was brightly lit. With firm and calm step Chairman Mao walked over to foreign friends, who could not find the words to express their feelings on seeing the great leader who is respected throughout the world. They fixed their gaze on his tall figure, well-developed body and good-humoured countenance, as if etching an indelible impression into their minds. Later on some of the scientists told their Chinese colleagues they had been so moved that their hearts had risen to their mouths."

Unfortunately, the imperialists draw on information of this kind to ridicule, not only the Chinese leaders, but the ideas of Communism. It is a sad fact that the People's Republic of China should have afforded the enemies of socialism and communism an opportunity to sneer and mock.

Many of us revolutionaries are surprised by this information of an official nature reaching us through the news agencies of the People's Republic of China, where the situation at the moment is no doubt painful and uncertain.

If the Chinese comrades are willing to listen to advice, we warn them that they are making themselves the laughing stock of the whole world. One does not really have to read "Chairman Mao's works" to come to this conclusion.

STATEMENT OF THE POLITICAL BUREAU OF THE FRENCH COMMUNIST PARTY*

The Political Bureau of the French Communist Party has examined problems posed by the war the United States is continuing in Vietnam.

The present situation is characterized by growing aggressiveness of U.S. imperialism and at the same time by difficulties it is encountering.

The U.S. expeditionary corps is constantly demanding reinforcements. It resorts to ever new destruction and multiplies its crimes. It continues the escalation, which can lead to a world conflict. But the Vietnamese people are inflicting defeats upon the aggressor; the soldiers of Saigon's puppet army are deserting en masse; the political isolation of the Johson government is growing all over the world.

In these conditions it is more just and realistic than ever to demand that U.S. imperialism, which is solely responsible for the war, discontinue the bombing raids on the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, recognize the representative character of the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam and enter into negotiations with it, and agree to the effective application of the Geneva Agreements — in other words, to peace.

The heroic struggle of the Vietnamese people, the assistance from the socialist countries, the solidarity of the working class of all countries and of all the peoples of the world — all these factors, combined, can lead to the triumph of the just cause of the Vietnamese people, to the triumph of peace.

The aggressors take inspiration chiefly from the split in these forces. That is why the conduct of the Chinese leaders is in effect of considerable service to them.

The Chinese leaders have already turned down all proposals aimed at coordinating the assistance of the socialist countries to the Vietnamese people.

The recent statement of the Central Committee of their party, appearing at a time when the government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam expresses due appreciation of the Soviet Union's decisive assistance, is a conglomeration of the current anti-Soviet calumnies.

The street demonstration organized in front of the Soviet Embassy in Peking on August 29 and 30 is a new and grave stage on the road chosen by the Chinese leaders. By inciting hatred for

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L'Humanité, August 31, 1966.

the first country of socialism whose guns, planes, missiles and specialists enable heroic Vietnam to inflict severe losses upon the imperialists, they obviously encourage the latter to continue their aggression, if not to spread it to other regions of the world.

The Political Bureau of the FCP condemns these splitting actions and these anti-Soviet provocations.

It urges all the working people, all men and women of France to continue on a still bigger scale demonstrations of solidarity with the Vietnamese people, who are fighting at the same time for the freedom of their country and for world peace.

IN THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE CPSU*

Serious heed was paid in the Central Committee of the CPSU to the communiqué of the 11th Plenum of the CC, CP of China, held under Comrade Mao Tse-tung's chairmanship. The communiqué was released for the Chinese press.

As it transpires from the communiqué, the CC, CPC plenum examined internal matters and passed a resolution on the so-called "great proletarian cultural revolution". In addition, the plenum made a number of statements on problems of the world Communist movement and in this connection launched slanderous attacks on the CPSU and the Soviet Union. The plenum decisions formally confirmed the CPC leadership's intention to persist in carrying out its special line and to oppose it to the Marxist-Leninist line jointly worked out by the brother parties of the 1957 and 1960 meetings. The records of the plenum show that the CPC leadership has formalized approval of its anti-Soviet line as an official policy of the Communist Party of China. The plenum virtually rejected the proposal of the CPSU and other brother parties for joint action against imperialism, including action against the U.S. imperialist aggression in Vietnam.

It is worthy of note that the anti-Soviet campaign which has been going on in China over a long period, has gathered fresh momentum precisely since the plenum. It is becoming more and more evident that the CPC leadership, which uses as a cover false allegations about "collusion" between the USSR and U.S. imperialism and about "capitalist restoration" in the Soviet Union, is

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*Pravda, Sept. 1, 1966.

again provoking a sharp worsening of the relations between the USSR and the CPR. Things have gone as far as the staging of mass riots outside the Soviet Embassy in Peking.

The CC, CPSU considers that actions and statements of this kind, officially undertaken by the leading body of the CPC, signify a new grave step injuring the unity of the world Communist movement and the fight for socialism, national liberation and the peace and security of nations. At a time when imperialism is stepping up its effort against the revolutionary movement, extending the dirty war in Vietnam, this step is an extremely great service to imperialism and reaction. The responsibility for the rejection of joint, agreed action against imperialism and reaction, for continuous attempts to split the Communist movement and the socialist commonwealth and to weaken the anti-imperialist front falls squarely on the leadership of the CPC and the CPR.

The CC, CPSU has always maintained that the fight against imperialism and all reactionary forces imperatively demands the unity, cohesion and solidarity of all Communist parties, all socialist countries and all contingents of the revolutionary and liberation movement.

In spite of the difficulties the CPC leadership creates, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union will continue its policy of promoting friendship with the Chinese Communists, with the millions-strong Chinese people, and will resolutely uphold the general line of the world Communist movement, the principles of Marxism-Leninism, of proletarian internationalism.

STATEMENT BY THE CC BCP*

The Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party regards it as its duty to express deep concern about the communiqué of the recent 11th Plenum of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China and about the events linked with it that are taking place in the Chinese People's Republic.

This concern stems primarily from the fact that the plenum decisions uphold the erroneous and disastrous position of the CPC on cardinal issues of the international Communist and working-class movement, on the struggle of the peoples against imperialism, for peace, national liberation and socialism, and that they again level perfectly groundless accusations at Marxist-Leninist brother

*Abridged from **Rabotnichesko delo, September 2, 1966.**

parties. This position — which, as everyone knows, is directed against the unity of the Communist and other progressive, anti-imperialist forces of the world — creates serious difficulties in the fight against imperialist aggression in Asia, Africa and Latin America. The imperialists and reactionaries are taking advantage of the CPC position. It has proved particularly harmful to the effort to establish unity of action against the U.S. imperialists' barbarous aggression against the Vietnamese people.

The CC, BCP regards as slander the communiqué recriminations against the CPSU and the Soviet Union, which it accuses of "betraying" Marxism-Leninism and of revisionist manifestations, of "collusion" with imperialism, of "preserving imperialist and capitalist rule in the capitalist world and promoting the restoration of capitalism in the socialist world."

Mankind can bear witness that the CPSU consistently accomplished its duty toward Marxist-Leninist brother parties and the national-liberation movement, that the Soviet Union gives the most powerful moral, political and material support to the peoples fighting against imperialism, that it is the Soviet Union that is rendering the heroic Vietnamese people the greatest all-round assistance in their fight against the U.S. imperialist aggression.

In defiance of the facts, the CC, CPC slanders the CPSU and Lenin's country to arouse anti-Soviet sentiment, which has been particularly marked since the communqué was published, and to worsen the relations between the Soviet Union and the CPR.

The CC, BCP considers that this activity of the Chinese Party and state leadership is fraught with grave dangers. It is dealing a new blow at the unity of the international Communist and national revolutionary movement, undermining the activity of the progressive forces of the world, and encouraging the imperialists to launch new acts of aggression. The responsibility for the consequences of these actions falls on the CPC leadership, which in late years has systematically rejected the effort of brother parties toward unity on Marxist-Leninist lines, toward joint action against imperialist aggression.

The CC, BCP is troubled, furthermore, by reports on the so-called "great proletarian cultural revolution" now being carried on in the CPR. Recent developments in China's cultural and political life, which have become known to the world, may benefit only world reaction in its constant effort to discredit the ideas of socialism and communism, to weaken their appeal for the working class, intelligentsia and other working people in the capitalist and newly-free countries.

The Bulgarian Communist Party, true to Marxism-Leninism and the general line of the world Communist movement, will increase its solidarity with all Marxist-Leninist parties and will strive to

achieve unity and promote friendship on Marxist-Leninist lines with the Chinese Communist Party and the Chinese people. It will continue to assist the national-liberation movement and other progressive movements in the name of the common fight for peace, national independence and socialism.

SPEECH BY A. NOVOTNY

At the Traditional Meeting of Graduates of Higher Military Schools with Party and Government Leaders*

The military aggression of the United States in Vietnam is a grave threat to world peace, to world progress. It is the most glaring violation of the U.N. Charter and of all principles of international law and a mockery of the freedom-loving traditions of the American people themselves.

Together with other socialist countries we expressed our viewpoint in the "Statement on U.S. Aggression in Vietnam" adopted at the recent session of the Political Consultative Committee of the Warsaw Treaty states in Bucharest, where we pointed out that the actions of the U.S. government in Vietnam are an international crime and that the U.S. aggressors will not evade punishment for the tremendous material and human losses suffered by the Vietnamese people. "The government of the United States should know that the more crimes are committed against the Vietnamese people, the heavier the guilt, the graver the punishment," it was said in the Statement.

We insist that the U.S. government discontinue its war of aggression and embark on consistent implementation of the Geneva Agreements.

When discussing the question of U.S. aggression against Vietnam the Presidium of the Central Committee of our Communist Party reaffirmed our solidarity with the fraternal Vietnamese people. We shall go on rendering both political support and material assistance to their struggle.

The Presidium stated, with regret, that the imperialists are brazenly exploiting the differences between the socialist countries and in the worldwide front of revolutionary and peace-loving forces, caused by the leadership of the Communist Party of China and the

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Abridged from Rude Pravo, September 4, 1965

People's Republic of China. The most serious consequence of the actions of the Chinese leaders is that they weaken the unity of the socialist countries in rendering assistance to the embattled Vietnamese people and prevent all the anti-war forces rallying in opposition to the aggression. The correctness of our criticism of the stand of the leaders of the Communist Party of China is confirmed by recent developments in China, where the so-called "cultural revolution" is being accomplished by students and children. It is alleged that this revolution is to guarantee the preservation of revolutionary principles in China, and that the young people heading the movement should become the motive force of this process. In reality, this movement has nothing in common with class consciousness; its chief purpose is to incite hatred for the Soviet Union, which is absurdly accused of having formed an alliance with the United States. Chinese policy and the current events in China do harm to the revolutionary and peace forces not only in Asia, but the world over and thereby enables world reaction to step up its offensive.

In the present international situation we in Czechoslovakia are very much interested also in the developments of events in Europe and above all in the FRG, which is today the chief assistant of the imperialist policy of the United States, and which utilizes this assistance in the interest of its revanchist designs in Europe.

It should be noted that the resolute stand taken by the Warsaw Treaty states and their serious warning as regards the aspirations of the FRG government for access to nuclear weapons have contributed substantially to the growth of opposition to this dangerous course all over the world.

The stand of the Bonn government on German reunification, which it visualizes as forcible annexation of the German Democratic Republic, is another component of West Germany's dangerous policy. Restoration of German unity along peaceful and democratic lines—whether any one likes it or not—can be achieved only in conditions of a general improvement in the international climate and is a matter for the Germans themselves to accomplish. The road to this leads through effective guarantees of European security, through recognition of the existence of two German states and of the European borders established as a result of the Second World War.

The war in Vietnam and the developments in West Germany are undoubtedly the chief hotbeds of international tension at present. But in other parts of the world as well the reactionaries are trying to check progress, suppress the struggle for national liberation and prevent the peoples from deciding their destiny freely and independently, be it in Asia, Latin America or Africa.

World imperialism is rendering increasing support to the various ultra-reactionary leaders hated by the people; it engineers anti-

democratic coups and resorts to armed force to ruthlessly suppress the popular movement.

All this shows that a hard struggle is being waged at present between the reactionary imperialist forces and the forces of socialism, peace, progress and freedom of the peoples. Therefore it would be a mistake to succumb to pacifist sentiments, to entertain illusions regarding the real nature of the modern capitalist world, to shut one's eyes to the danger it presents to mankind.

Current developments confirm the correctness of our decision to align our republic in firm friendship and alliance with the USSR, with participation in the Warsaw Treaty, with union between the socialist countries.

STATEMENT BY THE CC SUPG*

A few days ago the Chinese press published the communiqué of the 11th Plenum of the CC, CPC which indicates that the plenum met in Peking four years after the 10th Plenum.

The communiqué stresses that the CPC leadership fully persists in the anti-Marxist-Leninist policy it has been following for several years to the detriment of the world Communist movement. The 11th Plenum of the CC, CPC officially confirmed the Chinese leaders' splitting platform published in June 1963 under the heading "Proposal for the General Line of the Communist Movement", as well as the gross attacks on the Marxist-Leninist brother parties, above all the CPSU, made in the "nine comments" of the Chinese press. The CC, SUPG has once already described the CC, CPC "Proposal" as a disruptive platform whose ideology and policy amount to a blend of petty-bourgeois nationalism, adventurism, great-power chauvinism and racism, as a platform contradicting the principles of the Moscow statements of 1957 and 1960 on all fundamental issues. By this the CPC leadership had openly set out to split the world Communist movement ideologically and politically.

This splitting policy has encouraged the aggressive forces of U.S. imperialism. It has promoted ultra-Left, adventurous elements, and has greatly injured the Communist parties and the national democratic movement as a whole in such countries as Indonesia. By continuing this pernicious line in defiance of all the earnest admonitions of the Communist and Workers' parties, the Chinese leaders have placed themselves in isolation. The records of the 11th Plenum

*Abridged from **Neues Deutschland**, Sept. 4, 1966.

of the CC, CPC flatly rejected all the proposals for joint action made by the Communist and Workers' parties, especially the proposals for action to end the U.S. aggression against Vietnam and to support the Vietnam people's fight for freedom. Thereby the CPC leadership took another grave step against the unity and cohesion of the world Communist movement, against the necessary unity of all anti-imperialist forces. It must be said in so many words that this attitude of the 11th Plenum of the CC, CPC objectively does great damage to the cause of Vietnam, socialism, the national independence of the peoples and peace, and benefits only the imperialist aggressors.

At the plenum the CC, CPC leadership took further steps to intensify its anti-Soviet campaign. The SUPG emphatically condemns the foul slander put out against the Leninist policy of the CPSU and regards it as an attack on all brother parties. The Chinese leaders' reckless charges are apparently expected to conceal the fact that their rejection of joint action is a new stimulus for the imperialists, who plan to split and weaken the anti-imperialist forces.

It is with shocked surprise that we watch the effects of the so-called proletarian cultural revolution in the course of which the great cultural heritage of the German people is also being defamed, as is evident from invective outbursts against the great German composers Bach and Beethoven, revered by all nations. That has nothing in common with the teachings of Marx, Engels and Lenin, who defined the historical mission of the working class as the recognized successor and continuator of the great achievements of world culture.

The excesses against diplomats of the German Democratic Republic within the framework of the "cultural revolution" in Peking were a serious violation of the elementary standards of international law.

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The CPC leaders' position feeds, above all, the speculations of the German imperialists and militarists, who are trying to use the splitting anti-Soviet policy of the Chinese leaders for their plans of aggression directed against the GDR and the other socialist countries of Europe. It complicates the fight of the progressive forces of the German people against West German imperialism, the chief ally of U.S. imperialism in Europe.

The Socialist Unity Party of Germany again signifies its firm resolve to do all in its power to promote the unity and cohesion of the Communist and Workers' parties and all anti-imperialist, democratic and freedom-loving forces on the basis of the general line of the world Communist movement, on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism.

THE EVENTS IN CHINA*

Hungarian Communists and the whole of our public are amazed at the news coming from the Chinese People's Republic.

The activity of the so-called "Red Guards" has opened a new chapter in the political campaign which the Chinese leaders call the "great proletarian cultural revolution". Organized groups of school children and students walk along the streets of Chinese towns, calling for a fight "against all that is old and contrary to Mao Tse-tung's ideas". They have almost unlimited powers.

In the Chinese People's Republic, whose rich cultural heritage, thousands of years old, is admired by every educated person, the scene has unexpectedly been left to elements which destroy art treasures under the slogan of fighting for the "new".

The "Red Guards" have attacked, among others, various Party, government and other public leaders. They insult foreigners, staff members of the embassies of the USSR and GDR. The riots outside the Soviet Embassy in Peking, lasting two days, topped all that had gone before. The catchwords that rang out from loudspeakers in front of the Embassy and were circulated in leaflet form were most insulting. That unprecedented demonstration and, indeed, the entire activity of the "Red Guards" show that the organizers assign the so-called "revolutionary movement" an important role in both home and foreign policy.

This is an indication that the Central Committee of the CPC fully backs the "Red Guards" and approves their activity even in its official decisions. The CC, CPC resolution says: *"The important thing in this movement is to spearhead it against those who are in power and are following the capitalist road."*

The resolution frankly encourages the rioters, saying that they *"should not be afraid of disturbances."*

To fight bourgeois and revisionist influence in cultural life is a duty of every revolutionary party. The Communist parties must be vigilant in this respect. But to destroy the Greek, Roman and Chinese treasures of the Peking museum, to demand a ban on the works of Beethoven, Mozart, Chaikovsky and Bartok, to destroy records, books and paintings does not mean being vigilant or combating bourgeois and revisionist ideological influence. Those are actions foreign to Communist ideas, to Marxism-Leninism.

The activity of those—whatever high-sounding phrases they may camouflage themselves with—who sack dwellings, beat up helpless elderly people, and walk them in public around the "circle of

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*Abridged from the MTI text of **Népszabadsag** editorial, released on Sept. 3, 1966.

disgrace" is unjustifiable. That is not revolutionary violence but brutality. It is the exact opposite of what the international working-class movement calls revolutionary action.

But those in China who have allowed events to take this course pay no heed to the opinion of the world Communist movement. The 11th Plenum of the CC, CPC, which met in August and which adopted a resolution to carry forward the so-called "cultural revolution", confirmed the splitting policy of the Chinese leaders against the Marxist-Leninist line developed by the brother parties in 1957 and 1960, as well as against the other parties in the world Communist movement. The Chinese leaders again heaped absurd slanders on the CPSU, alleging once more that "the CPSU is restoring capitalism in the Soviet Union" and that "the Soviet leaders are accomplices of the U.S. imperialists". The plenum again rejected the proposal of the CPSU and other brother parties for joint action against imperialism, in particular against the U.S. aggression in Vietnam.

This policy of the CPC leaders—the rejection of unity of action, an anti-Soviet, splitting line—a policy which reality has proved indefensible, is no longer followed by any Communist party except the Albanian Party of Labor, by any contingent of the world revolutionary labor movement. The brother parties, including the HSWP, confirm. now as in the past, that they stand for united, joint action, for coordinated anti-imperialist struggle in defense of the Vietnamese people. The CPC leadership should face the tremendous responsibility falling on the splitters of the anti-imperialist united front.

Of course, the Chinese leaders' attitude cannot prevent the Soviet Union and other socialist countries from giving the Vietnamese people every kind of assistance in their just struggle. But that unprincipled, disruptive attitude should be criticized. In their statements and press comments, the Communist parties rightly criticize the CPC leaders' policy, which prejudices the entire world Communist movement to begin with and, indirectly, embattled Vietnam, and in the final analysis helps the imperialists.

The only correct reply to these actions, which anger and cause concern to every Communist and every fair-minded person, is to take a consistent and principled stand and to strive unrelentingly for world Communist unity. All the brother parties, including the HSWP, are following this line. We are striving for this unity because it is in the interest of every Communist party, of the revolutionary and international liberation movement. We will never confuse the Chinese people, who have a glorious record and have achieved remarkable victories, with those who would like to separate China and the Communist Party of China from the socialist countries and other contingents of the world Communist movement.

We are quite certain that Marxism-Leninism, the idea of proletarian internationalism, and the general line of the world Communist movement will withstand the hardest test.

INTERVIEW BY KNUD JESPERSEN*

What is going on in China has nothing to do with culture, revolution or cultural revolution, said Knud Jespersen, Chairman of the Communist Party of Denmark, in his interview with *Extrabladet*. "It is sheer anarchy. I think it is very tragic that a thing like that should be happening in a country with an ancient culture. If all that is being done in the name of socialism it is a disservice to both China and socialism. We just cannot accept the declarations that the swims and bicycle rides taken by Mao are blows at capitalism.

"We are not surprised at what is taking place in China. There has been no Party congress there since 1956. That country cannot progress along the present lines. I'm convinced that it will find the right road.

"Socialist China cannot exist without the other socialist countries. It must therefore revise its foreign policy as well. China talks endlesly about fighing against imperialism but its present foreign policy creates formidable problems for its allies, primarily for the Soviet Union. The events in Vietnam may lead the world to catastrophe and it is therefore regrettable that in the dangerous period we are passing through the Chinese should waste their energy on smashing gramaphone records with music by Mozart or on renaming streets. From whatever standpoint you look at the events in China, they discredit both that country and socialism. Outbreaks of hooliganism have nothing to do with a Communist stand."

*Pravda, September 6, 1966.

"GREAT ANXIETY" ABOUT EVENTS IN CHINA*

Present events in China are causing great anxiety among progressive people throughout the world.

This was said in astatement issued yesterday by the executive committee of the British Communist Party.

The statement said that at a time when the utmost unity, especially of the international Communist movement, was needed to check the ever-extending aggression of the United States Government against the people of Vietnam, the leadership of the Communist Party of China had launched a campaign of open hostility against the Soviet Union and other Socialist countries.

SOVIET UNION

Vietnam Aid

During the period when American military leaders announced their intention of doubling their military forces in Vietnam to 600,000, the leaders of the Chinese Party called for three days of mass demonstrations in Peking, not against the aggressor, the United States, but against the Soviet Union.

Yet Soviet missiles, planes, guns and other military equipment, together with other supplies, were assisting the courageous Vietnamese people to withstand the U.S. attacks.

On August 12, 1966, the 11th plenary session of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China—the first full session since the 10th session in September 1962 had adopted a statement in which the main part of the international section was devoted to an attack on the Soviet Union and its leadership.

UNITED ACTION

Appeals Rejected

This accused the leadership of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union of following a line "of safeguarding imperialist and colonialist domination in the capitalist world and restoring capitalism in the Socialist world."

The British Party statement said that this charge was contrary to the facts.

It brought new dangers to the whole international Communist

*Morning Star, Sept. 13, 1966.

movement, making more difficult the task of the Vietnamese people, and harming the struggle for peace and against imperialism.

"No Communist can support such behavior which only brings satisfaction and comfort to the imperiailsts," the statement went on.

"The United States faces growing isolation and world-wide condemnation of its aggression in Vietnam.

"It is regrettable that at such a moment, the Chinese leaders should once again reject all appeals for international united action against U.S. aggression, and instead turn their fire against the other Socialist countries and other Communist Parties."

Every call for united action to assist Vietnam, made by other Communist Parties, including those of neighboring Korea and Japan, had gone unheeded by the Chinese Party leadership.

By its present policy, it was placing China in opposition to the rest of the Socialist world, to the other Communist parties and other progressive and democratic forces.

BRITISH GOVERNMENT

Pentagon Aid

"China is menaced by the U.S. Government, which has its troops, bases, planes and warships within a few hundred miles of China's frontiers.

"The British Government, by its support of the U.S. war on Vietnam, and by stoking up anti-Chinese feeling and falsely accusing China of having aims of aggresion and expansionism, is lending assistance to these plans of the Pentagon."

China's own interests clearly demanded that there should be the closest unity of all the progressive forces of mankind, and above all of the rest of the Socialist countries and the international Communist movement. But the present line of China's Communist leaders weakened this unity.

In this difficult and complex situation, the Chinese Communist leaders had launched the so-called "proletarian cultural revolution" and were encouraging the deification of Mao Tse-tung.

MAO TSE-TUNG

'Deification"

In his report to the 8th Congress of the Communist Party of China, on September 16, 1956, Teng Hsiao-ping, the General Secretary, stressed the importance of combating "the glorification and exaltation of individuals."

In practise, however, this call had been ignored by the Chinese Communist leaders. All wisdom was attributed to Mao Tse-tung. Every word he wrote was held to be sacred, and his ideas were

acclaimed as the basis of all advances in China. This had nothing in common with Communism, and discreidted the Communist Party of China.

The main content of the so-called "proletarian cultural revolution" was the deification of Mao Tse-tung, the stultification of creative thinking, and an attempt to crush all opposition to the present dogmatic, sectarian and anti-Soviet policy of the Chinese Communist Party leadership.

Under the slogan of the "intensification of the class struggle", an attack was being made against those, especially within the Party, who opposed the present course being pursued by the Chinese leaders.

DENIGRATION

"A Reversal"

Denigration of the great achievements of western culture was a reversal of the true Communist position. Marx, Engels, and Lenin always stressed the importance of outstanding artistic and creative achievement, no matter in which epoch it was carried out.

The so-called "proletarian cultural revolution" and the activities of the Red Guards were completely alien to the Communist movement and were harmful to the cause of Communism everywhere.

It was natural that there should be concern in progressive circles regarding the present policy being pursued by China's leaders. It could not be emphasized too strongly that this policy was a caricature of Communist ideas.

It served as a serious warning of the dangers into which a Communist Party could fall once it departed from Communist democratic practise and procedures, and the deification of an individual was allowed to replace the democratic functioning of the Party and the creative initiative of the people.

CONSTITUTION

Clear Breach

The lapse of time between Central Committee meetings was a clear violation of the constitution of the Chinese Party, adopted at its last congress, the eighth, in 1956.

At this congress it was laid down (Article 37) that "the Central Committee meets in plenary session at least twice a year to be convened by the Political Bureau of the Central Committee."

The British Party statement concluded: "We are confident that the great Chinese people, a fifth of mankind, who liberated themselves from feudalism and imperialism, and set their country on

the road to Socialism, will eventually find their way out of their present difficulties.

"We reaffirm our conviction that the struggle for national liberation, democracy, peace and socialism, requires the utmost unity and solidarity of the Socialist countries, of all democratic and national liberation movements, and above all, of the international Communist movement.

"It is to that end that we shall continue to work."

STATEMENT OF THE CC OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF FINLAND*

The reports on the measures being carried out of late in the People's Republic of China within the framework of the 'cultural revolution' has assumed forms utterly alien to Marxism and socialism. Every Party decides questions of its policy independently, and the CPF does not wish to interfere in the internal affairs of the Communist Party of China. But it has become clear now that the CPC leadership continues its attacks on other Communist parties and socialist countries.

In this connection the CPF stresses that the international working-class movement should concentrate its efforts on struggle against the aggressive policies of imperialism. The policy of the CPC hampers this rallying of forces and benefits the imperialist and anti-socialist forces in the capitalist countries. Despite all difficulties, the international Communist and working-class movement, all democrats and friends of peace as well as the national-liberation movement as a whole should strive for joint struggle for world peace and for the independence of the peoples.

*Kansan Uutiset, September 4, 1966.

TEXT OF LETTER SENT TO MAO TSE-TUNG BY THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF CANADA

MAO TSE-TUNG, CHAIRMAN
COMMUNIST PARTY OF CHINA,
PEKING, CHINA

Progressive minded Canadians are deeply disturbed by the way in which the proletarian cultural revolution is being pursued in China today. While it is an internal matter for the Chinese people, its effects outside of China are considerable. Not only is it creating a distorted image of socialism, it is at the same time serving the purpose of whipping up a hostile anti-Soviet campaign which cannot but disrupt the unity of all anti-imperialist forces and thus be dangerous both to China and to world peace.

At a time when the United States Government is determined to further escalate its war of aggression in Vietnam and when unity of all democratic, peace-loving and anti-imperialist forces is decisive to check it, such action, including provocative demonstrations in front of the Soviet Embassy, goes beyond the bounds of ideological differences and can only be helpful to imperialism. Unity of action not anti-Sovietism, is the path to strengthening peace.

We urge you, and through you, the Communist Party of China, the Chinese Government and the great Chinese people, to put an end to this unseemly campaign and to unite with all peoples in a world-wide front to defeat U.S. aggression in Vietnam. History will never forgive or forget those who stood in the way of such unity at this critical juncture.

Central Committee,
Communist Party of Canada
William Kashtan,
GENERAL SECRETARY

COMMUNIQUE OF THE ICP LEADERSHIP*

L'Unita has published a communique adopted by the Leadership of the Italian Communist Party. The communique stresses, in particular, that the United States is responsible for the increasing gravity of the international situation and for the threat of world peace. It is the United States that has set up military bases throughout the world, that wants to impose its will on the peoples and is waging a war of aggression against the Vietnamese people, whose only fault is that they uphold their freedom and insist on respect for international agreements. In these circumstances, the task of the democratic forces is to isolate the militarist group directing U.S. policy, end the aggression in Vietnam and achieve success in the matter of peaceful coexistence and freedom for the peoples.

"But it is precisely in the context of this fight for peace, against imperialism," the communique says, "that the ICP Leadership resolutely criticizes the leaders of the Communist Party of China for the grave acts they have recently committed to disunite the socialist countries and the world Communist movement. It is absurd and extremely harmful to the cause of the democratic and working-class movement and to the fight of the Vietnamese people to reject the proposals for a common anti-imperialist front put forward by the CPSU and other Communist Parties, to make splitting moves just when imperialism is on the offensive, to wage a fierce anti-Soviet campaign.

"These extremely grave errors cannot but have most alarming consequences for the progress of the very struggle to build socialism in China, where principles are proclaimed and methods used that the world Communist and working-class movement cannot but reject. These errors reflect a strategic concept and a concept of socialism which the ICP emphatically rejects because they run counter to the entire line developed by the Party.

"The Italian Communists reaffirm the correctness of the slogan of unity in diversity as a criterion that should dominate relations between Communist and Workers' parties, and reject the concept of leader party or leader state. But they stress that the guidelines and methods of the CPC repeat principles and methods for ever condemned by the world Communist and working-class movement.

"The ICP Leadership will not stop fighting for the unity of the international Communist and working-class movement, which is particularly necessary now that the threat to world peace emanating from imperialism is so great. It will do so trusting that the

*Abridged from **Unità**, September 8, 1966.

lessons of experience may induce the Communist Party of China to rectify the serious mistakes in its line."

THE "CULTURAL REVOLUTION" IN CHINA GOES ON*

In recent days new elements have appeared in the activities of the "Red Guards" in China, activities which the Chinese leaders and press call the "great proletarian cultural revolution." Before giving the latest facts, let us recall, in general outline, the previous phases of this phenomenon.

Initially, the "cultural revolution" was limited to sharp attacks on some party and cultural leaders, especially in Peking (specifically, on Peng Chen, member of the Political Bureau of the CC CPC, First Secretary of the Peking Committee of the CPC). Gradually, these attacks were carried over to other persons and led to the dismissal of many party and state officials, the Minister of Culture and the Chief of the General Staff of the Army among them. This criticism was accompanied by intense propaganda of ideas contained in Mao Tse-tung works, which are characterized as the "acme of Marxism-Leninism."

This "cultural revolution" was approved by the plenum of the CC CPC which took place on August 1 to 12. The communique of the plenum reiterates a number of well-known and oft-repeated charges against the USSR. It is stated in the part of the document devoted to the struggle against imperialism and U.S. aggression in Vietnam that the plenum rejected the possibility of taking any "joint action" with the Sovite Union.

On August 20 groups of "Red Guards" consisting of students of educational establishments of all grades — from the primary to the higher schools — went into action. Hsinhua reported at that time that "thousands of Red Guards fill the streets of Peking in an impetuous onslaught an old ideas, culture, customs and habits."

Liquidating the survivals of "feudalism, capitalism and revisionism," the young demonstrators renamed streets, houses, shops and even medicines and restaurant dishes. They destroyed traditional ornaments on houses and on many public buildings. Old furniture, pictures, sculptures and other works of Chinese arts were removed

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*Abridged from Trybuna Ludu, September 7, 1966.

from houses. Shop signs were replaced with quotations from Mao Tse-tung's works.

"Red Guards" entered the homes of people accused of holding "bourgeois" and "revisionist" views, confiscated their belongings and evicted many of them from Peking, forcing them to wear tablets with inscriptions denouncing the views incriminated to them. In many instances the victims of eviction and repressions were beaten in the street.

The demonstrators demanded the dismissal of all school teachers who propagate views not falling in line with the ideas of Mao Tse-tung. They also demanded reducing the time allocated for classroom lessons and devoting much more time to the study of Mao Tse-tung's works.

The "Red Guards" demanded that China dissociate itself from West German, Russian and Soviet culture and denounced works by the most outstanding authors of recent centuries. In addition to everything else, these works were said to "paralyze revolutionary will."

The "Red Guards" also insisted on the dissolution of all parties and groups with the exception of the CPC, abolition of cash payment and its replacement by payment in kind, abolition of interest on savings-bank accounts, "revolutionary" changes in the Constitution, and so on.

Several periodicals, including the Communist Youth publication, were closed during these events and new ones founded, among them the organ of the "Red Guards."

Anti-Sovietism figured prominently in the slogans of the "Red Guards," outshadowing the anti-imperialist tone of the demonstrations. At the end of August the "Red Guards" organized a mass "anti-revisionist" meeting in front of the Soviet Embassy in Peking, which lasted for two days. Besides, young people prowling the streets beat up the military attaché of the GDR and attacked several other foreigners.

As is seen from Peking press reports, neither workers nor peasants took part in the "Red Guard" activities. It is worthwhile noting that some "Red Guard" leaflets reported the resistance to the "Cultural revolution" put up by some local party organizations which organized counter-demonstrations of numerous groups of working people. The same leaflets also spoke of clashes with "rival" groups of "Red Guards."

Until recently all initiatives of the youth groups were fully endorsed in statements appearing in *Jenminjihpao* and other periodicals. A somewhat different tone is to be observed in the article "The Revolutionary Youth Must Learn from the Chinese People's Revolutionary Army" printed in the organ of the CC CPC on August 28. While reiterating support for the activities of the "Red

Guards" the article urged them to observe discipline and act through persuasion and not violence and coercion (a similar appeal was issued on September 2 by 160 veterans of the Chinese revolutionary movement).

Announcements put up in Peking recently by the district headquarters of the "Red Guards" forbid searches in the flats of party functionaries, statesmen and officers and recommend that all other searches be conducted with the consent of the police. The "Red Guards" are prohibited from announcing a state of emergency and reminded that confiscated property belongs to the state. The harassing of foreigners is also prohibited.

At present the activities of the "Red Guards" have begun to assume more organized forms. Several shops closed by the demonstrators have been reopened. Nevertheless arbitrary acts, the eviction of certain persons, the destruction of monuments of art, etc., continue. It should be added that the persons criticized by the "Red Guards" now include Chairman of the CPR Liu Shao-chi.

On September 1, *Jenminjihpao* printed the article "Destroy the Old World and Build a New One" written by the students of the "Peking Combat School of the Red Guards." The article contains the following statement: *"We Red Guardsmen are not only stirring up a general rebellion in the country; we are ready to emerge on the international arena in order to fight to the end and raise a general rebellion jointly with the oppressed nations and peoples of all the world."*

Likewise, approval of the activities of the "Red Guards" coupled with calls for discipline and caution against arbitrary acts characterized the September 1 rally which was attended by Mao Tse-tung Lin Piao and Chou En-lai. Addressing the rally, Lin Piao urged the "Red Guards" to continue their activities and then declared:

"The Red Guards and other revolutionary youth organizations are the shock force of the cultural revolution and a powerful reserve of the army . . . We must wage this struggle by the method of persuasion and not coercion and violence. Do not beat people. This applies also to the struggle against those people in power who have chosen the capitalist road as well as to the struggle against landlords, counter-revolutionaries, wreckers and rightists."

Chou En-lai spoke in the same vein.

The facts stated above show that an important place in the events connected with the "cultural revolution" is occupied by slogans directed against the unity of the world Communist and working-class movement. The Communist movement and the other progressive forces are following these events with attention and concern.

STATEMENT OF THE CC OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF GREECE*

The newspaper *Avghi* published, under the heading "Statement of the CPG on the Policy of the Chinese Leaders," the following statement of the Political Bureau of the Communist Party of Greece broadcast by the Voice of Truth:

"The Political Bureau of the CC, CPG expresses concern in connection with the events which have been taking place in the PRC since the latest, 11th, plenum of the CC, CPC. These events alarm not only Communists, but every sincere champion of democracy in our country, for at a time when U.S. imperialism is expanding the dirty war in Vietnam, thus exposing world peace to a still bigger danger, the Chinese leaders are demonstrating even more categorically than ever their unwillingness to act jointly with all the socialist countries in repelling the aggression, and, in fact, are stepping up the anti-Soviet campaign. It is perfectly obvious not only to every Marxist-Leninist, but to every progressive-minded person aware of the danger U.S. imperialism presents, who is harmed and who is benefited by this stand of the Chinese leaders.

"Peking's new blows at the unity of the socialist world system and the international Communist and working-class movement are harmful to the socialist cause, to the struggle against imperialism; they weaken the activity of the progressive forces, enable the imperialists to intensify the war in Vietnam and encourage them to new acts of aggression.

"Concerted action by all the socialist countries in rendering effective help to the embattled people of Vietnam, the establishment of a powerful front of the anti-imperialist forces of all the world would bar the way to the realization of the aggresive plans of the imperialists, bring nearer their collapse and the triumph of Vietnam's heroic resistance, and become a powerful weapon in the struggle to avert the terrible looming danger of a conflict involving the whole of mankind.

"The CPG regards as incomprehensible the stubborn rejection by the Chinese leaders of any proposal of all the socialist countries on joint action in a matter so vital for the socialist camp and world peace as repulsion of the aggression of U.S. imperialism in Vietnam.

"The Communist Party of Greece regards as impermissible the slanderous inventions and provocative attacks against a socialist country, the Soviet Union, which are being made in Peking and all over China within the framework of the so-called great proletarian

*Avghi, September 12, 1966.

cultural revolution. The CPG deplores the systematic cultivation among the Chinese people of hatred for the CPSU and the Soviet Union, which have given inestimable assistance to the socialist revolution in China and which are rendering all-round support and assistance to the Vietnamese people in their struggle, to the liberation movement in all countries.

"This position of the Communist Party of China also harms the anti-imperialist democratic struggle of the people of Greece. The CPG, firmly abiding by the line of the Moscow meetings and the 1957 and 1960 conferences of the Communist and Workers' parties, and considering unity of the world Communist movement and all the anti-imperialist and peace-loving forces to be an urgent necessity, calls upon the Communists, democrats, all sincere patriots of our country to step up the struggle for more active support for the Vietnamese people, for frustrating Washington's persistent attempts to draw Greece as well into the imperialist war in Vietnam, the struggle to eliminate the aftermath of the July coup and restore democracy and normalcy in our country, to step up the struggle for peace."

MONTSAME ON THE "CULTURAL REVOLUTION" IN CHINA*

According to a Montsame report from Peking datelined September 2, the number of "Red Guards" in the streets of the Chinese capital are growing daily. The "Red Guards" at the city's No. 33 Secondary School estimate that 1,500 people arrive in Peking every ten minutes to study the experience of the "cultural revolution".

There have been cases of disagreement in word and deed, and even scuffles, between urban and provincial "Red Guards". A leaflet circulated by the "Red Guards" of the Second Female School says:

"Some Red Guards from the provinces, rather than buying Mao Tse-tung's works and portraits, stroll through the shops and come back with bagfuls of sweets and fruit. Some engage in trade. You demand money and trucks from the Central Committee. You are doing great damage to our wealth, amassed through seventeen years of labor."

The leaflet insists that the "Red Guards" who have arrived in Peking should leave the city before September 10.

Another Montsame report says that on September 6 a leaflet was circulated all over Peking criticizing Wu Lan-fu, alternate member of the Political Bureau of the CC, CPC, Deputy Premier of the State Council of the CPR, First Secretary of the Party Committee and Chairman of the People's Committee of Inner Mongolia, Chairman of the Government Committee for the Nationalities.

Wu Lan-fu, the leaflet comments has been pursuing a policy aimed at "abolishing the class struggle and at restoring capitalism".

The leaflet calls this "a peaceful competition with the Mongolian revisionists."

The Montsame report goes on to say that Li Kung, First Secretary of the Khukh Khoto Town Party Committee, has been criticized and removed from his post.

Assessing the fact that Khukh Khoto today is inhabited by 170,000 Chinese and 9,000 Mongolians, Li Kung had asked: "How does this square with logic?" And he added: "Khukh Khoto was a Mongolian town two and three hundred years ago. The Chinese have penetrated into it gradually, step by step."

This statement brought criticism against Li Kung and caused his subsequent dismissal.

*Pravda, September 11, 1966.

STATEMENT BY THE POLITICAL BUREAU, CC CP OF GERMANY*

The Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Germany made the following statement in connection with the recent events in the Chinese People's Republic: "A new wave of anti-Sovietism has swept China. The leadership of the Communist Party of China has gone so far as to encourage direct anti-Soviet actions. We assess this incredible fact not only as a provocation against the Soviet Union and its government, but also as an act against the interests of the entire international Communist and working-class movement and against all anti-imperialist forces.

