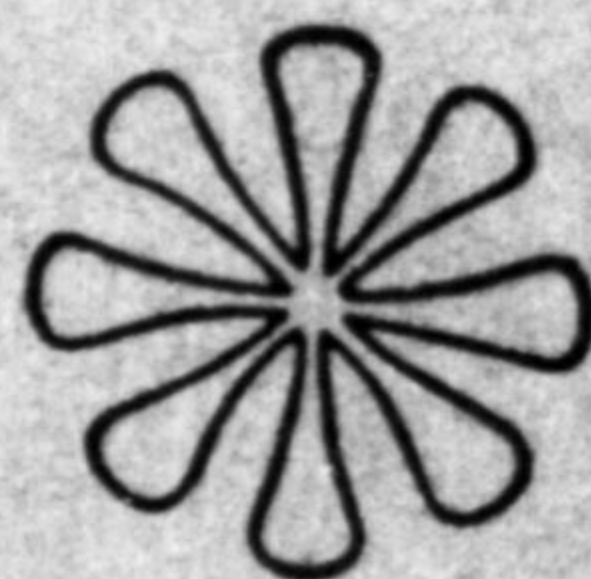
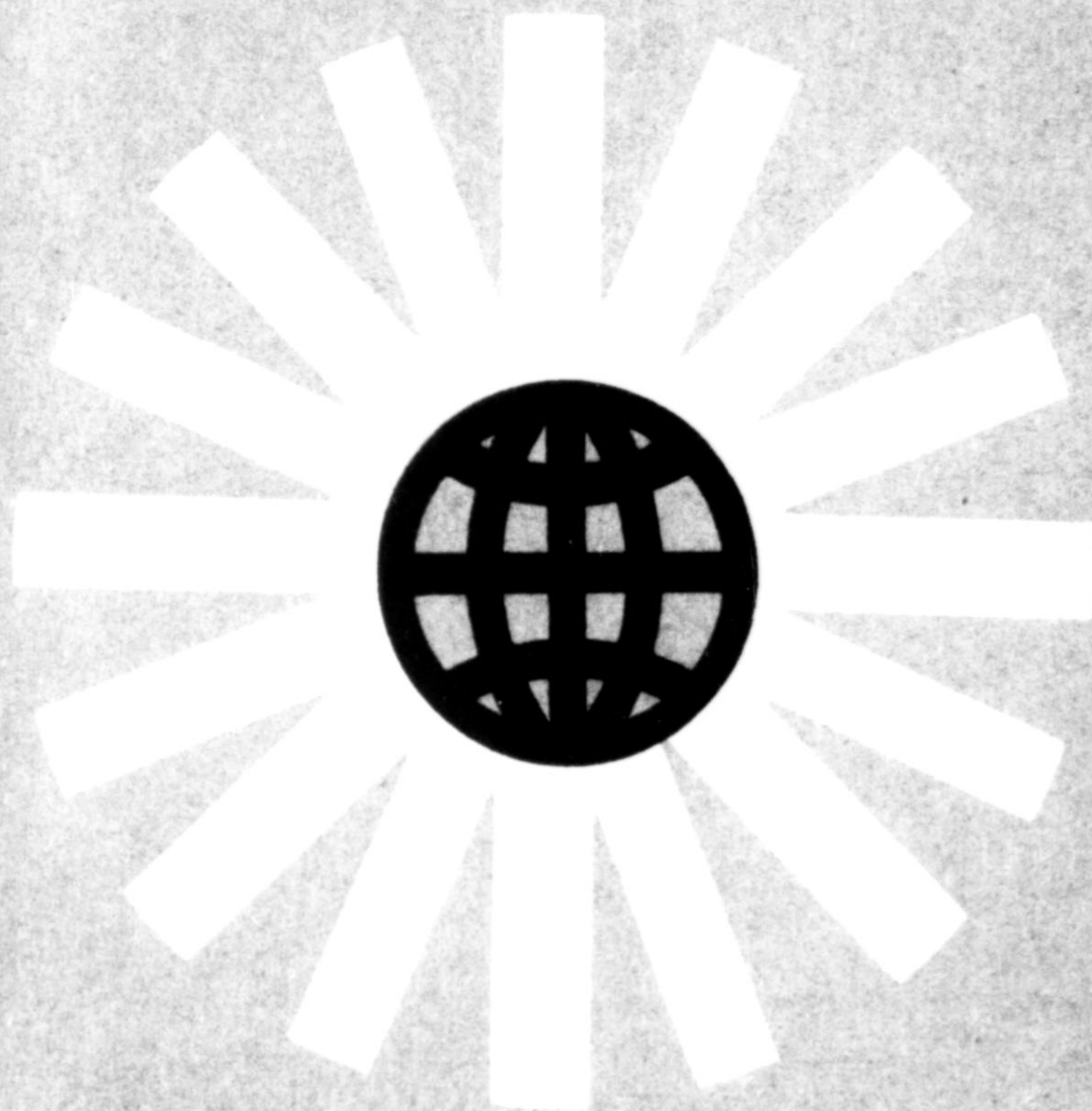


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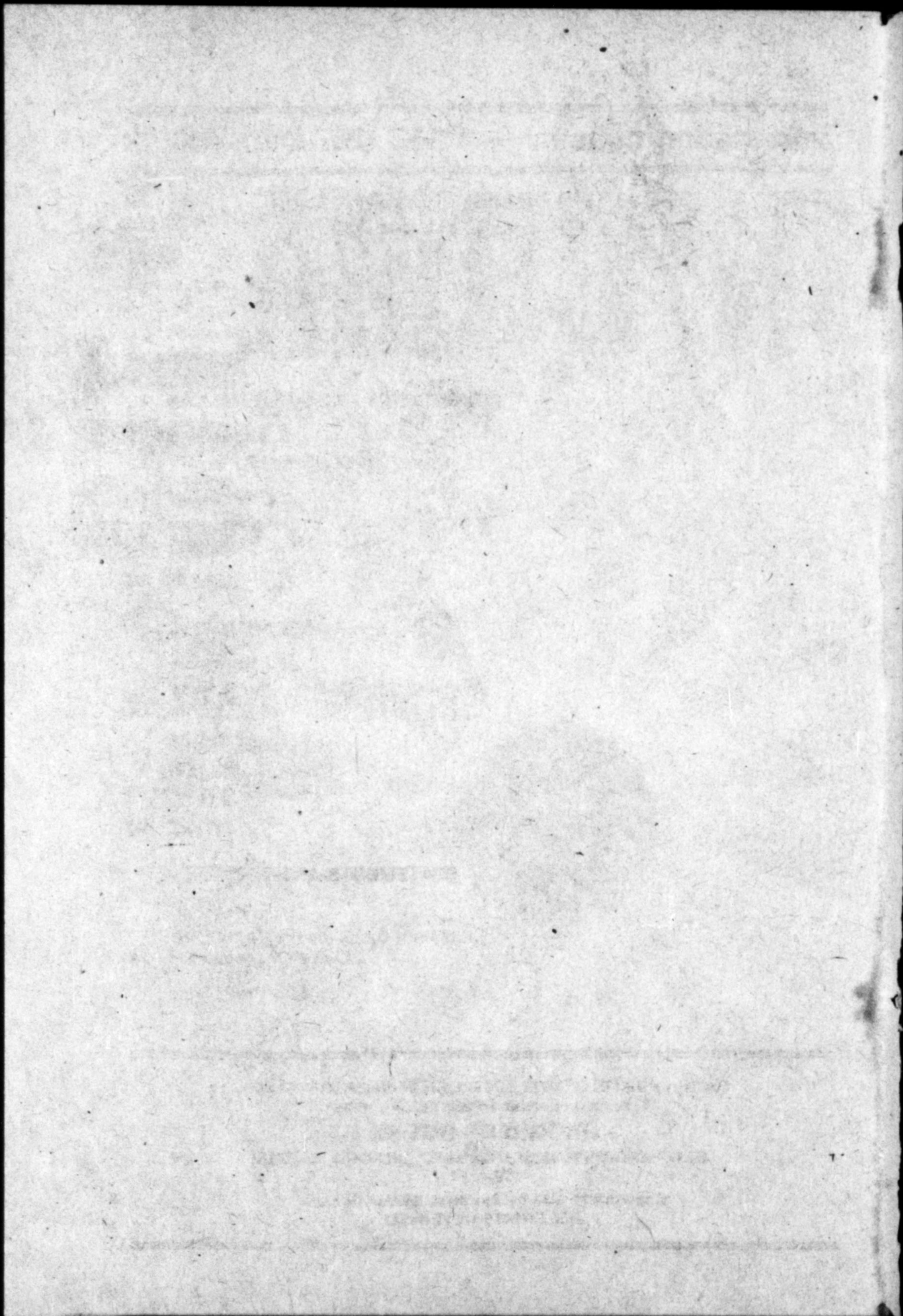
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**AGAINST
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FOR THE FURTHER SUCCESS OF THE COMMUNIST MOVEMENT

THE FIFTH ANNIVERSARY OF THE 1969 INTERNATIONAL MEETING OF COMMUNIST AND WORKERS' PARTIES

It is five years since the International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties was held in Moscow in June 1969. Having analyzed the world situation of the late 60s, that conference of Marxist-Leninist parties arrived at agreed evaluations and conclusions on the cardinal issues of social development. The conference worked out a specific and realistic platform for united anti-imperialist action and defined ways of rallying the Communist movement on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism.

"The Meeting was a major advance in strengthening the international unity of the Communists and in consolidating all the anti-imperialist forces," Leonid Brezhnev said at the 24th Congress of the CPSU. "It did a great deal to develop a number of propositions of Marxist-Leninist theory applicable to the present situation. This broadest and most representative form of relationship between the fraternal Parties has met the needs of the Communist movement as an international force."

Subsequent events have demonstrated that the Meeting not only marked a new phase in the development of the Communist movement, but also played a historic role in the life of mankind and became a major factor contributing to the current shift in world affairs for the benefit of all peoples. Experience has proved the correctness of the main assessments and conclusions of the Meeting and the effectiveness of its program for united action by the progressive forces in the struggle against imperialism, for peace and international security. In a historically short period it has been proved possible to achieve major results in the key trends of the anti-imperialist struggle indicated by the Meeting.

Over this period the CPSU, together with other fraternal Parties, has been active in putting the ideas of the Meeting into practice. The

Editorial from June 5 *Pravda*, the daily paper of the CPSU Central Committee.

important measures which the Communist Party and the Soviet state have carried out in the process of building the foundations of a communist society and in the battle for peace, freedom and social progress of all peoples, have made a tangible contribution to the common effort of the world's Communists.

I

The 1969 Meeting assembled at a moment when a complex period of postwar development was drawing to a close. A new world balance of forces took shape during this difficult struggle. Socialism was increasingly asserting its role as the decisive factor of human progress. Imperialism lost its historical initiative. Its inability to rely on military and political superiority over socialism and on undermining the socialist system became apparent. Real preconditions were arising for a changeabout in world politics from cold war and sharp military and political confrontation of the two world systems to détente and the widespread recognition of the principles of peaceful coexistence.

As a result, favorable conditions appeared for the further advance of all revolutionary and progressive forces. The outstanding significance of the 1969 Meeting is that it directed the attention of the Communists and all anti-imperialist forces towards taking advantage of these possibilities in the interests of peace and international security, democracy and social progress.

The Meeting placed on record that the socialist world was entering a new phase in which its achievements were decisive for ensuring the superiority of the forces of peace, democracy and socialism over imperialism. The events of the past five years have made it abundantly clear that the socialist community is the main force in defending world peace and in the anti-imperialist struggle of the peoples.

The economic and political strength of the USSR and the entire socialist community has increased. From 1968 to 1973 the average annual growth in industrial production in the CMEA countries was 7.9 per cent, as against 5.3 per cent in the advanced capitalist countries. In terms of its economic potential world socialism is now ahead of both the United States and the West European countries. Big steps have been taken towards the further consolidation of the economic, political and ideological cooperation of the countries of the socialist community. A Comprehensive Program of Socialist Economic Integration has been worked out and is being successfully implemented. An effective mechanism has been set up to frame a common political course, such as regular meetings of the Political Consultative Com-

mittee of the Warsaw Treaty, meetings of Party leaders of socialist countries in the Crimea, other multilateral and bilateral meetings, etc.

There has been a strengthening of the internationalist solidarity of the socialist countries with all sections of the working-class and communist movement and with all the forces fighting for national liberation and social progress, for democracy and peace. The scope of the ideological and political influence of the new society has widened. The ideas of socialism are increasingly attracting the masses throughout the world and inspiring them to fight for their interests and bring about a revolutionary change. The concerted policy of the socialist countries has made up for the damage done to the political positions and moral prestige of socialism by the disruptive tactics of the Maoists. The Peking leaders who have joined forces with imperialism have failed to prevent the growth of socialism's influence in the world.

The socialist countries are playing an increasingly important role in the matter of war and peace, which is the burning issue of the day. The Peace Program adopted by the 24th Congress of the CPSU and its practical implementation are having a far-reaching effect on world developments.

The foreign-policy initiatives of the socialist states and the peace offensive launched by the Soviet Union and the fraternal socialist countries have brought about a change in the world's political climate and paved the way toward détente and a positive solution of a number of acute international problems.

The 1969 Meeting made a thorough assessment of the essence of present-day imperialism and of its new phenomena and contradictions. The past few years have seen a further weakening of the positions of imperialism and an aggravation of its political and economic instability. As the Meeting foresaw, the ruling quarters in the West have been unable to curb the anarchic forces of the capitalist market through state monopoly control. A deep and all-embracing crisis of state monopoly capitalism has become more apparent than ever. Unprecedented peace-time inflation, the soaring cost of living, monetary upheavals, an acute energy crisis, rising unemployment and discord in the relations between the United States, Western Europe and Japan and within the Common Market, are all characteristic of the capitalist world today.

The increasingly acute social contradictions arising in capitalist society are directly reflected in the unprecedented upsurge of mass actions by the working people. The total number of strikers in West-

ern Europe, North America and Japan in the five years since the 1969 Meeting has reached 225 million as against 164 million in the previous five-year period. Distrust of the masses toward the policies of the ruling circles and toward the traditional bourgeois institutions of government has grown sharply. Beset by internal contradictions, imperialism is compelled to retreat, maneuver and adapt itself to the changing situation.

The past five years have also confirmed the conclusion of the 1969 Meeting on the growing role of the national-liberation movement and the main tendencies in its development. The importance of the social aspects of the struggle for national liberation has now become even more pronounced. Taking advantage of the favorable international situation and enjoying the support of the socialist states, the developing countries are ever more decisively seeking to restructure the system of relations with the capitalist world and asserting their right to dispose of national natural resources and prevent imperialist exploitation.

Having armed the Communist movement with the correct assessments and conclusions concerning the fundamental problems of social development, the 1969 Meeting worked out and adopted a comprehensive program for anti-imperialist united action on a world scale. This program clearly formulates the tasks brought to the fore by the struggle of the democratic and revolutionary-liberation forces. Now, looking back on the record of the past five years, we are fully warranted in saying that many of the objectives set by this program have been accomplished and that tangible successes have been achieved.

U.S. aggression in Vietnam has been ended, and prospects have opened up for the peaceful reunification of the country. This outstanding success of the heroic Vietnamese people is shared by the socialist countries, the Communist and Workers' parties, mass democratic organizations and all the freedom-loving and peace forces that consistently supported the Vietnamese patriots.

The solidarity of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, of the international Communist movement and all progressives have helped the Arab peoples to resolutely rebuff the Israeli aggressors. The war in the Middle East has been stopped. Conditions are now being created for a political settlement in that area, too.

As a result of the change in the world balance of forces, thanks to the consolidation of socialism and its constructive peace initiatives and the united action of the anti-imperialist peace forces, the threat of

a thermonuclear war has been reduced. A great role in this has been played by the important turn in Soviet-American relations, especially by the Agreement on Prevention of Nuclear War signed between the USSR and the USA.

A major success for the socialist world is the emergence of the first German socialist peace-loving state, the German Democratic Republic, and the strengthening of the international positions of socialist Cuba.

The tireless struggle of the Soviet Union and of the other countries of the socialist community, and the fraternal Communist and Workers' parties to make Europe a continent of lasting and durable peace is producing results. The important treaties of the USSR, the GDR, Poland and Czechoslovakia with the Federal Republic of Germany have put a seal of finality to the Second World War. The principle of the inviolability of the existing state frontiers is being universally recognized. The Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe has been convened on the initiative of the socialist countries.

The extensive international support given to the oppressed colonial peoples has brought success. The world's last colonial empire, the Portuguese empire, is collapsing. Since the Meeting, another eight national states have come into being.

The struggle against fascism and military-oligarchic cliques backed by imperialism, has been intensified. The fascist regime in Portugal has been overthrown. There has been worldwide protest at the bloody outrages committed by the military-fascist junta in Chile.

In the course of the anti-imperialist struggle the forces involved have come still closer together and greater unity has been achieved in their actions. Cooperation between Communists and democratic forces of various political orientations has deepened. Many Communist parties, which have been subjected to persecution and discrimination and have been isolated from the broad masses of the people by bourgeois policy, have succeeded in breaking through artificial barriers and establishing cooperation in one form or another with other anti-imperialist forces.

Internationally, there is closer anti-imperialist cooperation. The World Congress of Peace Forces which met in Moscow in October 1973 was vivid proof of the expanding basis of the movement of the forces who are fighting against war, for peace and international cooperation.

Thus, there is every reason to conclude that the program of action, advanced by the 1969 Meeting, has signified a new important stage in

stepping up the activities and promoting the unity of all those fighting against imperialism.

II

The big changes in the world are presenting the Communist parties with qualitatively new issues.

Now that the turn from the cold war to international détente and peaceful coexistence has become a reality, new important tasks are coming to the fore. "We are working to consolidate positive changes in international life and to make them irreversible," said Leonid Brezhnev.

Of course, this is not easy to achieve. The present world situation is contradictory. On the one hand, realistically-minded politicians in the capitalist countries and part of the bourgeoisie realize the most sensible policy to be that of détente and international cooperation. On the other hand, we see the growing activities of various, still very influential forces that are against the positive international trends, and are trying to return to the cold-war days. The arms race continues. Artificial obstacles are being set up to prevent the settlement of outstanding problems, and provocative campaigns whipped up which worsen the international atmosphere. This fully confirms the conclusions of the Meeting that weakening of imperialism does not mean that its dangers disappear, nor does its nature change.

It is obvious that persistent struggle lies ahead if détente is to be consolidated. The role and responsibility of Communists at this stage of the struggle are growing all the time. It is precisely the Communist movement that is capable of clearly indicating to the peoples the specific trends and aims to be pursued.

The Marxist-Leninist parties believe that making international détente irreversible means:

- setting up systems of collective security which cover all major regions of the world, systems that would become a realistic alternative to the existing military blocs;

- supplementing political détente with military détente, that is, securing the limitation and halting of the arms race and, later, the transition to actual disarmament;

- imparting material content to the already existing international treaties and agreements through the promotion of large-scale economic, scientific, technological and cultural cooperation among all the states concerned, regardless of their differing social systems;

- in this manner, not only removing the danger of war, but also

radically restructuring the system of international relations on the basis of peaceful coexistence, equal and mutually advantageous cooperation, and securing political and economic guarantees of peace.

A feature of the present stage in historical development is that the process of détente in inter-state relations is combined and intertwined with the growth of the class struggle. The 1969 Meeting emphasized that peaceful coexistence does not mean the preservation of the social and political status quo. The past five years have confirmed this thesis in a convincing manner.

The relaxation of tension influences the alignment of class forces not only on an international scale, but also in individual countries of the non-socialist world. It helps push back the extreme Right-wing forces, facilitates their isolation, and contributes to the consolidation of Left political trends.

The increased political and economic instability of capitalism opens up new possibilities for the working-class and democratic movement in the capitalist countries. At the same time, the working-class movement is facing new problems and difficulties. For example, questions connected with the growth of multinational monopolies. Experience shows that international solidarity and vigorous coordinated actions of the various detachments of the working class are particularly necessary in the struggle against the multinational monopolies.

The 1969 Meeting, which formulated the basic aims of the anti-imperialist struggle, acted on the principle that their achievement calls for a determined struggle against the power of monopoly capital and for democratic demands whose implementation weakens the positions of imperialism and undermines the foundations of its dominance. The fraternal parties pay increasing attention to questions related to finding ways and means of bringing about social change, corresponding to today's specific conditions, and also to the distinctive features of individual countries and regions. In so doing, they attach key significance to the task formulated in the Main Document of the 1969 Meeting, namely, that of uniting all the democratic trends into a political alliance capable of decisively limiting the role of the monopolies in the economy, of putting an end to the power of big business and of securing the most favorable conditions for continuing the struggle to build socialism.

The possibilities for a broader cooperation of all democratic forces have increased substantially over the past five years. In some countries the alliance of the Left forces has become a reality and proved its

viability and efficacy; in others there are now real prospects for such an alliance. The fraternal Parties have taken a number of important political initiatives in this respect. Specifically, the question of international united action by the progressive, democratic forces in Western Europe looms large. Real steps have been taken toward cooperation between the European trade unions affiliated to the different international trade union centers. Greater attention should also be given to such questions as relations with the Socialists and the Social Democrats, the establishment of an alliance with the broad masses of believers, work among young people, the winning of the intellectuals over to the side of the working-class movement, and so on.

The advance of the revolutionary movement, as has happened more than once in history, has been accompanied by greater activity on the part of the reactionary forces. The danger from the Right, of which the 1969 Meeting warned, has been intensified. Wherever possible, imperialism is trying to mount a counter-offensive, to take revenge for its defeats. This was displayed with special force in Chile. Reactionary coups were engineered in Bolivia and Uruguay. Fascist-minded reactionary forces in Latin America are trying to resuscitate the idea of an anti-communist "axis." We have clear symptoms of the danger from the Right in other regions, too — the onslaught of neo-fascism in Italy, the stepped-up activities of the revanchist forces in the Federal Republic of Germany, the lawless actions of the military in Greece, and so on.

Once again, the Communist parties, and all democrats and anti-fascists have to stop the dirty wave of fascism, and thwart the reactionary imperialist plans however things may develop. The lessons of Chile directly affect the working people of the capitalist countries, while the fraternal Parties are, naturally, drawing definite conclusions from the Chilean experience for their own work.

Nevertheless, despite the reverses and temporary defeats of its individual contingents, the general democratic movement in the capitalist world continues on the upgrade. The big successes registered by the Left forces in winning almost half of the votes in France, the positive results of the referendum in Italy, and the first steps of the democratic, anti-fascist revolution in Portugal clearly show the big and growing possibilities opening before the people's forces in the struggle against reaction and fascism. This is also proved by the mounting struggle of the peoples of Latin America against tyrannical cliques, for freedom and democracy. The struggle for the liberation of

Luis Corvalan, Rodney Arismendi and other imprisoned patriots and democrats has become worldwide.

Thus, in every section of the contemporary revolutionary movement new prospects and new problems are arising which affect all Communists. The entire history of the Communist movement proves that its strength lies primarily in the fact that it furnishes timely and correct answers to the cardinal questions stemming from the pressing needs of social development.

Questions related to the sharp aggravation of capitalism's crisis and to the elimination of economic backwardness in vast areas of the world, require a profound Marxist-Leninist analysis.

Some problems of the national liberation movement take on new forms in the present stage of world development. There is a qualitative change in the struggle of developing countries to attain genuine independence and eliminate the backwardness caused by colonial rule. At the same time, there are important, and by no means straightforward changes taking place in the social development of these countries, and in the alignment and relationship of the socio-political forces in each of them. These changes also require a more thorough Marxist-Leninist analysis. The intricate processes in the ranks of revolutionary democracy, arising from the intensified class differentiation and the sharper class contradictions in the progressive national states require special attention. This presents the Communist movement with serious practical questions on ways of continuing the struggle to achieve extensive anti-imperialist unity of the peoples, the strengthening of the alliance of world socialism with the forces of national liberation, and resistance to negative tendencies on which imperialism places its hopes.

The growing importance of the ideological struggle is making new demands of the revolutionary vanguard. During the years since the Meeting, Marxist-Leninist ideology has won new positions. Telling blows have been struck at the most dangerous trends in bourgeois ideology, nationalism, Right and "Left" revisionism, and at Maoism which has become an outspoken enemy of the communist and national liberation movement and is opposing détente, hand in glove with the most reactionary forces.

At the same time, there are important tasks in the further struggle against every kind of hostile ideology. A decisive defeat must be inflicted on the opponents of détente; it is necessary to refute their "arguments," to do everything to consolidate and develop the successes attained by the policy of peaceful coexistence. The ideologists

of anti-communism are stepping up their propaganda attacks on the socialist countries and on the Marxist-Leninist parties. By slandering socialism, they seek to discredit the socialist ideal for which new millions of working people are reaching out to disorganize the progressive, democratic, anti-imperialist forces, and to divert the attention of the masses from the vices of capitalist society.

In these circumstances the fraternal parties stress they see as one of their fundamental tasks the exposure of anti-Sovietism and anti-communism. The education of the masses in the progressive ideas of our times, thus becomes more important than ever, so that they may escape the harmful influence of bourgeois ideology.

The new problems that have arisen in the course of the world revolutionary process necessitate the further consolidation and heightening of the role of its political vanguard, of the international Communist movement, and the greater coordination of action by all its contingents.

III

In emphasizing the fundamental importance of the cohesion of the Communist and Workers' parties as a major unifying factor of all the anti-imperialist forces, the 1969 Meeting urged the fraternal Parties to raise the unity of the Communist movement to the level commensurate with the demands of our epoch.

The documents of the Meeting collectively reaffirmed and concretely applied to present-day conditions the understanding, existing in the Communist movement, of the indivisibility and organic unity of the national and international tasks and responsibilities of the fraternal Parties. Today the importance of these conclusions is particularly clear because international factors are influencing every country's internal situation ever more powerfully. Therefore, parallel with the growing range of internal, national problems, the scope of international tasks facing the Communists, is increasing.

Events have borne out the Communist view that differences on individual, even if important and acute issues, need not block the way to unity on basic problems of the struggle against imperialism, if there is the will to achieve such unity. Events have also borne out that a frank, comradely exchange of opinions on all matters, conducted democratically, with respect for each others positions, a fight against opportunism, a collectively worked out program of action in world affairs and joint work in pursuance of that program, are the surest way to overcome any divergencies that may arise.

In the five years since the 1969 Meeting the international political and ideological unity of the Communists has, undoubtedly, risen to a qualitatively new stage. The international cooperation of the fraternal parties has noticeably strengthened. At present there is broad agreement and identity of views of the fraternal parties on the decisive problems of the revolutionary movement and the anti-imperialist struggle. The range of disputed questions has substantially lessened.

Principles concerning inter-Party relations in keeping with the present stage of development in the Communist movement have become deeply rooted and reinforced by the prestige of the 1969 Meeting. They are principles of independence, equal rights and mutual respect, non-interference in each other's internal affairs, the principles of proletarian internationalism and solidarity and mutual support. These principles were the basis for an extensive system of diverse forms of inter-Party ties and cooperation.

The contacts of the fraternal Parties have become quite intensive and regular. Every year hundreds of bilateral meetings are held, so that close constructive ties between the parties are maintained. Inter-Party contacts at a regional level are considerable. Suffice it to say that during the past five years more than 30 multilateral meetings have taken place, including three all-European meetings, two conferences of West European parties and seven meetings of the Communist parties of various Latin American countries. A conference of the Communist parties of the European capitalist countries, held in Brussels last January, discussed the tasks of the joint anti-monopoly struggle in the new conditions obtaining in this part of Europe. Regional meetings of Communists are permeated with the spirit of proletarian internationalism and help strengthen the unity of the Communist movement as a whole.