"The Communist Party of Germany condemns the attacks made not only against the CPSU and the Soviet Union, but also against the other socialist countries and fraternal parties. We are particularly concerned because all this is taking place at a time when the U.S. imperialists are stepping up their dirty war in Vietnam and when the danger of war inherent in the Bonn rulers' policy of revenge has still further increased.

"The struggle against the aggressive forces of imperialism should be waged not with the help of radical phrases and less so with the help of anti-Soviet slander. Anti-Soviet slander and provocations can only benefit the aggressive forces of imperialism and certainly not the interests of our own people, of the international working-class movement, the working class of all countries.

"Today all forces of the international Communist and working-class movement and all peoples should unite for joint actions against America's dirty war in Vietnam and for all-round solidarity with the people of Vietnam. Those who are not prepared to serve the interests of this unity are thereby weakening the militant front of struggle against imperialism.

"The Communist Party of Germany has always striven to make its contribution to the unity and consolidation of the Communist world movement. Hence it refrained from open polemics in connection with the stand taken by the leaders of the Communist Party of China. Our Party will continue to do everything within its power to promote unity of action of the international Communist and working-class movement and of all anti-imperialist forces."

*Pravda, September 14, 1966.

CHINA'S CARICATURE OF MARXIST IDEAS*

A Tribune staff member, last week, put the following questions about China and her policies to the general secretary of the Communist Party of Australia, Mr. Laurie Aarons.

Question: How do recent events in China measure up to the ideas of Marxism?

Answer: It is sad to have to say it but, recent events in China are a caricature of the ideas and principles of communism. Ideological and theoretical justifications advanced for the so-called "great proletarian cultural revolution" are ludicrously opposed to the enlightened ideas of Marxism.

"One cannot regard these developments as an internal affair of China; the Chinese are dragging the ideas of communism into the mud, before the whole world.

"The proletarian cultural revolution is neither proletarian nor cultural, still less a revolution. The most favorable class description one could give is that it is inspired by a petty-bourgeois fanaticism.

"It is certainly not 'cultural' but obscurantist. Above all, it is not a revolution but a degeneration of the great Chinese Revolution, and a reversal of the policies previously followed in China."

Question: What do you mean by the reversal of policies previously followed?

Answer: "Specifically, one thinks of the policy of the Hundred Flowers, the free contention of different cultural and scientific ideas. Then there is the peaceful remolding of bourgeois elements, and willingness to learn from the science and culture of all countries.

"There is more to it than that, however. The leading group in the Communist Party of China has reversed almost every policy decision of its 1956 Eighth Congress, on socialist construction, foreign policy, education, and relations with other Communist parties. It has removed many of the leaders elected by the Congress, and has flouted its own Constitution in at least three vital particulars — failing to call the elected Congress together annually between 1957 and 1962, failing to convene a new Congress in 1962, and failing to hold the prescribed number of Central Committee meetings (this last was the first for three years, although it should meet twice a year)."

Question: Do you think there is a personality cult in China?

Answer: "I'm afraid there is little doubt about that. If there has been no repetition of the worst excesses of the Stalin period in the USSR — as is fervently to be hoped — it is certain that adulation

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*Tribune, August 31, 1966.

of Mao is already far more extreme, and absurd, than that ever lavished upon Stalin."

Question: What do you think are the main causes for these new developments?

Answer: "This is a very complex matter. Speaking briefly, I would say that the underlying cause is to be found in Chinese economy, culture and political history, and the present level of development in this great country, which has the oldest uninterrupted and unified civilized history of any nation. A very important cause is to be found in the implacable hostility of American policy towards China, a continuation of the imperialist occupation for a century, up to 1949.

"From these conditions, specific responses have developed a degeneration of socialist theory in face of the great problems of creating a new society. Internally, recent policies seem to be a preparation for some new variant of the Great Leap which proved such a failure.

"Externally, they are probably a reaction to the international isolation of China from virtually all other non-imperialist countries, a self-imposed isolation so hard to explain when one recalls the great store of international goodwill gained by the foreign policy endorsed by the 1956 Congress.

"Another very important consideration is the continued withering away of support for China in the international communist movement. Again, this must be hard for the Chinese leaders to accept, since it is not so long ago that they certainly enjoyed important support for at least some of their policies among Communist parties — in Asia mainly, but not only there."

Question: Why do you think they have lost this support?

Answer: "It seems to me that the real meaning of the general line proposed by the Chinese has become much clearer. There is also the difference between Chinese words and deeds, which has become more and more obvious. Most important of all is the outright Chinese rejection of the proposal for joint action in support of Vietnam.

"This has shocked all Communist parties, except perhaps Albania and New Zealand. Many others have publicly declared their support for joint action, even those who are sympathetic on some questions. Only recently, the Korean and Japanese Parties announced their determination to decide their own policies by independent evaluation."

Question: What policies do you consider Australian Communists should adopt towards China and the Chinese Party?

Answer: "As we have said before, China is a socialist country, menaced by U.S. imperialism. We stand for Australian-Chinese friendship, trade and complete recognition of the People's Republic. We oppose Hasluck's war propaganda and official incitement of racialism.

"Our Party has made clear its views on the basic issues before

the international movement. These have clarified still more recently, and we will continue to state our views on them.

"We favor continued efforts to restore unity, if necessary step by step. This could still begin with joint action in support of Vietnam, and opposition to U.S. provocations against China; then we could recommence fraternal discussions on theoretical and political differences in the spirit of equality and testing positions against realities."

STATEMENT OF EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF COMMUNIST PARTY OF ARGENTINA IN CONNECTION WITH EVENTS IN CHINA

In connection with the resolution of the 11th plenum of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China which was held at the beginning of this month after an interval of four years and which, after systematic violations of the jointly adopted decisions of the 1957 and 1960 conferences, actually sanctified the break-up with the international Communist movement; in connection with the provocative anti-Soviet manifestations the Chinese leaders organized in Peking and elsewhere under the pretext of accomplishing the so-called "cultural revolution"; having analyzed the consequences of these unprecedented facts and acting in defense of the common principles of the international Communist movement, specifically those pertaining to the struggle for peace and against everything that opposes it, the Executive Committee of the Communist Party of Argentina considers it its unavoidable duty to make the following statement.

* * *

At a time when the U.S. imperialists are sending ever more troops to Vietnam in their criminal escalation of the war, at a time when they are stepping up barbaric mass bombing raids on defenseless villages and civilian installations, sowing death and destruction everywhere, the Chinese leaders, instead of uniting with the other socialist countries headed by the Soviet Union, with all the Marxist-Leninist parties in order to increase the volume and effectiveness of all-round assistance to the heroic Vietnamese people, categorically reject this cooperation and engage in openly provocative anti-Soviet actions, going as far as to present territorial claims and stage border provocations.

It is incredible that in a country which claims being socialist, representatives of another socialist country should be attacked and "anti-imperialist" demonstrations be organized against the Soviet Embassy.

This is taking place at a time when the need is greater than ever for the unity of all the socialist countries, all the independent states of the world, all those who cherish the freedom and independence of their country, who struggle for them, opposing ever more vigorously imperialism's aggressive policies and above all U.S. imperialism which threatens to unleash a new world war whose thermonuclear character would have unpredictable consequences for the destinies of all mankind.

However, instead of working for unity, the Chinese leaders are taking recourse to various means to provoke the division of the socialist camp and of the international Communist movement. It is appropriate to ask in this connection: Who else but the imperialists, and first and foremost the U.S. imperialists, benefit by this policy, who takes advantages of it to step up the "escalation?" Therefore the Executive Committee of our Party expresses full agreement with what Comrade Alexei Kosygin said at the recent session of the USSR Supreme Soviet in connection with the hostile activities of the Chinese leaders: "Despite the continued talk about the struggle against imperialism, the CPSU and the USSR constitute the chief target of Chinese propaganda attacks, and it is perfectly obvious that thereby a tremendous service is being done to U.S. imperialism."

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The Chinese leaders turned down one after another all the proposals of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries on unity of action in rendering more effective aid to Vietnam. That was done under the spurious pretext that the CPSU and the leaders of the Soviet state pursue a policy of collaboration with U.S. imperialism at the expense of the heroic Vietnamese fighters. The recent 11th plenum of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China reiterates in its resolution that the foreign policy of the CPSU is aimed at "safeguarding imperialist and colonialist domination in the capitalist world and restoring capitalism in the socialist world."

This ridiculous and calumnious assertion regarding the consistent policy of peace pursued by the Soviet Union cannot but evoke profound indignation not only among Communists but among all upright democrats and anti-imperialists. To expose this lie, it suffices to ask: Who else if not the Soviet Union and other countries of the socialist world have been rendering increasing assistance to the heroic Vietnamese fighters necessary for their defense, including the supply of most up-to-date and effective weapons?

The statement of the recent Bucharest conference of the Warsaw

Treaty states reaffirms the determination to go on rendering ever greater military, economic, political and moral assistance to the valiant Vietnamese people, including, if their government finds this necessary, the sending of volunteers.

Is this "safeguarding imperialist and colonialist domination?" Or is "restoring capitalism in the socialist world" the policy which socialist countries pursue with the aim of achieving integration, strengthening and developing socialism, and, in the case of the Soviet Union, building the material and technical foundations of communism?

The Chinese leaders criticize the efforts of the CPSU and the Soviet state to preserve universal peace and achieve peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems. But the CPSU and the Soviet Union do that to spare mankind the horrors of thermonuclear war in keeping with the desire and will of the people of the world.

Moreover, contrary to what the Chinese leaders say, this firm and calm policy is not being pursued at the expense of the peoples fighting for their freedom and national independence, but exactly for the good of these peoples. The CPSU and the USSR consider that their struggle for peace is inseparable from the rendering of ever greater assistance to the peoples who have already won their political independence as well as to those who are fighting for it by various means.

It is well known that the aims of the Soviet Union's foreign policy are; unity of the socialist world camp, active assistance to the peoples fighting for freedom and national independence, peaceful coexistence of countries with different economic, social and political systems, promotion of the maximum unity of action of all the peace forces to prevent, through mass actions on a world-wide scale, the unleashing of a new war. Therefore its influence on world events is growing constantly.

In view of the Chinese leaders' slanderous criticism of Soviet foreign policy it is appropriate to ask: Do they think, as they have proclaimed repeatedly (thus discrediting the ideal of communism in the eyes of the peoples), that a new world war will serve the cause of revolution?

Are they not provoking, in the heat of their hegemonist policy alien to a socialist country, a clash between the United States and the Soviet Union in the hope of capitalizing on it?

These are sad questions, but unfortunately they more and more correspond to reality.

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The armed conflict with India which the Chinese leaders provoked over border issues and which could have been settled by peaceful means; their direct responsibility for adventurist policies

in different Asian and African countries, policies which have had dire consequences (witness the sad example of Indonesia); their obvious failure in domestic policy, specifically in the so-called "big leap" which, far from improving, worsened the living and working conditions of the Chinese people and generated growing discontent in the country; the gradual liquidation by them of democracy in the party and the state which culminated in the "cultural revolution" aimed at forcibly suppressing this discontent in the party and among the people; the gradual liquidation of the leading role of the party and its replacement by the enormously swollen cult of Mao Tse-tung, who has carried his deification to extremes—all these phenomena have greatly contributed to the growth of isolation in which the Chinese People's Republic finds itself at present, and thus done grave harm to the world Communist movement.

It is clear to everyone who follows the evolution in China that, unless corrected in good time, this policy can lead to the loss of the historic socialist gains of that country.

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The Marxist-Leninist parties of all the world foresaw the pernicious consequences of the policy of the Chinese leaders.

As regards our Party, we declared back in 1963 that all the "theories" and actions of the Chinese leaders were subordinated to a thorough and cold-bloodedly conceived plan whose hidden aim was "to impose their own anti-Marxist and anti-Leninist political line upon the Communist and Workers' parties or, if failing in this, to try to split the world Communist movement and each Communist party, as well as to disunite the mass international movements."

Such were their intentions, and such they have remained to this day. However, as was pointed out already then, this attempt is doomed to failure by the degree of Marxist-Leninist maturity reached by the Communist and Workers' parties. And that is precisely what we are witnessing today.

As far back as 1963, our Party declared in connection with the actions and pronouncements of the Chinese leaders: "When manifestations of nationalism and racialism repeat themselves, forming a line, a dangerous nationalistic deviation takes shape." It added that the Chinese leaders' dangerous sectarian and dogmatic deviations nourished by bourgeois-nationalistic ideas owed their origin to "the ideological influence of the class enemy within the proletariat. Therefore ideological struggle against this is part of the class struggle. The dilemma is such: either one line or the other. Either the proletarian line or the line of the exponents of views alien to Marxism-Leninism, views which ultimately add grist to the mill of the bourgeoisie."*

*Victorio Codovilla, "The Position of Marxists-Leninists vis-à-vis the Trotskyite Splitters from the CPC."

In connection with the intensification of the slanderous attacks of the Chinese leaders on the glorious CPSU and the Soviet state the Executive Committee of our Party reaffirms its complete solidarity with the Party of Lenin and with its foreign policy of peace and peaceful coexistence. Now as before, our Party considers that the attitude to the USSR, the country which was the first to enter upon the untrodden path leading to socialism and communism, and to the CPSU is a touchstone for testing genuine proletarian internationalism.

In the face of the growing aggressivness of imperialism, U.S. imperialism in particular, and its intention to take advantage of every weakness of the socialist and anti-imperialist camp in order to continue and extend its policy of aggression against the peoples striving for freedom and national independence, our Party considers that the need is greater than ever for convening a new international conference of the Communist and Workers' parties of all the world in order to strengthen, on the basis of a common world policy, the bonds that exist between them.

Since the question of war and peace is paramount for all the peoples today, our Party calls upon all the democratic patriotic, anti-imperialist forces to remain vigilant towards the intrigues of the U.S. imperialists who are trying to draw the Latin American countries into their militarist policies, as is evidenced by the current Buenos Aires conference of military representatives of a number of countries with the aim of establishing inter-American armed forces. We urge them to oppose in every way the use of the Argentinian armed forces as an instrument of imperialist aggression, be it in Vietnam or any other country.

And,finally, we call upon all the members and supporters of our Party and all Argentinian democrats and patriots to constantly strengthen, on the basis of a broad united front, the peace movement and to intensify affective assistance to the heroic Vietnamese people, for the trend of world events depends today on their victory over the aggressors.

Executive Committee of the Communist Party

Buenos Aires, August 27, 1966.

ANTITHESIS OF MARXISM*

What is going on in China in the name of "great proletarian Cultural Revolution" is bewildering and strange. Marxism-Leninism never teaches that revolutionary socialist transformations in the cultural life of the masses can be brought about either by methods of juvenile frenzy or by promotion of the cult of personality.

Ideological nihilism, whatever the form and outward pretensions, has no place in the context.

Burning and destruction of books including those of Soviet authors, raids on the centres of religion and other religious institutions, the coercion of masses are certainly not the ways of socialist cultural revolution.

Neither are the wild demonstrations and vulgar insults directed against the diplomats and citizens of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries.

All these are an antithesis of what the founders of Marxism-Leninism have taught us.

In the so-called "cultural revolution" what particularly stands out, among other things, is the virulent anti-Sovietism. It seems that anti-Sovietism has become a major plank of the ideological and cultural remolding in China today.

The Chinese people are being poisoned not only against the Soviet Union, its great people and their great Party but also against the international Communist movement.

The furious cry of "struggle against modern revisionism" is, in reality, a battle-cry against the line of the world communist movement and of proletarian internationalism.

The Chinese youth and other sections of the Chinese populace have been fed for several years now on slanderous and vulgar abuses against the Soviet Union and against the common position of the world communist movement.

Now they are being roused into a kind of fanatical *fehad* and it is the teen-agers who have been put in the forefront to lead what is supposed to be a "cultural revolution".

Significantly, this new drive has been launched at a time when the escalation of the U.S. war of aggression in Vietnam calls for the unity of the entire community of the socialist countries and of all Communists.

It will not also be missed that this drive is aimed at bulldozing all dissent and silencing critical thinking in the ranks of the Party and in the state sphere.

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*New Age, September 4, 1966.

The cult of personality seems to be taking its heavy toll, ideological, political and organizational.

It is said that the present is the "era of Mao Tse-tung" and that "Chairman Mao's thoughts represent the highest peak of today's Marxist-Leninist outlook."

Another glaring feature of this so-called "cultural revolution" is of course the undisguised emphasis on nationalism accompanied by the promotion of "big national ideas."

All this, we are told has raised "Marxism-Leninism to a new stage."

It appears that the frenzy raised in China as the Chinese leadership finds itself increasingly isolated in the international communist movement and in the world arena.

In this connection the latest pronouncements of the Japanese Communist Party are a significant pointer to which way the wind continues to blow.

Yet the Chinese leadership does not hesitate to claim that their June 1963 line (as elaborated in the CPC letter to the CPSU) has won the day.

Is there a single socialist country in the world apart from China itself and Albania where this alternative general line has found any acceptance at all?

It seems that it is the growing isolation of the Chinese line that is now seeking an outlet in the new, organized anti-Soviet outbursts.

We cannot but strongly repudiate the wild anti-Soviet crusade and other acts which have nothing in common with the teachings of Marx, Engels and Lenin. These antics are an insult to the common sense of the Communists all over the world.

They are bound to do great harm to the cause of socialism and communism in capitalist countries and create difficulties for the communist movement there.

That is palpably the reason why imperialists and other reactionaries and the propaganda media under their control are paying so much attention and prominence to the so-called "great, proletarian cultural revolution."

Will those Communists who still entertain some illusions about the ideological positions of the present Chinese leadership ponder what is happening in that country under the banner of so-called "cultural revolution" and do some serious rethinking.

CULTURAL REVOLUTION?*

JENO KOSTMANN,
MEMBER OF THE CC OF THE CP OF AUSTRIA

The strangest thing about the goings-on in China described as "cultural revolution" is the complete or almost complete absence of anything resembling culture. What the "cultural revolution" has in common with revolution is only its sudden "outbreak." It is hard to say anything definite about the essence and purpose of this curious revolution, although the reports on it suffice to draw the conclusion that developments in China have nothing in common with the concepts of cultural revolution whose principles have been worked out by the international Communist movement. They grossly contradict those concepts.

That China is in the process of "cultural revolution" first became known from the communique of the plenum of the CC of the Communist Party of China adopted on August 12, 1966—incidentally, the first plenum convened four years after the 10th plenum (according to the Rules, the plenum is the supreme organ of the party in the period between congresses). This fact alone testifies to a violation in the Communist Party of China of the principles of the intra-party life accepted in the international Communist movement. The principle of collective leadership has been replaced in the CPC by the Mao Tse-tung cult carried to extremes. His works have been made, in fact, the only font of wisdom and constitute the core of the doctrine in operation. No mention is made of the need to study works by Marx, Engels and Lenin.

It is stated in the decision the CC CPC adopted on August 8: "At present, our objective is to struggle against and crush those persons in authority who are taking the capitalist road, to criticize and repudiate the reactionary bourgeois academic 'authorities' and the ideology of the bourgeoisie and all other exploiting classes and to transform education, literature and art and all other parts of the superstructure that do not correspond to the socialist economic base, so as to facilitate the consolidation and development of the socialist system."

But the decision goes on to say that "the main target of the present movement is those within the Party who are in authority and are taking the capitalist road." Indeed, the purge conducted in the course of the "cultural revolution" has affected many veteran

*Slightly abridged from **Volksstimme**, September 9, 1966.

party workers and whole party committees, including a large part of the Peking regional committee, the director of the Central Party School, the Propaganda Department of the CC CPC, university rectors and higher officers.

It is conspicuous that the "socialist cultural revolution" clamorously publicized by Mao Tse-tung and other CPC leaders is carried on chiefly by the "Red Guards", of whom no mention is made in the communique of the 11th plenum. Also noteworthy is the fact that these "Red Guards" of the "cultural revolution" consist, not of workers and peasants, not even of intellectuals and in most cases not of higher school students, but mostly of secondary school pupils. Thus, there can be no question of a genuinely proletarian cultural revolution.

We have said already: the strangest thing about this "cultural revolution" is precisely the fact that it has nothing in common with culture, that it pursues purely political aims. The question arises: What, after all, prompted the Chinese leadership to launch this kind of "culutral revolution" precisely today, when the war in Vietnam is growing on an ever more threatening scale, when assistance to and solidarity with the Vietnamese people have become an internationalist duty? It is clear that what Peking calls "the struggle against revisionism", i.e., the struggle against absolute majority of the Communist parties and first of all the CPSU, is put above everything else, and that the heaviest fire of the "cultural revolution" is directed at the Soviet Union. This is evidenced by the outrageous two-day demonstration in front of the Soviet Embassy in Peking.

The communique of the CC plenum states the position on the war in Vietnam, which has become the central problem of world politics. One can agree with the communique in that in order to isolate imperialism and to deal blows to it, "the broadest possible international united front must be established against U.S. imperialism and its lackeys". But it is stated further on that the Soviet Union "cannot of course be included in this united front". But how is it possible to isolate U.S. imperialism, to give effective aid to the Vietnamese people if the Soviet Union is excluded?

Obviously the refusal to establish a united front of all the socialist countries and the entire world Communist movement, a refusal grounded on anti-Soviet slogans and calls, will benefit only the U.S. aggressors. In these conditions the struggle against U.S. imperialism about which Peking is so vociferous is hardly taken seriously by the U.S. imperialists themselves. The "cultural revolution" launched by the CPC leaders is most unlikely to mislead any one. It will please only those who want to discredit the ideas of communism.

STATEMENT OF THE POLITICAL BUREAU OF THE CC AKEL*

The recent events in China connected with the Red Guard activities and the so-called "cultural revolution", and the continued disruptive policy of the CPC leadership evoke feelings of great alarm and disgust among all the progressive democratic forces of the Cypriot people. What the Red Guards are doing has nothing in common with Marxism-Leninism or the lofty ideals of socialism. The hatred of this "movement" for the socialist world has been vented in provocative demonstrations in front of the Soviet Embassy in Peking and open attacks on representatives of socialist countries in China. The cult of Mao Tse-tung, which has reached enormous proportions, and the attribution of supranatural "wonder-working" faculties to him are obviously at variance with the theory and practise of scientific socialism.

The splitting policies of the CPC leadership, expressed in the flat rejection of cooperation with other parties and socialist countries in rendering more effective assistance to the Vietnamese people in their fight for freedom and independence, are benefiting the U.S. aggressive imperialist forces. The CPC leadership's stand on the Vietnamese question encourages the imperialists to further escalation of the barbaric war which can plunge mankind into a third world war.

*Slightly abridged from **Haravghi**, September 14, 1966.

CONCERNING THE ATTITUDE OF THE CHINESE COMMUNISTS*

Our newspaper has for along time refrained from stating its view on the decisions of the CPC leadership. We proceeded from the desire, expressed by the vast majority of the Communists of the world, to avoid by all possible means a continuation of the polemic which was started by the Communist Party of China against the line of the world Communist movement and which has done tremendous harm to the struggle of the peoples against imperialism and to the world Communist movement itself.

However, the present circumstances are such that it is imposible to keep silent. For no revolutionary can remain indifferent when an erroneous policy leads to such extremes as organization in one socialist country of demonstrations against another socialist country, in the given instance against the Soviet Union, when attempts are being made to present it as the main enemy of the peoples of the world.

Throughout the almost fifty years of its existence the Soviet Union has been the mainstay of the struggle for socialism, for national liberation. The peoples of the whole world know well what an important contribution the Soviet people made to the defeat of Hitler fascism which threatened the freedom of mankind. The peoples of the world know what assistance, and on what scale, the Soviet people and their vanguard are rendering to the struggle against imperialism. Therefore the demonstrations held by the so-called "Red Guards" in Peking cannot but surprise them.

The outrageous absurdity of these acts becomes clear not only from the standpoint of history, but also in connection with current events, especially the struggle of the Vietnamese people. The offensive of imperialism, which is seeking to export counter-revolution with impunity, imposes serious obligations on the socialist countries, China included. The signatories to the Warsaw Pact have declared that unity to defeat imperialism must be the slogan of today. The anti-Soviet demonstrations in Peking run counter to the correct position advanced by the Communist parties of the socialist countries and supported by all progressives.

The Chilean Communists cannot but voice their profound concern and regret in connection with the attitude adopted by the leaders of the Communis Party of China. Neither anti-Soviet propaganda nor the regrettable manifestations of the cult of Chairman Mao's personality contribute to the struggle of the Communist movement

*Editorial in **El Siglo**, central organ of the Communist Party of Chile, September 1, 1966.

of our country and throughout the world. The attitude of he government and the Chinese Communists towards the religious groups in that country, whose influence is insignificant, is not a contribution to the Communist cause either. All this serves only the interests of imperialism, which strives to distort the peoples' notion of the policy of Communists and finds an invaluable source of "examples" in the current policy of the Chinese Communist leaders, a policy which is, in fact, alien to Marxist-Leninist policy.

Stating these critical views, we express hope that such negative phenomena in the People's Republic of China are transient. China has succeeded in establishing socialist relations of production, and the CPC is heir to a rich experience of revolutionary struggle. All this gives us hope that the Communist Party of China will be able to overcome the present distortions and return to its place in the ranks of the world Communist movement, at the side of all the progressive-minded people of the world. Our confidence that imperialism will not win either in Vietnam or anywhere else cannot be shaken by the harm this attitude causes, but we do not conceal that the splitting line of the Chinese leaders lengthens the road to victory, and they should realize this.

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THE WAR OF INDEPENDENCE IN VIETNAM —THE "GREAT CULTURAL REVOLUTION" IN CHINA*

"What is really taking place in China?" This is what many comrades, bewildered and embittered by what they read in the newspapers, want to know. And no matter how much we would like to, we cannot be silent while the bourgeois press, with ill-concealed delight, reporting the ramapage of the "Red Guards," is seizing on the occasion to denigrate communism.

The "great proletarian cultural revolution" currently under way in China distorts all the concepts which the founders of Marxism and the experience of a number of revolutions have bequeathed to us. In countries where socialism has triumphed the cultural revolution was understood as making culture accessible to the people, developing and enriching it with new achievements in all spheres, advancing science and putting an end to superstition and backwardness. The first socialist country to effect a cultural revolution was the Soviet Union, the latest is Cuba. The decisions adopted by the 11th plenary meeting of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China say that the "cultural revolution," wherever it deals directly with culture, is restricted to a number of educational reforms such as reducing the terms of study and school curricula, simplifying the teaching of a number of disciplines, combining study with work in agriculture and industry and with military training; the resolution also demands that "the phenomenon of our schools being dominated by bourgeois intellectuals must be completely changed." From these measures, which are just mentioned in the resolution, one can anticipate a lowering of the standard of education rather than its enhancement, a step backward instead of a revolution.

But an idea of the true scale of the "cultural revolution" can be gauged from the *exploits* of the "Red Guards" encouraged by Marshal Lin Piao and with the blessing, evidently, of Mao Tse-tung. Museums are invaded, works of art destroyed, books burned, and love and beauty denounced as bourgeois "vices." Balzac, Tolstoy, Shakespeare and Stendhal are labelled "capitalists" and "revisionists" and their works banned. Beethoven, Bach, Mozart, Chopin and Chaikovsky are condemned. Having passed the death sentence on the "old culture," we are then told that printing the works of

*Mundo Obrero, organ of the Communist Party of Spain, first half of September 1966.

Chairman Mao *"is the most glorious, the most urgent and most important task of the day."* To the volumes already published there will shortly be added another thirty-five million copies of Mao's selected readings. To provide the paper needed for this purpose and to release technical means, printing of newspapers and journals is being discontinued.

The least that can be said, not to mention the vandalism of destruction, is that this way of posing the problems of culture has nothing in common with Marxism-Leninism. Culture in general, and Marxist culture in particular, does not begin and end with Mao.

Addressing Communist Youth League members, Lenin said: "Proletarian culture is not something that has sprung nobody knows whence, it is not an invention of people who call themselves experts in proletarian culture. That is all nonsense. Proletarian culture must be the result of a natural development of the stores of knowledge which mankind has accumulated under the yoke of capitalist society, landlord society, bureaucratic society. All these roads and paths have led, are leading, and continue to lead to proletarian culture. . . ."

Marx and Engels had the greatest respect for literature and art. Engels wrote of Balzac who was Marx's favorite author: "I hold that Balzac is an incomparably greater master of realism than all the Zolas of the past, present and future. . . ."

And in a letter to Marx he made this comment on Shakespeare: "In the first act of *The Merry Wives of Windsor* alone there is more life and movement than in the whole of German literature. . . ."

Lenin, on his part, spoke of Tolstoy in the highly commendable words: "If his great works are really to be made the possession of *all*, a struggle must be waged against the system of society which condemns millions and scores of millions to ignorance, benightedness, drudgery and poverty—a socialist revolution must be accomplished."

The disorders which have taken place in China in the name of "great proletarian cultural revolution" boil down to a nihilism and xenophobia that have nothing in common either with the proletarian revolution or with Marxist-Leninist attitude to culture. Would it not be more correct to say that the sonorous name of "cultural revolution" conceals an attempt at political subversion against socialist legality? How is one to explain the fact that street disorders are needed for the accomplishment of a "cultural revolution" in a socialist country ruled by the Communist Party

Anti-Soviet rather than anti-imperialist bias. Before analyzing this attempt at political subversion, this peculiar type of "putsch," something should be said with regard to its cause. A detached observer, trying to fathom and explain the uproar in China, might have concluded that the U.S. escalation of the war in Vietnam and the

rise of a possible danger of war against China had provoked the ferment, the play of passions and the outburst of militant anti-imperialist sentiment and patriotism. In other words, our observer would be inclined to ascribe all this to the Vietnam war. No doubt, U.S. aggression against Vietnam and, generally, the aggressive policy of imperialism have a bearing on what is happening in China. Yet there is no direct and immediate connection between the "great cultural revolution" and the need to give more aid to Vietnam. It is indicative that *there is not a single word about the Vietnam war in the Central Committee's resolution on the "cultural revolution."* In the communique of the Central Committee there is a reference to Vietnam, but this is made not in order to declare an intention to step up the aid to Vietnam but merely to devote three pages to calumny against the Soviet Union whereas only two lines are devoted, in a formal way, to U.S. imperialism. It is proposed to build an *anti-imperialist front,* excluding from it the Soviet Union and all so-called revisionists, which in effect renders the formation of such a front impossible.

One is surprised and alarmed by the fact that at a time when the war in Vietnam—at the very borders of China—reaches a critical point the journal *Peking Informacion* (Nos. 34 and 35) has nothing to say about this war. Yet the pages of the journal are filled with verbiage about the "cultural revolution," with violent anti-Soviet attacks, and with eulogies of Mao who is deified in biblical style.

One gets the impression that all this fever has nothing to do with any particular *concern* for what is happening in Vietnam or with any *readiness* to render more direct aid to it. Moreover, as if in reply to Dean Rusk who said that the Americans would not attack first, Foreign Minister Chen Yi reaffirmed in a talk with a delegation of Japanese M.P.s that China will not intervene militarily unless directly attacked.

The "cultural revolution," along with skirmishes against ancient monuments and the works of art and literature, is an outrageous onslaught against the Soviet Union, a mean provocation, a shame and a stain on the glorious history of the Chinese revolutionary movement. How is one to explain the fact that at a time when the United States is savagely bombing North Vietnam and carrying on its escalation, a monstrous demonstration against the Soviet Union is organized for two days in socialist China? Does it not seem that the real purpose is to give assurances of "good will" to the Americans, to let them understand that despite all the verbal fireworks against imperialism the real aims are the weakening of the socialist camp, disruption and attacks against the Soviet Union? It may be that this supposition will surprise people, that they will say: "How can revolutionaries like the Chinese leaders permit these things?" And true enough it is not easy to understand what is taking place there.

However, the conclusion suggests itself when the Chinese leaders resort to incredibly malicious slanders, claiming that the Soviet Union is uniting with "U.S.-led imperialism and the reactionaries of various countries and forming a new *'Holy Alliance' against communism, the people, revolution and China.*"

Who if not the U.S. imperialists and all other reactionaries can be pleased by those who, covering with disgrace the glorious name of "Red Guards," shouted in the streets of Peking: "*Soviet revisionists, we are just waiting for the moment to take revenge on you. We will tear off your skin, open up your veins, burn your dead bodies and scatter the ashes in the wind?*" Who proclaims this? The "Red Guards" or Hitler's hordes? Where is this being said? In socialist Peking or in the Berlin of Hitler?

There has been an ideological polemic in the Communist movement. Some comrades could, with the best of intensions, have views differing from those of the party in one or another aspect or even believe for a time that theirs was the genuinely revolutionary position. But today things are different. This is no longer an ideological polemic. People who indulge in the wildest threats against the Soviet Union cannot be said to be acting like Communists or revolutionaries. People who burn books and destroy monuments do not serve the revolution. What kind of insane wind is blowing over Peking, bringing back to life scenes and generating threats which seemed to be buried for ever under the ruins of the Reichstag? This lunacy is a disgrace to the great, truly Chinese revolution which we have so admired and still admire.

Rebellion against the Party. If in the international arena the "cultural revolution" is mainly directed, as we have seen, against the Soviet Union, against what enemies, "ghosts" or "monsters" is it directed at home? The answer to this question is provided by Point 5 of the resolution adopted by the Central Committee: "*the main target of the present movement is those within the Party who are in authority and are taking the capitalist road.*" Hence this "rebellion of the youth vanguard," in the words of Peking Radio, is spearheaded *against at least some of the Party leaders.*

But if these men are really taking the capitalist road, why were they not removed from their posts by decision of a Party congress or of the Central Committee? Some light on this question can be found in the communique on the recent meeting of the Central Committee which says that the aim of the "cultural revolution" is "*preventing revisionist usurpation of the Party and state leadership.*" If this is really the case, if it is necessary to "*prevent*" the "*revisionist usurpation of the Party and state leadership,*" the implication is that people who claim to be adherents to the thought of Mao Tse-tung were on the verge of becoming a minority and had to stage a *coup*, organize a *rebellion* or, in other words, liqui-

date socialist legality in order to impose their will on the Party and the state.

The resolution on the "cultural revolution" from which we have quoted contains elements confirming our hypothesis. According to this document, there are *four* approaches to the "cultural revolution."

The first—although it is not exactly known how widespread it is—is the approach of those who "stand in the van of the movement" who are "dauntless fighters" and "good pupils of Chairman Mao," encourage the masses to expose every kind of "ghost" and "monster." Other approaches are: a) "many units" (*sic!*) in which "the persons in charge have a very poor understanding of the task of leadership" and "find themselves in a weak position," "they put fear above everything else," "their leadership lags behind the masses"; b) "some units" where the persons in charge "made mistakes of some kind or another," "are even more prone to put fear above everything else," "being afraid that the masses will catch them out"; c) 'some units" controlled by "those who have wormed their way into the Party and are taking the capitalist road."

From all this it follows, in our view, that Party organizations "which do not meet the exigencies of the 'cultural revolution' " predominate. This impression is reinforced upon reading Point 5 of the resolution which says: "*Party leadership should be good at discovering the Left and developing and strengthening the ranks of the Left,*" in order to "*isolate thoroughly*" *the* "*Rightists*" *and* "*win over the middle.*" This means that the sponsors of the "cultural revolution" are anxious to draw on the Left which is yet to be *discovered,* whereas the *middle* and the *Rightists* are already clearly determined.

On the other hand, newspaper reports warn that Mao Tse-tung *personally intervened to correct a mistake made by the Party,* although no mention is made of the nature of the error. Entire regions and provinces are mentioned in which the "sinister gang" has seized the leadership. A manifesto was circulated in Peking, demanding the *suspension of all Party committees* and the transformation of the "Red Guards" into an *omnipotent organization* to function until a new order is issued.

These as well as other data, which the scale of the present article prevents us from printing, lead us to believe that the "cultural revolution" is a kind of a "putsch" aimed at preventing the formation of a new majority consisting of those who in recent years have been abandoning, step by step, extremist positions.

Although a few months ago there were reports on "purges" in the Party and in the Army, the scale of this evolution among the leading cadres formed under the guidance of Mao Tse-tung can be surprising at first glance. Examining the facts, however, we find

that it is not so very fearful. In reality, it is quite possible that the leaders and functionaries, who took up attitudes now denounced as "revisionist" and "capitalist," never even dreamt of opposing the *thought of Mao Tse-tung*. What, in fact, is the *thought* of Mao Tse-tung? The Chairman of the Party has, seemingly, abandoned day-to-day work. For years he has not made a single speech nor written a single article. He has appeared a couple of times of late in public but has kept his silence. Instead of Mao the speeches have been made by Lin Piao. *How is it to be explained that at such a critical juncture the thought of Mao Tse-tung is expounded not by Mao himself but by Lin Piao?* Does not this strange silence suggest that Mao's real role has so declined that he is no more than a myth and a such utilized by others?

Should this be the case, it would seem that the Party leaders and functionaries who came to the fore with Mao entered into direct conflict not with him but with those anxious to capitalize on the Mao myth. These leaders and functionaries could even consider themselves the most faithful interpreters of the genuine thought of Mao Tse-tung. In the internal polemic of the Chinese revolution proclaiming oneself an adherent of Mao's thought gives great power in view of the historic role played by Mao Tse-tung. Naturally, both groups are trying to prove that Mao's ideas are on their side.

The evolution of the leaders whom the "cultural revolution" is ousting from the struggle—and these are men with a wealth of experience and political acumen—becomes clear if we bear in mind the policy reverses suffered in recent yars. Men who for a time supported the dominant line shared certain Left views and had been critical of the Soviet Union and the world Communist movement; but regardless of mistakes they may have made they are Communists, men who dedicated their lives to communism. They could not but draw conclusions from the reverses suffered in Indonesia and in some African countries. They must have been conscious of the consequences of growing international isolation of China. They saw that the Japanese and Korean parties which previously had shared the viewpoint of the Chinese Party could no longer do so in view of the extremes to which the Chinese Party had gone. One can also imagine that these people became even more conscious of the danger of anti-Sovietism and "splittism" in view of U.S. escalation of the war in Vietnam. Gradually a situation must have been seen to be developing in the leading committees of the Party in which the danger arose that the people holding erroneous views might soon be in a minority.

The "cultural revolution," we believe, applied the brakes to this evolution. Regardless of the role of Mao, the man who seems to have gained from the operation is Lin Piao, a career soldier, head of the "Red Guards" and *interpreter of the thought of Mao Tse-*

tung. The polemics give grounds for thinking that there are not a few people in China who maintain that the "cultural revolution" has in reality led to counter-revolution raising its head. In a country with a population of some 700 million, how can the outrages perpetrated by dozens or hundreds of thousands of schoolboys goaded to paroxism be regarded as a revolution, while the working class, the peasants and intellectuals remain passive and even conflict with the "Red Guards?" Can it be that proletarian revolutionary consciousness has ceased to be the possession of the working class and peasantry of China? What kind of a revolution can it be in a socialist country when it is led by a Marshal with the working people taking no part?

The events in China are more reminiscent of a *Bonapartist coup*. And it is this that is causing anxiety and concern among Communists everywhere who are witnessing the strange spectacle of a rebellion by the youth vanguard.

Besides their alarming aspects the developments show that the forces in the Chinese Communist Party striving for a more positive orientation, for unity of the Communist movement, unity of the socialist camp and the anti-imperialist forces, were close to carrying the day. What we know makes us feel that these forces represent not a faction or a group but the Party as a whole. They embody the awakening of a Communist consciousness among people who have carried through the *Long March* and the greatest revolution in history after the October Revolution in Russia.

For blows against the Americans in Vietnam. Unfortunately, at a time when the "Red Guards" are on the rampage, the U.S. barbarians are carrying on their criminal escalation in Vietnam. Every hour and every day tens of hundreds of men, women and children are killed in Vietnam; every day sees greater devastation. The people of Vietnam are fighting for independence, displaying a heroism worthy of admiration and the greatest support. The socialist countries headed by the Soviet Union are extending great and growing aid to Vietnam. However, if one is to be sincere it should be admitted that some people feel a certain bitterness and even a certain dissatisfaction, believing as they do that the rebuff to U.S. imperialism on the soil of Vietnam is not as powerful as it should and could be. Some people, disappointed over this, exclaim: "What the hell? Are the American to be allowed to do whatever they like?"

There are, of course; cases when this attitude springs from passivity, from a wait-and-see attitude, from lack of understanding of the role of rallying the peoples, from the wrong and over-simplified idea that the Soviet people should tackle all the problems. But even among those who do not adopt this posture, and who are helping in keeping with their possibilities and their resources,

there is a justifiable feeling of bitterness in view of the fact that the division in the socialist camp, in the inernational Communist movement and in the anti-imperialist forces is a factor tending to weaken our own ranks and giving comfort to our imperialist and reactionary adversaries.

Is it possible to deliver a more telling rebuff to the American aggressor in Vietnam, a rebuff that would force them to the negotiating table and to withdraw their troops? We hold that this is possible provided the Chinese leaders refrain from hampering action, as has been the case hitherto.