Ideological and theoretical cooperation between fraternal Parties is increasing. Over the past five years more than 40 international theoretical conferences, seminars and symposia have been held on a wide range of important and urgent theoretical problems. Of special importance for spreading the ideas of Marxism-Leninism throughout the world were the worldwide ideological-political campaigns arranged for the centenary of the birth of Lenin, the 150th birth anniversaries of Marx and Engels and the 50th anniversary of the formation of the USSR. A meeting of Central Committee secretaries of the Communist and Workers' parties of socialist countries, held in Moscow last December, was dedicated to the activity of the fraternal parties of the socialist countries in the ideological sphere and the

further deepening of their ideological cooperation.

The journal *World Marxist Review* plays a prominent part in the ideological life of the Communist movement. The latest conference of the journal held in Prague last January at which 67 fraternal Parties were represented, laid down lines for the journal's further activities and examined a number of important contemporary problems confronting Communists.

The growing bilateral and multilateral cooperation of the fraternal parties makes world meetings of Communists all the more significant. Our Party completely subscribes to the opinion of the 1969 Meeting that in present-day conditions when the need for the coordinated action of the Communists of different countries is increasing, international forums of fraternal Parties have proved an effective method for uniting the efforts of the Communist and Workers' parties in the struggle against imperialism, for peace, democracy, national liberation and socialism.

The 24th Congress of the CPSU highly assessed the 1969 Meeting, and supported the convening of international meetings of fraternal parties as, and when, necessary. Like the other fraternal parties, the CPSU holds that such forums should concentrate attention on aims and tasks of a constructive nature. They should, of course, be the result of democratic, thorough collective preparation on the basis of democratic principles generally accepted and deeply rooted in the Communist movement.

At present many fraternal parties are proposing new major collective steps for the further ideological-political consolidation of the Communist movement and for raising its role in the contemporary world.

The CPSU is ready to support respective practical initiatives and, jointly with the other Marxist-Leninist parties, to take part in their implementation.

The 1969 International Meeting of Communist and Workers' parties inspired the Communists, indicated the clear-cut goals of the struggle and promoted the cohesion of their ranks. Events have proved that the path of unity on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism is the only true path for the Communist movement. Following this path, the Communists will score new achievements in the struggle for peace, the national and social liberation of the peoples, and for socialism and communism.

CONGRESSES

10th CONGRESS OF THE LEAGUE OF COMMUNISTS OF YUGOSLAVIA

The 10th Congress of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia (LCY) was held in Belgrade May 27-30.

Conferences in the communes and other LCY conferences elected 1,052 delegates to the Congress representing 1,076-711 members. In addition, LCY congresses in the republics, regional conferences and conferences of LCY organizations in the People's Army elected 470 guests who were granted delegate status by the Congress. All members of leading LCY bodies also had delegate status.

Out of 1,666 voting delegates, 1,662 attended; the remaining could not attend for reasons beyond their control. For 1,288 delegates, or 77 per cent of the total, this was the first national congress they ever attended. The delegates included 489 veterans of the national-liberation struggle against the fascist invaders; 183 delegates were under 27 years old; 471 (31 per cent) were industrial workers, and 44 were agricultural workers or farmers.

The Congress was attended by 308 guests representing government bodies and public and political organizations. There were also delegations and representatives of 95 Communist, Workers', Socialist and Social-Democratic parties and progressive and national-liberation movements.

The Congress was attended by a delegation of the CPSU headed by Political Bureau member and CC secretary Andrei Kirilenko.

The Congress was opened by LCY President Josip Broz Tito, who congratulated the delegates and guests on that great and important event in the life of the LCY and the country as a whole.

The agenda included the following items:

1. Report on the work of LCY bodies — the Presidency, Commission on Statutory Matters and Control Committee — between the Ninth and 10th congresses.

2. Report by Josip Broz Tito, "The Struggle for the Further Development of Socialist Self-Management in Our Country and the Role of the LCY."

3. Discussion of the report by the LCY President and the report on the LCY activities at full congress sessions.

4. Discussion of LCY tasks at congress committees.

5. Adoption of draft resolutions on amendments to the LCY Statute.

6. Election and endorsement of elected LCY bodies.

On the first day the congress was addressed by Josip Broz Tito, whose report was warmly greeted by the delegates. (The 180-page report had been printed and circulated among the delegates in advance.)

At the full sessions of the Congress leading LCY workers, including members of the Presidency and Presidents of the Union Republic presidencies, took part in the discussion of Comrade Tito's report.

After that the Congress adjourned to continue work in the committees, which examined the following questions:

1. Tasks of the LCY in building up socialist socio-economic relations under the self-management system and problems of socio-economic development;

2. Tasks of the LCY in developing the political system, and relations between the peoples and the constituent republics;

3. LCY building: strengthening it ideologically, politically, organizationally, its cadres, its ability to act;

4. Tasks of the LCY in education, science and culture;

5. Tasks of the LCY in international relations and in foreign policy.

These tasks and the draft resolutions were discussed in the committees amid the high activity of delegates. Thus, some 70 delegates spoke in the committee on LCY building, and 26 in the international relations and foreign policy committee.

The delegates discussing questions of LCY building unanimously noted that the amendments to the LCY Statute would contribute to enhancing the League's vanguard role in the life of society. They stressed that democratic centralism is the basis of the entire system of inner-Party relations and that the LCY's experience has confirmed the importance of democratic centralism in combating opportunist and factional tendencies and forces and in overcoming them.

Many speeches were devoted to questions of consistent implementation of the LCY's class policy. In this connection the need was pointed out of further improving the Party's social structure by enrolling more workers. LCY organizations, delegates stressed, are duty bound to strengthen the brotherhood and unity of the country's nations and nationalities and oppose all manifestations of nationalism.

Work with cadres, their promotion and education, and questions of class purposefulness in the cadre policy were also discussed thoroughly.

At sessions of the international relations and foreign-policy committee it was said that Yugoslavia's policy of non-alignment is directed against imperialism and serves the cause of liquidating colonialism and racism. Yugoslavia, delegates noted, has a vital concern in European security, in equitable and all-round cooperation, and in world peace.

The participants in all the committee debates voiced full support of the guidelines set forth in Comrade Tito's report and in other congress documents.

At its final sitting the Congress unanimously approved the report on the LCY activities, Comrade Tito's report and the reports on the work of the committees.

The Congress adopted two main resolutions: "The Struggle for the Further Development of Socialist Self-Management and the Tasks of the LCY" and "The LCY in the Fight for Peace, Equitable International Cooperation and Socialism." They set the LCY's tasks in all major questions of domestic and foreign policy.

In particular, further development of the socialist self-government is linked with the class content of that development. The first resolution emphasizes that the LCY works toward ever fuller realization of the leading and dominant role of the working class in the country's economic, political and public life. This is also the basis for strengthening the fraternity of the nations and nationalities of Yugoslavia. To implement this policy, all Communists must uncompromisingly oppose all anti-socialist forces and manifestations of nationalism, liberalism and other opposing tendencies. The resolution goes on to say that the LCY regards Marxism-Leninism as its ideological, political and scientific basis.

The resolution on international questions notes that the socialist countries are making an ever great contribution toward the development of socialism in the world by their vast achievements and successes. Accounting for about one-third of the world's population and the world's industrial output, the socialist countries are becoming an ever more influential factor in narrowing the field of action of the capitalist system and in bringing about progressive changes in existing international relations.

The resolution reaffirms non-alignment as a principle of Yugoslavia's foreign policy. The main content of this policy is defined

as struggle for the independence and equality of peoples, for peace and active peaceful coexistence, for economic and social progress, for democratic relations between states. Emphasis is laid on the anti-imperialist character of steering clear of alliances.

The delegates also adopted 15 resolutions on individual topical issues. They define the LCY's tasks in implementing the new Constitution of Yugoslavia, in defense, industrial development and socialist transformation of agriculture, social policy, housing, education, culture and science. Resolutions were also passed on a number of international issues, notably the Middle East, Indochina and Chile. The Congress, in particular, condemned the terror of the fascist junta in Chile and called for immediate release of all imprisoned patriots there.

The resolution on the tasks for strengthening the LCY stresses that factory workers are the main source of the LCY's revolutionary strength.

Finally, the Congress fully endorsed the draft amendments to the LCY statute which define the LCY's new course in the struggle for ideological unity and unity of action, and for a responsible implementation of the Party's leading role in society. The overall purpose of the amendments is to strengthen the Leninist principle of democratic centralism, which is becoming the main principle of the LCY's internal life. In this connection, the former Permanent Conference is being replaced by a newly elected Central Committee as the leading LCY body between congresses, which will be convened every four years. Other amendments to the Statute oblige LCY branches and bodies to create conditions for the ideological, Marxist education of the League members, and define the tasks of LCY branches in the countryside.

Acting on a motion of the LCY congresses in the republics, regional and army conferences and delegates, the 10th Congress elected Josip Broz Tito President of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia for an indefinite term of office. In his concluding address Tito called upon all Yugoslavia's Communists to continue to cement the Party's unity and cohesion and work persistently to carry out the Congress decisions. Comrade Tito warmly thanked all the delegations of Communist and Workers' parties, Socialist parties, and progressive and democratic movements for attending the 10th Congress of the LCY.

The Congress confirmed newly elected 166 members of the Central Committee and members of the Statute and Auditing Commissions. They had been elected at the Party congresses in the republics, regional conferences and the Party conference of the Yugoslav People's Army.

At its first meeting the Central Committee elected a 39-man Presidency which elected a 12-man Executive Committee. Stane Dolanc was elected Secretary of the Executive. Five secretaries of the Executive were elected for various activities: Jure Bilic, with responsibilities for LCY development, organizational matters and cadres, Todor Kurtovic, ideological work and propaganda; Mirko Popovic, questions of the socio-political system; Vojo Srzentic, socio-economic relations; Aleksander Grlickov, foreign policy and international economic relations.

Many Communist and Workers' parties sent messages of greeting to the Tenth Congress of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia. Below is the text of the greetings sent by the CC CPSU.

TO THE 10th CONGRESS OF THE LEAGUE OF COMMUNISTS OF YUGOSLAVIA

Dear comrades,

On behalf of the Soviet Communists, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union sends to the Congress delegates and all Yugoslav Communists comradely greetings and wishes of fruitful work for the Congress.

In the course of the national-liberation struggle and the socialist revolution the peoples of Yugoslavia have brought about, under Communist Party leadership, a sharp turn in their destiny, and achieved great successes in socialist construction, in the country's political, economic and cultural development, and in the strengthening of its independence. In a historically short period the backward Yugoslavia of the past has become a developed industrial-agrarian state.

In recent years the League of Communists of Yugoslavia has done much to increase the role of the working class and its political vanguard in the life of society, to solve pressing economic problems and strengthen the "brotherhood and unity of the peoples of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia." In world affairs Yugoslavia stands for peace and the development of international cooperation.

The most characteristic features of the present international situation are the relaxation of tension, the assertion of the principles of peaceful coexistence of countries with differing social systems, and the increasing role of all nations, big and small, in solving international problems on a basis of equality, respect for sovereignty and

non-interference in the internal affairs of other countries. All this is furthered, in the first place, by the purposeful, coordinated actions of the socialist countries, the international Communist and workers' movement, and the national-liberation forces. The intensified anti-imperialist character of the movement of non-aligned countries, in which Yugoslavia plays an active part, and their activities in common with the socialist countries are multiplying the popular forces in the struggle against war and aggression, for peace and genuine national independence. But imperialism and reaction have not laid down their arms and are striving, contrary to the hopes and will of the peoples, to turn back the clock to the days of the "cold war." Revolutionary vigilance and, above all, the strengthening of the unity of the Communist and Workers' parties on a firm basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, the unification of all anti-imperialist forces, and the struggle to make the process of détente irreversible — these are the fitting answers to the forces of obscurantism and darkness.

The socialist countries, including Yugoslavia, are universally recognized as bulwarks of peace, the leading force of social progress. The experience accumulated by the socialist states belongs to all Communists. The fraternal Parties are achieving successes in the creation of a new society, using forms and methods based on the general laws of socialist development while also reflecting the specific historical conditions of each country. Our social and ideological affinity and the identity of our class interests and aims firmly lie at the root of the friendship and many-sided cooperation of the socialist countries.

The Soviet people express profound satisfaction with the fact that in recent years mutual understanding and trust between our Parties and states have grown and noticeable progress has been made in all spheres of Soviet-Yugoslav relations. The joint documents adopted as a result of the meetings between L.I. Brezhnev, General Secretary of the CC CPSU, and J. Broz Tito, President of the LCY and of the SFRY, reflect the general concern of both Parties that the friendship of the fraternal peoples of the Soviet Union and Yugoslavia will be strengthened and so will provide a firm foundation for further extension of cooperation between the CPSU and LCY, and the USSR and the SFRY.

With all our hearts we wish the Yugoslav Communists and all working people of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia fresh successes in the all-round development of their country and in carry-

ing out the tasks of socialist construction.

May the solidarity of the Communists of our countries, friendship and cooperation between the peoples of the Soviet Union and Yugoslavia strengthen and flourish in the interests of socialism and world peace.

*Central Committee
Communist Party of the Soviet Union
Pravda, May 27, 1974*

REPORT BY COMRADE J. BROZ TITO

Below follows an abridged version of a report delivered by J. Broz Tito on the first day of the 10th Congress of the Yugoslav League of Communists.

We have come to the 10th Congress, Tito said, with tremendous achievements. The Communist League has grown much stronger, it is ideologically and politically unified and mobile and more capable of effectively carrying out its policy.

In the period since the Ninth Congress the Communist League continued its struggle for further material, social and cultural change, for consolidating socialist self-management, developing and strengthening the equality, brotherhood and unity of our nations and nationalities and eliminating the social differences resulting from violations of the principle of distribution according to work, as well as its struggle against inconsistencies, deviations and vacillations on the road of our revolution, which is developing in accordance with Marxist-Leninist theory as applied to our conditions.

Headed by the Communist League, the working class and all progressive forces of our society have paved the way for further profound social, economic and political change.

Decisive steps in this direction were the constitutional amendments, the 21st Meeting of the LCY Presidency, and the letter to the League members.

The report notes that with the adoption of its new Constitution Yugoslavia has entered a new stage in the struggle for socialism.

In the period since the previous congress socialist Yugoslavia consistently pursued the struggle for equal international cooperation and world peace, for the universal application of the principles of active peaceful coexistence. Non-alignment, Tito noted, is the basis of Yugoslavia's foreign policy. Yugoslavia's principled foreign policy is

an inalienable part of the struggle for the cause of peace, social progress and socialism in the present-day world. Guided by the principles of socialist internationalism, the Communist League promoted many-sided cooperation with Communist, Workers', Socialist and other progressive parties and movements.

Speaking of the changes in the world, J. Broz Tito stressed the decisive significance of the war which the Soviet Union waged against fascism and the Soviet Union's decisive role in liberating the Hitler-enslaved peoples of Europe, who saw this as a guarantee that their struggle against fascism would not have been in vain. This also contributed to the rise of national-liberation, revolutionary movements in the colonies and dependent territories. The anti-fascist victory in World War II created the prerequisites for the broadest advance of peoples to socialism.

Imperialism and inequitable international relations are in a deep crisis from which there is no return to former world domination. The growing conflict between the productive forces and relations of production in modern capitalism is aggravating its contradictions, as well as the contradictions between the capitalist countries. The requirements of the social and economic development of mankind and the operation of conscious social forces are accelerating the general advance toward socialism.

Tito stressed that an exceptionally important role in future progressive changes in international relations belongs to the socialist states, as well as all other socialist forces. At present, he said, opportunities are increasing for enhancing the role and influence of the international workers' movement. The proof of internationalist solidarity lies primarily in genuine assistance to the social forces fighting for the freedom and independence of their peoples and countries, for the establishment of international relations on an equal footing, for socialist thought and practice. The LCY has constantly promoted cooperation with Communist and Workers' parties, with progressive forces precisely on this basis.

The national-liberation movements, Tito went on to say, are an important component of the forces of progress. Their struggle is a major contribution to the anti-imperialist and anti-colonial struggle. The anti-imperialist nature of the non-alignment policy rests on an objective basis and the orientation of non-aligned countries to such a policy is not an expression of passing tactical needs but is in their vital interests.

Speaking of the imperialist attempts to prevent the inevitable

changes in international relations, Tito noted that imperialism relies, in particular, on the so-called military-industrial complex. A vivid form of monopoly capitalism and neo-colonialism, supranational companies are seeking to become the dominant factor in many developed countries. Their influence is especially detrimental in the developing countries, from whose economies they extract vast profits and in whose internal affairs they interfere.

Détente, negotiations and the settlement of international issues by peaceful means, Tito said, are no doubt a positive process. However, imperialism and reactionary forces are still striking out against the freedom and international development of countries. An example is the coup in Chile carried out by the military-fascist clique which has unleashed a reign of unparalleled terror and is riding roughshod over fundamental human rights.

Crises and hotbeds of war in some parts of the world seriously hamper international relations. The October war in the Middle East has considerably altered the situation there. Israel, however, has apparently not yet realized that aggression and expansion at the expense of neighboring Arab countries cannot guarantee its security, because peace and good relations there, as in other parts of the world, cannot be based on force and diktat. Every country has the legitimate right to uphold its rights and independent existence by every means. We, Tito, stressed, continue to hold that a just and lasting solution in the Middle East can be achieved only on condition that Israel withdraws from all occupied Arab territories and the legitimate rights of the Arab people of Palestine and the right of every country and nation in the Middle East to sovereignty and integrity, to life in peace, are guaranteed. Procrastination and other maneuvers or even partial solutions aimed at continuing the occupation of Arab territories should not allow Israel to act in defiance of UN resolutions.

Concerning the situation in Vietnam, Tito noted that the reactionary Saigon regime was sabotaging implementation of the Paris agreement with extensive outside aid and support. Contrary to the will and interests of the peoples of Vietnam and Cambodia, the Saigon and Phnom-penh regimes are being propped up at all costs. Obviously, an end to all U.S. interference in the area and recognition of the peoples' legitimate right to decide their future for themselves are important prerequisites of a stable and lasting peace in Indochina. We, Tito said, shall continue to come out for the broadest international recognition of the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of

South Vietnam and the Cambodian Royal Government of National Unity.

Noting that strongholds of colonialism still remain in Africa and other regions, Tito pointed out that this is in crying contradiction with the general course of world development.

The racist regimes acting contrary to world public opinion could never have survived if not for the support of international capital and some reactionary Western circles. We, said Tito, hope that the changes in Portugal will facilitate the process of liquidating colonialism and accelerate the liberation of the peoples of Angola, Mozambique and Guinea-Bissau.

The ever broader and more resolute actions of Latin American countries for full political and economic liberation are of tremendous importance for progressive development in the world. The aspirations of the peoples of that continent cannot be thwarted even by possible temporary defeats and sacrifices they are forced to make. This is most vividly seen in the Chilean people's resolve to continue the fight for democracy and progress despite the junta's terror.

As for Europe, Tito continued, it is necessary to note the considerable development of relations and cooperation between countries on the principles of peaceful coexistence. The old isolation is gradually disappearing, cooperation is growing stronger and expanding, overcoming the former separation. This, naturally, contributes to greater confidence among European peoples and their drawing closer together. Of great importance at the European Security and Cooperation Conference was agreement on the principle of inviolability of frontiers and on other principles on which relations between the participant countries should be based.

Tito went on to note that one could not accept the principles of territorial integrity and inviolability of frontiers and at the same time make territorial claims to neighbors, a form of behavior which, naturally, cannot facilitate the normalization of the situation in Europe. In this connection he denounced the territorial claims of Italian authorities to Yugoslavia. While resolutely rejecting the Italian government's territorial claims, Tito said, we are nevertheless ready to continue and develop relations and cooperation with Italy on the same principles on which they had developed successfully until now.

The postwar development, the report says, indicates that the struggle for more just international relations also implies the struggle for freeing workers and nations from all types of exploitation and inequality. There can be no other alternative for humanity and its progress

than the consistent application of the principles of peaceful coexistence in relations between all states. There can be no stable peace or security until détente extends to all areas of the globe, until all countries are involved on an equal footing in the solution of the main international issues.

Tito then dwelt on problems of Yugoslavia's internal development. He stressed that since the war accelerated industrialization has been the principal objective of economic expansion. This was neither easy nor simple, but it was the only possible way of overcoming the country's economic backwardness and it demanded tremendous efforts and devotion of the working people. Today, he said, we can note that accelerated industrialization has yielded important results in raising employment and living standards.

Today our industry employs many more people than before the war, Tito said, and in less than a month it produces more than in the whole of 1939. Domestic production meets two-thirds of our requirements of equipment.

Agricultural output has doubled. The public sector, which accounts for 15 per cent of the cultivated area and half the farm output, is of decisive influence in the development of agriculture.

J. Broz Tito presented a detailed analysis of the changes in the population structure and pointed out the rapid growth of the working class and its role in the nation's life. The public sector employs 4.3 million people, about half the gainfully employed population. More than 60 per cent of those employed in the economy have higher, secondary or specialized education, are skilled or highly skilled workers.

At this Congress, Tito said, we must pay greatest attention to our further development and our future economic policies. We must outline our immediate tasks and discuss our mistakes and errors with a sense of responsibility.

One of the main tasks in the coming period is to increase industrial output and raise labor productivity, especially in view of the fact that in the last few years the rate of economic growth has been slowing down somewhat. This demands the mobilization of all working people and organizations, higher labor discipline, and more rational expenditure of labor and money. Accelerated economic development and greater economic stability will depend to a large extent on how successful we are in overcoming the considerable disproportions still existing in our economic structure.

We have to increase our output of food and raw materials and develop the power industry and transport faster. Conditions in the country are favorable for developing these industries. Our error of judgement in the past decade was that we did not concentrate sufficiently along these lines, for which we sometimes have to pay.

Among the tasks for further raising living standards, Tito mentioned higher employment since, despite considerable achievements in this sphere, many people have difficulty finding jobs quickly, to say nothing of the large numbers working abroad.

Speaking of the tasks in science, education and culture, J. Broz Tito emphasized that the socialist revolution released the people's initiative and energy, suppressed in the past, and promoted new demands and interests in education and cultural activity.

An extensive system of educational establishments, scientific and cultural institutions has been created, and every year books of some 10,000 titles are put out in an aggregate printing of 54 million. Nine higher education centers are functioning in the republics and regions. The proportion of students from worker and peasant families is high, and the number of intellectuals has increased substantially. Our opponents, Tito said, seek to challenge the class character and socialist humanism of science, education and culture, declaring them neutral in the class and ideological respect. They claim that the Communist League has nothing to seek in this field. The Communist League has been slow in entering the ideological and political struggle aimed at resolutely suppressing hostile tendencies. Especially passive in this respect were the Communists in some public organizations and self-management bodies. As a result, the Communist League proved incapable of resisting the penetration of alien ideology vigorously enough. It has been again confirmed that the preachers of neutrality and the alleged freedom of creativity are far from being neutral and are, in fact, the ideological vanguard of the forces that really suppress freedom and cultural creativity.

As a result of the Communist League's ideological and political offensive the proponents of such tendencies have suffered a serious defeat. Further resolute suppression of such tendencies requires stubborn and well-organized work.

A large section of the report is devoted to the development of Yugoslavia's socio-economic and political system on the basis of self-management. It states, in particular, that the results of economic and social development in the past period are the achievement of the

working class and all working people, won by their labor and exceptional efforts under the self-management system. But, the report notes, the system still lacks a basis from which it would be objectively impossible to take wrong roads or turn back. In this connection Tito noted that the new Federal Constitution and the Constitutions of the republics and regions set the guidelines for the further development of socialist relations of self-management. The position of different types of activity in the sphere of material production remains very uneven. Trade is in a privileged position, as compared with production. In particular, the large foreign and wholesale trade organizations hold monopoly positions vis-à-vis manufacturing enterprises. In marketing their products at home or abroad or arranging purchases for them, these organizations appropriate a disproportionate part of the worker's surplus labor. Direct links are still lacking between material production and public activity in education, science, culture and public health. Finally, the part played by socio-political organizations in the sphere of expanded reproduction still falls short of what it should be.

Of course, Tito said, in present-day conditions we are bound to reckon to some extent with the market and its laws as a regulator of development. However, we must not leave all our development, especially key issues, at the mercy of spontaneous fluctuations.

The report goes on to recount the constitutional changes in the socio-political system, the most important of which is seen as the introduction of the delegate principle.

Noting that in the past period close attention was given to building up a national defence system, Tito stressed that it has to be strengthened and perfected in future.

Speaking of the role of the youth, he said that all questions of the social standing, role and activity of the younger generation, especially its education, merit closer scrutiny by the Communist League than ever before.

It is essential to complete as quickly as possible the reorganization of existing youth organizations in the Socialist Youth League, for we need an ideologically, politically and organizationally unified mass organization with a clear socialist orientation and effective in education and socio-political work.

In the section of the report devoted to the situation in the Communist League Tito noted that strengthening the League's leading role was a permanent task at every stage of the revolution. In contrast

to this, anti-socialist forces have sought to weaken and play down the leading role of the working class, challenging the vanguard role of the Communist League. After the 21st Session of the LCY Presidency in December 1971, the League launched a wide-scale offensive against the penetration of bourgeois views of the Party and its role, against factional activity, and against the squeezing out of the LCY from daily public life. Exposure of those who challenged the LCY's leading role, the report says, was an important condition for mobilizing the working people to the struggle for the further development of the socialism revolution.

Our Party's revolutionary course, Tito said, depended first and foremost on its attitude toward the working class, on worker influence on Party policy, on the extent to which the Party concerned itself with the social standing of the working class and with ensuring the interests of the latter. He noted that workers left the Party at times of vacillations in pursuing a revolutionary line. The task now is to promote the class influence of workers in the LCY.

J. Broz Tito then summed up the results of the struggle against factional elements who had harmed the unity, democratic centralism and vanguard role of the LCY. We know from the history of our Party, from the history of the workers' movement as a whole, he said, that factional activity always appears when the vanguard loses its clear-cut ideological orientation and ability to function.

The measures put into effect after the 21st Presidency Session have shown that the LCY had the strength, relying on the working class, to eliminate the threat from anti-socialist forces and build up the unity of Party ranks on a class basis.

For our social system to function well and for the Communist League to perform its leading role successfully, J. Broz Tito said, it must be prepared to influence the consciousness of the working people effectively, organize them and head them in the struggle for implementing our policy. That is why the League itself must be well organized from bottom to top.

Our experience shows, Tito said, that the LCY's links with the class and the people were possible only through the activity of local branches, their strength and influence. That is why it is necessary to resolutely overcome the practice that led to passiveness in Party branches and among the majority of their members.

Our Party, Tito said, performed its vanguard role the more successfully the more extensively it promoted the creative development and

practical application of Marxist theory and the more actively it combated bourgeois ideology.

He went on to stress that it is necessary to study much more than before the experience of other Communist and Workers' parties, the liberation movements and the results of present-day Marxist thought all over the world. Basic knowledge of Marxist theory, he said, is essential for, and the duty of, every Communist. Ideological and political education of rank-and-file League members must be a constant task. In the recent past, Tito noted, there were some major shortcomings in ideological education, which lagged considerably and was one-sided. It is necessary to work for a different approach, for a different understanding of ideological and theoretical work in the Communist League.

In conclusion, J. Broz Tito said, that the Communist League was able to overcome crises and defeat all its opponents. This is proof of its revolutionary strength and the maturity of the working class. The LCY has emerged from this struggle more united ideologically and politically, more capable of work and stronger organizationally. We can, therefore, confidently predict that all the Congress' decisions will be consistently implemented.

FRIENDLY MEETINGS OF CPSU DELEGATION

The CPSU delegation to the 10th Congress of the LCY visited Kragujevac. This city, which has a revolutionary tradition, played an important part in the liberation struggle of the Yugoslav people against the fascist invaders and is now one of the country's most important industrial centers. Its Tsrvena Zastava (Red Banner) factory with an annual output of over 100,000 cars is the largest of its kind in Yugoslavia.

The delegation visited this factory, talked with some of its workers and attended a meeting. Andrei Kirilenko, head of the delegation, Political Bureau member and Secretary of the CC CPSU, was received with prolonged applause when he addressed the meeting.