The Soviet Union and the other socialist countries have given Vietnam all the aid it has asked for. But in many cases our Soviet comrades and comrades in other socialist countries offered more *extensive* aid and, in particular, aid in the shape of *volunteers. When the Soviet comrades speak about volunteers, they have in mind not only men but experts in modern weapons capable of halting the escalation. What is implied are specialized units armed and equipped.*

Our people find it difficult to understand why this kind of really effective aid is not accepted. They remember that during the 1936-39 war in Spain the generous aid in the shape of volunteer freedom fighters was accepted with gratitude and enthusiasm. And had we been able to receive aid such as that now offered Vietnam, we would not have rejected it. What reasons or what *alien influence* have so far prevented Vietnam from accepting this aid?

Owing to the division in our ranks, Vietnam finds itself in a difficult situation. It needs, and wants, Soviet aid and Soviet cooperation on a greater scale. But at the same time it cannot worsen its relations with the Chinese leaders because in addition to being united with the People's Republic of China by fraternal bonds it also has a long frontier with China. Yet the Chinese leaders are against a Soviet military presence in Vietnam, although by acting so they injure its people and in point of fact prevent the Soviet aid from acquiring a scale capable of accelerating the outcome of the struggle. This is, perhaps, because an early and positive outcome of the Vietnam war will put an end to the anti-Soviet campaign and to the concept, advanced more or less openly, that world war is *inevitable.*

Some Chinese propaganda suggests that the war against the USA should be extended also to other areas. The Soviet Union is charged with freezing the present equilibrium in Europe and with "betraying" the German Democratic Republic. The Soviet people, it is suggested, should launch an armed attack against the Americans, and not against them alone but also against Britain and France and against Federal Germany. It seems incredible that revolutionaries can indulge in such nonsense. The people of Vietnam

would not gain anything from world atomic war, on the contrary, it would nullify all their sacrifices.

In Europe we should not lose sight of the danger emanating from German revanchism and its provocations. It is common knowledge, however, that revolutions are not articles of export. "Defreezing" the present situation in Europe is not a matter for armies or wars to settle—it is a matter of revolutionary change. The people of Europe do not expect a revolution to come with Soviet arms. The Soviet people have done their bit by carrying out the October Revolution and smashing Hitler fascism, and they are continuing to do their bit by building communism and acting as a bulwark for all embattled peoples. The pressing task today is to prevent the U.S. imperialists from exporting counter-revolution and imposing it on Vietnam. Vietnam should enjoy all our aid. Everything must be done to aid Vietnam. It is on its territory that the escalation must be stopped.

And all the revolutionary and anti-imperialist forces must, in close alliance, tackle this task and solve it.

Communists throughout the world must unite and defeat U.S. imperialism!

ON RECENT EVENTS IN CHINA*

PIETER KEUNEMAN
General Secretary of the CP of Ceylon

The Eleventh Plenary Meeting of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China (CPC) was held in Peking between the 1st and 12th of August 1966.

This was the first plenary meeting of the CC of the CPC to be held in nearly four years. The previous (10th) plenary meeting had been held in September 1962 even though the CPC Constitution requires the Central Committee to meet twice a year.

Incidentally, this is not the only respect in which the CPC Constitution has been flouted. The last CPC Congress, for instance, was held ten years ago, in 1956, although the Constitution requires that a Congress should be held every four years.

A number of events between the 1962 and 1966 plenary CC meetings had shown how wrong in theory and how harmful in practise the policy that the CPC leaders had tried to impose on the international Communist movement had been.

It will be recalled that in 1963 the CPC leaders had proposed a unilateral "general line" of their own in opposition to the general line that all the Communist and Workers' Parties, including the CPC, had worked out collectively in 1957 and 1960.

In pursuing this unilateral, wrong and dangerous policy the CPC leaders had done much damage to the world-wide fight against imperialism and for peace, national liberation, socialism and communism. They had also damaged the cause of the Chinese revolution itself.

They had brought about divisions within the socialist camp and the international Communist movement, which encouraged imperialism to become more aggressive.

They had hampered the work of the international democratic mass organizations like the World Federation of Trade Unions, the World Federation of Democratic Youth, the World Peace Council, etc., which they used as a platform to air their special views, slander other socialist countries, and obstruct efforts to develop united actions on the widest scale against imperialism.

They promoted splits in Communist parties in other countries and intensified polemics against them.

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*Forward, September 12, 1966.

Some of the Communist parties whose leaders had been influenced by the wrong policies of the CPC suffered terrible defeats. The most tragic recent example is that of Indonesia.

In world affairs, too, the sectarian policies of the CPC leaders led to many setbacks to China, the decline of her prestige and authority in Asia and Africa, and greater isolation. Their bitter opposition to the Nuclear Test Ban Treaty and the Tashkent Agreement shocked democratic opinion throughout the world.

The application of these policies to the domestic situation also led to many setbacks in economic development and socialist construction in China.

The policies of the "Great Leap Forward" and the "People's Communes," which did not take serious account of the objective laws of economic and social development and tried to substitute subjective "big leaps" for the planned development of socialist society, soon ran into difficulties. They had to be abandoned or considerably modified in order to prevent a major dislocation of China's economy.

The period between the two CC meetings had also seen the growth of the official adulation of Mao Tse-tung to extreme—and even absurd and grotesque—levels. The "Thought of Mao Tse-tung" gradually supplanted the scientific teachings of Marx, Engels and Lenin and pushed the latter into the background.

All this was the result of the decision of the CPC leaders to oppose the correct line of the international Communist movement and to reverse the correct decisions of the 8th (1956) Congress of their own party. It brought joy only to the imperialists and the enemies of socialism and caused dismay and distress among the anti-imperialist and socialist forces of the world.

The anti-imperialist forces of the world have also been bitterly disappointed at the stubborn refusal of the CPC leaders to agree to the proposals of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and other Communist parties for united action by the socialist countries and the international Communist movement to aid the heroic Vietnamese people's struggle against U.S. imperialist aggression. All these parties have repeatedly declared that any differences between them and the CPC on ideological and other questions should not stand in the way of united action to aid Vietnam.

It is interesting to note that the Communist Party of Japan, whose leaders supported many of the wrong policies of the CPC leadership, have declared their support for such joint action in support of Vietnam. Both the Japanese and Korean parties have announced that they will decide their own policies by independent evaluation.

Any hope that these hard realities would make the CPC leaders re-evaluate the policy they have followed over recent years has been tragically dispelled by the official communique, published in

the Chinese press, that sets out the main decisions of the August 1966 plenary CC meeting.

As is known, this plenary meeting was preceded by a sharp inner-party struggle. Many leading cadres of the CPC, including members of the Political Bureau and the Central Committee, were dismissed from their positions in the Party and the state apparatus. Other leaders were down-graded. The editorial boards of many leading newspapers of the Communist Party and the mass organizations were dissolved, and the publication of some of these newspapers stopped or restricted. Many Party Committees at different levels were "reorganized." Several universities and higher educational institutions were closed. Many important figures in the political and cultural life of China were publicly attacked and accused of "revisionism" and contempt for the "Thought of Mao Tse-tung."

According to the communique, the August 1966 plenary CC meeting stressed the need to carry out till the end in town and countryside the movement for "four purges"— political, ideological, organizational, and economic. These purges should be conducted in terms of the decisions of the CC "in close connection with the great proletarian cultural revolution."

The section of the communique on international problems shows that the ruling group in the CPC is determined to push ahead with its unilateral policies that have already done such damage to the international revolutionary movement and to China itself.

It is notable that the CPC leaders, in this latest communique, have dropped even their previous expressions of loyalty to the "revolutionary principles" of the 1957 and 1960 documents of the international Communist movement. The communique makes no mention whatsoever of these documents, and instead lauds the "thought" and "wise directives" of Mao Tse-tung.

The communique rejects the repeated appeals of other socialist countries and Communist parties for joint action against the common enemy—imperialism. Those who do not agree with the policy of the CPC leaders are branded as "present-day revisionists" and the communique calls for "clear disassociation" from them.

In fact, the communique even states that: "the struggle against imperialism presupposes the struggle against present-day revisionism." In plain words, this means that the CPC leaders consider that their struggle against other socialist countries and Communist parties must take priority over the struggle against imperialism.

The communique also repeats the absurd slanders of the CPC leaders against the Soviet Union and the CPSU which are accused of "collusion" with the USA against Vietnam. Although the Vietnamese leaders have warmly thanked and praised the Soviet Union and the CPSU for their aid to the struggle of the Vietnamese people against U.S. aggression, the communique calls this aid "counter-

revolutionary and double-dealing," "sham assistance and genuine betrayal."

The section dealing with economic problems is curiously vague. No concrete data are given on the results of economic development, but it is said that "great victories had been scored." The communique also states that a Third Five-Year Plan has begun, and declares that "a new all-round leap forward was emerging" in China. This has lead to speculation whether the CPC leaders intend to start a new variant of the earlier "Great Leap Forward" which proved such a failure.

The communique also declares that "Comrade Mao Tse-tung is the greatest Marxist-Leninist of our time." It says that "the study by the entire Party and the entire people of the works of Comrade Mao Tse-tung is a major event of history-making importance."

Following the 1966 plenary CC meeting, what the Chinese press has described as "the great proletarian cultural revolution" has been intensified. The imperialists and their ideologists have seized on some of these events to launch a new, world-wide offensive to discredit the scientific, humane and lofty ideas of communism.

This has made the "great proletarian cultural revolution" something more than a mere internal affair of China or the CPC.

Communists who base themselves on the elightened teachings of Marx, Engels and Lenin cannot but be aghast and repelled at some of the events that are taking place in China in the name of a "great proletarian cultural revolution."

These events and the ideological and theoretical arguments advanced to justify them are a gross caricature of the ideas and principles of scientific communism. They only help to discredit the true ideas of communism in the eyes of the world.

Communists have always recognized the need for ideological struggle against the ideas and habits propagated by the imperialists, the bourgeoisie and feudalists and other exploiting classes. They have always understood the need for the ideological remolding of the people as part of the process of the construction of socialist and communist society.

But what is taking place in China today has nothing in common with these ideas of communism, or indeed with the enlightened way in which the CPC itself conducted the process of ideological remolding of the remnants of former exploiting classes prior to its 8th (1956) Congress.

Although this movement is called "proletarian," the stark fact is that it is not being spearheaded by the Communist Party, the Communist Youth organizations, or the mass organizations of the workers, but by a new organization of teen-age youth and students called the "Red Guards." These teen-agers have sworn "to defend Chairman Mao all their lives," to "infinitely and ardently love Chairman

Mao and worship him," and to smash "all those who oppose the ideas of Mao Tse-tung."

Indeed, one of the targets of the Red Guards are sections of the Communist Party itself. The newspaper *Heilungkiang Jihpao*, for instance, on August 27, called on the Red Guards to "spearhead the cultural revolution at the leading nucleus of the provincial party committee and to open artillery fire at the headquarters."

Another main target of the "great proletarian cultural revolution" is the victorious proletariat of other lands. Open provocations, physical violence and downright hooliganism have been unleashed by the Red Guards against the diplomatic representatives and establishments in Peking of the USSR, the GDR, and other socialist countries.

And yet, the official CPC organ, *Jenminjihpao*, can write editorially: "The revolutionary youth and children of China are the most vigorous defenders and reliable continuers of the proletarian revolution!"

It is also not possible to find in this movement anything that corresponds to the true ideas of communism about culture.

Communists have never stood for an outright rejection of all the past culture of their own country or of the culture of other countries. Such an attitude is characteristic of petty-bourgeois, nationalist fanaticism and narrowminded hatred of anything foreign. It has nothing in common with the enlightened ideas of Marx, Engels and Lenin and the lofty internationalist spirit of their teachings. True Communists always respect and honor what is healthy and good in the past culture of their own country and of the cultures of other countries.

It is tragic that such events should be taking place in China, a great country that has one of the oldest unified and continuous cultural histories in the world.

Yet the Red Guard, in the name of a "cultural revolution," have closed or emptied shops with reproductions of great examples of clasical and modern Chinese paintings, including those of world-famous painters like Chi Pai-shi and Hsui Pei-shung.

Famous works of Chinese and world literature have been forcibly removed from bookshops and replaced by the writings and portraits of Mao Tse-tung.

It is truly horrifying to see reported with apparent approval in the Chinese press, some of the absurd demands of the Red Guards. They demand that many famous classical works of Chinese and world literature should be burnt and the gramophone records of the works of famous Chinese and world composers smashed.

They demand that the Army should change the command "Eyes Right" to "Eyes Left" as "left" is more revolutionary.

They want chess organizations banned as "chess serves the feudals and the bourgeoisie."

They want the production and sale of sun glasses, toy watches and other toys for children banned.

The "revolutionary students" have demanded that teachers should not "overstuff the students with knowledge" as "the more the students study, the more their brains are mucked up."

Such demands have more in common with the "infantile disease" condemned by Lenin long ago than with the scientific ideas of communism. It is a travesty of the Marxist-Leninist ideas of ideological struggle and the ideological remolding of persons in socialist society to describe such demands or the re-naming of streets and barbershops or the pulling down of traditional descriptions and decorations on historic buildings or the physical public humiliation of persons whose mode of dress or hair-style does not accord with the tastes of the Red Guards, as a "great proletarian cultural revolution."

Everyone who recognizes what a great contribution the Chinese revolution made to the development of the world revolutionary process can only be aghast and full of sorrow at such events. For they signify a degeneration and not a development of the great Chinese revolution.

To analyze the main reasons why these distortions of Marxism-Leninism have manifested themselves in the CPC leadership is a difficult and complex question which requires greater study.

This will need a deep study of the economy, culture and political history of China, its present level of economic development, the relatively weak proletarian content of the CPC and Chinese society even today, subjective responses to the immense difficulties and problems of building a new socialist society, the self-imposed isolation from the rest of the socialist countries and the international Communist movement, the constant threat of American aggression, and many other factors.

Although the Ceylon Communist Party deplores many of the distortions and caricatures of Marxist-Leninist positions that have recently appeared in the policy of the CPC, it will continue to solidarize itself with the Chinese revolution against the menace of U.S. imperialism.

The Communists of Ceylon will continue to work for the strengthening of friendly ties between Ceylon and China, for China's admission to its rightful place in the United Nations, and for the normalization of relations between our two parties.

We favor continued efforts to restore unity in the socialist camp and the international Communist movement which can be achieved steps by step. This could and should begin with joint action to sup-

port Vietnam and oppose U.S. provocations against China and other socialist and newly-liberated countries.

It is our fervent hope that the wisdom and desirability of such a course of action will be recognized by the CPC before long.

"THE CHINESE LEADERS ARE DOING A GREAT SERVICE TO IMPERIALISM AND REACTION BY WAGING A HYSTERICAL CAMPAIGN AGAINST THE SOVIET UNION*

In recent months news agencies and major newspapers of the world have been carrying reports and comments on the grave events taking place in the People's Republic of China. For a long time news coming from China was vague and full of subjective estimations and forecasts. This went on until, late last spring, China's own information media—the press, news agencies and radio—began to report on the extensive "purge" under way in the leading cadre of the Party and in major Party organizations in town and country.

Soon it became obvious that China was the scene of a struggle gaining in scope and fierceness, and that this struggle was being carried on at various levels and in various walks of life.

These events and reports, for all that they are so extraordinary, are fraught with danger and give rise to many questions about the unforeseen and deep-going evolution taking place in China, about Chinese policies and objectives.

Every sensible person has the impression that these developments must reflect a deep crisis and unusual upsets affecting the Chinese leadership.

Last August, at the height of these events, the CC elected by the 8th Congress of the CPC (held in the summer of 1956, that is, ten years earlier) called its 11th Plenum.

What did the plenum reveal? What were its decision and results?

It must be noted, first of all, that the CPC has yet to convene its 9th Congress although the previous congress met ten years ago. The 10th Plenum was held four years ago, in 1962, as admitted by the Chinese press itself. The 11th Plenum, which wound up on August 12 last, shed some light on what had been going on in China for several months.

Evidently, the question is not only of the CPC leadership departing from the fundamental principles of Marxism-Leninism, but of its ignoring them completely. The CPC leaders disregard the elementary rules of logic and common sense. Their actions, distinguished

*Abridged from **Al Akhbar** (Lebanon), September 4, 1966.

by the worst kind of hysteria as far as ideology and practise are concerned, are a far cry from the revolutionary spirit, scientific socialism or the cultural revolution they say they are carrying out in China.

An objective, scientific analysis of the facts brings out the true meaning of the events taking place in China, events seriously endangering the vital interests of the Chinese people and the socialist cause in China.

First. The lengthy communique about the 11th Plenum that has been published contains no data, no facts or figures, revealing the real situation in China's present economy or bearing out what is said in general terms about economic plans and progress in socialist construction. The moot points of the main body of the communique, far from dispelling the misgivings of the Chinese people's true friends over the sad results of the Chinese leadership's adventurous economic, industrial and agricultural policies, tend to increase them. Output is declining steadily.

These results are due, of course, to unrealistic economic plans and to the disruption of economic cooperation with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries. We may therefore consider correct those data which say that Chinese production has been decreasing ever since 1960 and that by 1966 it had dropped 20 percent compared with 1960. This drop in a country like China, whose population is growing at the annual rate of 20 million, is a presage of disaster.

Second. The only tangible result of the recent plenum, led by Mao Tse-tung, was the formation of the "Red Guards," who were entrusted with carrying out the "great proletarian cultural revolution." Distracting ourselves for a moment from the anarchy that is setting in, from the irresponsible, boyish sorties of the teen-agers who make up the "Guards" and whose activity is derided by the whole world, we see that the meaning of this vaunted cultural revolution is to extend the campaign against the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, against the overwhelming majority of the Communist parties of the world. This campaign is aimed at aggravating Chinese-Soviet relations to the utmost. It is no accident that reports on hostile demonstrations outside the Soviet Embassy in Peking and on attacks against Soviet citizens and staff members of the Embassy of the GDR are given special prominence among the reports daily published by information agencies about demonstration and provocations on the part of teen-agers from the "Red Guards."

Third. The cultural revolution implies, in effect, a new stage in the deification of Mao Tse-tung's person, ideas and utterances. It envisages an anti-Soviet policy long since declared to be an official policy necessary to the state, the Party and the Chinese people as a whole. Anyone who deviates from this line is liable to be punished.

Disregard of the proposals made by the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and other brother parties for joint action against the U.S. imperialist aggression in Vietnam, continued disruptive activity in the Communist movement, and attempts to weaken the anti-imperialist front are all components of this policy.

In other words, the Chinese leaders intend to go on blocking the other socialist countries' measures toward assisting Vietnam.

Fourth. The Chinese leaders demand demonstrations and actions by the "Red Guards" against certain leading groups in city and provincial Party organizations.

In compliance with this demand, the "Red Guards" have succeeded here and there in bringing the activity of whole organizations to a standstill. These developments are undoubtedly linked with what *Hungchi*, the central theoretical journal said editorially in one of its recent issues. "In this age," it said, "it is a most serious betrayal of Marxism-Leninism to depart from Mao Tse-tung's ideas."

The editorial also made the following comment: "We have had to overcome step by step resistance that expressed itself mostly in reactionary distortions both in China and abroad."

Surely this is ample evidence of the serious difficulties the Chinese leaders' disruptive policy encounters in the Party itself, in its leading cadres, and in the Party organizations in various cities, districts and troop units.

Fifth. Whoever has been following recent events in China may well ask the following questions:

Why did the CC CPC hold its plenum when it did, that is, four years after the previous plenum? Why and according to what laws of socialism has the Chinese leadership decided to accomplish the so-called cultural revolution, which is far removed from both culture and revolution?

We can answer these questions accurately if we think of the succession of increasing setbacks which the CPC leadership has suffered in recent years in various fields — foreign policy, the world Communist movement, economic and cultural development. The 23rd Congress of the CPSU was beyond all doubt a major event this year, a remarkable factor for rallying the Communist movement to the Marxist-Leninist general line of the movement formulated in 1957 and 1960, to its tested and recognized vanguard, Lenin's Party, the first and biggest Marxist-Leninist party of the world, which led socialist construction and is now leading communist construction in one-sixth of the globe.

The CPC leaders found themselves up against a wall when the world saw how the 23rd Congress went about solving problems of the Communist movement and the world revolution, taking into account practical ways and means of overcoming existing difficul-

ties, and stressing the paramount importance of unity, cohesion and joint struggle against the common enemy, imperialism and reaction. This prompted the Chinese leaders to launch a new rabid campaign of lies and attacks against the CPSU and the Soviet Union.

At the same time they started a hysterical campaign of massive suppression of Party organizations and large groups of the people in China.

Sixth. At present the Chinese leadership is doing imperialism and reaction a valuable service by pursuing its special line, which it opposes to the Marxist-Leninist line of the Communist movement, by organizing shameless provocations against the Soviet Union and the cause of peace, national liberation, socialism, and united action in support of Vietnam to beat off the U.S. aggression.

Surely it is clear enough that the imperialists, first of all the U.S. imperialists, pin definite hopes on the Chinese leaders' position, which is hostile to the unity of the socialist camp, to the Communist and revolutionary movement. And surely anyone will readily notice the strange connection between the extension of the Americans' dirty war in Vietnam and undisguised provocations against the Soviet Union and other socialist countries.

The Communists of Lebanon, who are part of the tens of millions of Marxists-Leninists of the world, consider that the CPC leadership is fully answerable to the Chinese people, to the peoples of the world and to history for the tremendous damage it has done to peace, national liberation, socialism, and the cause of the heroic people of Vietnam by rejecting joint action against imperialism, by organizing provocations against socialist countries and persisting in its attempts to split the Communist movement.

There can be no doubt that all revolutionaries and all the anti-imperialists of the world, whatever their political views, now know from experience and realize better than ever the great damage which the Chinese leadership is doing to their everyday struggle, to the cause of freedom and progress for which they are fighting. The Chinese leaders' latest moves will once again convince these fighters of the need for unity, cohesion and joint struggle against imperialism and reaction.

OPPONENTS OF UNITY CONDEMNED*

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of Turkey has issued a statement which reads: "The present tension in the international situation threatens world peace: the United States is extending its aggression in Vietnam, the West German revenge-seekers are stepping up preparations for a war to achieve their aims.

"At a time when cohesion of the socialist forces and unity of the world Communist and working-class movement assume particular importance, the decisions of the 11th plenum of the CC of the Communist Party of China and the anti-Soviet campaign conducted in Peking encourage the U.S. imperialists in their actions. The official endorsement by the plenum of the stand of the CPC leaders, the pernicious consequences of which for the world Communist movement, for the cause of national liberation, peace and socialism are perfectly obvious, is a serious step along the road of breaking with Marxism-Leninism, an open action against the decisions the fraternal parties jointly adopted at the Moscow conferences of 1957 and 1960.

"The Central Committee of the Communist Party of Turkey was disturbed by the news about the so-called 'great proletarian cultural revolution' in China. The anti-Soviet demonstrations and smear campaign organized in China are aimed at inculcating in the Chinese people the hostile attitude typical of imperialism and world reaction towards the great Party of Lenin and the Soviet Union, that mainstay of the oppressed peoples. The CC of the CPT resolutely repudiates and condemns this rude and malicious campaign against the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, against the USSR.

"The Vietnamese people will be victorious in the struggle against the aggressors provided they enjoy all-round assistance from the socialist countries and especially the Soviet Union, and the material and moral support of the entire progressive mankind. The Chinese leaders have turned down the proposals of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries aimed at coordinating this assistance and increasing its effectiveness. This stand and these actions of the CPC leaders benefit only the U.S. aggressors and world reaction, whose aim and tactics are to split the international revolutionary and peace-loving forces, to undermine the unity and solidarity of the socialist countries.

"By constantly expanding aggression in Southeast Asia the United States of America is sowing the seeds of a new world war.

*Pravda, September 22, 1966.

The struggle of the Vietnamese people against the U.S. imperialist aggression, for the freedom and independence of their country serves the cause of world peace as well.

"The destiny of our people, who are fighting in Turkey against the same aggressors and expansionists, is closely bound up with the destiny of the Vietnamese people, with the destiny of world peace. Every Turkish citizen who loves his country and peace, should support the Vietnamese people in their sacred struggle, using all means at his disposal.

"The Communist Party of Turkey, loyal to the decisions of the 1957 and 1960 Moscow conferences of representatives of Communist and Workers' parties, will go on fighting for the unity of the Communist movement on the basis of Marxism-Leninism, proletarian internationalism."

STATEMENT OF THE CC, JORDANIAN COMMUNIST PARTY

The Central Committee of the Jordanian Communist Party shares the concern of the fraternal Communist and Workers' parties over the harmful events which are now taking place in the People's Republic of China, and which have aggravated since the 11th plenary meeting of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party. The fact that these rash acts are being committed at the same time when the U.S. government is escalating its war in Vietnam adds to their seriousness and gravity.

Instead of responding to the call of the Communist and workers' parties for restoring unity of the world Communist movement, and for taking joint action against U.S. aggression in Vietnam, the Chinese leaders persist in their splitting and subversive activities and continue their hostile campaign against the Soviet Union and other socialist countries.

The "cultural revolution" and the fanatic acts perpetrated by the "Red Guards", under the direction and control of the Chinese leaders, are directed in the first place against the Soviet Union and its glorious Communist Party. They also aim at suppressing the growing opposition inside China to the ideology of the cult of the individual and to the adventurous and destructive policy of the Chinese leaders. The ideas of Marxism-Leninism, with their intense humanity, their truth and their vanguard role need no acts of terror and suppression to impose them by force. What the "Red Guard" is doing is by no means a destruction of the old world, as the Chinese leaders claim. It rather jeopardizes the past and present achievements of the Chinese people.

The anti-Soviet campaign will never bring glory to the Chinese leaders. The utmost it can do is to play in the hands of the imperialists, the enemies of peace, socialism, democracy and liberation.

It is high time that the Chinese leaders recognize that effective and real aid to the Vietnamese people can best be rendered through the unity of the world Communist movement and the socialist camp, not by splitting them, through the common struggle of all revolutionary and democratic forces all over the world.

The rash acts of the Chinese leaders inflicted and still inflict harm on our people and its progressive forces, in their hard struggle against the aggressive schemes of imperialism, reaction and Zionism against the freedom of our people and of all fraternal Arab peoples.

The Central Committee of the Jordanian Communist Party, true

to the principles of Marxism-Leninism, and to the general line of the world Communist movement, expresses its full support to the policy of the Soviet Union, and to the wise attitude of its glorious Communist Party, and to its sincere efforts for restoring unity to the world Communist movement. Our Party highly appreciates the generous aid rendered by the Soviet Union to the Vietnamese people in its heroic struggle against U.S. imperialism.

FAUD NASSAR
First Secretary of the Central
Committee of the Jordanian
Communist Party

RESOLUTION OF THE POLITICAL COMMITTEE OF THE ISRAEL COMMUNIST PARTY ON THE ATTITUDE OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF CHINA*

In its meeting of the 4th of September 1966, the Political Committee of the Israel Communist Party adopted the following resolution:

The political committee draws attention to the increase of world tension, as a result of the intensification and escalation of the American imperialist aggression in Vietnam. The aggressive war which is being waged by the US government in South-East Asia leads to the intensification of tension in other areas, including our Middle East area. Furthermore, it threatens a world nuclear war.

Since the crimes committed by the German Nazis against humanity, no war crimes have been committed more serious than those committed by the armies of American imperialists in Vietnam.

In spite of the incessant stream of forces that the Americans are sending, in spite of the barbarous air raids on the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, in spite of all that, the Vietnamese heroic nation will keep inflicting defeats against the aggressors in South as well as in North Vietnam. American imperialism is likewise meeting political failures. Never previously has American imperialism been so isolated; never once before has this imperialism been so hated by the nations. Not once, since the end of the Second World War, has the imperialist camp been divided to such a degree that a state like France would oppose the American aggression against Vietnam. For many long years the USA did not see on its own soil such a wide national movement as that which is taking place now against the criminal war led by the Johnson government in Vietnam.

At present there is great need for the unity of action among all the socialist states, among all the Communist parties, among all the forces which are anti-imperialist and which are fighting for peace. This unity of action should be in the fight against the American aggression, for the withdrawal of the American army from Vietnam, and for safeguarding and securing liberty, unity and progress to Vietnam.

The 23rd Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, which was held this year in April, expressed the strong will and the

*Al Ittihad, Sept. 9, 1966.

desire of unity of action of the Communists and the representatives of National Democratic movements of liberation of more than eighty countries, against American aggression, especially in Vietnam.

The 23rd Congress had adopted a special resolution concerning American aggression in Vietnam, calling the socialist nations and the nations of the whole world to give every help to the Vietnam heroic nation.

Great aid is being offered to the Vietnamese nation in its fight against American aggression by the Soviet Union. The Soviet weapons such as the missiles and aeroplanes, the best weapons in the world, and the Soviet experts who constitute the majority of foreign experts there, enables the Vietnamese nation to stand in the face of the American aggressors, and to inflict heavy losses upon them, though they are the strongest imperialist power.

The government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and the leadership of the NLF in South Vietnam have stressed more than once their gratitude to the Soviet Union and their appreciation of the great decisive Soviet aid. The Soviet Union and all the states of the Warsaw Treaty declared in their session in Bucharest their readiness to send volunteers to Vietnam if this government asks for that.

Knowing all these facts we were quite astonished by those anti-Soviet decisions that have been adopted by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, and by demonstrations staged in Peking against the Soviet embassy and by other disturbances against the Soviets in China.

Any talk about "connection" between the Soviet Union and American imperialism against the Vietnamese people and for the restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union, would only be a cheap scandal against not only the Soviet Union but also against the whole Communist movement which is in solidarity with the Soviet Union and its glorious party!

The declarations and actions of the leadership of the CPC deepen the rift in the ranks of the Communist movement, cause much harm to the cause of the struggle against imperialism and for socialism, and gladden the hearts of American imperialists and their allies, who gain an utterly unexpected assistance.

The reactionaries in our country, as in other parts of the world, openly show their satisfaction and jubilation when they hear of anti-Soviet attitudes appearing in China. The imperialists and reactionaries know that the Soviet Union is the main stronghold of peace and democracy, of the people's independence and of socialism the world over. That is because the Soviet Union is the main enemy of the imperialists and reactionaries. For this reason they feel especially glad about any attack against the Soviet Union, since they

know that the strength of Communists and anti-imperialists lies in their unity. This is why imperialism and the reactionaries feel glad at any split in the movement.

As an integral part of the mistaken unprincipled and harmful line being followed by the leaders of the Communist Party of China, they encourage the unreasonable and adventurous plans which refuse any peaceful solution of the Israeli-Arab dispute and which stands in opposition to the principle of respect for the national rights of the Israeli nation and the Palestinian Arab people.

The Political Committee of the Israel Communist Party appreciates the comprehensive aid which the Soviet Union gives to the Vietnamese nation as an expression of typical proletarian internationalism. The Political Committee condemns the anti-Soviet activities of the Chinese leaders, the activities which in fact help the American aggressors. The Political Committee calls for putting an end to the split and to the anti-Soviet provocations, and for helping in regrouping and canalizing the activities of all Communists, enemies of imperialism and partisans of peace in the world in the fight against American aggressors, for liberty and peace in Vietnam and for preventing the flare-up of a third world war.

There is not and there can never be an anti-Soviet communism. Anti-Sovietism is an upshoot of national sectarianism which is alien to communism.

There is not and there can never be a cultural proletarian revolution opposed to the country of the October Revolution, which carries on its shoulders the main task in the fight against imperialism and reaction, for peace, peoples' independence and socialism.

The Israel Communist Party expresses its full solidarity with the Communist Party of the Soviet Union in its persevering and honest fight for eliminating the rift in the Communist movement and for increasing friendship with the Chinese Communists and people, on the basis of the general line of the international Communist movement, laid down in the conferences of 1957 and 1960 on the foundation of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism.

Long live the unity of the world Communist movement and all the anti-imperialism forces in the fight against American aggressors in Vietnam and for the defense of peace and peoples' liberty.

CONCERNING THE RECENT EVENTS IN CHINA*

The communique of the 11th Plenary Meeting of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China repeats the unfounded accusations levelled against the leadership of the CPSU which heads the steeled and tempered vanguard of the international Communist movement.

Our Party emphatically condemns the method of slander and invective for it holds that such a method injures not only the entire Communist and working-class movement but, first of all those who resort to it.

The nearly half century that has passed since the Great October Socialist Revolution shows that there can be no place for "anti-Soviet communism" and never has been.

Our Party believes that today, as always, love and respect for the socialist countries and, first and foremost, for the Soviet state founded by the great Lenin, is the touchstone for any party and for every Communist.

Under the guise of the so-called cultural revolution staged by the CPC leadership, Peking has these days become the biggest propaganda hot-bed, spearheaded not against the United States but against the Soviet Union . . .

The communique of the 11th Plenary Meeting of the CC, CPC embodies the policy of division which the CPC leadership has been pursuing for many years now . . .

Thus, at its Plenary Meeting the CC CPC, far from choosing unity, preferred to plunge still more deeply into sectarian and splitting activities, thereby further damaging its own prestige, and causing harm to the great family of Communist and Workers' parties . . .

The isolation of the CPC leadership and the failures due to its adventurism in both home and foreign policy led to dissatisfaction among many responsible Party functionaries.

The continuation of this process and of the purges of the Party and government apparatus started in this connection, was the so-called proletarian cultural revolution carried out by the newly-formed "Red Guard".

On the pretext of eradicating "bourgeois influence" and the "sur-

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*Abridged from editorial in **Mardom**, organ of the People's Party of Iran (Tudeh), No. 18, 1966.

vivals of feudalism", the youths of the "Red Guard" are destroying the literary heritage of the classics, the works of world-famous composers and masterpieces of art, all of which are to be replaced by the works, portraits and sculptures of all sizes of Mao Tse-tung . . . Such measures in a socialist country, which are carried out in the name of the "proletarian revolution", can only compromise socialism and proletarian culture.

The great Lenin wrote in one of his articles: "Proletarian culture must be the result of a natural development of the stores of knowledge which mankind has accumulated under the yoke of capitalist society, landlord society, bureaucratic society." The achievements of mankind should not be regarded as the achievements of only the exploiter classes. The great works of literature and art bear the imprint of the sweat and blood of the working classes. Society cannot be deprived of the fine heritages of culture by the will of one person or group of persons . . .

Socialist culture treasures the heritage of the past, enriching it and using it in its revolutionary struggle to transform society into a communist society.

Our Party which is fighting in a country that has a very rich cultural past will always bear in mind Lenin's precept to highly value such a culture and to use it in the interests of the future . . .

The stepping up of aggression by imperialism and reaction in Asia, Africa and Latin America is a negative manifestation of the differences in the socialist camp. The responsibility for this rests with those who by their splitting activities are encouraging and deepening these differences, thus adding grist to the mill of the imperialists and reactionaries . . .

Unity and cohesion of the socialist camp and the Communist and working-class movement is the indestructible force that can put an end to this aggression and accelerate the great revolutionary world process to its ultimate goal. Side by side with all the Communist and Workers' parties our Party has exerted every effort, and will continue to do so, to restore principled unity on the basis of creative Marxism-Leninism and the documents of the 1957 and 1960 Moscow meetings.

CONCERNING THE SITUATION IN THE WORLD COMMUNIST MOVEMENT

RESOLUTION OF THE CC OF THE CP OF ECUADOR*

Assembled at a plenary session in August 1966, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ecuador thoroughly examined the situation that has shaped in the world Communist movement and unanimously decided to reaffirm its stand and views on this problem in order to contribute to the struggle for the unity of the world Communist movement on the basis of creative Marxism-Leninism, the statements of the 1957 and 1960 Moscow conferences of Communist and Workers' parties and the 1964 conference of the Latin American Communist parties. The Central Committee also decided to expose all the dogmatic and revisionist views held by some leaders of the Communist Party of China, their revisionist positions, their factionalist and splitting activities which interfere with the unity of political thinking and action, impede the joint development of the socialist camp and hinder the struggle of the working class and its ally, the peasantry, for the revolutionary re-making of society, the struggle of the peoples for their liberation, and to prevent a nuclear world war.

SOLIDARITY WITH THE STRUGGLE OF THE VIETNAMESE PEOPLE

The North American imperialists are escalating their aggression against the Vietnamese patriots and democrats who are valiantly fighting in the south of Vietnam against the most brutal and bloody colonial aggression launched by the United States to prevent Vietnam from achieving complete national independence. The US imperialists have also started a criminal dirty war against the Democratic Republic of Vietnam whose inhabited localities they subject to systematic bombings, killing thousands of people and destroying tremendous values.

This session of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ecuador calls upon all democratic, revolutionary, patriotic and progressive forces, all peace-lovers to step up the solidarity campaign and mass actions in defense of the Vietnamese patriots fighting for their national liberation.

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*El Pueblo, August 20, 1966.

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ecuador expresses its firm confidence that the struggle of the Vietnamese patriots will be crowned with the complete victory of the people.

We demand the withdrawal of the US imperialists' troops from Vietnamese territory, a cease-fire and negotiations in accordance with the Geneva Agreements, with the participation of the South Vietnamese National Liberation Front.

To save mankind from a nuclear world war, it is necessary to stop the escalation of the criminal imperialist war waged by the US imperialists against the people of South Vietnam and against the Democratic Republic of Vietnam.

THE "CULTURAL REVOLUTION" IS NOT SOCIALISM*

The events of recent weeks in the Peoples' Republic of China compel us to return to what is already hard to describe as ideological differences. Indeed, the CPC leaders have long since switched from discussion, which should be a calm and constructive exchange of views, to groundless, false and slanderous attacks, and lately to direct action against the world Communist movement. And in the light of the new facts of the so-called "great proletarian cultural revolution," there is not the slightest doubt any longer that the leaders of the Chinese Party and state have soiled their name by all kinds of practises having nothing to do with Marxism-Leninism and a great deal with deceit.

The gravity of the situation created by the conduct of the CPC leaders can no longer be disregarded, nor can their responsibility for the development and disastrous outcome of some of the battles which the forces of democracy and peace, of social revolution and communism are carrying on in each county and on a world scale be concealed.

It is clear to the world Communist and working-class movement that the increased aggressiveness of US imperialism in Southeast Asia, specifically the intensification of the dirty war against the people of South Vietnam and the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, is directly due to the PRC's digression from the socialist world system, and that the impact of the CPC leaders' scientifically untenable policy on some Communist parties has led to adventurous actions ending in the most complete and most tragic failure.

It is a fact known to both us and others that the CPC leaders' openly disruptive activity has created serious problems for more than one Communist party. It is also known that the bourgeois press takes advantage of the unwarranted acts of terrorism committed by the so-called Red Guards, who hold the Chinese people in a state of anxiety, to fan the flames of anti-communism.

These and other consequences of the CPC leaders increasing deviations hold back or complicate the struggle for national liberation, the struggle to abolish imperialism, to maintain peace, to build socialism and communism in those countries that are now engaged in accomplishing this great task. Worse still, they jeopardize socialist development in China itself, because one cannot build socialism

*La Voz de México (CPM), Sept. 4, 1966.

while opposing the other socialist countries and while fighting against the world Communist and working-class movement, and because a party which stifles democracy, abolishes criticism and uses terror as a method of leadership cannot build socialism.

It is for the Communist Party of China, which has glorious revolutionary traditions, and for the people, who together with it have succeeded in eliminating capitalism in their vast country, to solve all the problems of the further development of the socialist revolution in China. And it is for the world Communist movement to do every thing to restore unity in its ranks. As for us, we wish to say at the close of this brief commentary that what a handful of Party and government leaders and the mobs whose minds they have poisoned are doing in China has nothing in common with socialism. It is not socialism.

MARX OR MAO?*

The Chinese leaders are departing more and more from Marxism-Leninism, replacing this universal doctrine of scientific communism by a nationalistic, hidebound and dogmatic conception which the apologists of the regime call "Mao Tse-tung's thought," and which, claiming to be infallible, consummate and absolute, like the ideological system of the idealist philosopher Hegel, is elevated to the category of state wisdom. This thought embraces everything and penetrates everything. Outside it there is no salvation.

Football, baseball, table tennis and chess players, watch-makers and barbers are said to resort to it and perform miracles.

If there were nothing more to this, it would only draw laughter. But the application of Maoism to such fine spheres as, for instance, human culture, produces tragic consequences and discredits the very idea of socialism before the whole world.

We have in mind the absurd "cultural revolution" now taking place in China, embodied in the reckless drive of young people—the "Red Guards"—who are intent on leaving no stone unturned in all and everything. In the name of "Chairman Mao's wise thought" and "socialist culture," the leaders of the "cultural revolution" intensify their anti-Soviet provocations and slander the great thinkers and artists of the past. They destroy works of these thinkers and artists who, they claim, contradict or depart from Maoism and are therefore slave-owners, feudal lords, bourgeois or revisionists.

Regrettably, errors which Lenin combated are being repeated in China today. The mechanistic, anachistic and vulgar sociology of subjective idealism according to which the entire philosophy of the 17th and 18th centuries was nothing but bourgeois fraud is being revived there. Lenin ridiculed this absurd conception, which crossed out with a stroke of the pen brilliant achievements of human genius and robbed people of these achievements.

In contrast to these practises of the Chinese leaders, something entirely different is to be observed in the Soviet Union: this year, for instance, it commemorates the 350th anniversary of the death of Cervantes, the father of the Castilian language. The anniversary will be marked on a very large scale; works by Cervantes will be reprinted in millions of copies.

What are the ideological roots of the "cultural revolution?" In our opinion, it is a break with Marxism-Leninism in three fundamental aspects: first, a mechanistic interpretation of the connection

*Editorial in **Voz Proletaria**, CP of Colombia, September 15, 1966.

between the economic foundation of society and the ideology conforming to it; second, an anarchistic aproach to the Marxian law of progress in an ascending spiral, and finally, as a consequence of the latter, negation of the historic continuity of culture. Let us examine these errors in their order.

a) In describing these errors, let us begin with some elementary truths. While correctly considering that culture has a class character the Chinese leaders arrive at the erroneous conclusion that everything created before or apart from Marx, Engels and Lenin serves only the interests of the exploiters, that the science and art that existed before Marx, or simply non-Marxist, contain nothing but errors or reflect reality in a distorted way to suit the exploiter classes. They ignore the fact that an ideology reflects not only class interests but in some way or other the real world around us, or, to put it more succinctly, it reflects reality through the prism of class interests and conflicts, and that great art rests not only on a class, limited and transient basis, but to no lesser degree on a general, human foundation.

b) The taking of power by the proletariat, by the working class and its allies, is the first great act of the socialist revolution. The latter presupposes not only an economic revolution but also a cultural one which, according to Marxism-Leninism and contrary to "Mao-Tse-tung's though," cannot arise out of nowhere. As Lenin pointed out, it must incorporate, develop and critically assimilate all cultural "treasures" of mankind, discarding everything that is negative. Culture develops, progresses. Its ascendant evolution is accompanied by the negation and destruction of the moribund elements of old culture, the culture of the exploiter classes. But this negation presupposes also combining and assimilating creative elements of old culture in new culture. These elements form the link between the two cultures; they are the starting point and requisite for the development of the new.

c) It appears that it is precisely this continuity that is quite unaccountably ignored by the Peking leaders, who imagine that socialist culture springs up spontaneously and has no antecedents. It will be small wonder then if they end up repudiating the classical contribution of the English political economy, German philosophy and critico-utopian socialism of the preceding century, i.e., the three sources of the teachings of Marx and Engels.

What would Lenin say to the Chinese leaders? He would say again: "The history of philosophy and the history of social science show with perfect clarity that there is nothing resembling 'sectarianism' in Marxism, in the sense of its being a hidebound, petrified doctrine, a doctrine which arose *away from* the highroad of development of world civilization. On the contrary, the genius of Marx

consists precisely in the fact that he furnished answers to questions the foremost minds of mankind had already raised. His teachings arose as the direct and immediate *continuation* of the teachings of the greatest representatives of philosophy, political economy and socialism." He would also remind them of what he said in his speech at the 3rd Congress of the Soviet Young Communist League, a speech which he summed up in one word: learn. Lenin stressed: "You can become a Communist only when you enrich your mind with the knowledge of all the treasures created by mankind."

U.S. COMMUNISTS CRITICIZE CHINESE FOR BLOW AT ANTI-IMPERIALIST UNITY*

HENRY WINSTON
National Chairman, Communist Party, USA

The course which the "proletarian cultural revolution" in China is currently taking has given rise to deep concern among Communists and other progressive forces in the United States. The determination of the internal policies of the Chinese People's Republic is, of course, a matter for the Chinese people and their leadership. Yet the policies pursued in the name of building socialism in a country of China's size and stature are bound to have a profound impact internationally.

Aside from the distorted image of socialism which this campaign is creating, and aside from a number of serious questions in the minds of Communist sand progressives abroad as to its motivation and character, one aspect is of paramount world importance, namely, the further undermining of world unity against imperialist aggression.

Under the guise of the "proletarian cultural revolution" we witness a great intensification of anti-Soviet hostility and the false lumping of the Soviet leadership together with U.S. imperialism as the deadliest foes of all mankind.

For us in the heartland of U.S. imperialism, striving as we must for the utmost unity in the life-and-death struggle to compel the withdrawal of U.S. forces from Vietnam and the abandonment of the aggressive policies of the Johnson Administration, the rejection by the Chinese leaders of united action of all forces on a world scale, regardless of ideological differences, is a dangerous and destructive course of action running counter to all norms of international sodilarity.

It is all the more disturbing in the fact of the ceaseless battle we must wage against the anti-communism and anti-Sovietism which is the principal stock in trade of imperialist reaction in this country.

Such a policy serves only to divide the world anti-imperialist forces at a time when their unity is more imperative than ever. It gives encouragement to the Johnson Administration in its war policies, since these circles count in no small measure on such division for their success.

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*The Worker, September 18, 1966.

With all the forcefulness at our command, therefore, we urge the abandonment of this disastrous line and the striving for the utmost unity of all forces opposing the brutal war of annihilation being waged by our government against the Vietnamese people. In the interest of administering a decisive defeat to world imperialism, and of stemming the menace of a new world war arising from the aggression in Vietnam, this is the great historic responsibility before the world Communist movement and all other forces of peace and progress today.

WHAT GOES ON IN CHINA?*

Reports coming from China in recent months have been dominated by optimistic comments and forecasts regarding economic development, on the one hand, and by allusions to deep-going internal changes—the "cultural revolution"—on the other.

The CC CP of China met not long ago, for the first time in many years. This meeting seems to have given the green light to a far-reaching campaign involving the whole of the vast country. It is very hard on the basis of the scant information on hand to form a reasonably accurate idea of the ulterior motives and the content of the "cultural revolution."

The effort to do away with the lingering bourgeois ideology seems to be a prominent feature of the "cultural revolution." The existence of this ideology is not questioned at all. China is still a peasant country despite its tremendous industrial progress. An economy based chiefly on agriculture naturally and necessarily gives rise to bourgeois or petty bourgeois thinking, standards and estimations. No people's communes can eliminate this. Nor is this typical of the countryside alone. Social relations in the towns and settlements, and hence market relations, also bear the imprint of a dominant countryside. The desire of the Chinese Party, which is at the helm, to end this situation is understandable. This can be done by maintaining the high rate of industrialization, and so increasing the strength and prestige of the working class, or by taking administrative measures, or by combining the two methods.

China seems to have opted for furthering industrialization and, along with it, using administrative methods to offset the influence of the bourgeois-minded. And this seems to have led to authorizing the formation of voluntary organizations whose task is to demonstrate the transformation of the external conditions of social life. The result was the rise of the "Red Guards," to all appearances an organization of highly emotional young people, which launches various demonstrations. The fact that they first went into action *after* the CC CPC plenum shows that the CC has no objection to their participation in politics. If at least ten per cent of what news agencies report on the activities of the "Guards" is true, then they are apparently dominated by absolute extremism.

The "Red Guards' " part in politics goes evidently beyond internal matters. They come forward also as makers of foreign policy. The situation must be serious indeed since the Soviet government

*Abridged from **Ny Dag** editorial (Sweden), Sept. 2-3, 1966.

had to protest formally over the violent demonstrations against its diplomatic mission and the mission personnel. And since, moreover, the Chinese government has refused, according to news agency reports, either to accept the protest note or to guarantee normal conditions for the functioning of the diplomatic mission, the situation must be regarded as even more serious, as something more than a manifestation of youthful energy run wild.

The more the Soviet-Chinese conflict grows, the more questions pile up as to the actual cause of this unfortunate conflict. The only party gratified by this contradiction and its growth in breadth and depth is imperialism in general and U.S. imperialism in particular. The split between China and the Soviet Union benefits the Americans' predatory policy, primarily in Asia, but also in other parts of the world. The Soviet Union's very calm and firm policy has led to an incipient isolation of U.S. imperialism. An alliance of friendship and mutual assistance between the two great socialist powers could expedite the isolation of the USA. Instead, the United States is now encouraged by the split that has come out.

It is not so hard to understand why China, the world's biggest nation and state, a country humiliated now as in the past, first of all by U.S. imperialism, provides soil for nationalism. What makes the situation tragic is that this nationalism will injure the cause of the socialist and national-liberation movements and benefit the forces it professes to want to combat.

THE SITUATION IN THE WORLD COMMUNIST MOVEMENT

STATEMENT BY THE CC, CP OF LUXEMBOURG*

Recent events in China must have taught a useful lesson to those who had seen the Chinese Party leaders' departure from the general line of the world Communist movement as a result of purely ideological differences. The CPC leaders have for years been following a policy glaringly contradicting Marxist-Leninist principles in general and the 1957 and 1960 statements of the Communist and Workers' parties in particular. In their speeches and pamphlets, they have most foully slandered the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and other brother parties. Nor is that all. They are now going over to open provocations. The riots organised in Peking against the Soviet Embassy and the embassy staffs of other socialist countries, especially the GDR, in violation of international law, leave no more room for the slightest doubt as to the real intentions of the Chinese Party leaders.

They are striving for a final break with the socialist camp and the world Marxist-Leninist movement in order to go on along the road they have taken. It is this road that adventurism, petty-bourgeois nationalism, chauvinism and racism are following hand in hand. The campaign of hatred being carried on under the cover name of the "proletarian cultural revolution" in every part of China —a campaign designed partly to divert attention from the internal difficulties caused by the wrong policy of the CPC, and partly to silence those forces in the Party that have remained loyal to Marxism-Leninism—even shows unmistakably fascist characteristics. Whoever burns books and destroys music that are the great cultural legacy of the peoples (Shakespeare, Chaikovsky and others) and incites youngsters armed with sticks against adults, is acting not in proletarian or civilized fashion, but in the spirit of obscurantism and after the example of those who in Germany sent their storm troops to set fire to the Reichstag.

To date this road has brought the Chinese Party leaders to self-isolation. But the history of the working class shows that from this point the road leads to the camp of reaction unless one turns off in time. The anti-Marxist, anti-Leninist policy of the CPC leaders, whose program is evidently to combat the Soviet Union, has en-

*Zeitung vum Letzeburger Vollek, September 8, 1966.

couraged the U.S. imperialists in their aggression against the Vietnamese people. The Chinese leaders' categorical rejection of joint action by the socialist countries in support of the resistance war of the Vietnamese people can only be a new spur for the Pentagon warmongers' bloody escalation in Vietnam. There is only one step from this indirect assistance to an open deal with U.S. imperialism against the Soviet Union and the socialist community. The provocations against the diplomatic missions of the USSR and other socialist countries in Peking show, we must say it, that this step is a real possibility.

Just when the U.S. imperialists are pushing their barbarous aggression in Southeast Asia to the brink of a new world war and in Europe the West German militarists are reaching out for nuclear weapons to achieve their revanchist goals, and when world Communist unity is more indispensable than ever before, the ruinous policy of the Chinese Party leaders gives cause for the greatest anxiety. The Communists of Luxembourg condemn this policy most emphatically, and declare once again that they will do all in their power to contribute to world Communist unity on Marxist-Leninist lines and to the cooperation of all democratic, anti-imperialist and peace-loving forces. They are convinced that this unity and this cooperation — with or without the Chinese Party leaders — will triumph over the forces of reaction and war.

CHINESE "RED GUARDS" ENCOUNTER RESISTANCE OF PARTY COMMITTEES*

More than 100,000 "Red Guards" have left Peking, for a month the arena of their "cultural revolution" activities, to help take in the autumn harvest, *Hsinhua* reports.

The agency adds that before departure these young people carefully read, reread and studied Mao Tse-tung's works and the latest speeches of Lin Piao and Chou En-lai.

A new situation seems to be shaping up in the country: in many localities workers and peasants, supported by Party committees, resist and activities of the "Red Guards" and "revolutionary students," often countering violence with violence. Numerous incidents of this kind have taken place in different provinces, which must have prompted *Jenminjihpao* to print articles urging the "Red Guards" to rely on persuasion and not coersion, not to enter factories and other enterprises so as not to hamper production, but, on the contrary, to go to the people's communes and help the peasants in harvesting the crop.

The leaflets, announcements and communiques distributed and pasted up by the "Red Guards" in Peking mention clashes in different provinces between workers, peasants and administrative personnel headed by the local Party organization, on the one hand, and the "Red Guards" and "revolutionary teachers," on the other.

A leaflet issued by the students of four higher schools of Kwangsi province describes one of such clashes which occurred on September 6 and 7 during which the workers, peasants and administrative personnel dispersed the "revolutionary students" who surrounded the office of the local Party committee. The leaflet says that the workers carried posters reading: "Stand up staunchly for the Party committee of the province," "Expose political rogues," and that they beat the "revolutionary students," some of them until they lost consciousness.

The leaflet accuses the leaders of the provincial Party committee of having incited the workers against the students.

In another leaflet the "Red Guards" of Anhwei province describe a "serious political incident" in the course of which the "masses" came out against the "revolutionary students" and some groups of students against each other in the city of Pengpu. The incident was "provoked by the Party committee of the province and the

*Slightly abridged from **Le Drapeau Rouge**, September 20, 1966.

city." During the three days of September 1-3, the leaflet says, about two thousand factory workers and peasants from people's communes headed by the secretaries of factory Party committees and team-leaders besieged the Anhwei Institute of Commerce in which "revolutionary teachers and students" took cover. The latter had put up on the walls of the city Party committee's office big-character handwritten appeals "to open fire against the Pengpu Party committee."

It is also said in the leaflet that during those three days the workers manhandled "146 students and teachers," "smashed up the radio equipment of the institute" and "broke the frame of the portrait of our great and beloved leader Chairman Mao."

Some leaflets violently attack Fang Fen, first secretary of the Party committee of Kansu province, for having "capitulated before hostile elements" and provoked the "bloody incident" of August 16.

On that day in Lanchow, the leaflet says, "5,000 misled peasants beat 120 Red Guards from Peking till they bled." On September 6, in the same province, similar incidents were provoked by Fang Fen, "who together with the entire North-Eastern Bureau of the CC CPC is of dark orientation."

The leaflet of the "Red Guards" who arrived from Kweichow province unhesitatingly brand the Peking "Red Guards" as "revisionists" and demand freedom of speech "at meetings, in newspapers, in private talks and in telephone conversations."

Some leaflets and posters severely criticize the first secretary of the new Peking city committee of the CPC, Li Hsue h-feng, who on June 3 replaced Pen Chen. They denounce the committee for following the old dangerous "revisionist and capitulationist road" and declare that two roads are opening up before the Communist Party of China: the road charted by Mao Tse-tung and the road which was followed by Peng Chen.

One leaflet reproaches the "Red Guards" for having compelled Yang Hsiu-feng, Chairman of the Supreme People's Court, to attend a meeting where he was criticized and had to stand for several hours listening to the speakers. On September 11 Yang Hsiu-feng was called a "black bandit" and his dismissal was demanded. The leadership of the "Red Guards" disavowed this condemnation.

The list of Party cadres accused of "anti-Party activities" and even "crimes" is growing daily.

Li Ta, a veteran Communist who was a delegate to the First Congress of the CPC in 1921, has also been scathingly criticized and relieved of his duties as Rector of Wunan University. He "did not recognize Chairman Mao's contribution to the development of the Marxist-Leninist doctrine" and called the "big leap" a "big retreat."

Chen Fan, member of the bureau and chief of the propaganda

department of the Shenyang city Party committee, is accused of having "attacked the greatest leader Chairman Mao and his all-conquering ideas," called the "big leap" "mystification" and declared that China had found itself in great isolation in the international arena.

Sun Chen-ting, chief of the propaganda department of the Kilin provincial Party committee, is charged with having approved the 20th and 21st congresses of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

Besides, the "Red Guards" are demanding the dismissal of leading workers of the Tientsin city Party committee who "oppose Mao Tse-tung's ideas." The Party committee of Hunan province is accused of "resisting" the "cultural revolution."

STATEMENT OF THE LEADING COMMITTEE OF THE SWISS PARTY OF LABOR

The differences existing between the overwhelming majority of the Communist and Workers' parties and the leadership of the Communist Party of China have been seriously exacerbated during the last and this year. All the attempts at reconciliation have failed. On the contrary, the attacks of the CPC leaders on the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and other fraternal parties have grown on an incredible scale. The CPC leaders are clearly pushing to the foreground the struggle against the CPSU and all the parties which have remained loyal to the decisions of the 1960 conference of 81 Communist and Workers' parties and those of the 1957 conference.

In their efforts to secure the triumph of their separate and sectarian policy and seize leadership of the world Communist movement the CPC leaders have launched a "second revolution" called "the great proletarian cultural revolution" to which they are giving top priority. The facts show, however, that this "revolution" has nothing in common either with culture or with the aims of genuine revolution. Its obvious aim is to divert the attention from the difficulties existing in the country, crush the opposition rising in the party, and solve through violence the problems which in the present conditions can be solved only on the basis of economic and political development and through promotion of democracy in general and in the party in particular.

Our Party expresses regret in connection with this deplorable evolution which weakens the socialist camp and the unity of the world Communist movement and clearly plays into the hands of the class enemies, specifically U.S. imperialism, which endangers world peace by the war in Vietnam and by its policy of escalation.

Regrettably, this split in the Communist and socialist forces has taken place at a time when it is necessary to strengthen the alliance of these forces in order to defend the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and the entire Vietnamese people.

Nevertheless our Party is firmly convinced that sooner or later the Communist Party of China will return to the ranks of the Communist and Workers' parties and will fight, in a united front, against the warmakers, against the danger of a new world war, for the restoration of peace in Vietnam and for a stable world peace.

Leading Committee,
Swiss Party of Labor.

A CHINESE TRAGEDY*

By EDGAR WOOG,
General Secretary, Swiss Party of Labor

I

Developments in China are widening more and more into a tragedy for the Chinese people and the international working-class movement. Behind the CC CPC decision on the "great proletarian cultural revolution" is, evidently, an attempt by the leading Chinese comrades to overcome difficulties and ills in the life of the Chinese people with forcible remedies.

Seventeen years have passed since the revolution won and the workers and peasants took power. During these years the Chinese people have made truly titanic progress in economic development and social reorganization.

They owe that progress, first of all, to their own effort, but in large measure also to vast and disinterested aid from the Soviet Union and other socialist countries and to the powerful political and moral support on the part of the international working class and all the progressive forces of the world.

The world Communist movement, the international working class and all the peoples still under colonial rule saw the Chinese revolution as the greatest historical event since the October Revolution and the victory over fascism in World War II. They saw Soviet-Chinese unity as a guarantee of the advance of socialism, the success of the national-liberation movements and the maintenance of world peace.

II.

After the Moscow meetings of 1957 and 1960 and the 20th and 22nd congresses of the CPSU the CPC leaders began to attack the policy of the CPSU and the general line formulated at the Moscow meetings, defaming them as opportunist, revisionist, and detrimental to the international revolutionary movement. Their criticism was directed against the very substance of the Moscow statements and the decisions of the CPSU congresses, against the policy of peaceful coexistence and the demonstrated possibility of preventing a new world war.

In June 1963 the CC CPC published its "Proposal Concerning the General Line of the International Communist Movement," giving a different estimation of the balance of world forces, a different

*Abridged form **Vorwärts**, Sept. 5, 1966.

political concept and a different strategy and tactics of the world Communist movement. But inasmuch as the CPSU and the overwhelming majority of the Communist and Workers' parties did not support the proposal of the Chinese Party to reject the general line of the Moscow meetings, the Chinese leaders began directly and openly to attack the leaders of the CPSU and other Communist and Workers' parties, vilifying them as revisionists, traitors to the working class and imperialist agents. At the same time they began to propagate their own general line and to set up so-called pro-Chinese groups and factions, i.e., groups and factions orientating on the CPC line, both inside and outside the Communist parties in a number of countries.

All the attempts of the CPSU and other Communist and Workers' parties to come to terms with he CPC leaders and to achieve unity of action at least on the major issues of today, on U.S. aggression and on assistance to the Vietnamese people, proved fruitless. Indeed, the CPC leaders stepped up their attacks on the CPSU, losing all restraint and all sense of proportion as regards both the content and tenor of their attacks.

The CPC leaders level particularly slanderous attacks at the CPSU and the Soviet government over the issue of assistance to Vietnam. They describe the Soviet Union's assistance as a sham, a manoeuvre to mislead world opinion, while in reality making common cause with imperialism against the Vietnamese people and betraying Vietnam. Yet at the 23rd Congress of the CPSU spokesmen of the Party of the Working People of Vietnam and the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam thanked the CPSU, the Soviet government and the Soviet people as a whole for the great assistance rendered by them, and for their readiness to extend still greater and more effective assistance.

On the home front, the CPC leaders' offensive is spearheaded against the internal opposition, against the Party cadres and rank-and-file members, against scientists, writers and artists, but above all against those economists who disagree with the policy of the Party and refuse to support the anti-Soviet witch-hunt and the Mao personality cult. The oppositionists are smeared as "royalist bandits," "representatives of the overthrown class of landowners and capitalists" and "a black gang of reactionary revisionists." The people are called upon to strike them down and to destroy them.

III

The policy of the CPC leaders has run them into a blind alley. They have isolated themselves from a large section of their own people, from the international working class and from world opinion. Their efforts to split the world Communist movement have

yieded but meagre results, and their attempts at a breakthrough for their policy in some countries have miscarried.

Instead of facing the facts and drawing lessons from experience, the Chinese comrades are searching for a solution in flight from them. They staged and "launched" a second revolution—the "great proletarian cultural revolution"—in order to "crush those persons in authority who are taking the capitalist road . . . and to transform education, literature and art and all other parts of the superstructure that do not correspond to the socialist economic base." The "cultural revolutionary groups, committees and congresses" are expected to carry out the proletarian cultural revolution as an "excellent bridge to . . . the masses," as "organs of power and permanent, mass organizations." The "Red Guards"* and other youth organizations in the higher and secondary schools are seen as the "shock troops of the cultural revolution" (Lin Piao addressing a rally on August 31). Already before August 31 they had posted, in Peking and other cities, their "23 commandments of the cultural revolution" and begun a campaign against the "royalist bandits" and "reactionary revisionists." Here are some of those "commandments":

"Quotations from Mao Tse-tung must be put up everywhere. Eventual opposition must be ruthlessly eliminated. Loudspeakers must be set up in every street to broadcast instructions for behavior to the population. The intellectuals should work in the countryside. Old paintings that do not deal with political themes must disappear. The dissemination of pictures that do not correspond to Mao Tse-tung's thought cannot be tolerated. Books that do not reproduce Mao Tse-tung's thought must be burnt."

IV

Reading these slogans and others that are not quoted here for lack of space first make one laugh, then set one thinking, and lastly make one feel sad and alarmed. One wonders how it is possible that in the country where the Communists had been waging such well-organized skilful and heroic struggles, defeating thousands of enemies, and where they have been in power for seventeen years, sensible members of the Party and the YCL, young workers, school children and students—should think up, write and advocate such political stuff and nonsense. Even granting that the "Red Guards" drew up their "commandments" without consulting the Party, and even taking into account their youthful revolutionary zeal, the facts are monstrous and attest a spirit and a mentality that have nothing to do either with culture or with revolution.

But the intention and the aim are evidently different. It is evidently a question of intimidating the population, holding the

*Hungweiping. – **Ed.**

masses in a state of alarm, militarizing the youth and preparing the whole people, both ideologically and politically, for future events, for future difficulties and sacrifices. From what has become known so far, it is not clear what events and what difficulties are meant.

The world Communist movement, the Communist and Workers' parties of all countries bear tremendous responsibility before the working class and the peoples of the world. The war in Vietnam, the escalation of the war by the United States, the urge of German imperialism for a new order in Europe, the offensive of reaction in a number of countries, and the splitting policy of the CPC leaders have aggravated the international situation. More than ever before, it is now the duty of all Communists, of all who are fighting against reaction, militarism and war, to redouble their effort to do everything to end the intrigues of the warmongers and avert a new world war.

REVISIONISM IN PEKING*

ETIENNE FAJON
Member, Political Bureau, French CP

In a few days the Chinese Revolution will be seventeen years old. The proclamation of the People's Republic of Peking on October 1, 1949, was an event of great historic importance and a considerable reinforcement of the socialist world.

However, developments in China today cause great concern and puzzlement in our ranks.

The Chinese leaders have replaced the Marxist-Leninist theory which regards the contradiction between the working class and the capitalist bourgeoisie, between socialism and imperialism, as the main contradiction of modern society, by their own concept of a world divided into two zones, with Asia, Africa and Latin America on one side and the rest of the world on the other. Proletarian internationalism therefore gives way to chauvinism, and an effort is made to drive a wedge between the national-liberation movement and the socialist system and to split this system. Things are pushed to the point of organizing anti-Soviet demonstrations in China, to the great joy of world reaction.

Contrary to the 1960 Statement of the 81 Communist and Workers' parties, which bears their signature as well, the Chinese leaders deny the possibility of preventing the imperialist powers in our time from starting up a nuclear world war. They propose an irresponsible policy maintaining that war is inevitable and oppose the Leninist thesis of peaceful coexistence.

Lastly, they deliberately turn their back on the Marxist-Leninist concept of the Party — vanguard of the working class organized on the principle of democratic centralism.

The Communist Party of China has not convened for more than eight years. The Central Committee, which sat recently, had not met since 1962. All that goes on in that vast country is attributed to the thought of a single man, Mao Tse-tung, who has become the object of a fanatical cult which daily reports describe as manifesting itself in the wildest forms.

And now the "great proletarian cultural revolution" is marked by the appearance of the "Red Guards" in Chinese cities. Those are squads of school children and students formed outside the regular Party organizations. They usurp the right to judge the activi-

*Abridged from l'Humanité, September 21, 1966.

ties of these organizations, grossly violate socialist legality, and commit outrages against workers and peasants or harass them if they refue to bow down before their freaks. They indulge in ridiculous and humiliating eccentricities which bourgeois propaganda gloats over day after day.

To support the charge of *revisionism* which they level against other Communist parties, the Chinese leaders resort to slander. They claim, for example, that the CPSU is restoring capitalism in the Soviet Union, or that our Party is opposed to the colonial peoples' liberation struggle. On the other hand, the Chinese leaders' revisionism is not imaginary. It strikes anyone who takes the trouble to compare their insensate theses and disruptive actions with living and fruitful Marxist theory.

It may be argued that the CPC is free to choose its line and act as it will. We do not question this even though the CPC itself is continualy meddling in the affairs of other Communist parties. But the events in China have international repercussions which make it our duty to speak out.

On the one hand, the Chinese leaders are splitting the forces that are fighting against imperialism and supporting, in particular, the just cause of the Vietnamese people. This attitude renders the aggressors a considerable service.

On the other hand, while swearing allegiance to socialism, they caricature it, presenting it as something ugly and quite unattractive for the millions of men and women who must be won for this great ideal if it is to become a beneficial reality all over the world.

Of course no one doubts that some day the great China people will play the role they are entitled to in the socialist world and in the commonwealth of nations. Meanwhile we must deplore the harm their leaders are doing to international action, and must stress that socialism, our goal, has nothing in common with the activities of the "great proletarian cultural revolution."

UNITY—AN EARNEST OF VICTORY*

The Johnson policy of escalation in Vietnam is a shortsighted and hopeless policy. Public opinion the world over is more and more insistently demanding an end to the U.S. aggression.

The position of the Socialist Warsaw-pact countries on this question iis both unanimous and resolute. At the conference held recently in Bucharest they demanded an immediate and unconditional end to the bombing of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, termination of the U.S. armed intervention in South Vietnam, the withdrawal of all U.S. troops and dismantling of all its military bases in that country, recognition of the National Front as the only representative of the population of South Vietnam, and recognition of the right of the Vietnamese people to independence and peaceful reunion on the basis of the Geneva Agreemnts.

Of all the Western statesmen, the French President General de Gaulle was the most emphatic in condemning U.S. aggression in Vietnam when he spoke of the "crushing pressure to which the population of South and North Vietnam are being subjected," declaring that "there is no hope that the peoples of Asia will submit to a law dictated by foreigners from the other side of the Pacific," and warning against the danger of a world conflict.

So far the U.S. government has shown no sign of drawing the obvious conclusions from this worldwide protest which has had repercussions among the more far-sighted sections of the American public. On the contrary, the indications are that the U.S. imperialists intend to persist in their policy of escalating the war in Vietnam, that they are preparing to dispatch fresh contingents of troops and are planning, shortly after the coming elections, to invest more billions of dolars in this criminal venture.

Displaying firm solidarity with the Vietnamese people, the socialist states, and especially the USSR, are rendering them increasing material aid, supplying them with the necessary means of defense and defending their rights on the international arena.

But in order to put an end to the aggression, to force the aggressors to abandon their plans of further escalating the hostilities and begin to search for political solutions on the basis of the Geneva agreements, what is needed above all is the close cooperation and coordinated action of all the socialist states and primarily coordination of the policies and actions of the Soviet Union and the Chi-

*Abridged from **Trybuna Ludu**, September 29, 1966.

nese People's Republic for the purpose of rendering assistance to Vietnam.

Close cooperation between the Soviet Union, the most powerful of the socialist states possessing the most effective means of defense, and the Chinese People's Republic, the second largest Socialist power, the immediate neighbor of Vietnam and the natural rear of the DRV would create an entirely new situation. It would dash the hopes fostered by the ruling element in the United States of being able to take advantage of the disruptive anti-Soviet policy of the Chinese People's Republic to expand and intensify the hostilities in Vietnam with relative impunity.

United action of the socialist nations in the struggle against U.S. aggression is thus an indispensable condition for the victory of the Vietnamese people. The key to this unity lies in the hands of the Communist Party of China. It also holds the key to more effective aid from the socialist camp for the Democratic Republic of Vietnam. After all, the Chinese People's Republic is the only socialist state which borders on Vietnam.

Ever since the United States launched open aggression against the DRV the Soviet Union has repeatedly approached the PRC with proposals for joint action and coordinated assistance to the embattled Vietnamese people. But the PRC has categorically rejected all these proposals, resorting instead to a volley of irresponsible slanderous and utterly false charges of "betrayal of the cause of revolution and socialism," "betrayal of Vietnam," "collusion with American imperialism against Vietnam and China," and the like.

Last November the Central Committee of our Party took the initiative in an effort to coordinate the actions of the socialist states in the matter of rendering assistance to the DRV and proposed to the fraternal parties to call a top level conference on this question.

Although this initiative met with the approval of the fraternal Communist and Workers' parties it yielded no practical results owing to the refusal of the Chinese Communist Party "to sit at the same table" with leaders of the CPSU.

Similarly fruitless have been all the attempts undertaken in this period by other fraternal parties to induce the CPC to abandon its policy of undermining the unity of the anti-imperialist front of socialist countries and Communist and Workers' parties.

During the past year the anti-unity policy of the CPC has been intensified, as is evident from the decisions of the recent 11th plenary meeting of its C.C.

At a time when U.S. imperialism is stepping up its offensive, especially in Southeast Asia, when the escalation of the war in Vietnam is threatening the vital centres of the DRV, when in Indonesia reaction is wiping out the Left forces and the Commu-

nists with savage brutality, the CC of the CPC blandly repeats the old Chinese propaganda thesis that the world situation is "excellent." "U.S. imperialism and their stooges," states the communique on the CC Meeting, "appear to be powerful, but are actually very weak. Taking the long view, they are all paper tigers." On the other hand, the CC of the CPC levels its main attacks against the CPSU and the other Communist parties, accusing them of revisionism, and charging them with pursuing a policy "of safeguarding imperialist and colonialist domination in the capitalist world." The decisions of the 11th Plenary Meeting of the CC of the CPC thus give official sanction to the policy of the CPC which for several years now has been disrupting the common anti-imperialist front of the socialist countries, and to the whole of the frenzied high-pressure anti-Soviet campaign conducted by Chinese propaganda.

How, in the light of these decisions and the entire activity of th Chinese party, is one to understand the appeal issued by the Plenum to establish "the broadest possible international united front against U.S. imperialism?" With whom does the CPC want to build that front if it directs all its political fire against the main force of the socialist camp, the Soviet Union, and against other socialist countries that are rendering concrete aid to Vietnam and without whose participation there can be no question of effectively combating imperialism and defending the freedom of peoples and of safeguarding world peace?

The anti-unity, disruptive policy of the CPC, the organization of hostile demonstrations outside the Soviet Embassy in Peking and the diplomatic missions of other socialist countries, the proclamation by the 11th Plenum of the CC, CPC of the so-called "proletarian cultural revolution" and the call to "open fire" against "those in authority" who are taking the "revisionist" and "capitalist" path, "contrary to the ideas of Mao Tse-tung," the attacks on Party and state leaders and the veritable pogroms carried out by the so-called "Red Guards" against party committees suspected of "revisionism," the reckless escapades of the callow school children who are compromising the very idea of socialism—all this has aroused deep concern and revulsion in all the Communist and Workers' parties which regard the actions of the leading bodies of the CPC as a violation of the principles of proletarian internationalism and the ideology of the Communist movement.

The revolutionary phraseology the CPC has been using for a number of years can no longer conceal the fact that its policy essentially contradicts the fundamental principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism.

It is noteworthy that neither the bombast of the CPC Plenum and its calls to combat imperialism, nor the other noisy anti-

American declarations enmanating from Peking have caused the slightest tremor in the imperialist camp, especially the United States. On the contrary, recent statements by U.S. spokesmen in the United Nations testify that the United States is well aware of the advantage it can reap from the present general line of Chinese policy.

For the United States it is not the noisy anti-imperialist propaganda that is significant but the increasingly anti-Soviet trend of Chinese policy, which deepens the split in the socialist camp and thereby facilitates U.S. intervention and aggression in Asia and other parts of the world.

There can no longer be any doubt as to the anti-Soviet line of Chinese policy or the disruptive activity of the CPC in the international Communist movement. It is, however, difficult to determine the real intentions behind China's policy toward the United States. The propaganda language of that policy does not jibe with the statements made by Chinese leaders which have not been published by the Chinese side. Reports of talks between Chen Yi, the Chinese Prime Minister and Minister of Foreign Affairs, and a delegation of Japanese parliamentarians on September 6 have appeared recently in the Japanese press.

"We shall not attack the United Statse," Chen Yi said. "As a matter of fact, China is not strong enough to attack America. To tell the truth, America is afraid of China and China is somewhat afraid of America. I do not believe that the United States would invade present-day China . . ." "I do not take a particularly pessimistic view of relations between the United States and China. . . ."

The calm, businesslike tone of this statement would arouse no objections were the PRC to pursue a policy of unity and cooperation with the Soviet Union and the entire socialist camp. However, in the light of the disruptive policy of the CPC, this statement acquires a somewhat different complexion.

Commenting on Chen Yi's statement, France Presse observed that "it undoubtedly confirms the opinion held by many observers that China is sharpening its conflict with the Soviet Union in order to prepare the ground for direct negotiations with the U.S. government."

By pressing on with their anti-Soviet and disruptive line the leaders of the CPC bear a grave responsibility before history and their own people for weakening the international positions of the socialist camp and splitting the anti-imperialist front with all the dangerous consequences to peace following therefrom, and especially for the continued suffering and loss of life and material values borne by the people of Vietnam.

The international revolutionary working-class and national liberation movement and the socialist countries cannot reconcile them-

selves to the present splitting policy of the Chinese Communist Party, a policy which runs counter to the interests of socialism and peace. This policy is being subjected to growing criticism and condemnation by all Communist and Workers' parties. Only a year or two ago the views of a number of parties, especially in Asia, gravitated towards the CPC and had partly succumbed to its argumentation undermining the principles of proletarian internationalism.

But the facts always prevail over mere words.

The more the Communist Party of China attacks unity and the more vociferously it hurls unjustified insults against the CPSU and other parties in the socialist countries, the more it finds itself isolated in the world working-class movement. We are confident that also in the ranks of the CPC, which led the great Chinese people to liberation and victory in the revolution, sound and sober thinking will prevail sooner or later under the impact of the logic of life, and the spirit of unity of the socialist countries and international solidarity of the champions of socialism will reassert itself once again.

The question of unity among all Communist and Workers' parties and all the socialist countries against imperialism and war cannot be removed from the order of the day.

Our Party is prepared as before to work with might and main for the restoration of the unity of the international front of struggle for peace, freedom of the peoples and socialism.

FROM THE REPORT OF THE POLITICAL BUREAU OF THE CC SUPG TO THE 13th PLENUM OF THE CC*

Our Party found it its duty to voice its opinion, in the "Statement of the CC CUPG,"** on the 11th plenum of the CC of the Communist Party of China, which unreservedly endorsed the CPC leaders' anti-Marxist policy and splitting activities harmful to the world Communist movement and to the struggle for peace, democracy, national independence and socialism.

The 11th plenum also stepped up the malicious anti-Soviet campaign. The aim of the anti-Soviet attacks of the Chinese leaders is to conceal the fact that their policy and their refusal to take joint action are doing grave harm to the cause of Vietnam, the cause of Socialism, the cause of national independence of the people and universal peace, while actually encouraing the imperialists in their effort to split and weaken the anti-imperialist forces.

While spreading the monstrous slander and lies about the collusion allegedly existing between the USSR and the United States, the very same people are playing, in fact, into the hands of the U.S. aggressors and their associates by carrying on a provocative campaign against the Party of Lenin and obstructing joint action in a spirit of solidarity with Vietnam.

It is with great concern that our Party is following the so-called "proletarian cultural revolution" in whose intensification the 11th plenum of the CC CPC was particularly instrumental.

Deeply disturbed by the goings-on in China, members of our Party have been asking why the Chinese leaders have resorted to such anti-socialist excesses which are taking place under the watchword of the "proletarian cultural revolution."

Of late the Political Bureau has been receiving many inquiries from working people. They testify to the close links of the GDR population with the fraternal Chinese people, as well as to a profound distress caused by the threat to which the tremendous revolutionary achievements of the Chinese people have been exposed as a result of the Chinese leaders' departure from Marxism-Leninism, from the line of the 1957 and 1960 joint statements of Com-

*Neues Deutschland, September 18, 1966. The report was presented by Guenther Mittag, member of the Political Bureau and Secretary of the CC.

**See Information Bulletin, No. 82, 1966.

munist and Workers' parties, as a result of the errors committed by them.

The so-called "proletarian cultural revolution" is a hopeless attempt of a group of Chinese leaders to solve complicated problems of the transition from capitalism to socialism in China in complete disregard of objective laws of socialist construction, by burying in oblivion Marxism-Leninism, the Leninist standards of party life, the principles of democratic centralism, socialism, democracy and socialist legality, by guiding and organizing the entire life of society by purely military-administrative methods.

The CPC leadership is known to have declared in 1956, at the last, 8th Congress of the CPC, that the building of socialism in China would require several decades and that therefore any manifestation of impatience in this matter was harmful.

However, in 1958 the Chinese leaders abandoned the line of the 8th Congress. Driven by nationalistic ambition and great-power chauvinism, they embarked on the "big-leap" policy. In their view, with the help of "permanent big leaps" China will speedily become one of the economically advanced and powerful states of the world and, by virtue of this, the first country to have completed the transition to communism. The CPC leaders proclaimed China to be the "center of the world revolution."

This adventuristic attempt ended in complete fiasco. A highly complicated economic and political situation, greatly aggravated by natural calamities, emerged in the PRC. The country was flung back many years in its economic, cultural and political development. The failures compelled the Chinese leaders to modify somewhat their domestic political and economic course without changing the "general line" officially. The people's communes were reorganized, some disproportions in the national economy were lessened, and a measure of regard was paid again to the principles of material stimulation. As a result, from 1963 onward a certain economic stabilization set in in the country. But the CPC leaders failed to rely on Marxism-Leninism as the basis for solving the problems of socialist construction. Instead of consistently and creatively applying Marxist-Leninist theory to the concrete conditions of the country, they continued to guide social development in a subjectivist, arbitrary way.

At the same time the Chinese leadership pursued an increasingly active policy of great-power chauvinism in the international arena. In doing so it highly over-estimated the influence, authority and possibilities of the People's Republic of China.

The aim to which the entire policy of the CPC leaders was subordinated was to turn China into a decisive political force in the world through establishing hegemony over the world Commu-

nist movement and setting up, under their leadership, a bloc of Afro-Asian and Latin American countries.

Instead of effectively combating imperialism and supporting the struggle of the peoples for national and social liberation through exemplary socialist construction, the Chinese leaders, departing more and more from Marxism-Leninism, aimed their chief blow at the main force in the international Marxist-Leninist movement—the CPSU. At the 11th plenum they made further steps along the anti-Soviet road. Judging by their pronouncements and actions, some of them would like to see a direct military clash between the Soviet Union and the United States which would enable them, "sitting atop the mountain, to watch the fight of the two tigers."

The CPC leaders used weapons against India over border issues. The Chinese government added fuel to the flames of the Indo-Pakistani conflict over Kashmir and slandered the Tashkent agreement. The Chinese leaders prompted leaders of the Communist Party of Indonesia to pursue a policy which furnished Indonesian reaction with a pretext for destroying the fraternal Indonesian Party by fire and sword.

The Peking leaders are undermining the unity of the solidarity movement of the African, Asian and Latin American countries and unsuccessfully trying to drive a wedge between the SUPG and the CPSU. Their harmful policy, which could not but be resisted by the Marxist-Leninist parties and by all genuine anti-imperialist and democratic forces, and which has resulted in serious defeats, has led to increasing isolation of the Communist Party of China and of the PRC itself.