SPEECH BY A.P. KIRILENKO

Dear comrades and friends,

I should first like to express our sincere thanks for the invitation to visit your factory, to learn about its work, and to meet you, representatives of the working class, who are building a strong and growing

socialist Yugoslavia. At this factory, whose rebirth is bound up with the establishment of socialism in Yugoslavia, one is acutely aware of the significant changes that have come about in your country during almost 30 years of the construction of a new society, and of the nature of socialist development taking place in Yugoslavia, led by the Communists.

Naturally, this meeting with you fills us with emotion. We are deeply moved by the warmth of your greeting, and the expressions of friendship for our Communist Party and the Soviet people.

Permit me, on behalf of the Central Committee of the CPSU, on behalf of the Soviet working class and all Soviet working people, to convey to you and through you to all Yugoslav working people, workers, peasants and intellectuals, a cordial, fraternal greeting, and to wish you success in your work, good health and happiness.

Comrades, as you know, at the invitation of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia, our delegation is taking part in its 10th Congress. By attending its plenary sessions and studying the materials presented for consideration, one again becomes fully conscious of the wide range of problems and obligations and of the great responsibility borne by the Communist Party in a socialist country.

The speech by LCY President, Comrade J. Broz Tito, and the contributions of delegates underline the desire to strengthen in every way the leading role of the working class in Yugoslav society and to enhance throughout the country the vanguard, guiding and organizing role of the Communist League, to perfect the forms and methods of planning and administration of socialist economic self-management, the whole complex of socio-political relations, and to strengthen the brotherhood and unity of the constituent republics of Yugoslavia. As class brothers, we wish you, dear comrades, complete success in fulfilling your constructive plans, and in solving the important problems dealt with at the Congress.

Yugoslav Communists, led by that courageous fighter, Comrade Josip Broz Tito, were the heart and soul of the national-liberation movement against the fascist invaders. Their boundless steadfastness and heroism was an example to tens and hundreds of thousands of Yugoslav sons and daughters who gave their lives unsparingly for the freedom and independence of their native land.

Communists inspired and organized the working people's struggle for the socialist transformation of society. In the development of modern Yugoslav industry and agriculture and the considerable achievements in science and culture, we see a reflection of the

enormous work carried out by the Communist Party and all the working people to accomplish the high ideals of socialism.

Your city has witnessed this heroic path. It is a symbol of steadfastness, courage and creativity. No fascist bestiality could break the will of its inhabitants. Ardent patriots, they contributed enormously to achieving national independence and building up a new life in Yugoslavia.

Leonid Ilyich Brezhnev was here in 1962 and he retains warm memories of your city and of this factory. It is with great pleasure that we now carry out his wishes to convey his communist greetings to you the working class of Yugoslavia, all Yugoslav Communists, and his hopes for your big successes in consolidating and developing the gains won by socialism.

Comrades, we know from our own experience that the problems tackled by a socialist revolution are many and varied. Strengthening the leading role of the working class and its alliance with the working peasants and intellectuals, welding the peoples into one fraternal family, overcoming the influence of bourgeois and nationalistic ideology, educating the people in the spirit of communism, the creation of a dynamic nationwide socialist economy — all this does not happen automatically, of itself. To create these necessary conditions for steady and all-round progress along the socialist road there has to be purposeful, day-to-day leadership of society by the Communist Party, a party equipped with Marxist-Leninist theory and made strong by its knowledge of the laws of class struggle and social development and by its close ties with the people.

The building of socialism and communism is truly creative, pioneering work. Proceeding from the general laws of socialist development and confirmed by the experience of many revolutions, the Communists of each country contribute much that is new to the forms and methods of social transformation. On this point, Comrade L.I. Brezhnev said during his visit to Yugoslavia in 1971 that there are certain general laws of socialist construction and common fundamental features of socialism, without which there cannot be any socialism, but that the choice of the specific forms of organizing social life had to be decided by each Communist Party and each people.

Our Party is firmly convinced that differences in these forms need not be a reason for any estrangement or distrust in relations between socialist states.

Taking this approach, following internationalist norms and principles, the Soviet and Yugoslav comrades are working together to

strengthen and develop our cooperation to the utmost. Today we can justifiably say that clear horizons open out before fraternal friendship between the peoples of the Soviet Union and Yugoslavia. In this context, the meetings between Comrades L.I. Brezhnev and J. Broz Tito, which have given a powerful stimulus to the development of Soviet-Yugoslav relations at Party and state levels, have played a major part.

We have already amassed much valuable experience of cooperation in the most varied fields. In matters of the economy, trade turnover between our countries is marked by a steady upward trend. Production links are being established between Soviet and Yugoslav enterprises.

It is gratifying to note that your factory is cooperating actively with the automobile plant at Togliatti and I should also like to say that the products of your factory have a good reputation in our country. A token of recognition of Tsrvena Zastava's contribution to the development of production cooperation between our countries is the award of Soviet orders and medals to your workers, and I heartily congratulate them on these well-deserved awards.

There can be no doubt that production cooperation has a big future. Full and wide use of the advantages offered by the international socialist division of labor not only allows the efficient solution of big economic problems but makes it possible to lessen the impact of the unstable world market, with its perpetual ups and downs due to the aggravation of crisis phenomena in the capitalist economy.

There is a constant exchange of cultural values between the peoples of our countries, linked as they are by bonds of socialist brotherhood. Further steps in this development are the newly signed cultural and scientific cooperation agreement and the plans for exchanges in these fields. The fruits of Soviet-Yugoslav cooperation, which is developing along many different lines and with the participation of broad sections of the working people, are growing all the time.

It is particularly important that our contacts at Party level are becoming closer and more active. Comradely, friendly relations between the CPSU and the LCY maintained at various levels, are, so to speak, a sort of tuning fork setting the tone for Soviet-Yugoslav relations as a whole.

The CPSU CC, its Political Bureau and CC CPSU General Secretary, Comrade L.I. Brezhnev personally, are constantly concerned to strengthen Soviet-Yugoslav friendship. And we value highly the fact that there is a similar approach by the Presidency of the LCY, its

Executive Bureau and our respected friend, the outstanding leader of the Yugoslav Communists, Comrade Josip Broz Tito.

We all know that there are forces in the world bent on sowing dissension between the socialist countries and in particular on harming Soviet-Yugoslav relations. A fitting rebuff to such attempts was given by Comrade Tito in his speech in Sarajevo on April 15 this year. We note with satisfaction that relations between our Parties and countries are marked by deepening mutual confidence and a mutual desire to continue strengthening brotherhood and friendship between the Soviet and Yugoslav peoples.

Dear comrades, different specific tasks may come to the fore at various stages in the development of different socialist countries. But as to the fundamental tasks being tackled in the fraternal socialist countries, they are essentially the same. These are: strengthening the leading role of the working class and its vanguard, the Communist Party; ensuring the steady growth of the socialist economy; improving the methods of running the economy according to plan, heightening its efficiency, and steadfast work for the Communist and internationalist education of the masses. The peoples of our countries are involved in the common international historical process of creating a new, communist civilization.

For over 56 years now our people, with the Communist Party at their head, have been following the road of building socialism and its development into communism, a road illumined by the revolutionary teaching of Lenin.

Today's meeting gives me an opportunity to tell you, dear comrades, about the undertakings and plans being tackled by our Party and country at the present time.

In mid-June we are holding elections to the Supreme Soviet of the USSR — the highest organ of state power. Our Party regards this major political event as a serious examination, an evaluation by the people of our work.

We are fully justified in saying that at this assessment we have impressive results to show in all spheres of the country's life.

Carrying out the decisions of the 24th CPSU Congress, working to create the material and technical foundations of communism, the Soviet people have achieved a powerful new advance of the entire economy. In three years of the current, Ninth Five-Year Plan, the country's industry produced 50 per cent more than in the first three years of the Eighth Five-Year Plan. In the postwar period as a whole, our industrial production has increased 16-fold, and the average an-

nual increase in the national income has been over nine per cent.

The scale and rate of development of our industry is also indicated by the fact that just in the last three years and the preceding months of this year, over 1,300 large factories, mills, and power plants have come into operation, all based on modern scientific and technological achievements.

Our Party attaches prime importance to accelerating scientific and technological progress in the sphere of production. The production of nuclear and laser equipment is being increased, and so is that of automatic lines and high-capacity computers. Existing industries are also being reconstructed. In the iron and steel industry, for example, we are building blast furnaces with a volume of 3,000 and even 5,000 cubic metres and 300-ton oxygen convertors. In the power industry we are using units with a capacity of 500,000 to 800,000 kw and the atomic power industry is being developed fast. An atomic reactor with a capacity of one million kw is already in operation. Your fellow-producer, the Togliatti automobile plant, has attained its rated capacity and this year will turn out over 600,000 cars. We are building the Kama Auto Plant, the biggest in the world. Construction is starting on the Baikal-Amur Railway, which will be nearly 3,200 km. long. This transport artery will enable us to create a new large industrial area in eastern Siberia by tapping its immense natural resources.

The CPSU keeps matters of agrarian policy constantly in its field of vision. The tasks we are tackling are to intensify agricultural production through its mechanization, convert agriculture on to industrial lines, further improve the working and leisure conditions of the farming population and raise their educational and cultural standards. It is satisfying that this vitally important branch too is now advancing to a new, higher level. Last year the country had the biggest gross yield of grain, cotton and a number of other crops in all its history.

Many industries are helping to strengthen the material and technical base of our agriculture. During the Ninth Five-Year Plan the collective and state farms will receive 1.7 million tractors, hundreds of thousands of combine harvesters, motor vehicles and other machines and equipment, and at least 300 million tons of mineral fertilizer. Land improvement is being carried out on a vast scale. A decision was taken recently on large measures for building up agriculture in the non-black earth zone of the Russian Federation.

Immensely important in accomplishing the many great tasks of communist construction is the creative initiative of the masses, vividly manifested in the vast scale of the socialist emulation movement.

Practically all working collectives, tens of millions of people are taking part in it. Eager to find and harness additional internal potentialities of production, individual front-rank workers and entire working collectives are presenting counter-plans pledging higher performance than called for by the state plan.

Economic and moral incentives play a big part in developing creative initiative. Dedicated work is not only rewarded in material terms. It enjoys public recognition. For example, for achievements in 1973 hundreds of thousands of top production workers in industry, agriculture, construction and transport were awarded orders and medals of the Soviet Union and the most outstanding were honored with the title of Hero of Socialist Labor.

The current Five-Year Plan is a further major stage in raising the Soviet people's living and cultural standards, which, as we know, the 24th CPSU Congress declared to be the main task. The measures scheduled in this field for the first three years of the Five-Year Plan have on the whole been accomplished. Real income per capita has risen in this time by 14 per cent. There have been pay rises for many categories of industrial and white-collar workers, old-age pensions have been increased, and so have student grants and material benefits and payments from public funds. Housing construction is being carried on on a large scale, and housing conditions have been improved in the past three years for 34 million people.

The public health services and education are also being further developed. The achievements of progressive culture are accessible to the broad masses of the people who have every opportunity to develop their faculties, to learn an occupation or improve their skills, and to engage in art, and scientific and technical creativity.

Comrades, a fundamental principle of our Party's policy, a major line of its activity is the enlistment of the working people in the management of production and the affairs of the state. The CPSU works consistently for an all-round development of government by the people, the strengthening of the socialist state of the entire people, and the perfecting of socialist democracy.

The CPSU, which stands at the country's helm, comprises over 15 million advanced representatives of the working people. More than 55 per cent of its membership are workers and collective farmers. As for the Communists — salaried workers, two-thirds of them are engineers, teachers, doctors, researchers and workers in literature and the arts, most of them with working-class or peasant backgrounds. It is also of interest to note that three-quarters of all Communists in the

national economy are directly engaged in the sphere of material production.

The deputies to the Soviets, which form an integral system of organs of state power from the bottom up are, for the most part, workers and collective farmers. Among the deputies to the Supreme Soviet of the USSR and the Supreme Soviets of the Union Constituent Republics, workers and collective farmers make up more than half, and in the local Soviets nearly two-thirds.

Government by the people in the form of organs of state is combined with various forms of immediate democracy, with the activities of trade union, youth, women's and other mass organizations, and also of unions of writers, composers, artists and workers in the cinema and theatre. The Soviet trade unions, with a membership of over 100 million, have the right to initiate legislation and actively participate in the tackling of all major problems of the management and development of production, while theirs is the decisive voice in matters immediately affecting workers' interests, such as employment and dismissal, fixing of pay rates, distribution of housing and other social benefits.

In our society the initiative and opinion of the work collective and every working man are valued highly. Permanently functioning production conferences, workers' meetings, reports given directly to work collectives by the managers of enterprises and amalgamated enterprises and top ministry officials are important forms of participation by factory and office workers, engineers and technicians in running the affairs of their respective enterprises. As stated at the 24th CPSU Congress, enhancement of the role of the work collective — the basic unit of our society — holds a prominent place in the promotion of socialist democracy. The powers of the work collective have particularly broadened under the new system of planning and material incentives.

The activities of the above named and other government institutions and public organizations, constant strengthening of the Party's ties with the masses, all-round consultation with them, direct participation by the working people in shaping and carrying out government policy — that in broad outline is Soviet socialist democracy. And it is an inexhaustible source of the dynamic advancement of our society towards communism.

In speaking of the major factors in our successful communist construction, mention must be made of the Leninist nationalities policy of the CPSU. Its consistent implementation has ensured the flourishing

of all the nations and nationalities of our country and brought them ever closer together. The peoples of the USSR are an unbreakable fraternal union welded together by the socialist system and a common way of life, by their common Marxist-Leninist internationalist ideology and by the common aim of building communism.

Such are some of the more important aspects of the life of Soviet society. While noting our achievements we also see clearly our unsolved problems, difficulties and shortcomings and endeavor to improve our work in all spheres of communist construction.

While tackling our immediate tasks and, above all, working for a successful completion of the current Five Year Plan, our Party also devotes much attention to the country's future development, to the improvement of economic planning and management. Plans are being drawn up for the next five-year period and for a longer term, right up to 1990. Work collectives, trade unions, local and central planning and economic bodies, and research organizations are all taking part in this big and complex job.