The Chinese leaders' attempts to isolate the socialist countries from the Soviet Union through a policy of differentiation fell through. As the 23rd Congress of the CPSU demonstrated, the prestige of the CPSU and the Soviet Union throughout the world is growing, whereas the influence of the CPC in Asian, African and Latin American countries, in the national-liberation movements and international public organizations has diminished.

The grave setbacks at home and abroad were bound to cause profound discontent among the Chinese population and disagreements within the Party, not excluding its leadership.

In 1964 and 1965 the Chinese leaders attempted to crush the growing opposition.

Disagreements flared up first evidently in the army. As the Chinese press reported, at the conference of army political officers held at the beginning of 1966 sharp criticism was levelled against the alleged over-estimation of the military science and against disregard for Mao Tse-tung's teaching on "people's war"; this leads to the conclusion that the revolution in the military field brought about by missile and nuclear weapons caused many army leaders

to disagree with the line proclaimed by Mao Tse-tung and Minister of defense Lin Piao, according to which in case of a war against China the U.S. invaders would "perish in the ocean of people's war." After the malcontents in the army were disparaged and dismissed, the army leadership headed by Lin Piao, member of the Political Bureau and Minister of Defense, assumed the role of initiator of the "great proletarian cultural revolution."

The first important articles attacking leading CPC functionaries appeared in army newspapers. The army is praised today as a model of discipline and fidelity to Mao Tse-tung's ideas. Contrary to Lenin's teachings, it is the army and not the state that is called the chief instrument of socialist construction.

The constant reference to the universality of army methods for the solution of all social problems are reminiscent of Trotsky's adventuristic view that socialism must be built primarily with the help of armed force.

Mass repressions were launched, whose victims included many leading figures, among them members of the party leadership. Dozens of party committees in provinces, cities, universities and colleges were disbanded. Many party functionaries, newspaper editors, prominent intellectuals, etc., were dismissed, scolded and slandered. It was only after all these initial measures that the 11th plenum of the CC was convened, at which the most extremist forces must have come out on top.

The "great proletarian cultural revolution" means unrestrained boosting of the Mao Tse-tung cult, complete abnegation of Marxism-Leninism, unprecedented vulgarization of science and impoverishment of spiritual life, slander against and destruction of great Chinese and world cultural values.

The 11th plenum of the CC CPC set the sights on a new "big leap."

The conclusion the present Chinese leadership must have drawn from the first unsuccessful "big leap" is that decisive for the new "leap" is absolute and unconditional subordination of all social life to the weight of "Mao Tse-tung's ideas" and army-style orders of the leading group. The deplorable events in the CPC are indicative of the great mistrust the Chinese leaders entertain for their own party, the working class and all working people; they testify to a deepening contradiction between reality and the policy of the leaders. Characteristically, the Chinese leaders cannot pursue their line with the help of party organizations. On the contrary, the repressions appear to be spearheaded primarily against honest party cadres devoted to socialism. Taken as a whole, this adventuristic course is directed against the party and its leading role. That is why "Mao's troops," "cultural revolution committees," organizations misused for all sorts of excesses and brutal terror, especially

against party cadres, workers and peasants, have been set up, as a shock force, under army guidance. The press and speeches of Chinese leaders abound in statements extolling these organizations as the "most revolutionary force" in the PRC.

Thus, the Chinese leaders are undertaking a new, extremist attempt to ignore the objective laws by pursuing a bellicose, adventuristic policy, to skip the necessary stages of development with the help of arbitrary, subjectivist practises. Their ideology and policy comprise petty-bourgeois nationalism, adventurism, great-power chauvinism and racialism.

The Chinese people have scored major achievements in the struggle to free themselves from imperialism and build a new life. Today their leadership, which has departed from Marxism-Leninism, is imposing upon them measures aimed against the cause of the international working class, against all the anti-imperialist forces, but first and foremost against the vital interests of People's China and its socialist gains.

This policy of the Chinese leaders is bound to engender new still greater contradictions and differences in the PRC. It gravely endangers the socialist system in the country and aggravates the threat of new perilous foreign-policy adventures and conflicts.

Needless to say, the policy of the CPC leaders is a grave burden for the world Communist movement and harms the entire socialist world system.

It weakens the anti-imperialist front. It discredits socialism, especially in the anti-imperialist national states. It adds grist to the mill of imperialist propaganda, according to which the excesses in China prove the need for United States' presence in Southeast Asia "to maintain order" there. In conditions of the present international situation and the current policy of the Chinese leaders, our Party, just as the CPSU and the other fraternal parties, will keep to the Marxist-Leninist line and will not allow itself to be provoked by the attacks of the Communist Party of China. By pursuing, jointly with the CPSU and the other fraternal parties, the correct Marxist-Leninist policy and scoring new successes in the full-scale construction of socialism in the GDR, in the struggle for peace and against imperialism, our Party is making its internationalist contribution to the socialist cause.

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Fusaji Yamamura

TRUTH—IDEOLOGY—THE INTELLECTUALS

BRITISH LABOUR MOVEMENT
John Gollan

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STATEMENT*

OF THE KOREAN PARTY OF LABOR ON THE VIETNAMESE QUESTION

The U.S. imperialists' brutal war of aggression against the people of Vietnam gravely endangers peace in Southeast Asia and the world over. It is not only a crime against the Vietnamese people but a challenge to the socialist camp and the progressive peoples of all the world.

Of late the U.S. imperialists have embarked on the dangerous road of further escalation of the war. They have extended bombings to the areas of the cities of Hanoi and Haiphong. Now they are openly demanding a ground attack on the DRV and recklessly trying to spread the flames of war to other parts of Indochina and Asia.

But the U.S. imperialist aggressors are suffering heavy political and military defeats as a result of the heroic struggle of the Vietnamese people. The Army of Liberation and the South Vietnamese guerrillas led by the National Liberation Front have freed four-fifths of South Vietnamese territory with a population of 10 million. Led by the Party of Working People, the People's Army and people of North Vietnam are successfully repelling the barbarous raids of U.S. air pirates.

Our conference warmly salutes and congratulates the people of North and South Vietnam who are scoring great victories in their heroic resistance to the U.S. imperialist aggressors.

The Vietnamese question is today central in the worldwide struggle between the forces of progress and the forces of reaction. In their war for national salvation, against U.S. imperialism the Vietnamese peoples are fighting not only for the freedom and independence of their country, but also in defense of the socialist camp, for peace in Asia and throughout the world. This war is also contributing to the revolution of national liberation and to the revolutionary cause of all the peoples. It will greatly influence international development and frustrate the U.S. imperialist aggression against Vietnam. It will bring nearer the collapse of U.S. imperialism and facilitate the revolutionary struggle of the peoples in Asia and the world over. The Communists of all the world must pay close attention to this.

The most pressing task of the socialist camp and the inter-

*An October 12, 1966, release of the Central News Agency of Korea.

national Communist movement is to fight U.S. imperialism and help the Vietnamese people in their struggle.

In view of the fact that the U.S. imperialists are expanding the war of aggression in Vietnam, the anti-imperialist forces of all the world, including the socialist camp and the Communist, working-class and national-liberation movements, should closely unite and resolutely oppose U.S. imperialism, and render effective aid to the embattled people of Vietnam.

A role of special importance in the common struggle against U.S. imperialism and in support of the Vietnamese people is to be played by the socialist countries. The U.S. imperialists have already involved 300,000 soldiers of their army of aggression and tens of thousands of soldiers of their satellites and puppets in their aggression against South Vietnam and against a socialist country, the Democratic Republic of Vietnam. In these conditions the socialist countries can on no account remain mere onlookers. They must deliver a joint counter-blow at the U.S. imperialists so as to break their claws of aggression, and do everything in their power to help the fighting Vietnamese people. Naturally, the socialist countries should send volunteers to Vietnam.

The socialist camp wields a tremendous power. Closely united and making full use of their power, the socialist countries certainly can cut short any act of aggression on the imperialists' part. All the socialist countries should wage an even more resolute struggle against U.S. imperialism and deal blows at the aggressor using their joint power, in order to defend this outpost of the socialist camp in Southeast Asia.

U.S. imperialism is a common enemy of the Korean and Vietnamese peoples. The territories of both countries are divided by U.S. imperialism, which is the cause of a national disaster for the two nations.

The Korean people regard the U.S. imperialists' aggression in Vietnam as an aggression against themselves, and they are firmly resolved to fight shoulder-to-shoulder with the Vietnamese people. We shall always resolutely support the Vietnamese people and forever remain loyal to our internationalist duty to render active assistance to the Vietnamese people.

Our Party and people will be helping the Vietnamese people in every possible way till they completely drive out the U.S. imperialist aggressors and score a final victory. We are ready to send volunteers as soon as the DRV government asks for them.

The U.S. imperialists must immediately withdraw their blood-stained hands from Vietnam. They must immediately stop the bombing of the DRV and get out of South Vietnam, calling back their army of aggression and the troops of their satellites and puppets, along with all their lethal weapons.

The Vietnamese question should be resolved by the Vietnamese people themselves, without the interference of foreign powers. The solely correct solution is provided by the principles of the four points laid down by the DRV government and the five points of the South Vietnamese National Liberation Front. The Korean Party of Labor and the Korean people unreservedly support their correct stand.

All the fraternal parties should strictly respect the opinion of the Vietnamese people and on the Vietnamese question follow the policy of the Party of Working People of Vietnam.

While stepping up the war of aggression in Vietnam the U.S. imperialists are enacting a fraudulent "peace negotiations" farce, to divert the attention of the peoples of the world and camouflage their intrigues designed to escalate the war. We vigorously condemn this maneuver.

No matter how desperately the U.S. imperialists may try, they will never escape ultimate defeat in Vietnam and avoid deserved punishment. If they persist in their recklessness, ignoring repeated warnings and resolute protests of the peoples of all the world, they will sink still deeper in the quagmire of catastrophe from which they will never be able to extricate themselves.

The conference of the Korean Party of Labor is positive that, given the active aid and support of the peoples of the world, the Vietnamese people will win final victory in their national war of resistance for the salvation of the country, against the aggression of the U.S. imperialists, for independence and sovereignty, for the reunification of the country and restoration of its territorial integrity.

LENIN AND THE PROBLEM OF CULTURAL HERITAGE*

AGAINST DOGMATISM AND SECTARIANISM

Fusaji Yamamura

"Proletarian culture is not something that has sprung from nobody knows whence, it is not an invention of people who call themselves experts in proletarian culture. That is all nonsense. Proletarian culture must be the result of a natural development of the stores of knowledge which mankind has accumulated under the yoke of capitalist society, landlord society, bureaucratic society" (V. I. Lenin, *Works*, 5th Ed., Vol. 41, pp. 304-305).

These famous words about the proletarian cultural revolution and cultural heritage, which become a program statment, were spoken by Lenin on October 2, 1920 from the rostrum of the Third All-Russian Congress of the Russian Young Communist League. They were spoken in connection with Lenin's struggle against the dogmatic and sectarian theories of *Proletkult*, against the erroneous theories of cutural revolution which urged the creation of proletarian culture on the basis of complete negation of the cultural heritage of the past.

SECTARIAN TRENDS THAT APPEARED AFTER THE OCTOBER REVOLUTION

Needless to say, following the October Revolution an uncompromising struggle against various manifestations of bourgeois ideology was indispensable for new, socialist culture, especially for literary creative work. But soon after the revolution there appeared trends contradicting Lenin's principles of the cultural revolution. They were particularly pronounced in the *Proletkult* movement which emerged during the civil war. *Proletkult* had been first organized by the revisionist A. Bogdanov immediately after the February Revolution of 1917.

Bessarik, one of the *Proletkult*-ists, declared: "The Soviet reader has no need for the works of Tolstoi and other classical authors... Worker-writers must create, not learn. That is to say, they must express themselves, their personality, their class attitude."

*Slightly abridged from **Akahata**, October 1, 1955.

In his opinion, all the classical authors and artists of the past were representatives of the old society. For instance, Tolstoi was said to represent the interests of the "class of landlords and aristocracy," while Belinsky was merely a bourgeois critic having no links with the proletariat. Consequently, the *Proletkult* people maintained, to become an accomplished proletarian writer, one must just have a "class essence" and the revolutionary fervor, one just has to "express" oneself. This attitude, which cultivated arrogant vaingloriousness in proletarian "class origin," threatened the proletariat with class isolation.

LENIN'S ATTITUDE TO CULTURAL HERITAGE

Lenin's attitude to the cultural heritage of the past fundamentally differed from that of *Proletkult*. Lenin wrote in his article "Critical Notes on the National Question": "There are two national cultures in every national culture. There is the Great-Russian culture of the Purishkeviches, Guchkovs and Struves—but there is also the Great-Russian culture typified in the names of Chernyshevsky and Plekhanov." (*Works*, 4th Ed., Vol. 20, p. 16.).

Thus, Lenin saw the existence of two cultures in each of the antagonistic class societies. One of these cultures has the exploiter character of the ruling class (the culture predominant in the given society), and the other is the popular, democratic culture reflecting the ideas and hopes of the exploited working people. But the democratic culture expressing the ideas and aspirations of the oppressed working people is by no means made up only of representatives of the exploited classes. For instance, Lenin pointed out that although Tolstoi belonged to the upper crust of Russia's landed nobility both by origin and education, the utter collapse of all "old pillars" of peasant Russia deepened his interest in and attention to reality and changed his world outlook, and in latest works he was able to give a forceful expression to the protest and aspirations of the multi-million peasant masses on the eve of the peasant revolution.

Thus, Lenin constantly urged careful preservation of the cultural heritage of the past. For instance, in the period of economic difficulties during the civil war he signed a decision on the erection in Moscow and other cities of monuments to 20 outstanding writers —Tolstoi, Dostoyevsky, Pushkin, Gogol, Belinsky and others.

But preserving cultural heritage does not signify accepting it in unchanged form.

Lenin demanded critical assimilation of the heritage. His judgments on Tolstoi are a classical example of this approach. In Tolstoi's heritage Lenin clearly distinguished between what "belongs to the past" and what "belongs to the future." In the first category Lenin placed "negation of politics" and the "teaching on moral self-

perfection," and in the second, Tolstoi's merciless criticism of and protest against the police state and the church hierarchy, and vigorous condemnation of private ownership of the land, exposure of capitalism, and so on. While ruthlessly criticizing and rejecting that which "belongs to the past" in the cultural heritage, Lenin urged the proletariat to accept and develop that which "belongs to the future."

APPEAL FOR CORRECT UTILIZATION OF CULTURAL HERITAGE IN THE REVOLUTION

Lenin's principles of the proletarian cultural revolution were succinctly defined on October 8, 1920.

The first principle: ". . . The entire organization of education, both in the political-enlightenment field generally and in the sphere of arts in particular, must be permeated with the spirit of the class struggle of the proletariat . . . to overthrow the bourgeoisie and do away with all exploitation of man by man" (*Works*, 5th Ed., Vol. 41, p. 336).

The second principle: To correctly understand and successfully wage the class struggle of the proletariat, it is necessary to rely on the Marxist world outlook.

The third principle: "Marxism owes its world-historic significance as the ideology of the revolutionary proletariat to the fact that, far from brushing aside the highly valuable achievements of the bourgeois epoch, it has assimiliated and reshaped everything that was valuable in the more than two-millennia-long development of human thought and culture." (*Works*, 5th Ed., Vol. 41, p. 337).

After setting forth these principles Lenin pointed out that the basic underlying idea of Marxism is the progressive essence and continuity of social development. Lenin made it absolutely clear that no cultural revolution is possible without correctly assimiliating the cultural heritage.

It is common knowledge that at the time of the October Revolution the majority of the population of Russia was illiterate. Consequently, following the October Revolution the cultural revolution in Russia had to begin with eliminating illiteracy through the introduction of universal schooling, which is a most important component of the bourgeois democratic revolution. Lenin thus warned people who ignored that Russian reality and expounded the theory of creating proletarian culture:

". . . We would be satisfied with real bourgeois culture for a start, and we would be glad, for a start, to be able to dispense with the cruder types of pre-bourgeois culture, i.e., bureaucratic or serf culture, etc. In matters of culture, haste and sweeping measures are the worst possible things." (*Works*, 5th Ed., Vol. 45, p. 389)

The same positions determined Lenin's wise and realistic policy of employing bourgeois specialists in the building of socialism.

"It is necessary to create around the bourgeois specialists an atmosphere of comradely common labor, to instil into them the spirit of communist labor. . . . It is necessary to provide them with better conditions for work than in the capitalist times." As a result, they will not only be separated from the bourgeoisie politically, but will be won over to our side morally as well. Lenin stressed that "to pay even two thousand million for this is nothing. It would be childishness to be afraid of this sacrifice."

Lenin repeatedly stressed and warned that the left-sectarian and nihilist attitude towards the cultural heritage does grave harm to the socialist cause, that it undermines people's trust in socialism.

RESOLUTION*

OF THE CC, CPJ SECRETARIAT

On September 19 last a group of Japanese students in Peking assaulted Junichi Konno, correspondent of *Akahata*, the CPJ newspaper, and brutally beat him for two hours. The immediate cause of this act of violence by students "opposed to the CPJ line" (*Akahata*, Oct. 3, 1966) was the fact that the *Akahata* correspondent, who "concerns himself, on instruction from Comrade Sunama, member of the CC, CPJ Secretariat, with the activities of Japanese students in Peking, had described as a mistake a meeting against the CPJ line to be held, in violation of the Party Rules, by the group of students living in Peking."

Akahata, Oct. 3, 1966

"The Secretariat of the CC, CPJ, having discussed the anti-Party acts of violence and subversion committed against Comrade Junichi Konno, the Peking correspondent of *Akahata*, by Manabu Kikunami, Masatada Isa, Tokuhiro Fukami and Makoto Sakai, student members of the Communist Party of Japan living in Peking, and taken note of the opinion expressed by the Central Control and Auditing Committee, resolves to expel all the four persons listed above from the Party for gravely violating the CPJ Rules."

Speaking of the expulsion of Kikynami, the resolution sets out the circumstances in which the *Akahata* correspondent was beaten up.

"He (Kikynami) opposed," it reads, "the political line of the CPJ based on the Party Program and on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. He slandered the CC, CPJ from a servile, dogmatic and sectarian standpoint. Contrary to the instructions of the higher Party bodies, he organized subversive activity against the Party among the Japanese students in Peking. This time he took part in premeditated violence against a comrade in so important position as that of special correspondent of *Akahata*. It was not merely an act of violence infringing Party discipline but a grave act of subversion, a counter-revolutionary, and terroristic act by terroristic elements aimed at undermining our Party . . . The Party must defend itself by immediately stopping this vicious anti-Party subversion."

*Abridged from **Akahata**, Oct. **3**, 1966.

DECISION EXPELLING YOSHO KANAZAWA

Yosho Kanazawa had been acting special correspondent of *Akahata* in Berlin since August 1962. In late years, however, blindly following the views of the Party of a foreign power and refusing to carry out the instructions and orders of the Central Committee of the CPJ, he had opposed the political line of our Party, slandering its Central Committee and carrying on anti-Party subversion.

He had been entrusted with giving guidance, in keeping with the line of the CC of our Party, to the Japanese Communists temporarily in the GDR. He did not fulfil this task although it had been explained to him by the CC, CPJ. Indeed, he contributed to the growth of servile, dogmatic and sectarian tendencies among the Party members in the GDR. He organized and carried on factional anti-Party activity among them.

Furthermore, Kanazawa in August 1966 stopped performing his duties of *Akahata* correspondent and, in accordance with a prearranged plan, left for Peking accompanied by a group of CPJ members. In Peking he carried forward his anti-Party activity.

Kanazawa's conduct amounts to serious anti-Party activity aimed at undermining the Party from a servile, dogmatic and sectarian standpoint, an activity directed against the political line of the Party, which firmly adheres to the Program and the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. It is an activity seriously violating the Party Rules. In view of the foregoing, the Central Control and Auditing Committee resolves, in conformity with the provisions of the Rules, to expel Yosho Kanazawa from the Party.

MITSUJI TAKAHIRA, SHUSHO KAMATA, ATSURO SHOMI AND MIEKO SHOMI EXPELLED FROM THE PARTY

In October 1966 the Sino-Japanese Friendship Society held a reception on the occasion of the society's third anniversary. Comrade Sunama, member of the CC, CPJ Secretariat, who represents our Party in Peking, and Konno, special correspondent of *Akahata* were not invited. On the other hand, the guests included correspondents of bourgeois newspapers as well as members of the delegations invited to attend PRC anniversary celebrations.

After the reception a group led by Mitsuji Takahira, former member of the CPJ living in Peking, assaulted a group of CPJ members who uphold the Party line.

Akahata, Oct. 13, 1966

On October 8 the Central Control and Auditing Committee, having discussed the terroristic conduct of Mitsuji Takahira, Shusho

Kamata, Atsuro Shomi and Mieko Shomi, unanimously resolved, in accordance with the party Rues, to expel the persons listed above from the Party.

Secretariat of the CC, CPJ

October 8, 1966

DECISION OF THE AUDITING COMMISSION OF THE CP OF JAPAN

Mitsuji Takahira, Shusho Kamata, Atsuro Shomi and Mieko Shomi, who live in Peking, have for a long time been slandering, together with other anti-Party elements, the Central Committee of the Party and carrying on anti-Party acivity. When, on the evening of October 3, they were returning from a reception held by the Sino-Japanese Friendship Society on the occasion of its third anniversary, they insulted and beat up eight members of the CPJ upholding the line of their Party.

The conduct of these persons, led by Takahira, is something more than violence running counter to Party discipline. It is counter-revolutionary terrorism committed by terroristic elements with the aim of undermining our Party. The Communist Party of Japan must defend itself by immediately stopping this vicious subversion against the Party. Therefore the Central Control and Auditing Committee resovles, in conformity with the Party Rules, to expel them from the Party without right of appeal."

REAL MEANING OF "CULTURAL REVOLUTION"*

R. Dixon
PRESIDENT OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF AUSTRALIA

Recent events in China have thrown more light on the meaning of the so-called cultural revolution. Needless to say, these events have damaged the image of socialism among peoples of the world and aroused the concern and criticism of Communist Parties everywhere.

The dogmatic stand of the Communist Party of China leaders and the left-adventurist line they have been following have been rejected and condemned by the world Communist movement. Their policies represent a turning away from Marxism, a dangerous distortion of socialist theory and practice.

The result of their policies can now be seen in abundance. Internally, China is facing economic and political difficulties.

At the time of the revolution in 1949, China was a semi-feudal country with a backward economy and it is difficult to build socialism on such a foundation.

But with the help of other socialist countries it was possible to build an advanced socialist system and in a relatively short time.

Advancing the theory of "reliance on one's own strength," the Chinese leaders, however, proceeded to restrict trade and economic assistance from other socialist countries to negligible quantities.

They launched struggles against the socialist countries and took the path of splitting the socialist camp and world communist movement. Each of these steps complicated the internal and external position of China.

In the third world, the bankruptcy of Chinese policy is even more evident. A few years ago the influence and prestige of China in the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America was very high. Today it is at its lowest point ever.

The disaster that overwhelmed the Indonesian Communist Party can be traced directly to the policies of the CPC leaders. The Communist Parties of North Korea and Japan have turned away from the CPC and asserted their independence.

Obviously, all of these developments play into the hands of U.S. imperialism. The United States is striving to isolate, and enforce

*Tribune, September 21, 1966.

an economic blockade against China. It has taken advantage of the division in the socialist camp, created by China, to escalate the war against Vietnam and to threaten China itself.

Nevertheless, the CPC leaders decided to renew and intensify their attacks against the Soviet Union, to deepen the division in the socialist camp and the world communist movement.

Indeed, this is a major feature of the so-called cultural revolution. How else are we to understand the demonstrations directed against the Soviet Embassy in Peking and the physical violence used against the representatives of the German Democratic Republic?

The recent plenum of the Chinese Party's Central Committee rejected the urgent call of the socialist countries for solidarity with the heroic Vietnamese people fighting against U.S. aggression.

For many months now the Chinese leaders have placed obstacles in the way and hindered vital economic and military supplies from the Soviet Union to Vietnam.

In face of the renewed Chinese attacks on the Soviet Union and their plenum statement that there can be no "unity" with the Soviet Union in the struggle against U.S. imperialism, the possibility of further restrictions on Soviet aid to the beleaguered Vietnamese people cannot be excluded.

Although the leadership of the CPC does not admit to mistakes, it is quite apparent that within the Party and among the Chinese people concern and opposition are mounting.

The plenum of the Central Committee of the CPC admitted this when it declared that "the resistance" to the cultural revolution "comes chiefly from those in authority who have wormed their way into the Party and are taking the capitalist road. It also comes from the old force of habit in society."

The cultural revolution is being used, therefore, as a means of struggle against forces opposing the non-Marxist policies of the CPC leaders.

An interesting development has been the creation of the Red Guards, an organization of school children, and teenagers. They have been acclaimed as the "shock force fighting in the van of the great cultural revolution."

How can immature children and teenagers become the vehicle of a great cultural transformation? The absurdity of this claim was shown in some of their first actions when they destroy historical monuments and cultural treasures of China and publicly burned the works of some of the great cultural figures of mankind.

Obviously the mission of the Red Guards is not a cultural revolution, but something else. Marshal Lin Piao, who is responsible for the Red Guards, made no bones about this when he spoke to them at a recent meeting in Peking.

Their "main target of attack" he said, is against "those persons in authority who have wormed their way into the party and are taking the capitalist road."

In short, children and teenagers were emotionally aroused and used against the opposition within the party.

Latest reports from Peking suggest that the Red Guards have aroused such opposition within the Communist Party and among the people that their activities are to be curtailed, while part of their leadership has been purged. If anything these measures must be regarded as a setback for the most extreme elements.

The socialist attitude to the great cultural achievements of the capitalist and earlier social formations has been clearly set forth by Lenin, who wrote:

"Marxism won for itself its world historical significance as the ideology of the revolutionary proletariat by the fact that it did not cast aside the valuable gains of the bourgeois epoch, but on the contrary assimilated and reworked all that was valuable in the more than two thousand years in the development of human thought and culture."

CPC LEADERS' ACTIONS GRAVELY HARM THE DEFENSE OF VIETNAM*

The recent period has been characterized by a trend for strengthening unity in the world Communist movement, by an increased effort to rally all forces, those of the Communist movement in the first place, in order to defeat imperialist aggression.

The barbarous U.S. intervention in Vietnam makes the need for this unity particularly imperative. A most authoritative indication of this was the 23rd Congress of the CPSU, from whose rostrum fervent appeals were pronounced for world Communist solidarity.

This unity is vital for the heroic Vietnamese people, who are on the front line of the struggle against the U.S. aggression. They express their appreciation of, and deep gratitude, for the Soviet Union's many-sided military aid and political and moral support. Fresh evidence of this aid has been furnished by the report on the training of North Vietnamese pilots in the USSR. This was also confirmed by the head of the delegation of the Vietnamese-Soviet Friendship Society which visited the Soviet Union recently. The firm conviction of the Vietnamese comrades on this score is also testified to by the address Comrade Le Duan, General Secretary of the Party of Working People of Vietnam, read out, at the 23rd Congress of the CPSU, the message the Congress received from Ho Chi Minh, and the statements of representatives of the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam.

"We take this opportunity to express our profound gratitude to the Communist Party, the government and the great Soviet people for their immense and many-sided assistance in the struggle of our Vietnamese people," Le Duan declared at the 23rd Congress.

The Soviet people are helping us today, he said, just as they have been helping us ever since the founding of our Party, and ever since the years of the war of Resistance. It can be said that the blood of the men of the Red Army has been shed to win each of our victories. We hope, he continued, that the socialist countries and the Communist and Workers' parties are solidly behind us, giving us their utmost support and helping us to defeat the invaders, the U.S. imperialists.

"As regards us, the Communists of Vietnam, we assure you that we shall be faithful to Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, to the revolutionary principles of the Moscow 1957 Declaration and 1960 Statement. We assure you that we shall spare

*Editorial in **El Popular**, central organ of the CP of Uruguay, September 1, 1966.

no effort in the struggle to unite the socialist camp and the international Communist movement on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, to unite all the forces championing peace, national liberation, democracy and socialism."

In his message of greetings to the 23rd Congress Comrade Ho Chi Minh, this legendary hero, President of the DRV and Chairman of the Party of the Working People, reaffirmed propositions put forward on numerous previous occasions:

"At this crucial juncture the fraternal socialist countries, the Communist and Workers' parties, the forces of peace, democracy and progress throughout the world must unite closely in order to rebuff the U.S. imperialists, defeat them in their aggressive war in Vietnam, disrupt their plans for military ventures in other parts of the world, and preserve peace. . . .

"We take this opportunity to express sincere gratitude to the Party, government and fraternal people of the Soviet Union for the active support and assistance that they have been giving and continue to give to the Vietnamese people."

Similar sentiments were voiced by Nguen Thi Binh, who spoke on behalf of the delegation of the South Vietnamese National Liberation Front to the 23rd Congress, and in the fraternal message to the congress sent by Dr. Nguen Huy Tho, Chairman of the Front.

Of late the trend in favor of unity of the world Communist movement has been strengthened due to the stand taken by the Korean Party of Labor (see the Statement of its delegate at the 23rd Congress of CPSU printed in *Information Bulletin* No. 74-77 of Peace and Socialism Publishers), and by the Communist Party of Japan.

The same sentiments are manifest in the national-liberation movement, which strives to strengthen its unity with the socialist camp in order to defeat the common enemy, imperialism.

In short, all revolutionary forces—with different shades of opinion natural in a movement of such magnitude which has spread over a larger part of the globe—unhesitatingly express themselves in favor of unity and fight for joint action in order to contribute to the victory of the Vietnamese people and defeat the U.S. aggression.

The CPC leaders, however, react to these pronouncements, to this visible advance towards unity, with an aggressive campaign breeding in their own land hatred for the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, an attitude which is as incomprehensible as it is inadmissible.

In effect, the deplorable events that have been taking place in Peking are nothing else but a smokescreen for the Communist Party of China. The CPC turns down the repeated proposals of the CPSU for united action to save Vietnam, or just ignores them,

stirring up anti-Sovietism and gravely compromising the common efforts in the fight against imperialism.

At a time when the USSR, as the Vietnamese comrades confirm, is exerting efforts to render the maximum aid to the Vietnamese people suffering from aggression, slogans such as this one we cite below are advanced during the anti-Soviet demonstrations organized in Peking: "Soviet revisionists, we are only awaiting the moment of vengeance; we shall skin you, rip up your veins, burn your corpses and disperse the ashes in the wind."

Therefore the Central Committee of the CPSU had every reason to thus characterize the virulent anti-Soviet campaign launched in China after the 11th plenum of the CC, CPC:

"The records of the plenum show that the CPC leadership has formalized approval of the anti-Soviet line as an official policy of the Communist Party of China. The plenum virtually rejected the proposal of the CPSU and other brother parties for joint action against imperialism, including action against the U.S. imperialist aggression in Vietnam."

Precisely such is the situation. Imperialism is increasing its onslaught, redoubling the strength of its troops in Indochina, continuing the escalation, bombing peaceful villages, schools and hospitals and reiterating, through Johnson, its intention to intervene militarily in all parts of the world. And in these conditions the Chinese leaders reply to the proposals for united action by counteractions, deepening the split in the united front. What is needed today is not empty phrases like this one from *Jenminjihpao*: "If the U.S. wants a war, we shall go through to the end." What is needed is to achieve concrete unity and bar the path to imperialist aggression.

We know well that there are serious ideological errors in the position of the CPC leadership. But these ideological errors must not be allowed to serve as the basis for inciting hatred for fraternal socialist peoples.

This is an inexplicable and unjustifiable position. We have read versions according to which the Chinese position is partly explained by isolation allegedly imposed on China within the socialist camp. But everyone knows about the great efforts the CPSU and the entire world Communist movement have been exerting to close the rift, bridge the positions and find correct methods of settling the differences—bilateral and multilateral conferences, united action, etc. It is the CPC leaders who have invariably rejected this.

It is not our intention to comment on the changes within the party and on the processes now taking place in China, although we see that veteran revolutionary heroes are being dismissed from leading posts. We invariably abide by the principle of non-interference in the internal affairs of other parties. But we reaffirm, as the 19th Congress of our Party did recently, our fervent striving for the

unity of the world Communist movement, and we repeat what Comrade Rodney Arismendi, First Secretary of our Party, declared at the Congress: "The heroic people of Vietnam is worthy of this unity of the world Communist movement."

For this reason we regard as more intolerable than ever the Chinese leaders' actions, which gravely harm the cause of the defense of Vietnam and benefit only aggressive imperialism.

A PERVERSION OF THE NOBLE AIMS OF SOCIALISM

STATEMENT* OF THE CENTRAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF CANADA

Seventeen years ago the great Chinese people established the People's Republic of China and undertook the noble goal of building a socialist society. This was an event of great consequence for China and for mankind. These have been years of great challenge and of revolutionary change on a world scale, a process U.S. imperialism is striving to reverse by force of arms in Vietnam.

In these conditions unity of all Communist and Workers' parties, all socialist states and all anti-imperialist forces could become a reliable bulwark in defense of peace, national and social liberation, democracy and socialism, and compel U.S. imperialism to withdraw from Vietnam. Such a course corresponds with the best interests of mankind. Unfortunately leaders of the Communist Party of China have decided to take a different road, one which neither helps China nor peace or socialism. Socialism itself is being discredited in the eyes of millions by developments surrounding what has been called the "proletarian cultural revolution."

These crude practices are a perversion of the noble aims of socialism and of the cultural heritage of mankind. They neither conform with the principles of Marxism-Leninism, with socialist legality and humanism, nor with the democratic practices of a Communist Party. As such they have no place in a socialist society.

We are mindful of our responsibility, as all Communist and Workers parties must be, to defend the true aims of the Chinese revolution, to promote internationalism, to prevent world war and achieve a durable and lasting peace.

In greeting the 17th anniversary we have no doubt that the time will arrive when the great Chinese people will have overcome departures from Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism and play the role it must in the socialist community of nations and in world affairs.

*Canadian Tribune, October 10, 1966.

RESULTS OF A CERTAIN POLICY*

What is behind the events taking place in China today? What is the explanation for the mass revival of the cult of Mao, the undisguised and virulent anti-Sovietism, the glorification of Lin Pao's theory that the class struggle should be replaced by "a people's war of the village against the town"? What, lastly, is the explanation for the frenetic campaign conducted in the tone of moralizing, and xenophobia?

Before attempting to find the answer to these questions one must ask another: has the "Chinese line," the anti-Soviet line intended primarily for the Afro-Asian and Latin American "third world," been a success? The reply to this legitimate question can only be in the negative: no, that disruptive line has not only failed of its purpose but threatens to weaken considerable forces of the revolutionary movement, especially in Asia. The document of the last plenary session of the CC of the Communist Party of China, if one discounts the official optimistic phraseology, contains some partial admissions: it speaks of "major perturbations," "major splits," and "major reorganization," of the "inevitable zigzagging movement" and reversals and even repeated reversals in the development of the international situation.

Most paradoxical is the fact that, omitting all mention of the negative role played by Chinese policy in all these setbacks, the document explains the reversals and even repeated reversals by nothing more or less than the formation of an "anti-Communist Holy Alliance" of the USSR and the USA! Such "explanations," worthy of political fiction, have obviously failed to convince not only the participants in the struggle in the "third world" (of which the evidence is piling up from day today) but also some of the Chinese leaders themselves. Moreover, there is apparently more than a grain of truth in the assumption that it was the appraisal of the results of the international policy of the CPC that served as the point of departure (if not the only, then the most important one) for the present political campaign in China an episode of which we are now witnessing.

It is more than likely, consequently, that in discussing the results (if only in an intimate circle of top CPC leaders) of the policy that in so short a time has isolated China from the bulk of the Asiatic countries, weakened rather than strengthened the revolutionary forces and re-invigorated the Rights, a report of the political "re-

*Abridged from article in **Unita**, August 23, 1966.

turns" of that policy was demanded and submitted. Apart from Indonesia, we might mention another golden opportunity China let slip: the positive policy toward India which was replaced, after such a promising beginning by a crude policy of pressure and territorial claims. To this should be added the clash between China and Cuba and the growing alienation of the revolutionary groups in Latin America, nont to speak of the failure of the attempts to impose the "Chinese line" on the socialist countries and Communist parties of Europe.

It is then a question of a negative result, the bankruptcy of a policy the brunt of which is unfortunately being borne by the country that is already subjected to the heaviest blows of all—Vietnam. The people of Vietnam are suffering, among other things, because the open obstacles and diverse political conditions raised by China to Soviet military and economic assistance weakens their defense potential. The last document of the CC CPC describes Soviet assistance to Vietnam as "sham support and real betrayal." But if this were so would the government of the DRV and the leadership of the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam not disavow the USSR and place all their hopes exclusively on China?

It is in the light of this negative result, from which the Chinese comrades apparently refuse to draw the obvious conclusion and change their policy, that, we believe, one should regard the "cultural revolution" which appears to be a step toward turning the isolation China has brought upon herself into a self-imposed seclusion depicted as the only possible alternative to the really genuine threat of American aggression. It is an erroneous answer to an erroneous policy. After all, how can anyone believe that for China today the policy of "voluntary siege" is the only possible policy any more than that the struggle against the imperialist threat could be weakened by a policy of unity with the USSR and the other socialist countries?

It is difficult to say at this juncture how seriously the absence of unity among the revolutionary forces in the new conditions caused by the expansion of the imperialist aggression will affect the further development of events in China and the world in general. But one thing is clear: in the face of the mounting U.S. aggressiveness (with the simultaneous weakening of its political platform) China's deliberate withdrawal into its shell looks rather like a retreat than a "challenge," a further departure from active political struggle to halt and isolate the aggressor. Thus, what we witness is a very serious development caused wholly by the inability of the present Chinese leadership to rectify their erroneous appraisals.

In the face of the evidence of the bankruptcy of the "Chinese line," the task of the revolutionary movement is clear: it is now

more necesary than ever to fight indefatigably for the greatest possible unity, against the widening of the aggression that is already threatening China. At the same time it is necessary to ensure that the lesson provided by the bankruptcy of "Chinese policy" should not serve further to aggravate the extremist line, but that it should lead to honest and critical thinking at all levels concerning the grave consequences with which extreme "leftism" and rabid anti-Sovietism is fraught for the entire revolutionary movement in the face of the mounting aggressiveness of imperialism.

COMPLETE DEPARTURE FROM MARXISM-LENINISM*

The Communist Party of China can hardly complain that the other Communist and Workers' parties do not quite realize the specific conditions in which it has fought in the past and has been working for a number of years. During the last two years the attitude of the world Communist movement to the CPC has been characterized by appeals on the part of brother parties, primarily the CPSU, to the CPC for joint action against the war crimes of imperialists, while China has replied by merely increasing its abuse of the other parties and by refusing to cooperate.

Ever since the middle of this year Communist parties all over the world have been voicing, in statements growing daily in number, their grave concern about the latest developments in China and their harmful international repercussions.

What made so many Communist parties raise their voice against events for which the CPC leadership is responsible and which have been taking place under the direct guidance of the highest representatives of the Party, as official documents and the Chinese Party press testify? The attitude of the world Communist movement to the inevitable peculiarities of the Chinese background has certainly not changed, any more than its reasonable desire not to aggravate differences through polemics. What has changed, however, is the political reality in China. Drastic changes have come about in the political situation, the role of the CPC, the political methods of its leadership and the attitude of the CC, CPC to the world Communist movement. The process of CPC leaders' dissociation from Marxism-Leninism, and hence from the very essence and the objectives of the socialist revolution, has quickened to an extraordinary degree. It has gone too far for the other Communist parties to look indifferently on the facts of pseudo-revolutionary radicalism and the outbreaks which international reaction uses for attacking the world Communist movement.

When, in the first half of August 1966, the 11th Plenum of the CC, CPC, chaired by Mao Tse-tung, passed its resolution on the "great proletarian cultural revolution" important actions forming part of this campaign were already in full swing. The CC, which met after an interval of four years, merely approved far-reaching measures against Party committees, schools and whole groups of the population, prompted not by the Party press but by that of the

*Abridged from **Nová Mysl** (CP of Czechoslovakia), October 1966.

"exposure" of the opponents of the present platform, and also of those lagging behind others in the zealous advocacy of the cult of one person, has been going on for years. But now the atmosphere Army and causing confusion throughout the country. The steady has become one of general persecution in which bands of teen-agers remove and beat up the secretaries of regional Party committees, and infringe the personal freedom of citizens without trial. The massive anti-Party and anti-constitutional actions encouraged by the highest authorities of the CC, CPC, as well as the earlier purges in the universities and colleges, which hit Party officials but not bourgeois instructors, show that what is taking place is not a cultural, let alone proletarian, revolution but a clash between opposing trends in the Communist Party itself and in the life of China as a whole.

At the outset of the campaign, it was the workers, peasants and soldiers who were held up as models of cultural creativity (take, for example, Kuo Mo-jo's fruitless self-criticism). Today it is the school children who are said to play the decisive role in the "great proletarian cultural revolution" and who can hardly be regarded as literate enough, especially in view of the well-known difficulty of learning the Chinese characters. Yet it is precisely them that the highest Party bodies have entrusted with decision-making on questions that are among the most complicate dand, in terms of revolutionary tactics, the most delicate. Thus the class approach, which is indispensable in ideological and cultural matters, has been simply ruled out.