I should like to stress that in thinking of the future we endeavor to take the fullest possible account of the interests of all socialist states and the prospects and potentialities for our cooperation. These are practically limitless, whether in production, in the field of science and technology or in the sphere of culture, and their realization must aid the progress of each of the socialist countries and world socialism as a whole.

Comrades, united action by the socialist countries is also of decisive importance to the cause of peace and to further advance along the path to a radical normalization of international relations.

Our Party, the Central Committee and its General Secretary, Leonid Brezhnev personally, are exerting tremendous efforts to put into practice the Peace Program adopted by the 24th Congress.

Progressive opinion the world over sees with satisfaction the big changes for the better on the international scene. The cold-war days are behind, and the trend toward détente is increasingly becoming the dominant feature in the development of the international situation. It will be no exaggeration to say that these successes are due in decisive measure to the vigorous joint action of the Soviet Union, all fraternal socialist states. Their determination to work step by step for the strengthening of peace and for the consolidation and development of détente was reaffirmed at the recent meeting of the Warsaw Treaty's Political Consultative Committee.

The will for peace is being very clearly expressed these days by the 10th Congress of the Yugoslav Communists. Let me point out that on the major international issues the positions of the Soviet Union and Yugoslavia fully coincide or are very close. The Soviet people highly value the peace-loving policy of the SRFY.

Political developments in Europe are of prime importance to the destinies of our peoples, and to world peace. It is here, in Europe, which was the scene of the most bitter conflicts, that big steps initiating the process of détente have been taken in the past few years.

At the present time the completion of preparations for the concluding phase of the all-European conference is at the center of European politics. In connection with the Geneva talks I should like to point out the importance of agreement among the participants on the key principle of inviolability of frontiers. Sealed by the authority of the all-European forum, such agreement will be a good answer to the forces which have not yet given up designs of revising the frontiers established in Europe and causing pointless disputes and complications.

The great hopes of the peoples who want a firm and unshakable peace in Europe are bound up with the all-European conference. That is why we are convinced that the concluding stage of this conference must be held at top-level.

Everyone knows that improvement of Soviet-American relations is of great importance for deepening détente and averting the threat of nuclear war. Only forces blinded by hatred of socialism and prepared to saddle the working people with a new armaments' burden for the sake of war profits can have an interest in a tough confrontation between the Soviet Union and the United States.

Of course, the Soviet Union and the United States are at diametrically opposite social poles, but they exist on the same planet. Development of Soviet-American relations on the principles of Peaceful coexistence and constructive cooperation between the USSR and the U.S. — such is the alternative to an unbridled arms race fraught with the danger of war. And we note with satisfaction that the important steps taken to normalize Soviet-American relations, including the agreement on prevention of nuclear war, have met with understanding and support from the fraternal socialist countries.

The successes achieved in strengthening peace do not blind us to the complex problems awaiting solution. One of them is the Middle East conflict. The Soviet Union, Yugoslavia and other fraternal countries vigorously support the just struggle of the Arab peoples and demand the withdrawal of Israeli troops from all occupied territories

and the ensuring of the legitimate rights of the Palestinian Arabs. Only on that basis can there be a political settlement of this conflict and a just and lasting peace brought about in the Middle East.

The cold warriors from the camp of imperialist reaction and their abettors are not laying down their arms. And it depends primarily on the unity of all the forces standing for peace, on the joint efforts of the socialist states, whether the provocations of the enemies of détente will be foiled.

We welcome contributions to reconstructing international relations on a basis of reason and realism on the part of all states, big and small, and regardless of what socio-political system they belong to.

In this context I should like to stress our conviction that the interests of peace would be promoted by further strengthening of the alliance between the socialist countries and the national liberation movement, and by wider cooperation between the socialist states and the movement of non-aligned nations, which Yugoslavia has done much to build up. The fundamental interests and key foreign policy aims of these forces coincide; they are the struggle against imperialism, colonialism and neocolonialism, the struggle for peace and a free and equal development of all peoples.

In concluding, let me thank you yet again, dear comrades, for your friendly, cordial welcome and stress that our Party and the entire Soviet people entertain the warmest fraternal feelings for the peoples of Yugoslavia. Following our Leninist internationalist policy, we shall continue to do everything possible so that our friendship and all-round cooperation may successfully develop and grow.

Long live and flourish the friendship of the peoples of the Soviet Union and Yugoslavia!

May fraternal cooperation between the Soviet and Yugoslav Communists grow ever stronger!

Long live peace and socialism!

A. Kirilenko's speech was listened to with great attention and was repeatedly punctuated with applause. The plant was presented by him with a work by outstanding Soviet sculptor I. Shadra, "Worker with a Banner."

The CPSU delegation visited the Memorial Park in Kragujevac where it laid a wreath at the foot of an imposing monument erected at the spot where the fascist invaders shot more than 7,000 of the city's inhabitants in the autumn of 1941. The victims of this bloody massacre included almost all the pupils of the local high school.

TALK WITH E. KARDELJ

A meeting took place on May 28 between the CPSU delegation to the 10th LCY Congress, headed by A. Kirilenko, and E. Kardelj, member of the LCY Presidency and of the Presidency of the SFRY.

In the course of the friendly talk there was an exchange of views on the further development of relations and cooperation between the two countries and parties, and on a number of topical international issues.

Taking part in the talk were Ts. Mijatovich, member of the LCY Presidency and of the Presidency of the SFRY, J. Bilic, member of the Executive Bureau of the LCY Presidency, and M. Birovljev, member of the Federal Executive Council.

RECEPTION OF CPSU DELEGATION BY COMRADE J. BROZ TITO

On May 29 J. Broz Tito received the CPSU delegation to the 10th LCY Congress, headed by Andrei P. Kirilenko.

On behalf of the CC CPSU, Comrade Kirilenko presented J. Broz Tito with a picture of Lenin in his study as a gift to the 10th Congress of the LCY.

There was a prolonged, friendly conversation between J. Broz Tito and the members of the CPSU delegation.

Present at the reception were Ts. Mijatovich, J. Bilic, member of the Executive Bureau of the LCY Presidency and M. Pesic, Yugoslav Ambassador to the Soviet Union.

Pravda, May 29, 1974

17th CONGRESS OF THE KOMSOMOL

The Leninist Young Communist League of the Soviet Union (Komsomol) held its 17th Congress in Moscow, April 23-27 last. The congress was attended by 4,717 delegates from the 34 million Komsomol members of the country, representatives of 135 Communist youth leagues and democratic and socialist youth organizations of 102 countries, and delegations of the World Federation of Democratic Youth, International Union of Students and All-Africa Youth Movement.

The delegates and guests gave a standing ovation to L.I. Brezhnev,

General Secretary, CC CPSU, and to the other leaders of the CPSU and members of the Soviet government unanimously elected to be delegates to the congress.

The congress was opened by Y.M. Tyazhelnikov, First Secretary, Central Committee of the Komsomol.

After the congress had elected its bodies and approved the agenda, L.I. Brezhnev was given the floor.

SPEECH BY L.I. BREZHNEV

Dear comrade delegates, esteemed guests,

First of all, I would like to cordially congratulate you, all Komsomols and all Soviet young people with this major event — the opening of the 17th Congress of the Lenin Komsomol.

Your present Congress is remarkable in that it has convened on the eve of the historic date in the life of the Komsomol. The message of greetings of the Central Committee to your Congress pointed out that in July 1924, the Young Communist League adopted the dearest name, the name of Lenin, and the delegates of the Sixth Congress of the Russia YCL took a pledge on behalf of all Komsomols: "No matter what barriers stand in our way and no matter what sacrifices are demanded of us . . . we shall not drop the banner of Lenin."

And today, reviewing the road covered by the Komsomol and its glorious deeds, we have all grounds to say that it carries its lofty name of the Lenin Youth League with the greatest dignity. Under the guidance of the Party, the Komsomol is itself learning and teaching the young generation to live, work and struggle as Lenin did for the triumph of communist ideals. Komsomols are in the vanguard everywhere. They are everywhere where a passionate heart, an inquisitive intellect, energy and initiative are needed.

Comrades, it was with heartfelt emotion that we, old Komsomols, so to speak, entered the hall of your Congress today. Seeing you I remembered my own Komsomol youth which left me a charge of energy and optimism for many years. I also recalled my first mentors and first friends — those with whom I was fortunate enough to grasp the complex science of life, the class struggle and construction of a new society.

I remember the 1920s especially well, and, above all, the year 1923 when I joined the Komsomol. At the time there were slightly more than 300,000 people in the Komsomol's ranks. The Komsomols as a rule constituted a small handful of young people at industrial enter-

prises, in offices and villages. But they were full of revolutionary passion, courage and quite often performed heroic deeds.

I remember the subsequent generations of the Lenin Komsomol as being like that too. The enthusiasm and courage of the heroes of the first five-year plans will remain forever in the people's memory. The combat and labor feats of the Komsomol and all Soviet young people in the grim years of the Great Patriotic War are draped with unfading glory. At a difficult time of trials the youth of our country gave all it had for the sake of victory, for the sake of happiness and life on earth.

We Communists are proud of our young people. Not thousands, and not even millions, but tens of millions of young men and women in our country connect their fate with the Komsomol. For many millions of Soviet people the Komsomol has become an inseparable part of their biography, while for our Motherland it has become the embodiment of her eternal youth.

Today the Komsomol counts 34,000,000 people in its ranks. Young people join the Komsomol so as to express their love and loyalty to the Lenin Communist Party, and to give themselves in service to its ideals and the construction of communism. Soviet young people are marching along the road which the great Lenin mapped out for them.

Comrades, our Motherland now possesses a mighty economic and spiritual potential. We are posing and solving tasks which we could not shoulder even 10 years ago. The moral-political unity of our society, the fraternity and friendship of the peoples of our country have become even stronger. We are right to be proud of the truly people's socialist democracy and the Soviet way of life. All this constitutes the real features of mature socialism, the achievements of which you, young people, are called upon to multiply.

As we progress and increase the scope of creative activity, the role of the Party and its influence on all fields of society's development grows. The Party also proceeds from the premise that the living and tremendous cause of communist construction calls for increased activity and initiative on the part of all the country's public organizations and all working people.

The above has a direct bearing on the Lenin Komsomol. For a long time now the Komsomol has firmly occupied a worthy position in the socio-political system of Soviet society. Its role is determined by the very nature, the revolutionary essence of socialism and our aspiration for the future.

The Komsomol has always been and remains the Party's militant reserve and reliable assistant. This is no abstract formula, but real

life, real practical activity. Remarkable is the fact that today two-thirds of the Party's replenishment, more than it was ever before, is supplied by the Komsomol. In the three years following the 24th CPSU Congress about 1,000,000 Komsomols were admitted to the Party ranks. Young Communists continue to work in the Komsomol, constituting the Party nucleus of Komsomol organizations.

The vital connection between the Party and the Komsomol is also expressed in the fact that tens of thousands of youth leaders have been elected to Party steering organs — from the bureaus and committees of the primary organizations to the CPSU Central Committee.

And take a look at the composition of the Soviets, the organs of our state power. Young people under 30 constitute one-fifth of the deputies to the USSR Supreme Soviet, and the share of young people in local Soviets is even greater — nearly one-third. Young people work actively in the trade unions and other mass organizations of working people. The best Komsomols are promoted to responsible sections of Party, economic and cultural construction.

Without exaggerating, we can say that no major problem — whether concerning the affairs of the Soviet Union, a region, district, or labor collective — is handled without the participation of youth. In our country the Komsomol, all young men and women, enjoy unlimited possibilities to express their creative forces and initiative.

It has always been a tradition with Communists to put trust in young people, take support from their inherent enthusiasm and noble aspiration to work for the common good, and at the same time to help young people find correct orientation in life and to arm them with the knowledge and experience of older generations. In the future the Party will continue to reinforce these traditions, develop youth activity and draw them into participation in managing the affairs of socialist society on an even broader scale.

The Motherland and the Party have faith in the young generation, and life has shown: the Komsomol can be relied upon in any cause!

Comrades,

For more than three years already the Party and the entire Soviet people have been working persistently on the fulfilment of the vast socio-economic program elaborated by the 24th CPSU Congress. The country is living at the strenuous labor pace of the Ninth Five-Year Plan. Three glorious, but not easy years of the Five-Year Plan are now behind us. They were a serious test for us. Especially complex was 1972, when our country was hit by a drought, second to none in force and scope in the last 100 years.

Last year was not easy, either. The fate of the entire Ninth Five-Year Plan depended in large measure on its results. It was no accident that the Party declared 1973 the decisive year of the Five-Year Plan. And the fact that we managed to overcome the difficulties and successfully completed the Five-Year Plan's third year is a major labor victory for the Soviet people and our Communist Party.

Together with the Party, the Lenin Komsomol, its assistant, took this responsible examination and passed it, passed with flying colors! Komsomols, young men and women, worked well, and brought joy to our Motherland through wonderful labor achievements. And for all that we express a great Party thank you to the young generation!

The Decrees of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet on the awarding of the Orders of the Red Banner of Labor to a number of Komsomol organizations was published today. This is a remarkable event, recognition of the Komsomols' and youth's major service in economic and cultural construction, and work in communist education. Allow me, dear comrades, to cordially congratulate the newly decorated organizations with the high award!

An innate feature of the Communist-Leninists is a self-critical approach to their work. As you know, the December Plenary Meeting of the Party Central Committee, besides highly assessing the results of shock work, uncovered shortcomings and failings in the past years. It also determined the economic and political tasks for 1974.

If we are to single out the very main thing in the Party's economic policy at the present stage of our development, then it is the sharp turn toward raising the effectiveness of the country's economy on the basis of accelerated scientific-technological progress. The Party is elaborating and implementing major measures on the technological reequipment of production, improvement of its organization and management, planning and economic stimuli, and raising the qualifications and responsibility of the administrative personnel.

All these measures and all our efforts will not produce the desired effect if we do not drastically improve the quality of the work done in all sections of our economy, at each place of work. The quality of work is a very capacious concept. It is composed of many production-economic factors and at the same time embraces a broad range of moral problems.

It includes the clear-cut organization of production, a strict rhythm in the labor process, and strict observance of technological processes. It also means the economic utilization of materials and a careful, thrifty and, I would say, loving approach to machinery; and, of

course, it means conscientious, comradely discipline, and an atmosphere of mutual exactitude and assistance in work. Carelessness, slackness and a negligent approach to work are incompatible with the struggle for quality.

There is hardly any need to prove the tremendous economic and social significance of high quality work. Well-made, conscientiously produced things — be it a machine tool or a tractor, a car or a TV set — economize on social expenditures, alleviate our labor and at the same time raise a man's spirits and labor pride.

The struggle for quality must permeate all aspects of our activity — be it material production or the creation of cultural values, upbringing children or the services industry. Wherever a person works, he must be proud of the results of his labor. From time immemorial the most honorable title among the people in our country has been that of a master or skilled craftsman. We should further raise the respect for this title, and give every encouragement to those who achieve good quality in their work.

More than 30,000,000 young workers, collective farmers and employees are engaged in our country's economy. You realize how wonderful it would be if the Komsomol would actively and militantly take part in the mass youth movement for high quality work, craftsmanship and the honor of a plant's trademark.

The history of socialist construction eloquently testifies to the fact that the entire country has more than once followed the example of young innovators. Alexei Stakhanov, whose name was given to the nationwide movement of shock workers, performed his labor feat at 30. Weavers Maria and Yevdokiya Vinogradov, steelmaker Makar Mazai, tractor-driver Pasha Angelina, and spinner Valentina Gaganova were all under 26 when their initiatives won the recognition of the people.

Today, too, we see many young names among the heroes of the Five-Year Plan. Present in this hall are delegates to the Congress, Heroes of Socialist Labor Anastasiya Yerofeyeva, a spinner from Ivanovo; Viktor Lakomov, a team leader from "Angarstroi;" sugar-beet grower Ustinya Lendyuk; cotton grower and agricultural machine operator Abdusattar Kurbanov, and many others. In their person we cordially greet the young shock workers of the Ninth Five-Year Plan and wish that they hold high this honorable title and be the initiators of proud deeds, youth organizers and leaders for their workmates.

Comrades, with deep gratitude the Soviet people marked the

selfless labor feat performed by young people in the reclamation of virgin lands and the natural wealth of the North, Siberia and the Far East. And not long ago the Komsomol enthusiastically responded to the Party's call to take an active part in a new very large construction project — the construction of the Baikal-Amur railway.

This construction is of tremendous importance. The Baikal-Amur railway will cut through primeval taiga and pass through places where tremendous wealth lies, and which must be put to the service of the Motherland. A new large industrial area of the country will be created there and new cities and settlements built.

We are firmly convinced that the Komsomols and young people will make a worthy contribution to this grandiose construction project. They will carry the torch of Komsomolsk-on-the-Amur, Magnitogorsk and Turksib, Dneproges and the virgin lands, Bratsk and KAMAZ to the new, yet untapped vastness of Siberia.

I would also like to dwell on one more extremely important project which we plan to fulfil, that is, the recently adopted resolution of the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers "On Measures for the Further Development of Agriculture in the Non-Black Earth Zone of the RSFSR." It poses the task of accelerated development of agriculture in one of the country's largest regions.

Suffice it to say that 44 per cent of the Russian Federation's entire population lives in the non-black earth zone. It is an area of colossal potential, which is far from being fully utilized. Active agricultural intensification in this zone will considerably boost its production forces and, essentially speaking, will make it possible to reclaim, as it were, a new virgin-land area.

Large-scale housing and cultural construction is also planned there. Many of the present-day villages will be turned into well-appointed settlements. The zone's industry, especially the light, food and meat-and-dairy industries, will receive a mighty impetus in their development.

I shall tell you frankly that in adopting the agricultural development program for the non-black earth zone we counted on the Komsomol's assistance in its practical implementation, and today I wish to say with satisfaction that our expectations were fulfilled. The Komsomol Central Committee a few days ago adopted a decision announcing land amelioration and rural construction in the non-black earth zone an all-Union Komsomol shock-work construction site and delegating there no less than 20,000 Komsomols and young people every year. We cordially greet this new wonderful initiative of the Komsomol.

Comrades, our time is an age of an grandiose scientific-technological revolution. It embraces all aspects of society's life, and makes great demands on each man, his knowledge and professional training. This must especially concern the young generation, which tomorrow will bear all cares for the further multiplication of our state's material and spiritual forces. The task of constantly adding to and deepening their knowledge and mastering the latest achievements of science and technology faces youth more acutely than ever before. And this refers not only to present-day and future engineers, technicians and other specialists, but to the working class and rural laborers as well.

Profound changes are taking place today within our country's working class. A mere 10-15 years ago such specialists as operators of laser technological installations were only heroes out of sci-fic novels. But what was fantasy yesterday is becoming reality today. The best educated generation of the working class in history has arrived. Approximately 85 per cent of all working young people under 30 have a higher, incomplete higher, secondary or incomplete secondary education. That is a great achievement.

A production worker of a new type is being moulded. Physical and mental labor are combined in him ever more harmoniously. He is a man with broad professional vision and skill, with a profound knowledge of the polytechnical principles of modern production, and capable of quickly mastering the latest machines and technological processes.

In its turn, all this puts the problem of training new workers in a new light. It is necessary, above all, that their main mass be trained in vocational schools so that young people acquire a trade even before they go to work. Therefore, the number of these training establishments is steadily increasing. We have also deemed it necessary to considerably expand the network of such vocational schools whose graduates acquire a general secondary education along with a trade. The number of such schools in our country will be doubled by the end of the current Five-Year Plan period.

Concern for the formation of a worthy replacement for the working class, and for the upbringing of cadres of young specialists has always been the Komsomol's vital cause. The Komsomol "adopted" the first training centers at industrial enterprises, in which young men and women of the 1920s learned the ABCs of education and trade. Komsomols from industrial vocational schools took over their fathers' places of work in 1941 and worked on a par with their elders.

When you think about the glorious road covered by Soviet labor reserves, many wonderful names come to mind. Today I would like to mention Sergei Pavlovich Korolyov and Yuri Alexeyevich Gagarin. A teacher and a pupil. The chief spaceship designer and the world's first cosmonaut. A graduate from a construction school of the 1920s, and an industrial vocational school trainee of the difficult postwar times. A country, where people who start their labor career as a roofer's and a foundryman's apprentice, master the heights of knowledge and pave mankind's way to the stars, is a wonderful country! The destinies of Korolyov and Gagarin provide a most vivid example of the great horizons and vast possibilities which socialism opens up for the man of labor, for our young people.

The time will come when many of today's trainees at vocational schools will become front-ranking workers, production innovators, heroes of labor and the administrators of enterprises and entire economic branches. The Komsomol, above all, must help them prepare for this big life.

I think that in keeping with the wonderful old tradition, the Komsomol should "adopt" vocational schools. Show constant concern for the replacement of the working class and lead it by workingmen's roads into life! The country will be grateful to you for this!

Comrades, our time, one of swift changes in technology and science, has shown the entire depth of Marx's thought: no matter how perfect the machinery man is equipped with, labor will never become an amusement. "Truly free labor. . . ." wrote K. Marx, "is a devilishly earnest affair!" (*Voprosy Filosofii*, No. 7, 1967, p. 108).

Raising young men and women in a spirit of respect and love for labor has always been and remains the most important concern of the Communist Party and one of the main tasks of the Lenin Komsomol. It is a major state problem. Everybody is interested in correctly posing and solving it — labor collectives, public organizations, the school and the family. It concerns the destinies of millions of people, and, moreover, the future of our country.

We have made good headway in dealing with the tasks of the labor education of children and young people. However, we also encounter certain difficulties. Take, for example, this question. All fathers and mothers want their children to live better than they themselves did. That is understandable and humanly explainable. The raising of the Soviet people's well-being helps to implement these parental aspirations. But at times the desire to do good turns out to the child's detriment. Some parents reason in approximately this way: he'll still have time to work hard.

This breeds parasitism, disrespect for labor, and, in the long run, the young person later finds himself in a predicament when choosing a place in life and is not suited to work. Unfortunately, such phenomena are not rare in our country. No! Only those parents who foster working habits in their children from a very early age are doing a really good job.

Nor are we always attentive to young people, young workers and specialists. Those of you in the audience know very well that one's first independent steps in life are of a special significance. Yesterday's schoolchildren, vocational school trainees, and graduates from specialized secondary industrial schools and establishments of higher learning — all need an attentive approach, support and assistance.

The problems of labor education and of correctly choosing a place in life are connected with the solution of a wide range of problems, and in this respect exceptionally much is being done in our country. I have in mind both state measures, especially the role of our schools, and the colossal work being done in this field by the Soviet public. As in other causes, our heroic working class is providing an example in this case too.

A new wonderful movement, that of young workers' mentors, has arisen within the working class. These mentors are veteran workers with great skill and rich life experience who are, I would say, talented teachers. Of their own volition and at the call of their hearts, they teach the young people industriousness and skill, and bring them up on the heroic traditions of our glorious working class.

It is a pleasure for me to inform you that the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet has awarded the high title of Hero of Socialist Labor, for labor gallantry and major work in communist education and the professional training of young people, to:

Stepan Stepanovich Vitchenko, assembly-fitters' team leader at the Leningrad "Elektrosila" Association;

Olga Pavlovna Vakhmyanina, spinner at the Reutovo Mills in Moscow Region;

Pavel Nikitovich Pechenkin, team leader at the Frunze Collective Farm in Altai Territory, and

Alexei Leontyevich Shatilin, honored metallurgist and veteran of the Magnitogorsk iron-and-steel plant.

Allow me, comrades, to cordially congratulate these wonderful people, on my own, my colleagues and your behalf, and to wish them good health and new successes in the education of our country's labor replacement!

The mentors, as it were, hand over the labor torch from the present to the future. And from the bottom of our hearts we greet the representatives of the glorious working class who, sparing neither strength nor time, pass on their rich experience and knowledge to the young generation entering the big labor life. It's good that the Komsomol works hand in hand with these mentors, giving every support to this splendid initiative. Let us wish the mentors' movement to become massive and embrace all corners of the country, all plants, factories, coal and ore mines, construction sites, and collective and state farms. This is a wonderful, noble cause, comrades! We call on you to support it.

Comrades, one of the most important tasks in the Komsomol's work is raising young people in the spirit of the new communist morality, based, as Vladimir Ilyich used to say, "... on the struggle for the consolidation and completion of communism." (Col. Works, English ed., Vol. 31, p. 295.)

The fulfilment of Lenin's behest on fostering communist morality in young people takes on especially great importance at present. We are living in an era of developed socialism, an era of the construction of the material and technological basis for communist society. An active process of forming the best human qualities, qualities of a member of communist society, is progressing along with major social and economic transformations. We possess all the conditions for this.

We have accumulated tremendous spiritual wealth unprecedented in history. The most advanced and the most humane system of ethical norms and social values has taken shape in our society. The most profound changes have taken place in the social psychology of millions of people. The wonderful atmosphere of creative labor and human trust has become established in our country.

The moral by which we are guided is an alloy of selfless loyalty to the ideals of communism and a sense of high civic responsibility, love for one's socialist Motherland and fraternal solidarity with the working people of all countries, collectivism and irreconcilability towards violations of a social obligation.

Our communist morality inherits by right and develops the humanistic norms of ethics elaborated by mankind. Industry, honesty, modesty, personal dignity, comradeship and mutual respect are all inseparable features of the moral image of the Soviet man.

The Komsomol disposes of a great arsenal of means for the further intensification of youth's communist upbringing.

We must pass on the best of everything accumulated by the ethical

experience of the new society to the young people, each young man and woman, and at the same time persistently eliminate everything that hinders life and work. We still come across, and unfortunately quite often, manifestations of egoism, money-grubbing, and a consumer approach to life. It would be incorrect to underestimate the danger of these negative phenomena.

Not everything is as one would want it to be in the organization of young people's spare time. This is not an idle question. It is of paramount importance that young people learn to use their spare time rationally. Idleness, drinking and not so merry, I would say, "merri-ment," just for the sake of "killing time" — these losses in early years are not so easily rectified later on. And, on the other hand, the expansion of one's vision, raising cultural standards, political training, knowledge of one's own land, and physical fitness are all precious treasures. Achieved early in life and constantly replenished, they will serve you, dear comrades, your entire life.

The Soviet people's spiritual world is based on the firm foundation of our revolutionary teachings. Moulding views means giving convincing answers to questions bothering young people.

Therefore, it is very important that the study of Marxist-Leninist theory by young people does not boil down to memorizing ready-made conclusions, it must help them think independently, solve urgent problems, see the laws and prospects of social development and carry on an irreconcilable struggle against bourgeois ideology. There is no need to prove that this depends first of all on how well the instructors, propagandists, teachers of social sciences and the ideological personnel themselves know revolutionary theory.

The great importance our Party ascribes to literature and art for the cultural growth and ethical education of the young people is well known. The Party and the people are grateful, and, as you know, highly value the writers, artists and people in the theatre and cinema, whose work reveals the truth of life and inspires the Soviet people to selfless labor in the name of communism.

Our literature and art are one flesh and blood with the heroic Soviet people. They have grown up, matured and improved together with our country, and achieved outstanding heights.

Throughout its long history, Soviet literature and art have experienced quite a few attempts to lead them away from life and divorce them from our ideals. Even now some people in the West have not given up these aspirations. Certain apostates and stray individuals in our country, too, have attempted to tune up with our class, ideologi-

cal enemies. All their efforts, however, have proved in vain. Our soil is quite unsuited for the growth of such weeds.

Works of Soviet literature and art constitute our priceless cultural wealth and our socialist national pride. Quite a few of them have entered the treasury of world culture. Everything wonderful created by Soviet writers, artists, composers and people in the theatre and cinema lives and will continue to live in the people and serve the triumph of our great ideals.

We believe that in the future, too, the people in Soviet literature and art will continue to give their talent, multiplied by boundless love for the Motherland and loyalty to their people, to the creation of new works, which will occupy a place among the best creations of Soviet and world literature and art.