But there is logic to that too. Assuming that the writings of Shakespeare, Balzac and Rolland or the compositions of Mozart and Beethoven are dangerous from the point of view of China's current cultural political line because they are inspired by humanism and that so are the masterpieces of Chinese art, the easiest solution really is to have these creations destroyed by teen-agers, who have not yet had time to familiarize themselves with them. Besides, this is a way of re-activating and "revolutionizing" the youth, who have been passive ever since the failure of the Big Leap. It is no accident that the communique of the 11th Plenum of the CC, CPC says again that "conditions have developed for a new, far-reaching leap forward."

At this point, it is appropriate to recall that there is a certain regularity in the manner in which, in modern Chinese history, the voluntarist slogan of skipping stages, accompanied by an artificial "aggravation of the class struggle" and by unprincipled attempts to unite the population on a necessarily nationalist basis, is picked up again as soon as an abortive leap makes the masses lose confidence in radical slogans, put forward in adventurous fashion.

But the concept of the "great proletarian cultural revolution,"

which precedes and bypasses the economic and partly the political sphere, is idealistic even without these interconnections, because it disregards the given objective conditions and possibilities. The CPC leaders take a different view of these interrelations, of prerequisites and results, which they see in a subjective light. It turns out once again that the "cultural revolution" is no more than a smokescreen behind which to forcibly establish the adventurous line of the CPC, a line which its own authors feel is bound sooner or later to encounter natural obstacles, first of all with the seasoned working-class cadres of the Party. This is why the decision of the 11th Plenum speaks of the need to concentrate forces "on combating the handful of anti-Party, bourgeois Rightists" and insists on "preventing the revisionists from taking over the Party and the leadership of the state."

In this atmosphere, within the narrow bounds of the Chinese version of the "cultural revolution," it is very easy to decide who is a "revisionist." Karl Marx, who admired Shakespeare, Balzac and other titans of world culture, would undoubtedly have been put in this proscribed category. Lenin, who was always deeply moved by Beethoven's "Appassionata", would have been considered inferior by the "Red Guards." Nor is this by any means a question of personal taste or inclination. Lenin regarded the cultural legacy as a basic condtion for communist construction. "We must take the entire culture that capitalism left behind," he said, "and build socialism with it. We must take all its science, technology, knowledge and art. Without these we shall be unable to build communist society."

Marxists are against both the pseudo-revolutionary rejection of real cultural values of the past and the revisionist and opportunist acceptance of any legacy of the past. This is not to say, of course, that as human knowledge is concerned Communists can content themselves with the minimum indispensable for performing simple work and supplemented with cut-and-dried formulas. Yet the present 'cultural revolution" in China is creating "models" for a new type of higher education, such as the experimental course in the mathematical department in Wuhan. According to the Chinese press, the primary object of study there is Mao Tse-tung's writings, and emphasis is also laid on production training. As for examinations, they are dismissed as a survival of bourgeois practices. We have no intention of meddling in Chinese curricula. But the point is that the "cultural revolution," which is made out to be a model of proletarian fidelity to principle, is in fact lowering cultural standards achieved earlier and has nothing to do with communist principles. Lenin said: "It would be mistaken to think it sufficient to learn communist slogans and the conclusions of communist science, without acquiring that sum of knowledge of which communism

itself is a result . . . If a Communist took it into his head to boast about his communism because of the cut-and-dried conclusions he had acquired, without putting in a great deal of serious and hard work and without understanding facts he should examine critically, he would be a deplorable Communist indeed . . . If a man says that he is a Communist and that he need not know anything thoroughly, he will never become anything like a Communist."

In this connection, Lenin ridiculed the notion that in the cultural and scientific fields one can use only force. The approach to armed force as something absolute, as the only effective means of reshaping the world on revolutionary lines—an approach the Chinese leadership has been advocating for years, trying to impose it on other parties—has been used by them to the hilt also in ascertaining political views and cultural problems. The abstract nature of the Chinese concept of the use of force, which is not seen in dialectical unity with social development, is the theoretical basis of this anti-humanism. The contention that "the world can be reshaped only with rifles," in line with which the present political events in China are taking place, is a poor adviser in a cultural revolution.

Making an absolute of force, claimed to be the only genuinely revolutionary method of solving social contradictions, is due to the fact that contradictions as such are treated as an absolute. In this case, the preponderance of contradictions over the unity of opposites is not seen as only relative but is presented as an absolute preponderance excluding all relationships other than an antagonistic polarization. This essentially anarchist concept regards historical development as a mere succession of catastrophes leading to universal disintegration and chaos.

The abstract conception of the role of the masses, which at first expressed itself primarily in the underestimation of weapons of mass destruction, has now been extended to the attitude toward the Party. The Chinese people, once carefully diverted from the demand that socialist democracy be further extended, are now expected to "guide themselves" and to "rise in revolt" wherever the Party bodies and the working class stay aloof from this "proletarian" movement, carried on by school children.

The attempts at a forcible solution of fundamental social problems in the sphere of the ideological superstructure, without corresponding changes in the material basis, will remain stunts without hope of success. Therefore the negation of all that is old, without any regard whatever to continuity in development and to the connection between the old and the new, is also undialectical.

The "cultural revolution," which is being carried on as a witch hunt, cannot produce even partial results in the cultural field. The new, socialist culture, which should attract people primarily by the depth of its ideas and its thoroughly revolutionary humanism, can-

not be replaced by the pillory and by devastation. A party which launches a campaign against culture without any class guide to action whatever is bound to find itself in isolation, to promote by its conduct bourgeois propaganda, which in this way secures the wherewithal for slander and attack against other Communist parties sharing the same name, and to make it easier for bourgeois anti-communism to perform its corrupting role. At a time when it is necessary to bring the largest possible sections of the people all over the world into the fight against imperialism, the incorrect actions of one of the Communist parties are estranging many fair-minded people from the united anti-imperialist front. This enables the U.S. imperialist aggressors, who are waging a dirty war in Vietnam, to distract the attention of world opinion from their criminal activity all the more easily.

However, the Chinese leadership does not confine itself to isolation, a by-product of a non-Marxist, sectarian political line, but advocates it as a program; moreover, it does so in the face of the U.S. escalation of the war against the Vietnamese people. It does so against the most effective bulwark of freedom and socialism, not only in Vietnam, but everywhere else—against the CPSU and the Soviet Union, the cradle of Leninism and the world revolution.

The Chinese leaders want "to unite with all the peoples of the world" but not with those who helped them also to win, whose protection enables them to resist the threat of an imperialist war and who are helping the embattled Vietnamese people more than any other people. In the light of the demagogical talk about unity which excludes beforehand those without whom there will be no genuine unity capable of practical action, this political line constitutes a new manifestation of great-power chauvinism and the bid for hegemony.

Thus anti-Sovietism, which is being indoctrinated for the "Red Guards" to use it as an ideological weapon in the campaign against workers, peasants and party officials, is a necessary aspect and component of the current "great proletarian cultural revolution." It has become the content of the activity of elements to which the Chinese leadership has entrusted the "revolutionary" readjustment of the political and cultural life of the country.

It is from the non-class standpoint which they uphold in matters of culture, misnamed proletarian, that the CPC leaders approach international problems as well. On it, too, they base their attitude to the world Communist movement. They make no secret of their desire to extend their anti-cultural violence and anti-Soviet provocations to other countries.

The Peking provocations against the USSR carried on for several days, are sad evidence of the moral character of their organizers. What these men did not venture to do to the missions of imperialist

countries, not even those taking part in the U.S. war in Vietnam, they did, in an atmosphere of mass hysteria, to the first socialist country, which helps Vietnamese people more than any other country does. No such gross provocations have ever occurred in any civilized country, not even against a state about to be attacked with arms.

Not without reason does *l'Unita*, the Italian newspaper, recall the serious international failures of the Chinese line precisely in connection with the current actions of its initiators, who refused to draw conclusions from international development and pitched groups of fanatical young people against those who threatened to voice an opinion of their own. Nevertheless, the communiqué of the 11th Plenum of the CC, CPC speaks of an "excellent" international situation, one distinguished by a "process of great rebirth, great demarcation and great reorganization." The contradiction between pious wishes and objective reality cannot be glossed over with the phrases used in the decision. And reality is such that even those parties which the Chinese "great demarcation" had begun to undermine are gradually restoring their Marxist-Leninist unity.

The Chinese communiqué speaks of the progress of the revolutionary popular movement, mainly in Asia, Africa and Latin America. By this well-known devious method it withholds mention of the decisive role of the international working class, which it makes subordinate to bourgeois democratic movements in keeping with the theory of the "urban" areas of the world being encircled by the "countryside." Just as with problems of the cultural revolution, the non-class conception of world development is inseparable from this platform. The notion that the areas of the world with the greatest concentration of revolutionary workers must in effect be conquered by the peasants of other areas, so that imperialism can be defeated and socialism established, at best supports the bourgeois calumny that socialism is particularly suited for countries having a low standard of civilization. As if the working people in the developed capitalist countries were happy about a situation in which they have to live by selling their labor!

No country and no Communist party can in the long run do without the growing and ultimately the decisive role of the working class, whose historical mission is to lead, organize and accomplish the abolition of class society and the building of classless, communist society. No hysterical campaign, nor yet another departure from Marxism-Leninism, whatever the camouflage used, can eliminate objective necessities and the laws of development. In the end it is the working class that will everywhere decide on what is real revolutionary ideology, which will certainly never be petty-bourgeois nationalism, separatism, or chauvinism. Revolutionary practice will be in harmony with scientific theory. It requires overcoming

discord and re-establishing the unity of the world Communist movement and all anti-imperialist forces for the victory of peace and communism on earth.

INTERNAL POLITICAL SITUATION

RESOLUTION* OF THE THIRD CONGRESS OF THE MOROCCAN CP

Ever since its previous congress, the Moroccan Communist Party has been waging a courageous fight for the national liberation of the country and for its own existence. In spite of the two attempts to ban the Party, made in 1952 and 1959, it has gone on operating and extending its influence, growing stronger organizationally and establishing closer links with the masses. By following a correct anti-imperialist and anti-feudal policy, and by working devotedly for unity, in the face of hardships and at the price of numerous sacrifices, the MCP has become a force of national significance and risen to a fitting position among the patriotic national organizations. A flexible policy, the steadfast championing of its principles and a better understanding of the conditions of the life of the nation and the influence of international socialism have resulted in a visible lessening of anti-Communist influence in our country.

This has created a favorable situation for the development of the Party. From their own experience the masses have come to realize that the big and petty bourgeoisie is incapable of leading the national movement. The growing class consciousness of the working people, the increasing political activity of the youth and students, and their allegiance to socialism foster the development of the Party.

But for all the considerable successes registered by the MCP in late years, it is still a closed organization. Our Party must win greater influence if it is to bring about an upswing of the mass struggle, achieve genuine unity of the revolutionary forces in ferment, and create a single revolutionary party when the conditions are propitious. In order to develop, the Party must renovate itself, that is, adjust itself more effectively to the specific conditions of Morocco. Scientific socialism, the best analyzing method and the surest guide to action, remains the doctrine guiding our Party. But to be applicable and useful at all times, Marxism-Leninism must carry on a continuous quest and thoroughly study the changing conditions of work. Our Party has been doing this ever since its Second Congress, and above all since 1956. We draw on the experience gained by the world Communist movement and the national-liberation movement of the peoples.

*Translated from a copy of the document, July 1966.

However, we must continue to devise new methods. In the ideological and political fields and in our propaganda, it is important consistently to take into account the Arab and Islamic nature of our society, and the progressive traditions and national pride of our people. A positive attitude to Islam is particularly necessary because it brings the Party closer to the masses, whose everyday life is governed by religious laws and customs. This attitude strikes the ideological weapon out of the hands of the reactionaries, who take advantage of religion to pursue their own ends. Provided our Party uses the democratic trends in the religious sphere, the historical experience of the class struggle in the name of Islam, the progressive thought of Arab and Moslem rationalists, and the experience of national and people's wars in our history, our activity will become revolutionary and will have national roots.

We should bear in mind the actual living conditions of our people to make our organizing work as flexible as possible and to rid it of old methods and practices. Of course, this does not mean calling into question the principles of democratic centralism, a necessary condition for effective, revolutionary activity. The real conditions of the people's life should become a school for our Communists as regards their organizing activity. The task is to take into account the conditions and the mentality that are typical of a backward country—illiteracy, outdated traditions in political organization, a way of life bearing the stamp of pre-capitalist production, family relations, a contradictory combination of two separate sectors, the traditional and the modern, a class consciousness still dulled by a feudal mode of production or the very form of the state and so on. To direct the people's revolutionary energy with due regard to these factors, we must live the life of the people in its most diverse spheres—in the enterprise, the neighborhood and other places where citizens usually meet. Communists should be in the very midst of the people, should organize and inspire the masses, seeing to it that the propaganda and slogans they offer to the masses are always a step forward.

We must rename our Party as an additional measure aimed at renovating it and winning legality. A new name reflecting the historical stage our country is passing through and the aims pursued by Morocco will make it easier to consolidate the new social forces which to a certain extent are still in thrall to anti-Communist prejudice supported by the reactionaries and the imperialists.

This new organization of adherents of scientific socialism will maintain relations with every party in the world Communist movement and assume the honorable mission of fulfilling its international duty. It will strengthen its links with the progressive forces of the "third world," specifically in Africa and the Arab world.

These, then, are the tasks set by the Third Congress of the

Moroccan Communist Party. They are inspiring tasks, fit for consistent revolutionaries.

The Congress calls on the Communists and all revolutionaries and progressive people to rally their forces and to work hard for a free, democratic and prosperous Morocco, for a socialist Morocco.

TRUTH — IDEOLOGY — THE INTELLECTUALS*

The fundamental elements of Marxism have to be rediscussed, both in philosophical terms and from the point of view of their practical application, whenever social and political development enters a new stage or shows new features, making it necessary to creatively carry forward Marxism. We may add that we are far from being sufficiently aware that the period in which we live, a period of transition from capitalism to socialism, involves an exacerbation of the ideological struggle, with the anti-Marxist forces making a special effort to falsify basic Marxist concepts. As this period is also one of unprecedented scientific progress while Marxist analysis lags behind developments, the ideological effort of our our opponents is producing a certain effect even on the Communist Party.

It is no accident, therefore, that Karl Jaspers, the German philosopher, has written a book almost 1,000 pages long, entitled *On Truth*, with a view of representing all former views of the concept of truth—including Marxist ones, of course—as obsolete. The main purpose of bourgeois-capitalist philosophy manifests itself in two important trends.

One trend is striving to question the knowability of objective truth. The other, while not denying the possibility of arriving at a valid knowledge of truth, pretends that man's position in society—his class position—is immaterial when it comes to revealing objective truths, and provides scholars and intellectuals with the best opportunities of acquiring true knowledge. The latter trend has undoubtedly exerted a certain influence on some Communist intellectuals.

In these circumstances, Marxists must use the most exact terms while steering clear of all vulgarization and propagandistic oversimplification. In re-examining the Marxist doctrine of truth, we do not have to discard or change anything, but we certainly need to refresh our memory on many points and, to a still greater extent, to lay a distinct emphasis on certain aspects. Being Marxists, we always realize that everything, including Marxist philosophical categories, is subject to constant development and change depending on time and place.

The truth is particularly complicated when we have to deal with

*Extract from the Political Bureau report to the CC, Communist Party of Austria, presented by Alfred Ruschitzka, member of the BP. Abridged from **Volksstimme**, Oct. 8, 1966.

problems of social life, for in this case we immediately come up against the fact that society is not a monolithic entity but a unity of opposites, partly of even antagonistic contradictions due to the division of society into classes. This is why, in class society as well, there is no single social consciouness but a contradictory class consciousness. If people's position in production and hence in society does determine their consciousness, then it also determines their quest for truth. The fact that one's class affiliation determines one's interest in discovering the truth is a most important pillar of the Marxist world outlook. Practice shows that in class society the ruling classes are not in the final analysis interested in ascertaining the truth as regards social problems, and even make an effort to prevent the cognition of truths or to falsify them. When all is said and done, they are afraid of truth, for as soon as it becomes known their existence as a class is called in question.

By contrast, the oppressed classes—such as the working class—are fully interested in discovering and realizing the truth as early as possible. It follows that the working class is not only interested in, but *objecitvely more capable* of, cognizing truth, and that the point of view and the political aim of the working class, in contrast to those of the ruling class, are consistently oriented on truth. In other words, the aims of the working class are in harmony with the objective course of historical development. Hence conscious partisanship as an expression of one's class allegiance does not contradict scientific approach.

To stress, prove and popularize this is particularly important because this concept is an element demonstrating that the victory of the working class is inevitable.

But to infer from this the concepts of "class truth" or of "party truth" because the party is the conscious spokesman of a class, is an impermissible oversimplification. Class position determines the diversity of interest in truth, but there are no different class truths. Marxism proceeds from the existence of different classes, not different truths.

On the other hand, it is surely wrong in cognizing truth to treat the problem as an abstraction, without regard to the fact that truth is determined by class position. The superiority which the working class has in the ability of cognizing truth over the ruling class should not, however, lead to inferring automatism, let alone infallibility, from it, as was the case in certain periods of stagnation. The road to truth is always hard and requires strenuous effort. Moreover, one runs the risk of going astray.

A continuous effort to cognize truth as fully as possible and to critically verify that which has been cognized, taking into account new elements as one does so, is at the same time an earnest of overcoming errors. The working class need therefore have no fear

of the difficulty of discovering truth or of the danger of error. It should always strive to know the truth. To mark time by clinging to so-called "everlasting truths" robs the working class of its party of the possibility to gain more knowledge.

To seek truth and, above all, to popularize it is an important part of the ideological struggle. Just as truth can be fought for effectively only if the fact that it is determined by class position is recognized without qualification, the ideological struggle as a whole can be waged only if the class character of ideology is recognized. But since ideology is not a rigid notion but is subject to continuous development like any other phenomenon, it is advisable and useful to discuss particular ideological issues or ideology as a collective concept. The periods of ideological stagnation in the working-class movement has necessitated such discussion. In the future, we will be unable to remove or avoid the danger of this stagnation if we oppose discussion on ideological matters or strive, on the other hand, to discard the concept of ideology altogether.

The complexity of ideology accounts for the disputability of many problems. But previous Marxist practice and the scientific results and knowledge gained by Marxism admit of recognizing some fundamental facts. For example, that ideology is the totality of the ideas of society and in class society, the totality of the ideas of the given class;

—that ideology is not a straightforward, mechanical reflection of being, society or classes;

—that the dominant ideology influences the ideology of the oppressed class and hampers development;

—that ideology is relatively independent;

—that it changes in a complex process of interaction between basis and superstructure.

All this by no means warrants questioning the concept of ideology. Political practice shows day after day that ideology is an important weapon in the class struggle and that neglect of this front of the class struggle injures the working-class movement enormously. Every conscious political activity needs an ideology. The decisive thing in the ideological struggle is, as with the problem of truth, to see the class point of view.

Orientation on the class point of view is of special importance today, when far-reaching changes are occurring on a world scale and inside capitalist society. The fact that the impact of socialism on the development of mankind is in general becoming stronger in spite of all difficulties, and that a scientific and technological revolution is taking place at the same time, leads to universal change in the production process and, as a result, in society. This calls for a reappraisal and re-investigation of a number of socio-political issues.

The revolution in science and technology, now in its early period, is already yielding results that we must take into account in leading the political struggle. To take it into consideration or to disregard it is one of the decisive factors for success or failure in the battles to come.

Thus, the exodus of the population from agriculture will continue apace. The proportion of those employed in the non-production sector—education, culture, the service industry—will grow. Compulsory polytechnical education is necessitated by the technological revolution, and the trend toward universal secondary education is mounting. The proportion of intellectuals in every sphere of production and social life will grow steadily.

This creates new conditions for the working-class movement at the present stage, the various aspects of the possibility of alliance with non-proletarian strata are changing, the social and political importance of various strata is decreasing while that of other strata is increasing. Hence it is by no means inopportune to pose such a problem as "the intellectuals and the working-class movement."

Comrade Ernst Fischer touched on this problem in his article "The Intellectuals and Power" published in *Wort in der Zeit*, although he did not directly examine the intellectuals' attitude to the working-class movement. The article called forth a discussion in Czechoslovakia and in our own Party we had relevant discussions that will no doubt be continued.

The Political Bureau would like to stress some fundamental points of view which must be taken into account if discussion is to serve its purpose.

The starting point is whether the social changes that are occurring call the leading role of the working class in revolutionary struggle into question?

The position of the working class in society makes it the leading class in social progress and the most revolutionary force. So long as capitalist class society exists there will be no changes within this system that could abolish this position of the working class. Class structure has been changing ever since capitalism came into existence, but the leading role of the working class has never been questioned. Consequently, the most important point is that, in spite of all the changes coming about in society, or rather because of these changes, discussion can be conducted only in class terms. As science and technology, and hence the intellectuals, become an important productive force there imposes itself the tendency to attribute a decisive role to the intellectuals, to regard them as a single supra-class stratum, and to treat them as such. Once this opinion has been formed, a false logic necessarily prompts one to call on the intellectuals to keep out of politics (which are determined

by class position, as we have said) and to offer their services as the brain trust of society. To push the intellectuals in this direction would be objectively wrong and would, moreover, mean putting them on a path which an increasing number of them no longer want, namely a path leading into the camp of the ruling class, with which a segment of the intellectuals is clashing more and more sharply.

The qualitative aspect of the intellectuals' growing role in the production process is that more and more of them are coming to realize and appreciate the social interests of the workers and are objectively drawn nearer the working class. This is one of the significant processes of our time. It is not following a straight line. The fact that scientists today feel they are responsible for the manner in which the fruits of their labor are utilized, and the fact that they take a stand on the major issues of world politics, such as Vietnam, disarmament, atomic weapons, and so on, in organized and militant fashion, are stages in this drawing nearer. But so are such events as the Ecumenical Council and the subsequent discussions among Christian intellectuals, with the result that Marxism, the world outlook of the working-class movement, was treated as a reality containing many positive elements and to be taken seriously, or the Social-Democratic intellectuals' search for a new shore after many of their illusions were dashed.

To take this process into careful account without prejudice or distrust, and to approach the problem openly, is one of the most important tasks of the Marxist working-class movement today. While the upheaval due to the revolution in science and technology is taking place under both capitalism and socialism, with the role of the intellectuals changing as a result under either social system, there must be no equalitarianism in estimation. In capitalist society, it is a question, first and foremost, of a polarization process in the course of which a section of the intellectuals tends to side with the working class while another remains linked to the ruling capitalist class. Hence we can by no means speak of the existence of a politically solid stratum of intellectuals. We should appraise the latter specifically, depending on the class with which they feel they are associated. This means that both the social role and the political tasks of progressive intellectuals are entirely distinct from those of intellectuals living under socialism.

We consider that here in Austria, too, the problem of the intellectuals in connection with the struggle of our Party is gaining in importance. Various developments of recent date show that there are positive opportunities here and that a segment of the Austrian intellectuals is stirring and is concerning itself more and more with problems of the working-class movement and with Marxism. Many

comrades still fail to take this development into proper account, or they look on the intellectuals with distrust. On the other hand, many an intellectual complains of the workers' bias against them and fatalistically describe it as "an unhealthy sentiment on the part of the people." Whil the problem "the intellectuals and the working-class movement" has to be raised and viewed from new angles, we must also openly examine the issue of the working-class movement's distrust of the intellectuals. This attitude, unjustified and obstructive as it may seem today, has, nevertheless, real roots in the past. Over long periods in modern Austrian history, the overwhelming majority of the intellectuals played a reactionary role, and the working-class movement had every reason to take a critical view of the intellectuals. True, this distrust dating from the past is no longer warranted. But for all the readiness to cooperate with progressive intellectuals on political issues, it is still necessary to take a critical stand as regards those intellectuals who continue to manage the affairs of the ruling class.

A PROGRAM OF ACTION FOR THE WORKING-CLASS MOVEMENT

STATEMENT* OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF SWEDEN, ADOPTED ON SEPT. 22, 1966

The elections have been an undeniable success for the Communist Party, which alone registered so great an increase in the vote as compared with the 1962 and 1964 elections. Apart from the Center Party, the CPS is the only party to have made headway in both the 1964 and 1966 elections.

However, the election results signify a setback for the working-class movement as a whole. The success of our Party does not compensate for the losses sustained by the Social Democrats. The total number of votes cast for the workers' parties has diminished.

It is necessary to make a deep analysis of the policy and activities of the two workers' parties. The policy of the ruling Social-Democratic Party was based on cooperation with the so-called private economy. But a society conforming to the socialist ideals of the working-class movement cannot be built if the monopolies and big capital are allowed to retain key positions in the economy. We consider that solution of many topical problems—those of housing and real estate, geographical distribution of the economy, democracy in the factory—calls for a change in the present correlation of forces and in property relations. The working-class movement must work out a socialist strategy clearly pointing to the necessity and possibility of resolute changes.

To demonstrate the vigor of the movement, rapidly regain the lost positions and lay the foundation for victory in the 1968 elections, the parliamentary majority and the government should immediately launch the implementation of a program of minimum demands primarily aimed at solving those problems which draw the electorate's justified criticism of the policy of the government and which therefore considerably influenced the outcome of the elections. Housing construction, especially in large urban areas, should be expanded, the growth of rent and prices checked, the condition of the group with below-average incomes improved, and the distribution of incomes and wealth changed to achieve greater equality. More attention should be paid to problems of international solidarity.

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*Ny Dag No. 44, September 30-October 6, 1966.

In the Communist Party's opinion, such a program of action should envisage the following:

1. Immediate implementation of the measures, which were supported by the congress of the Central Trade Union Federation, to stop the growth of prices. Prohibition of price cartels, and legislation making it obligatory to announce price increases in advance with proper substantiation.

2. Creation of a common Nordic foodstuffs market and, by way of preparation, conclusion of an agreement with Denmark on freer tarde in agricultural products.

3. Establishment of public control over investments. Reduction of the rate of interest, and transition to a permanent low rate.

4. The setting up of a State Investment Bank to ensure a sufficient and even influx of capital for housing construction.

5. Expansion of housing construction in large urban areas, specifically through construction of factories producing prefabricated structures, to be paid for out of the pension fund.

6. Legislation on municipal control over housing matters, providing for the registration of all vacant flats to be distributed among those in need of them.

7. No increases in military spending in the next fiscal year either.

8. Rapid solution of the constitutional problem to guarantee the creation of a one-chamber Riksdag democratically elected on the basis of direct and equal suffrage.

9. Substantial increase in the next State Budget's allocations for aid to the developing countries, which would make it possible to achieve the projected allocation, for this purpose, of one per cent of the gross national product before the end of the 'sixties

10. The government's statement on the need to withdraw U.S. troops from Vietnam. Recognition of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and establishment of contacts with the South Vietnamese National Liberation Front.

The working-class movement is the most influential political force in Sweden. The two workers' parties have the majority in both chambers of the Riksdag. Given a correct policy and closer cooperation, the working-class movement has all possibilities for advancing again in the elections to the second chamber of the Riksdag in 1968.

GREAT STRUGGLE FOR THE SOUL OF THE LABOR MOVEMENT

John Gollan

GENERAL SECRETARY OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY

A thousand car workers barracking the Prime Minister for work, and the leader of Britain's biggest trade union accusing the Labor Government of the "negation of the rights of the workers."

This was the Brighton Labor Party Conference. Six months after the great electoral victory it was a conference more politically divided than ever before, because of Government policy—with the positive Left challenge mounting as the days passed.

By invoking Part IV of the Prices and Incomes Act and making the ordinary functioning of trade unionism a crime, the Government has not only done what the Tories for a generation have tried in vain to do.

It has set the course for collision and conflict in the movement on a scale not seen for years.

No trade unionist worth his salt will accept this anti-trade union law. They will press ahead to wage the struggle and fulfil the objects for which the trade unions were founded.

While the Government got its expected majority at Brighton for its freeze and squeeze it was defeated in its opposition to the Transport and General Workers' Union emergency resolution on work sharing instead of sackings.

The majority was won only as a result of confusion, appeals to loyalty, and pleas that the measures were only temporary. It was a visibly reluctant majority.

While the conference was dominated by the Government's economic measures, there was the clear understanding from the word go that these measures were bound up with the Government's foreign policy and its suicidal military expenditure.

From the beginning the Government spokesmen presented a false and phoney prospectus to Brighton.

Mr. Wilson's speech was the flop of the conference. We had heard it all before.

His method was to slam "conservatism" everywhere in order to hit unions. It was to short change everywhere and upset Big Business nowhere.

---

*Morning Star, October 8, 1966.

It was as up to date as 1928-vintage Mond-Turner class collaboration for Big Business stuff, started up with phrases of the managerial revolution.

No thrilling the conference with vistas of the technical revolution this time. "My squeeze is whiter than Selwyn's squeeze," was the message.

The scepticism was thunderous when he described it as the springboard for a new expansion.

Economic growth has been sacrified for Callaghan's balance of payments, with mounting unemployment as the result.

There can be no industrial change without redeployment, hammered the Prime Minister. Who is disputing this? There has been staggering redeployment over this century as the great giants of cotton, coal, railways and shipbuilding have given way to the great new growth industries.

But what the workers are resisting—and conference endorsed that resistance—is, redeployment by the brutal method of mass unemployment.

The dole is no sweeter under Mr. Wilson than it was under the Tories.

The Prime Minister's speech flopped above all because he could offer the movement no real sense of purpose.

The "reorganization" of the docks, shipbuilding, aircraft and transport, the Industrial Reconstruction Corporation, for ever-bigger mergers, and steel nationalization by the grace of Lord Melchett.

What's this got to do with a Labor movement? It is Harold Wilson stating that he can work capitalism better than Ted Heath.

Why should any Socialist, any trade unionist, give any loyalty to this set-up?

When Mr. Callaghan spoke in justification of the July measures, his whole case was based on two major half-truths.

The first was the old story that we as a nation were not paying our way. Not true.

Between 1960 and 1964, Britain earned a surplus of £1,300 million in its commercial balance of payments. We were paying our way.

What turned that surplus into a deficit of £500 million over these five years was the Government overseas expenditure (mainly military) of £1,800 million.

It has been successive Governments, Tory and Labour, that have been living beyond their means.

The second Callaghan half-truth came when he said that the July measures were needed because of runaway British wages not accompanied by comparable rises in output.

He used the figure of an annual 10 percent rise in hourly earnings during the 21 months of Labour Government compared with a 3.75 per cent annual increase in output.

But we don't live on hourly but weekly earnings. So what is the real position? Annual rate of output up 3.75 per cent, prices up 4.6 per cent and weekly earnings up 8 per cent

In other words British earnings have barely kept pace with rising prices and output. Furthermore, output would have been greater if it had not been for Government restriction.

Finally in every major European country wages have risen faster in Britain.

Callaghan's arguments at Brighton, therefore, are a fraud.

And where do we go from here? No one at the conference could be under any illusions. The freeze is to extend indefinitely under State regulations. This is why compulsion has been introduced.

This is what great sections of the movement, many of them not traditionally Left, will never tolerate—and this was made clear at Brighton.

Mr. Wilson can make what he likes of his conference endorsement of the executive statement on foreign policy and defense.

But despite all Brown's word-spinning the Government remains committed to the support of United States aggression in Vietnam.

But the real feeling of opposition was shown when, in defiance of the executive, the Fire Brigades Union resolution calling for urgent pressure to end the war and to stop U.S. bombing was carried by 1,200,000.

And even more significant was the 538,000 vote victory for the T.G.W.U., resolution calling for cuts in defense and withdrawals in West Germany and east of Suez.

Never has the relationship of defense and foreign policy and Britain's economic plight been so clearly shown from the floor at any Labour Party Conference.

All commenators agreed that at Brighton the Labour movement was struggling for its soul, for its sense of purpose.

The fact that this is the situation after Labour has been in power for 2 months, following 13 years in the wilderness, is the greatest condemnation of Wilson's policies.

We now have a Government which is coming into increasing conflict with ever-extending sections of the organized Labour movement. It is a position which cannot last. One or the other must give.

The Left is stronger, more fortified after the T.U.C. and the Brighton Labour Party Conference.

Now the battle will go on in the factories, in the localities in Parliament, to end the wage freeze, for the rights of collective bargaining, to defeat the anti-trade union legislation.

In this new and challenging period a mass circulation for the *Morning Star* would be the Left's most powerful weapon.

Brighton showed the positive Left counter-policy, the cutting of

military expenditure, the assault on the monopolies, the extension of nationalization.

Fighting for these demands, enforcing them on the Government, is the only way to unite the Labour movement and prevent any Tory advance.

The Left, therefore, is fighting not only for immediate interests but for the future of the Labour movement.

It will succeed all the better if it consolidates its own unity, Labour and Communists, and removes, where possible, bans and proscriptions that impede the full cooperation of the Left forces.

COMMUNIQUE

OF A SESSION OF THE CC, PORTUGUESE COMMUNIST PARTY

In August 1966 the Central Committee held a session devoted chiefly to the present state of the Party and problems of its life and development.

After a critical and self-critical discussion, the CC put on record that, far from having been overcome, the shortcomings and difficulties in the life of the Party, analyzed at the 6th Congress, have been further aggravated.

Further detachment of the CC from the primary Party organizations and of the latter from the working class and the toiling masses in general, the preoccupation of Party organs with problems of the defense of the Party and internal problems; lack of political initiative; the weakening of the leading role of the Party in the struggle of the masses; the issue of abstract slogans that are out of touch with reality; the danger of new repressions—such are some of the most serious aspects of these shortcomings and difficulties.

The CC considers that the factors responsible for this state of things are the intensification of repressions, inadequate guidance, deviation from the established orientation in the Party's practical activities, serious errors in the cadres policy and specifically in selection and promotion, a style of work characterized by bureaucratism and routinism, repeated breaches of discipline which have become a daily occurrence, incorrect methods of defense of the Party and of organizational work.

The Central Committe outlined urgent measures to remove the shortcomings in Party work in order to initiate a new stage in the Party's development.

Having discussed the questions of leadership of the Party, the CC took measures to enforce the principle of collectivism in its work, to establish genuine political unity and genuine political discipline in all practical activities, raise the effectiveness of leadership, enlist the active cooperation of Party members through providing them with information and inviting them to state their opinions in working out orientation and general guidelines, do away with bureaucratic and stereotyped methods, create a new style of work, increase dynamism and encourage initiative in the entire Party work.

Having considered the cadres question, the CC outlined measures to improve the work with cadres and the methods of selection and education. It stressed the decisive importance of selection and

training of leading cadres for the struggle of the working class and for the entire mass movement.

Having discussed the question of defense of the Party, the CC outlined measures to do away with schematism, irresponsibility and lack of discipline and ensure repudiation of unfitting methods, application of methods of underground work conforming to the general situation, consolidation of discipline, choosing the most suitable methods of organizational work, cadres policy and work with the masses in dealing with problems of defense of the Party, and intensification of the struggle against treachery and the danger of provocations.

Having considered the questions of organizational work, the CC arrived at the conclusion that it is necessary to modify substantially the methods of this work, closely examine the difficulties due to the bulkiness of the central underground apparatus, which is too schematic, closed and preoccupied with the solution of internal problems, redefine the tasks and types of activity of Party cadres, diversify the forms of work and ensure concentration of forces on the main tasks.

Informing the Party and the working people about the situation and the current difficulties, the Central Committee stresses that all areas of activity require long and persevering work from which no immediate effective results can be expected.

The Central Committee calls upon the Party and its sympathizers to make, with confidence and courage, their effective contribution to the solution of the problems facing us. Additional instructions regarding these problems will be communicated through organizational channels.

Having discussed the main points on the agenda and summed up, in brief, the situation in the world Communist movement and the Party's fraternal relations with the numerous fraternal parties, the CC proceeded to some immediate tasks of the Party as regards the struggle of the masses, anti-fascist unity and the student movement.

The Central Committee considers that the difficulties confronting the Party demand an active effort to mobilize the working class and he masses in a struggle for their immediate vital interests, against the growing cost of living, for higher wages, against the colonial war, aainst repressions, for an amnesty, for freedom. The activity of the masses, the close contact of the Party members with the working class and the masses present, apart from other measures, the best guarantee of the defense of the Party, the recruitment of new members, the training of cadres and the development of the organization.

The Central Committee holds that the recent events testify to a deterioration of the economic situation in the country and the condition of the working people. By introducing the tax on contracts

the fascist government has actually decreed an overall increase in the cost of living and a lowering of the real wages. With a stroke of the pen it has nullified the nominal wage increases won through working people's struggles over recent years. It is necessary to organize a veritable nation-wide campaign against the growth of the cost of living and launch throughout the country, from north to south, a struggle for higher wages.

The Central Committee stresses the imperative need for the unity of the anti-fascist circles. At present there exist favorable conditions for a comparison of views, a joint search for solutions, joint determination of the aims and forms of immediate actions, conclusion of agreements on the development of the anti-fascist struggle. The Central Committee approved the practical steps to be taken without delay, utilizing the favourable elements of the present situation.

The Central Committee discussed the new aspects of the student movement, questions of general orientation, the importance and prospects of a unitary movement and the forms of political organization, the possibility of establishing an underground printshop, the Party's attitude towards other political trends among the students. The CC holds that extensive development of legal associative activity of the students remains the chief guideline of their movement. The CC believes, however, that all the existing problems require close study in view of the absence of stable orientation and unanimity of views in the different circles of the student movement, in the Party organs responsible for work among these circles, and in the Party press itself. The CC sets it as the immediate task to organize a discussion with a comparison of views on the numerous aspects of the movement so as to determine, in the nearest future, an orientation conforming to the varied and complicated aspects of the present situation.

At the present time, along with displaying political initiative and working stubbornly to develop the struggle of the masses, the Party and its every member should exert great efforts, often inconspicuous and patient, in order to overcome the existing difficulties and initiate a new stage of development of the Party which will largely determine the growth and success of the popular struggle.

The Party has the strength and resources for the realization of these tasks. Guided by the line laid down by the 6th Congress, it will carry out these tasks given the unity, efforts, revolutionary spirit, discipline and initiative of its members, given the vigorous support of the working people, the youth, the more politically conscious and courageous representatives of all the strata of the people.

Central Committee
Portuguese Communist Party

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—A. J. Pelse

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49TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE GREAT OCTOBER SOCIALIST REVOLUTION

ADDRESS* BY A. J. PELSE TO FESTIVE MEETING KREMLIN PALACE OF CONGRESSES, NOVEMBER 6, 1966

Dear Comrades, the Soviet people and working people throughout the world are celebrating the 49th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution. Tomorrow, November 7, we shall begin to count off the jubilee year, which will mark half a century of the existence of our Soviet socialist state.

The memory of mankind retains many events which have, in one way or another, influenced the progress of history. But none of them can compare with what occurred in Russia on the night of October 24, 1917. The proletariat of Petrograd, organized and united by the Bolshevik Party under the leadership of Vladimir Ilyich Lenin, rose in revolt, crushed the bourgeois-landowner system and seized power.

The October Revolution ushered in a new epoch and became the point of departure of subsequent revolutions in a number of countries of Europe, Asia, Africa and Latin America. The heroic feat of the proletariat of Russia will continue to provide an inspiring example to the working class and other working people of the capitalist countries and will continue to be the lodestar of their revolutionary struggle.

The triumph of the October Revolution ended the undivided rule of capitalism. Today the socialist system has become established in more than one-fourth of the globe and unites more than a third of our planet's population. The October Revolution unfettered the mighty forces of the national-liberation movement against imperialism. Over 60 sovereign states have emerged on the ruins of colonial empires. Socialist tendencies and the desire to follow the non-capitalist road are coming to the fore in some of these countries.

The Soviet people regard communist construction in their country not only as their own vital cause but also as their lofty internationalist duty, and under the leadership of the Communist Party they are steadfastly building up the economic, political and military power of the world's first socialist motherland of workers and peasants.

*Pravda, November 7, 1966.

1. TRIUMPH OF THE IDEAS OF LENINISM, OF THE IDEAS OF THE OCTOBER REVOLUTION

Comrades, all generations of Soviet people—those who fought to establish Soviet power, built socialist society, and upheld it during the Patriotic War, and those who with their fathers and older brothers are continuing the great cause of the Revolution—are marking the anniversary of the Great October Revolution with enthusiasm and joy.

We are united by common sentiments and thoughts, common aspirations and a common cause, the building of communism. With deep emotion we recall Lenin's appeal to follow in the footsteps of the fighters of the Revolution and to emulate their heroism. In our thoughts we turn to the great leader of the socialist Revolution and say that for what is but a little less than half a century the Soviet people have been confidently advancing along the glorious road taken by the heroes of the October Revolution.

We have 49 years of heroic struggles and great triumphs behind us. Each of these years is etched in our memory and dear to us because it bears testimony to the great strength of the Soviet system and the invincibility of Marxist-Leninist ideas.

The working people accomplished the October Revolution to build a new life, and this imparted to it a creative, transformative character from the outset.

As soon as the working class had seized power, Lenin set about drawing up a plan for building socialism. Many Western "experts" saw that plan as utopian, as something that could not possibly materialize. Even in our country there were those who tried to steer the Party off the Leninist course. Some wanted to impose upon it a policy of petty-bourgeois adventurism, others a policy of liberal reformism.

Lenin's plans had to be carried out in a bitter struggle against phrasemongers and adventurists, sceptics and capitulators, against Trotskyites, Right opportunists, nationalist deviators and other groups hostile to Leninism.

To bridge the gulf between the epoch-making scope of the tasks of the Revolution and the extreme backwardness inherited from old Russia, the working class and its vanguard, the Party, had to show the greatest loyalty to the ideas of socialism, confidence in victory, iron discipline, endurance and unity.

One can picture Lenin of an evening in the spring of 1921, in unlit, hungry Moscow pondering over the country's destiny and writing with solicitude:

"Look at the map of the Russian Federation. There are immense expanses with room enough for dozens of huge civilized states north of Vologda, southeast of Rostov-on-Don and Saratov, south

of Orenburg and Omsk, and north of Tomsk. Patriarchalism, semi-savagery and real savagery reign in all these expanses."

Full of revolutionary optimism and unbounded faith in the creative forces of the working class and its Party, Lenin maintained that the transition to socialism was possible in even that situation.

Led by Lenin's Party, the Soviet people have successfully surmounted the most incredible backwardness and dislocation. Our country has become a mighty, flourishing socialist power with a highly developed economy and advanced culture.

Today, comrades, we take these gains of the Revolution for granted, regarding them as something ordinary, as something that goes without saying. But when we stop to think of what our country was like in the past and of the progress it has made we realize the huge transformative power of the socialist Revolution and realize how fortunate we are that it was accomplished in our country.

Far from being smooth, the road travelled by our country was unexplored and difficult. In *Notes of a Publicist* Lenin figuratively compares the road of the young Soviet state with a difficult ascent to "a very high, steep and unexplored mountain . . . There is no carriage, no road, nothing in general, nothing whatever that has been tested before."

Soviet rule, the socialist economic system and the policy of the Communist Party have passed the stiffest and most impartial test—the test of time. Our Party and our people have honorably discharged their historical mission of pioneers.

Industrialization, which ensured our country's economic independence and turned it into the second major industrial power in the world, was accomplished within a relatively short period.

Yet another extremely difficult problem of the Soviet Revolution —that of collectivizing agriculture—was also successfully solved. This was the only correct way, outlined in Lenin's cooperative plan, of transferring technically backward small-peasant farms to large-scale mechanized collective farming.

At the same time a deep-going cultural revolution took place in the Soviet Union. It was a major element of the program of building socialism. Lenin said: "Crushed capitalism won't feed you. We must take the whole culture left by capitalism and use it to build socialism. We must take the whole of science, technology, knowledge and art. Without that we shall be unable to build communist society."

The Party placed the achievements of Russian and world culture within reach of the masses. Millions of workers and peasants and their children have received a higher education. A people's intelligentsia has emerged.

The triumph of socialism in the USSR has brought fundamental changes into social and national relations. Workers, collective

farmers and intellectuals now make up a single, united society. Our heroic working class, which has rallied the working peasants around itself, has played and continues to play the leading role in strengthening this society.

The Communist Party has firmly followed a clear-cut class line and, relying on the union of workers and peasants for support, confidently led the country in building socialism.

More than a hundred big and small peoples have united in a friendly family on the basis of the Leninist national policy. They have reached socialism in fraternal unity and with the assistance of the Russian people. Many of them have travelled this road without passing through the painful stage of capitalist development.

The stability of the Soviet system was put to a severe test during the Great Patriotic War. Our people had to make great sacrifices to uphold their freedom and independence. This was not merely a victory of one army over another, but, first of all, a victory of socialism, of our economy, ideology, science and technology, of the courage of Soviet people and of their fortitude. We smashed the enemy and saved the peoples of Europe, including the German people, from Nazi slavery. Mankind will never forget this feat of the Soviet people.

We are on the threshold of the 25th anniversary of the defeat of the Nazi troops near Moscow. In that grim year the sons and daughters of all the peoples of the Soviet Union fought with might and main to defend their capital, and the people of Moscow rose as one man. The glory of Moscow, of our heroic city, will shine everlastingly as an unfading example.

During the war the Nazi barbarians destroyed and burned down more than 70,000 of our towns and villages, reduced many thousands of our factories to rubble and left tens of millions of people homeless. The whole of international reaction gleefully rubbed its hands, thinking that the Soviet Union would be weakened for many years to come. Once again, as so many times before, the enemies of socialism miscalculated.

During the post-war period the average annual rate of growth of industrial output was higher than in the United States. In the output of some key products, the USSR has not only overtaken but surpassed the U.S.A.—we are producing more iron ore, coal, coke, cement, main-line diesel and electric locomotives, grain harvesters, timber, sawn wood and woollen fabrics.

In 1965 industrial output in the USSR has increased roughly eight-fold compared with pre-war 1940. Leading branches of the national economy have been re-equipped on the basis of scientific and technological progress.

By fulfilling the Seven Year Plan, the Soviet people have taken an important step towards creating the material and technical base

of communism. Nearly 5,500 large industrial enterprises have been built and put into operation in seven years. Fixed production assets in industry have doubled.

This is the fruit of dedicated and truly heroic effort by workers, collective farmers, engineers, technicians and scientists.

Tomorrow thousands of working people wearing newly-awarded medals, with the banners of their factories and building projects, which have been decorated with high government awards for their successful fulfilment of the Seven Year Plan, will march in the front ranks of the holiday demonstrations in the towns and villages of our country. The motherland has fittingly rewarded the winners of the socialist emulation movement and is proud of its finest sons and daughters.

Our country's gigantic leap from backwardness to the flourishing of its economic, political and cultural forces was made possible by the socialist system, the devotion of Soviet people to the ideals of communism, and the indestructible unity of the Party and the people.

"Our Party," L. Brezhnev said at the 23rd Congress of the CPSU "has immortalized its name by its ability to organize and inspire the people to accomplish great facts."

The historic achievements of the Soviet Union have conclusively proved that in implementing the ideas of the October Revolution, the ideas of Leninism, the Communist Party is leading our people along the right road.

II. DECISIONS OF THE 23RD CONGRESS OF THE CPSU ARE A PROGRAM OF COMMUNIST CONSTRUCTION GUIDING THE WHOLE PEOPLE

Comrades, each time our people mark the anniversary of the Soviet state they sum up the results of the past year in a business-like way, as befits creators and masters. After paying tribute to achievements they concentrate on the next tasks in the building of communism.

What is noteworthy about the 49th year of the October Revolution? First and foremost, it left in the minds of Soviet people and our friends abroad an indelible imprint as a year of an outstanding event, the 23rd Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

Our Congress demonstrated to the world the vitality of the ideas of Marxism-Leninism, the solidarity of the Communist movement and the uncompromising attitude of genuine revolutionaries to revisionism and dogmatism. The Congress decisions were approved by the entire Party and people and by fraternal Communist and Workers' parties. As time goes on these decisions exert a growing

nd beneficial influence on every aspect of our country's political, economic and social life.

We may say without exaggeration that the creative, business-like atmosphere and the principled and realistic approach to intricate problems of the activity of the Party and the government, which were a feature of the Congress proceedings, are gaining ground in everyday practice.

We can see how correct were the measures, worked out by the Central Committee in 1964 and 1965 and by the 23rd Congress, to root out subjectivism, consolidate and promote the Leninist standards of Party life and government activity and ensure that the economy is managed on scientific lines, in keeping with the objective economic laws of socialism.

The 23rd Congress of the CPSU drew up the Directives for the Five Year Plan, whose fulfilment will bring about a further powerful upswing of the economy and create the conditions for meeting the material and cultural requirements of Soviet people more fully. The basic production assets are to increase by 50 per cent, the national income will rise by 38 to 41 per cent and the real incomes of the people will grow by 30 per cent.

The new Five Year Plan has got off to a good start. The socialist emulation movement in honor of the anniversary of the Great October Revolution has been extremely successful — the ten-month plan for industrial output and labor productivity has been exceeded. Compared with the same period last year, output has increased by more than 8.3 per cent as against the planned 6.7 per cent.

The Central Committee of the CPSU warmly congratulates the workers of our industry and wishes them new achievements in labor.

Light industry, whose object is to satisfy the requirements of the population as fully as possible, is gathering momentum. In nine months the output of woolen fabrics has increased by 10 per cent, of knitted outer garments by 20 per cent and of footwear by 8 per cent.

We have every reason to expect that the working class will cope with the annual plan just as successfully. Tentative estimates show that this year the country will produce 97 million tons of steel, more than 260 million tons of oil and nearly 550,000 million kwh of electric power.

The first year of the five-year plan may be called a special one. Our industry has begun to operate in new conditions, in which the role of economic methods of management of the national economy is being enhanced and the staffs of production enterprises are receiving greater material incentives and are showing greater creative initiative. This is already yielding tangible results.

The enterprises that have adopted the new system of manage-

ment have achieved better results than in the past. For instance, sales of output have grown by more than 11 per cent, labor productivity by 8 per cent and profits by more than 20 per cent over the same period of last year.

Following the example of foremost enterprises in Moscow and Leningrad, factories throughout the country are striving for a higher technical standard of production and an improvement in the quality of their output. Many factories are starting the production of new, improved items.

The achievements of our industry gladden and inspire us. Naturally, they cannot blind us to shortcomings, the inadequate and sometimes incompetent utilization of the huge potentialities of many enterprises and entire industries.

The further implementation of the economic reform that has been initiated is a matter of vital importance to the whole people. It requires unflagging effort on the part of the staffs of industrial enterprises, their Party, trade union and Komsomol organizations, ministries and departments, and planning and financial bodies.

We must make better use of basic production assets, introduce new machinery, organize labor more effectively and promote cost accounting. Planning and the supply of materials and equipment must be based on more scientific lines, and correct remuneration for labor must be ensured. Tremendous importance attaches to the selection, education and training of executives who have a profound understanding of economy and can master new economic methods of production organization.

The problem of improving the work of building organizations is particularly acute. The duty of builders is to provide new production capacities at a much faster rate, avoid the scattering of funds, eliminate losses and non-productive expenditures, and improve the quality of their work.

While celebrating their revolutionary holiday, the Soviet people are particularly pleased with the remarkable successses scored by agricultural workers. All of us sincerely rejoice that this year the grain harvest has been the largest in the 49 years of Soviet rule.

By November 1, the collective farms and state farms had filled the state granaries with nearly 75 million tons of grain.

Fairly good harvests have been grown of cotton, sugar-beet, sunflower seeds, vegetables and potatoes, and bast-fibre and other crops.

Livestock-breeding is making good headway despite the difficulties of last winter. The cattle, sheep and poultry population has increased and so has their productivity. The purchase plan for all animal products had been exceeded by November 1. The following increases have been registered as compared with the same ten

months of last year: milk by 1,100,000 tons, meat by 692,000 tons and wool by 12,000 tons.

Of course, when we soberly assess the far-reaching successes and achievements of agriculture, we must mention the favorable weather of this year. But this was only one of the conditions for success.

The factor determining this achievement was the Party's correct policy in guiding agriculture. Not much time has passed since the March Plenum of the CC, CPSU, but the implementation of the measures worked out at that meeting has given broad scope for a fuller utilization of the inherent potentialities of socialist farming.

State assistance to agriculture has greatly increased. Investments have grown, more machinery and fertilizers are supplied, economically sound prices have been fixed for farm produce and manufactured goods, and the principle of material incentive is consistently implemented. This has led to an unparalleled upsurge of activity on the part of collective farmers and all other agriculture workers.

The organizing work of the Party and local government bodies is founded on deep respect for the requirements of science and for experience accumulated over many years, on full support for initiative, independent work and intelligent management by collective and state-farm executives.

In warmly congratulating agricultural workers on their great achievement, the CC, CPSU calls upon them to consolidate and multiply their successes.

The Communist Party and the Soviet Government will consistently and steadfastly follow the line of promoting agriculture and increasing all-round aid to the collective farms.

It is quite possible that the successes achieved in agriculture may engender peace of mind and hopes that in the countryside things will now radically improve without any particular effort. We must not, however, forget that we still have many shortcomings and unsolved problems in agriculture. There are certain difficulties as well. We shall have to expend a lot of effort to increase the yield of fields and the productivity of animal husbandry, to cut production costs in agriculture, and to carry out the land improvement and irrigation program drawn up at the May Plenum of the CC, CPSU.

During the current Five Year Plan we must bridge the gap between the development of industrial and agricultural production. The countryside needs more and more machines, fertilizers, chemical weed- and pest-killers, and other industrial products. A considerable improvement must be achieved in construction work in the countryside, and in the work of purchasing and trade bodies and of enterprises processing agricultural raw materials.

The main objective of socialist production is to meet the people's growing material and cultural requirements more and more fully. This is obvious from the steady growth of the working people's real incomes. This year real incomes per capita are three times greater than in the pre-war year 1940 and 37 per cent higher than in 1958.

Throughout the year that has elapsed since the 48th anniversary of the October Revolution housing has received unflagging attention, as it did before. In this period more than 1,800,000 new modern flats were built in the country. In addition, 375,000 houses were built in the rural areas. Nearly ten and a half million people were rehoused.

The scale of housing construction is unparalleled but the housing shortage is still great. That is why we shall continue to invest huge sums in housing and utilize all our potentialities to this end.

Consumption is growing steadily. This growth, too, is due to the effective measures taken recently to improve the supply of foodstuffs and manufactured goods to the population. Take, for example, items like bread and other bakery products, sugar, vegetable oil, butter, margarine, macaroni and confectioneries. The supply of these products is sufficient to satisfy, in the main, the demand. More meat and milk are sold. Trade in the countryside has improved noticeably.

In ten months of this year the retail trade network has sold 92,000 million rubles' worth of goods, or almost 1,000 million rubles more than planned.

There has been an indisputable growth of consumption through trade as well as through public funds. But the requirements of life and the demands of the Soviet people are growing from year to year.

The 23rd Congress of the CPSU set the task of closing the gap between industries producing consumer goods and those producing the means of production. Much is being done in this sphere as well. Radical steps are being taken to satisfy more quickly the increased demand for certain manufactured goods, primarily footwear, knitwear, ready-made garments, furniture and domestic refrigerators. It should be noted, however, that the question is not only of the quantity but also of the quality of goods. Many goods are being produced in sufficient quantities, but people have become more exacting — they want goods according to the latest fashion and to their tastes.

Trade workers must study the consumer demand more thoroughly and more quickly. The light and food industries should follow the example of the foremost enterprises and reorganize production more rapidly, improve the quality of their goods and make their

output meet the consumer demand rather than overall quantity targets.

We must develop the service industry into a large-scale mechanized industry. It will get ample material and technical facilities. It may be worth stressing that a properly organized service industry will help accomplish the task set by the Party of bringing the living conditions of the rural population closer to city standards.

The Communist Party and the Soviet Government are seeing to it that conditions are created for the flowering of the country's spiritual life. At present, more than 48 million people are enrolled in general schools, nearly 4,000,000 in specialized secondary schools and 4,1000,000 in higher educational establishments. About 75 per cent of those who finished the 8th class this year are continuing their education in secondary schools or in specialized secondary educational establishments.

The effort of Soviet scientists brings universal acclaim. The Soviet people were the first to break through into outer space and persevere in probing the secrets of the universe.

It was from the world's first Soviet-made lunar satellite that the *Interntaionale*, the Communist anthem, resounded last Aprii as a symbol of socialism's victories.

Important progress has been achieved in physics, chemistry, radio electronics, biology and medicine, in the manufacture of artificial diamonds, new extra-tough materials, unique machines and machine-tools, supersonic aircraft and powerful missiles.

Art and literature are an increasingly effective means in the country's cultural development and in the communist education of the masses. Lenin's Party has deep respect for the work of the artists and writers. It helps them to honorably fulfil their important part in the building of communist society, and will continue to help them. The Soviet people expect writers and artists to produce works that reflect life truthfully and combine the power of the ideas of the Party with high artistic skill.

The 49th year of the October Revolution witnessed a further consolidation and development of our socialist state. The political pillars of the Soviet socialist system — the alliance of the working class and the collective farm peasants, the friendship of the peoples of our country, the ideological and political unity of all the working people, and their allegiance to the Communist Party, to its Central Committee and to the Soviet Government — have become stronger still.

The 23rd Congress of the CPSU drew up an extensive program for the promotion and consolidation of socialist democracy and the improvement of the Soviets as organs of state power and the most representative public organizations.

The range of matters handled by the Soviets of Working Peo-

ple's Deputies is vast. Their role is particularly great now that the 23rd Congress of the CPSU has issued the call to do away with all petty control, to stop duplicating the work of government bodies, and to make them more active in carrying out their economic and cultural tasks.

It is especially important today to improve the style of work of Party, government, trade union and economic organizations, tighten state and labor discipline, pay greater heed to people, to their work, their suggestions and needs, and use material values and natural resources more thriftily.

As you know, important steps have been taken lately to enhance the safety and to protect the honor and dignity of Soviet citizens. The new laws designed to root out criminal offences are welcomed by the whole people and understandably so, for the Soviet people want their socialist environment to be always calm and untarnished.

Comrades, today, on the even of the jubilee — the 50th anniversary — of Soviet power, it is only fitting to say a few words about our wonderful youth. As they enter adult life, our young men and women first of all turn to the experience of their fathers and assimilate revolutionary traditions in order to carry them forward and to multiply them. It is natural, by this token, that the patriotic marches of Komsomol members and other young people to places of the Soviet people's revolutionary, military and labor glory have grown into so great a movement.

When participants in these marches held their rally in Moscow's Red Square, the youth took an oath of loyalty to the Party, to the teachings of Lenin:

"Our generation will never swerve from the Leninist path. We swear to assert communism on earth with our every heartbeat, every day, all our lives."

In the towns, on the outskirts of villages, on hills and at road crossings rise monuments to those who gave their lives for the establishment and consolidation of Soviet power. These places are sacred to Soviet people. They are lit by the flames of eternal glory that inspires the present and future generations. These flames will never die. The flames of the October Revolution are as everlasting as life itself.

The Soviet people, full of inexaustible vitality and creative energy, have begun to carry out the program for the further economic and cultural advancement of our country charted by the 23rd Congress of the CPSU. Their dedicated labor will yield more and more material and spiritual values for the good of Soviet society as a whole and of every individual.

The historical justice of the October Revolution and the advantages of the Soviet socialist system stand out in particularly bold relief against the decline of the moribund capitalist system.

The facts refute the inventions of the apologists of imperialism to the effect that the capitalist system is being "rejuvenated" and "transformed" into a "welfare society." In the imperialist countries, the fruits of technological progress and economic growth are being appropriated by monopoly capital and social inequality is mounting.

Never before have the monopolies pocketed such immense profits as in the past few years. It is their interests that are served by the system of state-monopoly economic regulation instituted in the imperialist countries.

The antagonism between labor and capital, between the monopolies and the people, is growing. So is the oppression exercised by the handful of financial tycoons. Racism is having a field day. National wealth is being squandered on militarization, conducted for the selfish ends of the war industry trusts. The monopolies are attacking the living standards and the democratic rights of the working people. All these are indisputable facts of present-day capitalist reality.

The modest wage increase wrested in some Western countries by the working class in grim struggles are largely swallowed by inflation. Poverty is still the lot of millions of people even in rich capitalist countries. A statement recently submitted to the U.S. Congress by the American federation of trade unions notes that one-fifth of the country's population is poverty-stricken.

The class battles in the capitalist countries go on unabated. The working class and its parties are conducting an offensive on capitalism, skilfully using various forms of struggle for the economic, social and political rights of the masses. The working people are becoming more deeply aware that there are no champions of their vital interests more persevering and consistent than the Marxist-Leninist parties, than the Communists.

The historic experience of the October Revolution has shown quite convincingly that socialism alone can win real political freedoms and a fair distribution of material values for the working people, and that the working people cannot achieve complete social emancipation, genuine people's rule and truly universal welfare, unless they follow the socialist path.

III. INTERNATIONAL SIGNIFICANCE OF COMMUNIST CONSTRUCTION. THE STRUGGLE FOR PEACE, AGAINST IMPERIALIST AGGRESSION

Comrades, the great power of the ideas of the October Revolution derives from their being ideas of the emancipation of the peoples from all forms of exploitation and oppression, ideas of socialist construction and humanism, of peace and friendship among na-

tions. The ideas of the October Revolution accord with the most vital interests and most cherished aspirations of the working people of all countries, and have therefore become the banner in the offensive mounted by the champions of peace, national liberation, democracy and socialism against the anti-popular forces of international reaction.

This offensive has merged the powerful constructive surge of the peoples of the socialist community, the class battles of the proletariat in the capitalist countries, the national-liberation struggle of the Asian, African and Latin American peoples, and the fight of the peace forces against imperialist aggression, for the prevention of a new world war.

On the occasion of this great holiday, the Communists of the Soviet Union and our entire people pledge their solidarity and support to the fraternal Communist parties. In forty capitalist countries, Communists have to contend with the adversities of working underground. Uncowed by persecution, they are waging a heroic struggle. We extend our fraternal greetings to the gallant fighters for the happiness of the working people.

The CC, CPSU and the Soviet Government are firmly and consistently implementing the foreign policy approved by the 23rd Congress of the CPSU. Our successes in communist construction and in the struggle against imperialism, for peace and security, are inseparable from the successes of the other socialist countries and of all the revolutionary progressive forces.

It is unity of action and the building up of the economic potential and the military and political power of the socialist community, and not threats, that the Soviet people and the peoples of other socialist countries are opposing to the imperialist policy of aggression. Their progress in building a new life and their peace-loving foreign policy enhance the appeal of socialist ideas to the peoples of the world.

Admittedly, the intrigues of imperialist reaction and its assaults on the forces of the new world create certain difficulties, but the liberation movement of the peoples is invincible. It is growing and expanding, and its impact on the course of world events is increasing.

The policy of the Communist Party and the Soviet Government is simple and clear. We shall let no one interfere in our domestic affairs and shall firmly oppose all imperialist interference in the affairs of other countries and peoples. At the same time, we have no intention of imposing our system on others. Our Party rejects the theory of "exporting" or "pushing" revolution. It invariably acts on Lenin's statement that the significance of communism should be demonstrated in practice, by example. The successful

building of communism in our country is just such an inspiring example.

The Soviet people are deeply satisfied with the good progress of our fraternal relations with the People's Republic of Bulgaria, the Hungarian People's Republic, the German Democratic Republic, the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, the Korean People's Democratic Republic, the Republic of Cuba, the Mongolian People's Republic, the Polish People's Republic, the Socialist Republic of Rumania, the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic and the Socialist Federative Republic of Yugoslavia.

The development of all-round cooperation among the socialist countries promotes the prosperity of each country and, at the same time, strengthens the world socialist system as a whole. The steady progress of economic relations among the socialist countries is highly gratifying. Coordination of economic planning is expanding and so are specialization and coordination of production. The aggregate trade between the Council of Mutual Economic Aid (CMEA) countries approximated to 100,000 million rubles between 1961 and 1965, and in the current five years it will increase by roughly 50 per cent.

The Bucharest Conference of the Political Consultative Committee of the Warsaw Treaty countries was an important stage in the progress of political cooperation between socialist countries. It demonstrated the unity and solidarity of the European socialist countries and made for further coordination of action.

The recent fraternal meetings on Soviet soil of the Party and government leaders of the Soviet Union, Bulgaria, Hungary, the German Democratic Republic, Cuba, Mongolia, Poland, Rumania and Czechoslovakia were marked by a spirit of complete mutual understanding and unity.

Comrades, the alarming events in Vietnam claim the attention of the peoples of the socialist countries and the rest of the world. The U.S. imperialists persist in their brutal, piratic war against the heroic people of Vietnam.

The echo of the American bombs exploding on Vietnamese soil resounds ominously far beyond the Indochina Peninsula. Resistance to the U.S. aggression in Vietnam is mounting all over the world and the international isolation of the United States is increasing.

The Soviet Union emphatically condemns the inhuman war waged by the United States in Vietnam. In common with other socialist countries, it will continue to render the courageous people of Vietnam the assistance they need to repulse the U.S. aggression. The policy of the CPSU and the decisions adopted by the Bucharest meeting of the socialist countries leave no room for doubt on this score.

The Soviet government fully supports the fair program for settlement contained in the well-known four points of the DRV government and the five points of the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam, a program based on the 1954 Geneva agreements.

The U.S. rulers have lately declared more than once that they are ready to improve relations with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries. But what are these declarations worth since the United States keeps on escalating the aggression against one of the states of the socialist community?

The Soviet Union and the other socialist countries of Europe stand firmly on guard for peace and security of the European continent. The revenge-seeking policy doggedly pursued by the government of the Federal Republic of Germany with the backing of the U.S. rulers is creating a dangerous seat of war in the heart of Europe. The aggressive forces of the FRG dream of revising the results of World War II and altering the state frontiers in Europe. These ambitions lie at the root of Bonn's present foreign policy.

A realistic plan for Europe's peaceful development was outlined in the Declaration issued by the Bucharest conference of the Warsaw Treaty countries. It stipulates recognition of the immutability and inviolability of the existing frontiers of the European states, and the complete prevention of the FRG from gaining access to nuclear weapons in any manner.

The Soviet Union advocates all-round cooperation among the countries of Western and Eastern Europe, a relaxation of military tensions in this region, and the dissolution of the mutually opposed military blocks. The time has come for all the European countries to hold talks and to discuss proposals already advanced and other possible proposals.

The consistent policy of peace pursued by our country and other socialist countries has turned out to be much more effective than the reactionary propaganda myth of a "Soviet war threat" to Western Europe. More and more socio-political groups in the European countries now realize the threat to their countries emanating from the Washington-Bonn axis.

The NATO system, built up by the American imperialists in alliance with the reactionary forces of Europe, is in the throes of a deep crisis. Evicted from French soil, its various headquarters are roaming the roads of Europe in search of lodgings.

Until a dependable security system is created, the socialist countries of Europe will keep on strengthening the defensive Warsaw Treaty organization and improving the combat training and cooperation of their armed forces. Their armies have the most modern weapons and excellent morale, and are always ready to defend the gains of the socialist world system, to offer crushing retaliation to any and all aggressors.

Comrades, the Soviet Union firmly supports the struggle of the peoples oppressed by colonial and racist regimes and advocates joint action by all the anti-colonial forces. The day is not far off when the fighting peoples will hoist the flag of freedom in Angola, Mozambique and Oman, and when racist oppression will be wiped out for ever in Rhodesia and the South African Republic. There should be no room on our planet for colonialism and racism.

The Soviet Union is developing relations of friendship and co-operation with the new national states conducting an independent policy. Our relations with the United Arab Republic, Algeria, Syria, Guinea, Mali, Congo (Brazzaville) and other countries are making good headway. We wish every success to the states which have opted for the non-capitalist path of development.

It should be borne in mind that colonialism has left behind quite a few dangerous "time bombs." They make themselves felt now and then, and often lead to conflicts which the imperialists are ever ready to exploit.

This applies to the recent armed conflict between India and Pakistan. The Tashkent meeting of the leaders of the two countries, which culminated in success with the cooperation of the Soviet Government, helped to end the armed conflict between two major Asian countries. It is to be hoped that India and Pakistan will continue to adhere to the principles defined at the Tashkent meeting.

The Soviet Union consistently advocates closer relations with countries of the other social system on the principles of peaceful coexistence. There is the example of the important advance in our relations with France and of the development of contacts with Japan, Italy and Canada. Our cooperation with Finland and Afghanistan has a solid good-neighbor foundation. Lately, relations with Turkey and Iran have been making good progress too.

To promote effective measures for the elimination of existing seats of war danger and to ease international tension, the Soviet government has submitted to the 21st UN General Assembly the question of the implementation of the Declaration of the Impermissibiliy of Interference in the Internal Affairs of States, the protection of their independence and sovereignty, and proposals for the dismantling of foreign military bases in Africa, Asian and Latin American countries, and for the renunciation of moves hampering agreement on the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons.

The Soviet proposals were favorably received by world opinion. One hundred and ten countries attending the 21st General Assembly Session approved the Soviet initiative and passed recommendations on one of the most important problems, the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons.

Comrades, in order to curb the aggressors and to maintain and

promote peace, it is essential above all to promote the unity of the anti-imperialist forces and the cohesion of the world Communist movement, the vanguard in the anti-imperialist struggle.

We regret to note that the Chinese leadership rejects all the proposals made by the CPSU and other fraternal parties for joint action against imperialism, against the U.S. aggression in Vietnam. Under cover of absurd charges of a "deal" between the USSR and the U.S. imperialists, of "restoration" of capitalism in the Soviet Union, it is expanding the political campaign against our country and other socialist countries and stepping up its splitting activities in the world Communist movement. This is the actual meaning of the decisions of the 11th Plenum of the CC, CPC, which has given still greater impetus to the anti-Soviet slander campaign in China.

The Central Committee of our Party has stated time and again that at a time when imperialism is stepping up its attacks against the revolutionary forces and the United States is expanding its aggression in Vietnam, all actions bringing division into the ranks of the fighters against imperialism are particularly dangerous. Speaking plainly, such actions are an immense service to imperialism, to world reaction, our common enemy.

The grave responsibility for such actions falls squarely on the Chinese leadership. What is being done in China today under the signboard of the so-called "cultural revolution" has nothing in common either with revolution, culture, Marxism or with socialist policy. Such is the fair estimation of developments in China contained in statements and resolutions of the leading bodies of Communist Parties that abide firmly by Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism.

The CC, CPSU and the Soviet government consider it their internationalist duty to work for greater friendship with the Chinese people and the Chinese Communists. We trust the time will come when the Communists of China will again join the struggle against imperialism and when the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism will triumph.

The world Communist movement is continuing to develop and to strengthen its positions against the intrigues of the imperialist forces and the impediments created by the splitters.

The overwhelming majority of the fraternal Communist and Workers' parties is unshakably loyal to the principles of Marxism-Leninism, proletarian internationalism and fraternal unity against imperialism and reaction, the common enemy. The frateral Communist parties will undoubtedly make use of every opportunity, of the experience they have gained over many years, of various forms and methods of solving the most important problems of the world Communist movement collectively, and will find still more effective ways of strengthening their unity.

Comrades, half a century ago, when the Bolshevik Party was rallying the people to the Great October Socialist Revolution, there were 240,000 Communists in Russia, and not more than 400,000 in the whole world. In his last public appearance, speaking at a plenary meeting of the Moscow Soviet on November 20, 1922, Vladimir Lenin described the great role of the Party in socialist construction as follows:

"Our Party, a small group of people compared with the whole population of the country, has undertaken this job. This little grain has set out to remake everything, and it will do so."

Those were prophetic words. Lenin's "little grain" has yielded a bumper harvest. Our Party, consisting of more than 12,500,000 Communists, follows the right Leninist course to communism. The Communist and Workers' parties, totalling about 50 million fighters for communism, are growing and gaining strength.

That, comrades, is a great and invincible force.

An anniversary of the October Revolution is a holiday of the whole people. Public and distinctly personal motives intertwine closely in it, as in all our life. Every Soviet citizen and every Soviet family celebrates this holiday as the most joyful, the biggest and the most memorable of all. This time, the anniversary precedes two red-letter dates of world-wide historic impact: the 50th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution and the 100th anniversary of Lenin's birthday.

The Communist Party and all the working people of our country look back with legitimate pride on the path of struggle and victory they have travelled. They enter the 50th year of Soviet power with clear prospects for the future. The socialist emulation movement in tribute to the great anniversary is gaining in scope all over the country. Filled with new creative vigour, the Soviet people are preparing to greet the jubilee of their state with new successes in labor and with economic and cultural achievements.

The coming year will unquestionably be a year of new outstanding accomplishments in the name of the triumph of the great teachings of Marx, Engels and Lenin, of the triumph of the ideas of the October Revolution, the ideas of communism.

Long live the great Soviet people, the builders of communism!

Long live the glorious Communist Party of the Soviet Union, founded by Lenin!

Long live the unity and cohesion of the world Communist and working-class movement!

Long live world peace!

Long live communism!

COMBATING THE PLEBISCITE

DECLARATION* OF THE CC, WORKERS' LIBERATION PARTY OF PUERTO RICO, AUGUST 1966

The Commission which for over two years has been studying the colonial status of Puerto Rico has finally presented its report, which is fatuous and fraudulent, as might have been expected. The report is another trap set by the cynical, hypocritical and tyrannical policy of U.S. imperialism to hold up the anti-colonial fight of the Puerto Rican people.

The Commission was established in reply to the emphatic demands for sovereignty made by all the political parties and other forces of Puerto Rico in rejecting the colonial plebiscite proposed by Kennedy and Munoz Marin in 1962.

The report is an insult to, and a new provocation against, the growing anti-colonial movement in Puerto Rico and the world. Munoz Marin, Sanchez Vilella, Garcia Mendez, Ferre and other colonialist leaders of the Popular Democratic and Republican State parties are carrying the betrayal of their own backers deeper in an effort to impose the very same colonial plebiscite that the people rejected in 1962.

The Status Commission has frittered away about one million dollars on a study that only complicates the political problem to be solved. At present an attempt is being made to impose a plebiscite on which over three million dollars is to be spent. Milions upon millions of dollars of public funds are being squandered that should have been invested in improving suburbs, easing the deep crisis in agriculture, and providing new jobs.

The proposed plebiscite is a U.S. imperialist move to stem the vigorous and massive anti-colonial movement which was not deceived by the attempts to represent ELA† as a "dignified, permanent and effective solution" to Puerto Rico's political problem.

The U.S. imperialists would like to impose the plebiscite using all their economic, political, military and "civilian" power to make believe that the Puerto Rican people "opt of their own free will" for the "Free Associated State" as a permanent and final settlement of the political status.

It seems very doubtful that the anti-colonialist people of Puerto Rico can be defeated. But should the brute force and criminal violence of imperialism win the upper hand over the intelligence of

*Abridged.
†Free Associated State.—Ed.

the Puerto Rican people, this will justify a changeover to guerrilla war as more suited for Puerto Rican conditions.

Depending on new and old factors, we may visualize a period when:

1. The patriotic organizations will form a united bloc to counter the violence of the plebiscite with the defensive violence of the masses.

2. The united youth of Puerto Rico will show extraordinary courage and self-abnegation in accomplishing deeds of exemplary heroism as it combats wars like the one the U.S. Army has imposed on the people of Vietnam.

3. The revolutionary struggle of the working class against greater colonial exploitation by the imperialists will gain in scope.

4. Resistance to and energetic struggle against U.S. monopoly and in defense of Puerto Rico's national patrimony will stiffen.

5. The mass of the people—Popular Democrats, neutrals, and even those who advocate the formation of a state—will realize that they must effectively support the revolutionary patriotic struggle of the Puerto Rican people to foil the fraudulent American maneuver, and must insist on recognizing the independence of Puerto Rico.

The people of Puerto Rico enjoy the explicit support of the Communist Party of the U.S.A., that vanguard of the American working class and people, who will step up their fight for Puerto Rico's independence, a part of their fight against every form of discrimination, exploitation and oppression imposed by their own imperialist rulers.

Thus the Puerto Rican command immense and powerful political, moral and material resources to smash the criminal maneuver of the plebiscite.

This maneuver, aimed at holding an irrational plebiscite in Puerto Rico, is part of a gigantic political, economic, social and cultural struggle going on between two worlds — the new, revolutionary world of national liberation, social progress, socialism and everlasting peace and the old world of reactionary, imperialist capitalism in its death throes, a world based on war and striving to maintain the exploitation of man by man and the oppression of the peoples.

We Communists and Marxist-Leninists, who have always fought loyally for the interests of the working class and the oppressed people, reaffirm our readiness to take such risks as may be necessary to make our humble contribution to the salvation of the dignity and progress of the Puerto Rican people, whom the U.S. imperialists are trying to win over by imposing on them the foul game of the plebiscite.

It is a matter of the utmost urgency to bring about the unity of

all patriotic sections of the people against the plebiscite.
Long live patriotic unity forming the basis of Puerto Rican unity!
Down with the colonial plebiscite!
Stop the criminal war in Vietnam!
Long live an independent and sovereign Puerto Rico!

Juan Santos Rivera,
Chairman

THE GOVERNMENT CRISIS

STATEMENT* BY THE CC, CP OF THE NETHERLANDS

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Netherlands considers that the cabinet crisis is being forced by the big monopolies and the magnates of capital with a view to swinging government policies to the right. The Rightists, encouraged by the submissive readiness of the Cals government, have lately stepped up their attacks. The ministers and the Labor Party group in the Second Chamber did not oppose that. To begin with, they stated concerning the policy on wages that they agreed with the employers, who claim that price increases prevent them from putting up wages by more than 3.5 per cent. As for Vietnam, they back President Johnson's policy.

The big corporations demand an increase in indirect taxes, which is bound to result in higher prices and to put a heavy burden on the population. They want further cuts in government spending on the social services and the municipalities. While they are trying to reduce all useful and indispensable expenditures, the war budget, amounting to 3,000 million guilders, is intact and is being increased.

The Rightist offensive must be repulsed with the utmost energy. The Netherlands must swing to the left. To bring this about, we must strengthen the CPN, the motive power for uniting all left-wing forces, and the most active fighter against reaction.

In present conditions the CPN considers early elections to be necessary. The CC will therefore do everything to launch the election campaign as soon as possible. It calls on the Party organizations to discuss preparations for the elections without delay and to collect election funds on a large scale. An effort should be made to ensure that the voice of the Communists is heard in towns and country and that an appropriate campaign is carried on everywhere.

The stakes at the coming elections will be particularly high. The task is to foil all measures encroaching on the living standards of the workers, middle strata, farmers and all other mental and physical workers.

The primary task at the moment is to win *higher wages and lower prices.* The Veldkamp† fiat on wages must be ended. We need a free policy on wages ensuring that collective agreements specify minimum wages. At every enterprise, wages should tend to go up. Big business, which makes millions in profit, must be forced to

*De Waarheid, Oct. 26, 1966.

†Minister of Social Affairs and Public Health in the Cals cabinet.—Ed.

lower prices, above all on the products of Shell and other oil companies (gasoline, fuel oils and natural gas) of Unilever (margarine, soap and detergents), AKU, and Philips (electric bulbs and other electric appliances).

Pressure must be put on the United States to stop its colonial war of conquest in Vietnam. The Dutch government must sever relations with the puppet government of Saigon.

Cut military spending. The war budget, now exceeding 3,000 million guilders, must be cut by 1,000 million. This is the best "security" for the spending that has to be done in the interest of the people.

No increases in turnover tax, which would hit primarily the workers and farmers and the middle strata. Funds for housing and other social services, which are a pressing need, can be obtained by raising taxes on over-high incomes and profits.

No NATO headquarters in the Netherlands. Turn out von Kielmansegg. The Netherlands must take even more resolute action against the increasingly brutal pressure of the West German militarists, who are using NATO for their own ends.

The CPN is determined to fight with might and main for these demands. It calls on all who are striving for the same objectives to help it and to oppose an alternative to Schmelzer's* Rightist program and to growing compliance with the demands of the Right in the Cals cabinet.

The Central Committee of the CPN calls on all members and friends of the Party to do their utmost in preparing for the elections and to assure the advance of the CPN, the motive power in achieving unity against reaction.

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*Chairman of the Catholic Popular Party in the Second Chamber.—**Ed.**

L. I. BREZHNEV ON THE INTERNATIONAL SITUATION*

You well realize that our advance depends not only on how the economy and culture develop within the country, on how consistently and fully the assignments of our plans are carried out. The international situation as well exerts no small influence on communist construction in the Soviet Union. This is why the 23rd Party Congress devoted such great attention to the elaboration of the foreign policy course for the coming period. The Congress stressed our firm resolution to conduct in the future as well a foreign policy aimed at creating the most favorable conditions for building communism, for strengthening the might and the unity of the socialist system, for rendering every possible support to the struggle of the peoples for national and social liberation, for consolidating peace and averting a new world war, for affirming the Leninist principle of peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems.

Our foreign-policy activities are successfully developing along all these lines.

Quite a lot has been done of late to promote the friendship, cohesion and mutual support of the fraternal socialist countries. The ties between these countries are becoming more and more close, varied and fruitful. The socialist division of labor, increasingly wider exchange of cultural and scientific values and regular consultations in matters of foreign policy are doing a good turn to both our common cause and each of the brother nations.

We can confidently state, comrades, that of late the striving for joint action in the interests of peace and socialism has been manifesting itself with particular force in both the socialist community and the world Communist movement. This was strikingly illustrated by the July conference of the Warsaw Treaty states. The Statement on Vietnam and the Declaration on the Consolidation of Peace and Security in Europe, which were adopted in Bucharest, are documents of great political importance and long-term significance.

The Bucharest Declaration not only discloses the sources of the dangers besetting Europe but also suggests what should be done, and how, to enable Europe, despite the designs of FRG revanchist circles and the interference of extra-European forces, to resolve, at long last, the problem of its own security. The will for peace, which was expressed in a concrete and business-like form, the

*From a speech the General Secretary of the CC, CPSU delivered at a meeting in Tbilisi, capital of the Georgian SSR, on November 1, 1966. **Pravda**, November 2, 1966.

constructive approach to problems of concern to all the European nations, and an objective registration of the considerations of those who abide by a different world outlook, are what has drawn the closest attention throughout the world to the Bucharest Declaration.

Meetings and talks of Party leaders and heads of government of Bulgaria, Hungary, the GDR, Cuba, Mongolia, Poland, Rumania, the Soviet Union and Czechoslovakia have just been held in this country. The participants in these meetings, which proceeded in a warm and frank atmosphere, exchanged opinions on a broad range of international political issues of mutual interest.

You know from press reports that our guests were able to see Soviet scientific and technical achievements, including the latest specimens of the armament of the ground and air forces and of space technology and military rocketry.

Yes, the Soviet people have forged formidable weapons and built up a truly tremendous force providing a dependable guarantee for the security of our country, of our friends and allies. The Land of Soviets has become an impregnable bulwark of peace, freedom and progress for all of mankind.

The Soviet people know full well that all key issues of international relations, above all issues of war and peace and the safety of the peoples, are resolved in bitter struggle, with imperialist reaction opposing the forces of peace, socialism and progress. Of course, today imperialism is not so strong as to go hell-for-leather where it may expect a firm and unanimous rebuff. Today it is acting warily, resorting to tricks and circumventive maneuvering in order to strengthen the positions of reaction and wrest from the peoples their hard-won freedom and independence. We, it stands to reason, must always bear that in mind and keep a watchful eye on imperialism's machinations.

One naturally must also bear in mind that imperialism does not give up the use of naked force and even outright aggression, especially where it is able to discover even the slightest sign of lack of agreement in the anti-imperialist front. An example is afforded by the USA's criminal aggression in Vietnam.

The attitude to unity of action in the face of the imperialist brigandage in Vietnam is today a decisive criterion of international responsibility and devotion to the ideas of progress and revolution.

In this connection one cannot but emphatically denounce the leaders of the Communist Party and the People's Republic of China. Trampling underfoot the principles of proletarian internationalism, the Chinese leaders turned down all proposals of the Soviet Union and other socialist states for coordinated action in support of fraternal Vietnam. The 11th plenary meeting of the Central Committee of the CPC confirmed this position by its decisions. Yet, China is the only socialist country bordering on Vietnam, and its position

in this respect is important for the entire cause of backing the liberation struggle of the Vietnamese people.

As for our foreign policy, it is clear. It is based on proletarian internationalism. The Soviet Union will not give up its efforts for consolidating the unity of the socialist states and will continue to render many-sided assistance and support to fighting Vietnam. We know that the same policy on the Vietnamese question is pursued by other socialist countries.

The unity of the socialist community and of the entire world Communist movement is essential for the successful solution of other international problems to the benefit of the peoples. We are positive, Comrades, that the cause of socialist unity, the cause of peace and the freedom of the peoples will triumph. Our strength lies in unity. Unity is vital for all the socialist countries, for the entire Communist movement. Unity is an important guarantee of fresh victories for the cause of peace, socialism and progress.

Our Party is working consistently to expand and strengthen international cooperation with the broadest political and social forces coming out against imperialism, for the freedom and independence of the peoples. Life has closely bound up the interests of socialism and of the national-liberation movement of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America. The cooperation of these forces in solving cardinal international problems is becoming a major factor of peace and the security of the peoples.

We are firmly convinced that cooperation in the interests of peace and international security is also possible with the governments and political and public leaders of the West who take a sober view of the international situation and who are ready to follow in practice the principles of peaceful coexistence of countries with different social system. To discern in time the new in international life and to understand not only the general course of events but also the concrete tendencies in the policy of different countries, even those from which we are separated by social barriers, is as important as to follow vigilantly the intrigues of the aggressive imperialist forces and to see the dangers created by them.

The Soviet Union is coming out with its program of strengthening international peace, defending the rights of the peoples to a free and independent life, and promoting fruitful cooperation among states, in the United Nations Organization as well. An instance is afforded by the activity of the Soviet delegation to the present UN General Assembly session. As in previous years, the Soviet Union has put up before the participants in the session several important issues ripe for solution. These include the taking of measures to have the UN Declaration on the impermissibility of intervention in the internal affairs of other states undeviatingly abided by and thus

remove one of the main causes of international conflicts. These include also the provision of appropriate conditions for preventing the further spread of nuclear weapons, which directly bears on the destinies of peace and accords with the interests of the whole of mankind. These include, finally, the dismantling of foreign military bases in Asia, Africa and Latin America, without which it is difficult to speak of the real independence and security of many countries in these parts of the world.

The Soviet people are far from underestimating the possibilities of the UN as the most representative of all international organizations. It can and must find the strength to become a useful instrument for peace. The Soviet Union is prepared to go on contributing to the enhancement of the UN's efficacy on the basis of strict observance of its Charter.

The CPSU Central Committee and the Soviet government will firmly pursue in international affairs the Leninist course that was unanimously confirmed at our Party's 23rd Congress. This course is fully understood and supported by all the peoples of our multinational country. We shall never furl the banner raised on high by the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the banner of socialist internationalism and solidarity with all progressive, anti-imperialist forces, the banner of the freedom, equality and security of the peoples.

JOINT STATEMENT*

OF THE COMMUNIST PARTIES OF FRANCE, GUADELOUPE, MARTINIQUE AND REUNION

On September 14-17, in Paris, representatives of the French Communist Party Raymond Guyot, member of the Political Bureau, Jean Burles, member of the Central Committee, and Elie Mignot, a Central Committee official, met with Hégésippe Ibène, member of the Political Bureau of the Communist Party of Guadeloupe, Armand Nicolas, General Secretary of the Communist Party of Martinique, Mathurin Gottin and Albert Platon, secretaries and Political Bureau members of the CPM, Paul Vergès, General Secretary of the Communist Party of Réunion, and Gervais Barret, Max Rivière and Roland Robert, members of the Executive Committee of the CPR. The representatives of the four parties exchanged opinions on the situation in their countries and the means of intensifying the anti-colonial struggle of the peoples of these countries and the solidarity of the French working class and democratic forces with them. The delegations were greeted by Comrade Waldeck Rochet, General Secretary of the FCP.

The meeting proceeded in a warm fraternal atmosphere testifying to the excellent relations existing between the four parties.

Characterizing the new aspects of the present situation, the representatives of the four parties stated that the French colonialists are encountering ever greater difficulties in their attempts to maintain their domination, which demonstrates with increasing clarity the inability of the colonial regime to solve the fundamental problems of the Antilles and Réunion. *Autonomy has become an insistent demand of the peoples in these countries.*

Their economic situation is exceptionally hard. All principal branches of production are in the grip of a severe crisis brought about by the regime of colonial exploitation. Production of sugar has been seriously undermined, and more and more sugar refineries are closed down. Serious difficulties beset the production of bananas, oil-bearing plants, vanilla and pineapples.

Foreign trade is slumping, its deficit well exceeding 50 per cent. The failure of the government's plans is evident. The plans for industrialization remain on paper. The government's attempt to effect an agrarian reform, which presupposes preservation of big land ownership, is falling through. The economy retains its essentially colonial character and suffers from a chronic crisis. This state

*L'Humanité, September 23, 1966.

of things weighs heavily upon the masses and aggravates unemployment which hits particularly hard tens of thousands of young people. The solutions offered by the government, such as mass emigration from the Antilles and Réunion to France and entry into the Common Market, endanger the future of these countries.

Faced with this situation, the masses are stepping up the struggle for economic demands (a powerful strike movement in all sectors, peasants' struggles, and so on) and actions of a political nature in defense of democratic freedoms, against repressions and for autonomy. The anti-colonialist movement has grown in strength and has considerable achievements to its credit (the amnesty, the electoral advance, the successful struggle against repressions, etc.). The release of Paul Vergès and the abolition of all sentences passed on him are victories which should be followed by the immediate lifting of the restrictions concerning his domicile, which would enable him to return to his country, and the cancellation of the proceedings instituted against him in the State Security Court. The representatives of the four parties take this opportunity to express their complete solidarity with Comrade Vergès, respected leader of the people of Réunion.

Popular actions have compelled the authorities to sanction certain social measures and make bigger state capital investments.

But at the same time the French government has resorted to brutal repressions, such as trials and imprisonment of fighters against colonialism, acts of terror, victimization of democratic-minded officials, the seizure of newspaper issues, rigging of elections to install venal politicians in the government's pay.

Thus, while speaking again about the right of peoples to self-determination, the de Gaulle government maintains the colonial regime on the last territories under its trusteeship.

The facts show that the policy of assimilation pursued with regard to the people of the Antilles and Réunion, just as their status as departments of France, run counter to the interests of these peoples and to the spirit of the times.

Like all other peoples, the peoples of Guadeloupe, Martinique and Réunion have the inalienable right to self-determination, and their struggle is part of the world-wide movement for national liberation.

Taking into consideration the aspirations of the masses and the concrete situation in their respective countries, the Communist parties of Guadeloupe, Martinique and Réunion reaffirm their basic demand for the replacement of the existing status by the status of autonomy recognizing the right of the peoples of their countries to manage their own affairs.

This status should envisage, in each of these countries:

—a consultative assembly elected on the basis of universal, free and secret suffrage;

—an executive body accountable to the assembly;

—an organ ensuring cooperation between France and the country concerned.

This changed status is provided for by Article 7 of the Constitution, and it was confirmed quite recently by the President of the French Republic during the incidents in Djibouti.

Autonomy will help the peoples of these countries to effect a genuine agrarian reform and industrialization, utilize all natural resources, raise the standard of living, establish democratic freedoms and ensure the flowering of national culture.

With this aim in view, mass political struggle is being waged in order to mobilize the broad strata of the people and set up a united front of all the anti-colonialist forces.

After the collapse of the assimilation policy there remains only one road to follow: satisfaction of the legitimate demands of the peoples of these countries, granting them an opportunity freely to express their will, and negotiations with genuine representatives of these peoples for the purpose of establishing autonomy.

The demand for autonomy voiced by Guadeloupe, Martinique and Réunion meets with growing support on the part of world public opinion. This support of the progressive forces of the world and above all the solidarity of the working class and all democrats of France with the peoples of the Antilles and Réunion should be intensified.

The Communist parties of Guadeloupe, Martinique and Réunion highly appreciate the solidarity of the working class and all democrats of France with the peoples of the Antilles and Réunion should be intensified.

The Communist parties of Guadeloupe, Martinique and Réunion highly appreciate the solidarity of the French Communist Party with the struggle of the peoples of their countries. By stepping up its opposition to one-man rule, for genuine democracy, the French Communist Party is rendering important support to the peoples of these countries.

The French Communist Party supports the demands of the people from the Antilles and Réunion residing in France and strives to enlist their cooperation in the struggle of the French working class for social progress, peace, democracy and socialism.*

The French Communist Party notes the contribution of the peoples of Guadeloupe, Martinique and Réunion to the struggle against a common adversary, Gaullist power. In the present conditions the actions of the Communist parties of these countries

*A resolution on the problems of these people was adopted and published in **France Nouvelle** on September 2, 1966.

are also a guarantee of success in the struggle against the intrigues of U.S. imperialism in the region.

Having discussed the international situation, the representatives of the Communist parties of France, Guadeloupe, Martinique and Réunion came to the conclusion that *the chief task today is to give every possible support to the heroic people of Vietnam for victory over the U.S. imperialist aggressors.*

They demand discontinuation of the bombing of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and withdrawal of U.S. troops from South Vietnam, and reaffirm their support of the proposals of the DRV government and the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam aimed at putting an end to a conflict which threatens to turn into a nuclear world war.

U.S. imperialism is the chief enemy of independence, freedom and peace, as is evidenced by its subversive actions and interference in Latin America, Africa and Asia. Its threat to Martinique and Guadeloupe becomes more real as it intensifies its penetration into the economy of these countries. The same is happening to Réunion's neighbors (Madagascar, Mauritius, etc.).

Alliance of all the anti-imperialist forces of the world is the surest way to defeat U.S. imperialism in Vietnam and other regions.

That is why the representatives of the four parties reaffirm their agreement with the line defined in the 1957 Declaration and the 1960 Statement, and hail the decisions of the Warsaw Treaty states on rendering aid to Vietnam and on the problems of European security.

The representatives of the four parties declare once again their solidarity with the peoples fighting against colonialism and neo-colonialism.

Paris, September 17, 1966

ON EVENTS IN CHINA*

While our knowledge of the events taking place in the People's Republic of China is incomplete, Chinese publications and the decisions of the 11th Plenum of the CPC, but above all the impact of these events on world politics and the international Communist movement prompt us to take a stand on some of the relevant problems.

It is obvious that recent developments in China have greatly injured the socialist cause. The grave crisis phenomena in the CPC express themselves in an unprecedented form of the personality cult with all its harmful concominants — departure form the standards of Party life, the disruption of inner Party democracy, the substitution of penalties for a discussion of problems, recourse to defamation and abuse. An attempt is made to justify this degeneration by Leftist phrasemongering under the general slogan of the "proletarian cultural revolution."

The line adopted by the Chinese Party leadership supplies the enemies of communism with new means of stepping up their anti-communist activity. We Austrian Communists, too, are aware that this policy of the CPC results in discrediting socialism and communism. This is why we cannot regard the events in China as a purely internal political or Party affairs of China or the CPC. We feel we must state in so many words that we reject the present line of the CPC as running counter to Marxist principles.

The Chinese Party leadership brands all the cultural achievements of the past, all the cultural achievements of other nations, as reactionary and wants to banish them from the cultural life of its people. We explicitly counter this opinion with our own point of view, which implies recognition of past cultural progress of our people and other peoples and, moreover, maintains that the importance of Marxism lies precisely in critically assimilating the results of human thought, carrying them forward and building the new system, socialism, on their basis.

The events in China should also be viewed in connection with developments in Vietnam. The adverse effect of the recent refusal, made clear at the 11th Plenum of the CC CPC, to take part in joint action by all the socialist countries is being aggravated by current events. The outbreaks against the Soviet Union and other socialist countries objectively make things easier for the U.S. aggressor. The aggressor is still the United States, and that country's policy

*Extract from the Political Bureau report to the CC,CP of Austria, presented by Alfred Ruschitzka, member of the PB. Published in **Volksstimme,** Sept. 30, 1966.

in East Asia directly endangers China as well. With regard to China, the USA has always pursued a warlike policy. We consider that the position of the Chinese Party and government aggravates the effects of this policy and the dangers it involves, and that the most effective blow to U.S. intrigue would be close unity of action of all the socialist countries against aggressive U.S. imperialism.

Development since the rise of differences between the CPC, on the one hand, and almost all the other Communist parties, on the other, shows that our orientation in this conflict was correct. Almost all the parties which over a certain period supported and accepted the Chinese comrades' concepts fully or in part have lately renounced that attitude and thereby made a substantial contribution to closer unity of the world Communist movement. Parallel with this, China has lost some of its influence on the revolutionary liberation movement in Asia, Africa and Latin America.

We believe that more active effort to promote world Communist unity is the key to overcoming the harmful effects of the present policies of the Chinese Party leadership.

OPINION OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF BELGIUM

STATEMENT* OF THE CC, CPB ON THE "CULTURAL REVOLUTION" IN CHINA

At its session last August, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China explained the need for the "cultural revolution" by the danger of a return of the bourgeoisie to power, for, according to published resolutions, the initiators of such attempts occupy important posts in the leadership of the party and the state and in the provincial and local party committees.

It should be noted, however, that the appeal to avert the possible danger was, addressed, in fact, neither to the Communist Party, the Young Communist League, nor their organizations as bodies functioning in a normal democratic way.

On the contrary, an unusual methods was used — the formation of a new movement, the "Red Guards," under the direct guidance of army commanders.

DISPARAGEMENT OF CULTURE IS ALIEN TO MARXISM

This movement is urged "not to be afraid of disorder" and to propagate, with the help of the reorganization of the educational system and intellectual activities in all areas, obscurantist slogans which contradict theses previously formulated by the Communist Party of China.

Thus, the last congress of the CPC, held in 1956, condemned recourse to coercion in the field of science and the arts and stressed the need to study and assimilate the valuable knowledge inherited from the past of the Chinese and the other peoples. It recommended full appreciation of the rich heritage of Chinese national culture while pointing out the importance of modern culture and science.

It goes without saying that these propositions have been always unreservedly approved by all Communists, the Belgian Communists included. The same cannot be said about the slogans of the "cultural revolution," which depart from this line.

Indeed, Marxism has since its very inception made it a rule not to ignore any experience, any discovery of human genius.

NEW ENCROACHMENT ON INTERNATIONAL SOLIDARITY

It is not surprising that the appearance of the anti-Marxist

*Drapeau Rouge, October 21, 1966.

slogans of the "cultural revolution" coincided with a new inadmissible outburst of anti-Sovietism and chauvinism.

Ever more violent and impudent accusations are being levelled at the USSR and other socialist countries, at Communist parties and the world working-class movement. The August 12 communique of the CC, CPC rejected any "united front" with the CPSU and the Communist parties maintaining fraternal relations with it.

It is beyond doubt that this attitude of the Chinese leaders impedes the development of the solidarity of the peoples of the world in the face of imperialism and its criminal plans. It hampers the rendering of international aid to the Vietnamese people and provides the U.S. military with new possibilities for maneuvering. Moreover, the line purusued by the initiators of the "cultural revolution" distorts the image of China and helps the imperialists to obscure the revolutionary significance of its economic and social achievements.

U.S. MILITARISTS ARE RESPONSIBLE FOR THE AGGRAVATION OF INTERNATIONAL TENSION

The so-called "cultural revolution" is indicative of deep ferment in the public opinion of People's China. Besides, it is directly connected, in its extremely chauvinistic manifestations, with the present aggravation of the international situation.

It is important to establish who is responsible for this.

The responsibility rests with the U.S. militarists, who are setting Southeast Asia on fire, enslaving and massacring the people of Vietnam and deliberately taking the risk of provoking a third world war by their policy of escalation in North Vietnam, on the borders of People's China.

In addition, it is the U.S. military who constantly oppose the admission of People's China into the United Nations, trying to put its government in a position compelling it to give an isolationist reply to an unjustifiable quarantine.

It should be added that all Belgian governments have docilely followed the United States in this respect. Therefore Harmel's speech in the United Nations defending U.S. war in Vietnam has no value.

THE CHIEF TASK: DEFEAT U.S. POLICY

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of Belgium, while resolutely condemning the slogans and orientation of the "cultural revolution" in China, considers that the chief task is to defeat the U.S. militarist policy.

The people and the Communist Party of China can find the

strength needed to rectify the present errors and return to their place in the great family of the workers and peoples of all the world, side by side with the peoples of the USSR and the other socialist countries, with all the friends of peace.

To defeat the U.S. militarist policy, to demand the recognition of People's China by the UNO and Belgium, to put an end to the dirty war in Vietnam, to work for peaceful coexistence means at the same time to help the people and the Communists of China in achieving this goal.

FROM THE COMMUNIQUE OF THE 3RD SESSION OF THE BOARD OF THE SOCIALIST UNITY PARTY OF GERMANY—WEST BERLIN

The Board of the SUPG—West Berlin resolutely repudiated the attacks of the CPC leaders on the general line of the Communist and Workers' parties and particularly on the CPSU. This splitting policy is doing gravest harm to the joint struggle of the progressive forces against the U.S. aggression in Vietnam. Thereby the CPC leadership is directly helping world imperialism, including the anti-Communist and anti-Soviet forces in our city. Our Party will do its utmost to contribute to the consolidation of the unity of the Communist and Working-Class movement on the basis of the statements of the Moscow conferences of 1957 and 1960.

*Die Wahrheit, October 18, 1964.

STATEMENT*

OF THE POLITICAL BUREAU OF THE CC, SYRIAN CP, IN CONNECTION WITH THE DECISIONS OF THE 11TH SESSION OF THE CC, CPC

The Political Bureau of the CC of the Syrian Communist Party has examined the events taking place in China following the 11th Session of the CC, CPC under the watchword of the "great proletarian cultural revolution", as well as the various aspects of the "Red Guard" activities to accomplish this "revolution."

First, hostility is being incited towards the Soviet Union, the homeland of socialism, for the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the glorious Party of Lenin, and ever more false accusations are levelled at the Soviet Union's policy.

Second, the split is being deepened within the world Communist movement, in the family of socialist countries. The Chinese leaders declare their refusal to take joint action in rendering assistance to the embattled people of Vietnam as well as in any other field. They refuse to meet with representatives of fraternal Communist parties, stir up hostility towards them, and intensify subversive and splitting activities in some of these parties.

Third, attempts are being made to present "Maoism," i.e., Mao Tse-tung's ideas, as the motive force of development of not only China, but of the whole world in our time. Serious efforts are being made to replace Marxism-Leninism by "Maoism," which is alleged to be "the Marxism of the epoch." The "Red Guards" declare their intention to spread their activities outside China.

The Political Bureau of the CC, SCP is greatly alarmed by the dangerous adventuristic trend of developments in China. It sees in this affirmation of a spirit of crude chauvinism and violation of the principles of proletarian internationalism, which runs counter to the tenets of Marxism-Leninism, does grave harm to the heroic Vietnamese people, to the cause of the national liberation of all peoples, including our people and the other Arab peoples, and to the cause of world peace, weakens the anti-imperialist front, and benefits the U.S. and other colonialists.

The road along which the "Red Guard" movement has been developing has led to dangerous events which begin to threaten the existence of the Communist Party of China itself, the foundations and principles of its structure and activity. This movement

*Nidal al-Shaab, October 1966.

disparages the historical role of the working class allied with the peasantry. It will be no exaggeration to say that these events endanger the socialist gains in China.

These actions, which contradict the principles of Marxism-Leninism pertaining to cultural revolution, provide the apologists of capitalism with a pretext for discrediting the noble ideas of Marxism-Leninism regarding the value of everything outstanding and useful human genius and civilization have achieved throughout history.

A tremendous historical responsibility devolves on the Chinese leaders for the splitting activities in the world Communist movement, for their attempts to weaken the alliance and cooperation between the main revolutionary forces—the socialist world system, the national-liberation movement, and the working-class movement.

The Chinese leaders' attempts to weaken trust in the Soviet Union are doomed. The Syrian and other Arab peoples know from experience the importance of the Soviet Union's political support of their liberation struggle and of the generous assistance it has given them.

Expressing their profound regret over the events taking place in China, and denouncing the Chinese leaders' stand, the Syrian Communists believe that the Chinese people and the Communist Party of China are capable of putting an end to this abnormal situation, overcoming the existing difficulties and returning to China its important role in the family of socialist countries and in the worldwide common struggle against imperialism.

LEBANESE COMMUNISTS CONDEMN CHINESE LEADERS' DISRUPTIVE AND ADVENTURIST ACTIVITIES

STATEMENT* OF THE POLITICAL BUREAU, CC, LCP

The Lebanese Communists reaffirm their principled and resolute rejection and vigorous condemnation of the splitting, subversive activities and new deviations of the Chinese leaders and the "Red Guards," which are camouflaged by the "great proletarian cultural revolution" and which have assumed an extremely serious character, especially after the 11th plenary session of the CC, CPC. In reaffirming this stand, which they have proclaimed repeatedly from the outset of the present events in People's China, they are guided by the supreme interests of the Communist movement, the entire world revolutionary movement in general and the Arab progressive movement in particular, and proceed from the need for continued struggle against the intensification of these alarming phenomena, which are utilized by the imperialists and reactionaries to the detriment of the liberation struggle of the peoples and to the cause of peace, progress and socialism.

As is evident from the goings-on in China, the Chinese leaders, persisting in the pursuit of their special line opposed to the common Marxist-Leninist line of the world Communist movement, have decided to take new practical steps in estranging the CPC from the army of Communists and the other contingents of the world revolutionary movement, in estranging the Chinese people from the family of the socialist countries and creating a deep gulf between them and the Soviet Union and its people.

The communique of the 11th plenary session of the CC, CPC, the speeches and pronouncements of the Chinese leaders, the "Red Guard" outrages all show that the matter is not limited to the Chinese leaders' departure from the basic principles of Marxism-Leninism. What we are witnessing is violation of elementary rules of logic and common sense, a peculiar hysteria in both the theoretical and practical fields which has nothing in common either with the revolutionary spirit, scientific socialism or cultural revolutions, which allegedly is being accomplished.

The facts show that the real purpose of this "cultural revolution" is to intensify the hysterical campaign against the Soviet Union, the other socialist countries and the overwhelming majority of the

*Al-Akhbar, October 16, 1966.

Communist parties of the world, seriously aggravate the tension between Pople's China and the Soviet Union by means of anti-Soviet provocations and demonstrations and by the pursuit of the anti-Soviet line which has long since been adopted by the Chinese leaders as an obligatory official policy of the entire Chinese state, of the whole party and the people, and persecute all party leaders and rank-and-file Communists and other Chinese citizens who disagree with this policy.

This splitting policy has found one of its most serious manifestations in the stubborn rejection of the proposals of the CPSU and other fraternal parties concerning joint action in the struggle against U.S. aggression in Vietnam and against other acts of imperialist adventurism and violence, in the increased efforts of the Chinese leaders to split the Communist movement and weaken the anti-imperialist front. The Chinese party and state leaders' categorical rejection before the public of the country — the communique, speeches and official documents — of unity of action with the Soviet Union and other socialist states, with the Communist and Workers' parties and the other anti-imperialist forces of the whole world in rendering aid to the people of Vietnam in their grim struggle against the aggressors, actually signifies that they desert the valiant people of Vietnam fighting aggression by the biggest imperialist power, that they intend to go on impeding and holding up the transit of ever-increasing military and economic aid to Vietnam, first and foremost from the Soviet Union and also from other socialist countries.

Therefore the Lebanese Communists, just as the overwhelming majority of the Communists of all the world, are convinced that the disgraceful stand the Chinese leaders have adopted on this sacred matter is a tremendous obstacle to the pursuit by the socialist countries of the whole world of a common policy aimed at putting a speedy end to the Americans' barbaric actions in Vietnam, and that it increasingly harms the interests of the Vietnamese people and world socialism, and greatly benefits the U.S. imperialists and all enemies of socialism, peace and progress.

In addition, the "Red Guards' " shocking outrages in the name of the "cultural revolution" constitute a new phase of the deification of Mao Tse-tung, of the cult of his ideas and pronouncements, a new phase of the negation of Marxism-Leninism and its replacement by Maoism, the negation of proletarian internationalism and the principles of proletarian revolutionary solidarity, the propagation of blind chauvinism and fierce nationalism.

It is quite clear from official Chinese reports on the "development of the cultural revolution" and the "heroic feats of the Red Guards" that detachments of youngsters and students are gradually replacing party organizations and committees, youth organizations

and the government apparatus, enjoying unlimited powers in violation of the law and socialist democracy. In the name of "struggle against those in authority in the party and the state who are taking the capitalist road," they engage in terrorism, punish and vilify many party, state and military leaders, economic executives and workers in science and culture, disband party organizations and fully terminate their activities. This is a rude violation of the Leninist principles of party building and intra-party life, subversion of the role of the party and the working class and of the party organization itself. These actions open the doors wide before anarchists, opportunists and all kinds of irresponsible elements who are given an opportunity to sow alarm and confusion in various areas of public life, in the economy, in construction and production, which is fraught with serious consequences for socialist construction in China.

In view of this, the Lebanese Communists declare, together with the Communist and Workers' parties of all continents, that what is fraudulently called the "great proletarian cultural revolution" has absolutely nothing in common with the principles, ideas and norms of Communist activity and with the laws of building socialist society, and runs directly counter to the Marxist-Leninist attitude to culture and the cultural heritage. It contradicts the laws, traditions and experience of building socialist culture. What the Chinese leaders are doing in this field is nothing but an insult to and mockery of the ideals of the world proletariat, including the ideals of culture and morality. The struggle against the ideological, literary and artistic heritage created in the course of centuries by the geniuses of mankind, who included the finest sons of the Chinese people, was invented by anarchists and enemies of culture and condemned by the founders of Marxism-Leninism, who have sharply criticized it for decades. The Chinese leaders are assuming grave responsibility by discrediting the concepts and ideals of socialism and providing imperialism and reaction with food for anti-socialist propaganda.

It is evident from the above that the Marxist-Leninists and other revolutionaries of the whole world cannot remain silent in face of the dangerous changes taking place in People's China; they cannot but take a firm principled stand on them. The issue is not one of internal matters which concern only the Chinese state and the CPC, but of matters of principle which are of vital importance for the Communists and all the world forces of socialism and progress and which directly bear on the interests of the world revolutionary liberation movement, the interests of the peoples and countries, Arab countries included, which are waging a hard struggle against imperialist intervention, conspiracies and aggression, for freedom and progress.

Therefore the Lebanese Communists, who resolutely and firmly stand on the side of the overwhelming majority of the Communist parties of the world, strengthen their solidarity with the Party of Lenin and with the Soviet Union, the first and greatest socialist state of the world, and come out against the lies and slander, hostile provocations and outrageous demonstrations to which the Chinese leaders resort in an attempt to camouflage their divisive, chauvinistic and their special policy whose failure and bankruptcy are confirmed by the experience of more than seven years. They bear all the responsibility before the Chinese people, the peoples of all the world and history for the tremendous harm they are doing to the cause of peace, liberation and socialism, to the cause of the heroic Vietnamese people by rejecting joint struggle against imperialism and continuing their provocative actions aimed at splitting the family of the socialist countries, the Communist movement and the Communist and Workers' parties.

The Lebanese Communists are deeply convinced that despite differences in convictions all the revolutionary and anti-imperialist forces of the world have begun to realize what damage the Chinese leaders' attitude and actions are causing to their present struggle, to the cause of freedom and progress for which they are fighting, and that this will prompt them to uphold still more firmly the principles of unity, solidarity and jiont struggle against imperialism and reaction.

MEANING OF "GREAT CULTURAL REVOLUTION" IN CHINA*

The "great proletarian cultural revolution" now being accomplished in China, the removal of prominent public figures from responsible posts in the Communist Party and the government, and the "purge" tirelessly conducted by the Chinese "Red Guards" have become subjects of extensive discussion all over the world. As friends of the Chinese people, we would like, without adopting a biassed stand, to call attention to the shortcomings and vices which have become manifest in the development in China. We consider it to be our duty to do so.

We find some roots of the current events in China in the attitudes expressed by the Chinese government and the Communist Party back in 1957. Gradually, first in concealed form and then more and more openly, hostility began to be displayed towards the Soviet Union. Soon followed the shameless and ridiculous denial of the fact that the Soviet Union and other socialist countries had rendered unselfish aid to China and cooperated with it. It was asserted also that Chinese policy alone could promote world progress. Hence the intolerance of the ideas and views held by others. Now high-sounding Chinese doctrines have began to be propagated in all their aspects as an axiom valid for the whole world.

Moreover, the Chinese egoistically rejected joint actions to help the people of Vietnam urged by the world's progressives, although they realized that a united anti-imperialist front would vastly benefit the Vietnamese. They went wherever they could to slander the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, doing so only because these countries rendered assistance and support to the Vietnamese people. They continue to do so today. Will not this stand play into the imperialists' hands Would not it be better if the efforts of the people who are led in demonstrations against their sincere well-wisher, the Soviet Union (more intensive demonstrations than those against the imperialists), were used to help the people of Vietnam?

But that is not all. Behind the cover of slogans of struggle against "revisionists" and defense of the principles of Marx and Lenin, the Chinese leaders have turned against the policy and line of the world Communist movement adopted by all the Communist parties.

A study of the facts confirms that the Chinese leadership is seeking to instill in the Chinese people a spirit of blind chauvinism and hostility towards the Soviet Union.

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*Samiksha (Nepal) October 19, 1966.

Strange as it may seem, Chinese policy is indirectly helping the imperialists and their henchmen in their attempts to undermine peace, and it harms the interests of the Chinese people themselves. And is it not possible that the Americans continue their barbaric brutal war in Vietnam because they see that the Chinese leaders, in their stubborness and egoism, will not unite with the other Communists in a common front against imperialism?

For how long will the Chinese ignore reality? It is a sad fact that the peoples of all the world have to suffer only because the Chinese leaders, who lack foresight, refuse to see the facts as they are. It is hard to predict how the Chinese "cultural revolution" will develop, or how long it will last. But it is our sincere wish that the people's revolution and its gains will not be jeopardized and that the reactionary forces will not take advantage of the present action of the Chinese leaders.

STATEMENT*

OF THE PERUVIAN COMMUNIST PARTY

1. CULMINATION OF AN ERRONEOUS LINE

. . . The events described above are merely a culmination of the activities which the CPC leaders have been conducting for several years now against the unity of the world Communist movement and the socialist camp. What is worse still, is that these activities are carried out on a vast scale at a time when the U.S. military aggression against the people of Vietnam gravely endangers world peace, which calls more urgently than ever for fraternal cooperation of all anti-imperialist, progressive and revolutionary forces. We Peruvian Communists regret that in such circumstances the plenary session of the CC, CPC should have adopted decisions tending to increase the international isolation of that party. We also condemn the anti-Soviet and anti-communist outrages of the "Red Guards", who replace discussion of disagreements on the ideological level by the use of physical force, thus flouting the Marxist-Leninist principles and norms enunciated in the 1957 and 1960 statements of the Communist and Workers' parties.

2. WHO ARE REVISIONISTS?

The persons responsible for such actions claim that what is going on is a "great proletarian cultural revolution" directed against imperialism, reactionary and bourgeois survivals in ideology and against everything they call "modern revisionism." But all this is just a pretext.

Marxism teaches us that in every revolution the mentality of people and such attributes of the superstructure as ideology and culture are the slowest to change. A complete reshaping of the people's mind is possible only through constant education and persuasion after the old relations of production have been thoroughly changed. Marxism teaches us also that no revolution discards the valuable achievements of the past, and that the socialist revolution, far from ignoring or destroying these achievements, assimilates and develops them in order to make them the possession of the masses, to place them at the service of progress, to utilize them in promoting the well-being and culture of the people. Marx, Engels, Lenin and our Jose Carlos Mariategui, who founded scientific social-

*Abridged from **Unidad**, October 7 1966.

ism and worked to translate it into reality, were also great connoisseurs of aesthetic values: avid readers of Shakespeare, Goethe and Balzac, admirers of Beethoven, Mozart, Chopin and Haydn. They thought it inconceivable that the proletarian cultural revolution should consist in destroying the creations of these great artists. Nor did they consider that this revolution can be accomplished by violent means, by decrees. The latter proposition applies especially to China, where the laying of the *material* foundations of socialism has not been completed, where the painful legacy of the past still makes itself felt and capitalist relations of production survive. Equally untenable is the argument that this "cultural revolution" is directed against imperialism, since objectively its consequences are of advantage only to imperialism. How else can one explain the fact that in a socialist county diplomatic representatives of other socialist countries are assailed, and this at a time when the U.S. imperialists are subjecting Vietnam's towns and villages to barbaric bombings? Is not this testified to by the campaign of slander and vituperation against the Cuban revolution and its most outstanding leaders which the Chinese leaders and their "Red Guards" are prosecuting while the U.S. is intensifying its interventionist offensive in Latin America? Furthermore, the terroristic activity of the "Red Guards" and the naive pretext under which it is conducted provide imperialist and reactionary propaganda, eager as it is to distort the essence and undermine the prestige of socialism, with a valuable means of sowing confusion.

On the other hand, it is not true that the purpose of the notorious "cultural revolution" is to destroy bourgeois ideology. First, it is common knowledge that ideas can be effectively combated only with the help of other ideas, second, it is an undeniable fact that in the given instance the chief ideological factors behind the "Red Guards" activity are the personality cult and chauvinistic and racialist nationalism, i.e., the most reactionary and even fascist-like manifestations of bourgeois ideology.

As regards the struggle allegedly being waged against "modern revisionism", the following has to be said. This dirty slander against the CPSU and the world Communist movement, and the very idea of combating such a deviation—should it exist—with the help of street rallies, renaming of streets, is both impermissible and absurd. Moreover, we are faced with a paradoxical situation when it is precisely the Chinese leaders who, acting in this way, adhere to a *revisionist* attitude towards Marxism-Leninism, an attitude running directly counter to our doctrine, as is evident from their attempt to alter in a subjectivist way objective laws of socialism. This attitude is also reflected in the attempt to substitute the "Red Guards," a youth movement of heterogenous class composition, for the working class and its Communist party as the leading force

and vanguard of the revolution, and even to counterpose this youth movement to the working class and its party. This signifies, both in theory and in practice, replacement of the Marxist-Leninist concept of class struggle, the dictatorship of the proletariat and the party of the proletariat, by the typically petty-bourgeois concept of generations, by Blanquism and caudillism.

3. FOREIGN POLICY OF THE USSR—POLICY OF THE WORLD COMMUNIST MOVEMENT

The Peruvian Communist Party supports the foreign policy of the USSR which is in complete agreement with the line of the world Communist movement as a whole. It is not only impermissible but has to be condemned as slander and an example of inconsistency that, after the Chinese leaders have turned down one after another all proposals for joint action in rendering effective aid to Vietnam, the resolution of the 11th plenary session of the CC, CPC should shamelessly allege that the foreign policy of the CPSU is aimed at "safeguarding imperialist and colonialist domination in the capitalist world and restoring capitalism in the socialist world." Day after day the facts of life refute this assertion. Who else if not the Soviet Union and other socialist countries have been supplying the heroic fighters of Vietnam with the most diverse and most up-to-date weapons and equipment needed for defense? What is the significance of the decision of the last conference of the Warsaw Treaty states regarding intensification of military, economic, political and moral support for the valiant people of Vietnam, including the sending—should their government find this necessary —of volunteers? Whose interests if not those of socialism, the national-liberation movement and the class struggle of the workers, peasants and oppressed nations, are promoted by the policy of peaceful coexistence as opposed to the policy of brinkmanship, intervention and aggression pursued by the imperialist war merchants? Is it that fulfilment of plans to facilitate and stimulate socialist construction in each of the socialist countries, the laying of the material and technical foundations of communism in the USSR and the effective assistance to the countries getting rid of the imperialist yoke signify "restoring capitalism in the socialist world?" Do not the economic reform measures based on socialist relations of production and undertaken to ensure constant growth of the well-being of the masses conform to the socialist principle "from each according to his abilities, to each according to his work?"

4. IDEOLOGICAL ROOTS AND MATERIAL CAUSES

In view of the utilization of all these facts by hostile propaganda and the confusion which they may cause among the masses, the Political Commission of the Peruvian Communist Party considers it necessary to declare that the present ideas and pronouncements of the CPC leaders, and the methods and forms used by the Chinese "Red Guards" are absolutely alien to Marxism-Leninism. Their emergence is due solely to the gradual departure of these leaders from the Communist teachings in not only what concerns the strategy and tactics of the world revolution, but also in what concerns the essence of the genuine socialist cultural revolution, the concept of the party and the principles of its activity.

Confronted with the resounding failures of the "big leap" resulting from their subjectivist approach to socialist construction and from the personality cult expressed in the deification of Comrade Mao and in the idea of his infallibility, these leaders failed to rectify their errors in a self-critical way. On the other hand, bourgeois nationalism drove them into isolation from other socialist countries, specifically the Soviet Union. Thus, they voluntarily reduced the material possibilities essential to overcoming the crisis. This has led to the contradictory state of things when the principal economic law of socialism demanding constant raising of the material and cultural level of broad masses of working people cannot operate in the Chinese economy, although socialist relations of production have been developed and taken root in its chief branches. This contradiction confronted the Chinese leaders with a crucial dilemma: either to return, resolutely, with revolutionary integrity and courage, to the correct road, the road of fidelity to Leninism and proletarian internationalism leading to the victory of the revolution, or, on the contrary, to resort to suppressing popular discontent by government terror and "Red Guard" violence. Unfortunately, the latter road has been chosen, thus preventing proper application of the principle of democratic centralism and observance of socialist democracy, which is replaced by autocratic and militarist forms of party and state leadership.

However, since such things are not to be observed in the other socialist countries (with the exception of Albania), whose peoples are victoriously marching along the socialist path firmly abiding by Marx's and Lenin's precepts and the decisions of the international conferences of 1957 and 1960, the fury of the Chinese leaders is vented, on an international plane, in a violent campaign of slander against the USSR, the socialist camp and all Communist parties. It is manifested in numerous dogmatic and adventuristic attempts to apply their line to the national-liberation movements in Asia, Africa and Latin America. These attempts which ended in bloody fiasco,

had grievous consequences in Algeria, Indonesia and other countries, creating favorable conditions for a spate of pro-imperialist military coups aimed at negatively changing the balance of world forces and lessening the influence of the socialist camp and the Communist parties in the liberation struggle of the peoples, to the benefit of the sinister militarist plans of the imperialists. Here in Peru this is reflected in the encouragement the Chinese leaders give to disorienting and splitting activities among the Left forces and especially among the students. These activities are conducted by the Chinese leaders' followers from Bandera Roja and other groups representing left-wing disruptive opportunism, which has broken up, in turn, into a multitude of factions. They, too, objectively play into the hands of the U.S. colonialists and their agents from the APRA coalition and the government.

Political Commission, CC, PCP
September 1966.