From the rostrum of the Komsomol Congress, I would like to wish major successes to the young writers, artists, composers and creative people in the theatre and cinema. We await new creations from them. And that will be their invaluable contribution to our common cause and, above all, to the cause of Soviet youth's communist upbringing.

Our Party wishes the Komsomol to further strengthen the traditional friendship and cooperation with the people in Soviet literature and art, and to utilize their art even more actively in the interests of youth's communist upbringing. All the means of our vast ideological front — the press, radio, TV, cultural-enlightenment institutions — must be utilized even more fully.

The Komsomol has one more very big and very responsible section of communist education. I mean, dear friends, the school, our many-millions-strong Young Pioneers. Many boys and girls join the Komsomol at school, at the age of 14-15. School Komsomol organizations in our country today count more than 7,000,000 members. This is the Komsomol's youngest detachment.

The bringing up of schoolchildren and work with Young Pioneers must be constantly on the agenda of all Komsomol organizations as one of their main items. Only then will a good replacement come to the Komsomol organizations of factories, collective farms, construction sites, institutes and military units. And only in this way will the Komsomol be able to cope successfully with the Party's responsible assignment — to lead and tutor young Leninists.

Comrades, I have dwelt only on some of the cardinal issues in the Komsomol's work. They are variegated and most important. But it cannot be otherwise, for such is the historic mission of the Lenin Young Communist League.

In this context I would like to stress the following. We often and correctly say that the Komsomol is a major force. At the same time we have at no time, under no circumstances, the right to forget that the Komsomol's strength lies first of all in the Party leadership, in our constant attention, support and concern for it.

From the rostrum of the Congress of the glorious, Order-bearing Komsomol I appeal, first of all, to the Party organs, the primary Party organizations, to exercise fatherly concern for the Komsomol, and to continue to spare neither strength nor time in bringing up the young generation.

Our administrative personnel and public organizations have never stood and cannot stand aside from the Komsomol. From ministers and departmental heads, directors of enterprises, chief engineers and technologists, to trade unions and other public organizations and state organs — all must be even more attentive to the Komsomol, draw it into their affairs, support its initiatives and render the necessary assistance.

The Komsomol must always and in everything feel the guiding hand, assistance and support of the Party, of all its cadres. This was bequeathed to us by the great Lenin and is demanded by the supreme laws of our Communist Party.

Comrades, you in this audience, delegates of the Congress, represent the generation of Soviet people who were born and grew up under peaceful skies. We regard this as one of the more important results of the Leninist foreign policy which our Party, country and the entire socialist community are consistently pursuing.

Working for the fulfilment of the Peace Program proclaimed by the 24th CPSU Congress and overcoming the counteraction of reactionary forces, from imperialist circles to the Maoist leadership, we follow, undeviatingly, step by step, the difficult road of international détente.

The principles of peaceful coexistence are penetrating ever deeper into international relations, pushing back the threat of a nuclear catastrophe. These developments are in accord with mankind's cardinal interests and create the most favorable conditions for the struggle for social progress, and the social and national liberation of peoples.

Our state's foreign policy is called a peace offensive. Probably one may agree to that. An offensive presupposes vigorous action and an undeviating aspiration to push forward and develop already achieved successes. We shall continue this most noble offensive in the name of life on earth, of our children's happiness and mankind's present and future.

The spiritual untenability of modern capitalist society has been revealed at the present stage of development with even greater clarity. The socio-economic contradictions of imperialism manifest themselves ever more strongly. The state-monopoly capitalist system intensifies social inequality, suppresses the creative possibilities of the people and especially of the young generation, removing them from active participation in social life.

Arising in all its magnitude before the young people in the capitalist countries is the problem of making a choice, of determining their stand on the most acute problems of our time: war and peace; the ways of society's development; the utilization of scientific and technological achievements; the purpose of art and literature, and the meaning of their own life and activities. Broad sections of working young people reject bourgeois society's morals, and are acting ever more boldly within the ranks of the anti-imperialist movement, led by the working class.

It is difficult to overestimate the significance of the activities of the Komsomol and your peers in the socialist countries for working youth and all progressive young people around the world. You are full-fledged citizens of the country of socialism. Your active creative labor for the benefit of society, and your life, filled with profound meaning and lofty thoughts, are wonderful propaganda for the immortal cause of Lenin.

With great satisfaction we note the consolidation of your cooperation with the young men and women of the socialist countries, and the growth of the Komsomol's prestige in the youth movement. Close ties, joint actions and fraternal friendship with the Young Communist Leagues and all young people in the socialist countries is, I would say, one of the most important principles in the Komsomol's work.

Young people's organizations in the socialist countries today constitute large detachments of young men and women. They are young friends, your allies and like-minded people in struggle. The Communist Parties in the socialist countries render all-round support to the youth movement and do tremendous work in bringing up the young generation. We know and highly appreciate that.

Youth organizations in the socialist countries highly value friendship with our Komsomol and regard it as a life-giving source for their organizational and ideological growth, as well as a most important factor for the Marxist-Leninist education of the young people in their countries.

Komsomol relations with many progressive and democratic youth

organizations in all continents of the world have considerably expanded and strengthened over the last few years. This, of course is of great importance for the further consolidation of anti-imperialist solidarity among the various detachments of the international youth movement, which is taking an active part in the peoples' struggle for peace, national independence and social progress. It is imperative, in the future also, to find a foundation for joint work with all those sincerely interested in the development of mutual understanding and cooperation among young people in different countries in the interests of a better future for them.

Allow me to wish you success in this noble activity. Always be worthy of the high title of young builders of communism, internationalist-Leninists, and fighters for peace, freedom and social progress!

Dear comrades and friends,

We often say: our young people are following the road of their fathers. And that is correct, comrades! Confidently marching along this road, young people continue the way started by the Great October, and enrich the experience of past generations with fresh experience.

There is no borderline, no watershed, looking at which one could say: this is the present and that is the future. Already today one must build and affirm this future each and every day of one's working life, bring it closer and translate it into reality. It is in the name of this that your League bears the lofty title of Leninist, communist.

Long live the Lenin Komsomol! Long live the young generation of the Land of Soviets!

Long live the great Soviet people — builders of communism!

Long live the Party of Communists!

May the ideas of Marxism-Leninism live and triumph!

The delegates and guests heard L.I. Brezhnev's speech with keen attention and repeatedly expressed their approval through stormy and prolonged applause.

The congress next heard and discussed the reports of the Central Committee and Central Auditing Commission.

The speeches by the representatives of foreign youth organizations were received with warm cordiality.

On April 25, congress deliberations went on in 12 sections at whose meetings 389 delegates spoke.

On April 26, the congress unanimously adopted a decision approving the work done by the CC in educating the younger generation in a Leninist spirit and in rallying the membership and young people generally to carry out the decisions of the 24th Congress of the CPSU.

A resolution was passed by unanimous vote on the CC report.

On behalf of the 34 million Komsomol members, the congress expressed deep gratitude to the Leninist Central Committee of the CPSU for its constant care of the youth and the Komsomol, and assured it that the Komsomol will continue to follow the CPSU always and in everything, cherish and add to the Soviet people's traditions of revolution, struggle and labor, and educate fitting successors of the older generation of fighters for communist ideals.

The congress adopted partial amendments to the Rules of the Komsomol.

It approved the report of the Central Auditing Commission.

The congress next elected the central bodies of the Komsomol.

On April 26, the CC held its first plenary meeting to discuss organizational matters.

The meeting elected Y.M. Tyazhelnikov First Secretary of the CC. Another eight comrades were elected CC secretaries.

On April 27, the congress held a meeting to mark the 50th anniversary of the naming of the Komsomol after Vladimir Ylyich Lenin. It adopted with great enthusiasm a message of greetings to the Central Committee of the CPSU.

Pravda, April 24, 1974

IN BRIEF

AUSTRIA

A conference of the Communist Party of Austria held in Vienna in the beginning of May discussed the question of the Party's stand in the presidential elections. The conference unanimously decided to call upon Austrian workers not to vote for the representatives of the capitalist system — the candidates of the ruling Socialist Party and the Austrian People's Party.

CANADA

The 22nd Convention of the Communist Party of Canada, initially scheduled for April 12-14 (see *IB*, no. 5-6, 1974), was held in Toronto May 18-20.

The delegates discussed and endorsed a report by General Secretary William Kashtan and adopted a Policy Statement setting forth the Party's program of action for the coming period.

Kashtan's report and delegates in their speeches stressed the need, among other things, to step up the struggle for détente and peace, an independent Canadian foreign policy, all-round ties with different countries, including socialist, and Canada's withdrawal from NATO.

Delegates also spoke of the need to step up efforts to strengthen the unity of the international Communist and workers' movement on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism.

They denounced the splitting activities of the Maoists who were betraying the international communist movement and called for a more concerted struggle against right and "left" opportunism.

The Convention delegates warmly supported a proposal for holding a new international meeting of Communist and Workers' parties to discuss the important changes since the 1969 Meeting and work out a plan of joint action in the struggle against imperialism and reaction.

The Convention drew up an action plan for the Party's election campaign following the resignation of the Trudeau government and the calling of new parliamentary elections. It pointed to the need of more active work to expand Communist links and contacts with trade unions, farmers', youth, women's and other progressive organizations for building up a united democratic front and defeating the right-wing forces.

The Party's leading bodies were elected. William Kashtan was re-elected General Secretary.

CUBA

The annual Party conferences held in all the country's provinces have demonstrated convincingly that the Communist Party of Cuba, which has 170,000 members, has become the nation's leading organizing force rallying the people in the struggle for building up a socialist society. The conferences took place at a time when the country is preparing for the first Party congress to be held next year.

It was pointed out at the Communist forums that the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism form the basis of Party activity.

NORWAY

April 21 was the last day of a national conference of the Socialist Election Alliance (SEA), which includes the Communist Party, the

Socialist People's Party (SPP), the Democratic Socialists — Worker Information Committee and Independent Socialists. The conference was attended by 300 delegates.

The main item on the agenda was the prospect of political and organizational merger of the parties and groups of the SEA in a single political party on a Marxist basis.

Addressing the conference, CP Chairman Reidar Larsen stressed that the SEA's experience the powerful urge for unity and the tasks facing the Alliance in Norwegian politics make unity "not only possible but necessary," and that the objective of the SEA is to set up a "united socialist party of left socialist forces."

The conference unanimously adopted a "SEA Development Plan for Complete Organizational Unification in a Single Party" envisaging three merger stages.

The first stage (up to January 1, 1975) provides for: election of a plenum of the SEA executive to include representatives from all the country's counties and members of the SEA Central Executive; election of SEA county and branch committees; holding of county SEA conferences in the autumn of 1974 to discuss preparations for the communal elections in the autumn of 1975 and sum up the merger debate; discussion of publication of a joint newspaper and cooperation between *Friheten* (the CP organ) and *Orientering* (the SPP organ), and other questions.

The second stage, to last from January 1 to March 15, 1975, will include introduction of individual SEA membership, putting up a single list for the communal elections, drafting a program for the new party, setting up a single press organ, and holding a unification congress before March 15 to proclaim the SEA a party and elect its national council.

The third and final stage of SEA unification will begin after the 1975 communal elections and last until the end of 1976. During that period the parties will hold their respective congresses to take final action on the unification issue. As envisaged, the congresses will take note that the unification process has been completed and declare the parties dissolved. Then, before the end of the year, the SEA is to hold its second congress as a single party.

The SEA conference also adopted the new party's draft political platform which is being submitted to local SEA organizations for discussion. Comments from them will be accepted up to October 1, 1974.

The conference passed a number of other political statements.

SWITZERLAND

The Swiss Party of Labor (SPL) held its 10th Congress in Basle on June 1-3. It was attended by some 150 delegates from Party organizations in all the country's cantons and by delegations and representatives from 15 fraternal parties, including a delegation of the CPSU. A number of other parties sent messages of greetings.

The congress discussed the report of the Central Committee delivered by Politburo member and CC Secretary Jean Vincent.

Speaking of the political situation in Switzerland, Vincent noted the runaway inflation, with prices spiralling and real incomes falling. The conditions of life were getting harder and harder and the first to suffer was the working class, although the burdens and declining standards were felt as well by white-collar workers, pensioners, immigrant workers and housewives, leaving only the big businessmen and monopolists unaffected. As a loyal champion of the fundamental interests of the working class, the Swiss Party of Labor saw its task in waging a persistent struggle for raising living standards, guaranteeing full employment and ensuring the social rights of the working people.

To achieve these objectives, Vincent said, the masses must be rallied to the struggle against the domination of monopoly capital. But fundamental reforms were impossible without a united working class. The basis of our policy, the speaker said, is unity of left forces and unity of the people. The SPL's struggle is aimed at bringing about a fundamental change in society, and establishing a socialist Switzerland.

The speaker also dwelt on questions of Party building, work with the youth, strengthening Party ranks and enlisting new members.

We, said Vincent, are the vanguard party of our country's working class. We want to be an active and creative force firmly upholding the genuine interests of the nation.

Following a debate, the congress passed a political resolution "Workers' Unity in the Fight for a New Switzerland," approved a number of amendments to the Party Constitution and adopted a resolution on stepping up the struggle against rising prices.

A new Central Committee and Central Control Commission were elected. At its first meeting the Central Committee elected 14 members of the Politbureau and a Secretariat of five. Jean Vincent was elected Chairman of the Party.

PLENARY MEETINGS

DOCUMENT OF THE 15th ENLARGED PLENUM OF THE CC, CP OF HONDURAS

Following are extracts from the document, published in full in *El Trabajo*, theoretical, political and information journal of the CPH (No. 1, 1974).

The political process which began in Honduras as a result of the military coup of December 4, 1972 and the prerequisites of which had been developing in the previous period of class struggles is continuing within the framework of bourgeois reformism. It is due to purely historical factors, not to a voluntarist decision taken by one or more individuals. Those involved in it merely submit, irrespective of their own contribution, to the laws of social development and are operating in line with the current trend of history. This is not to say, however, that the process is irreversible or that it can only go on in a progressive direction. Much can happen in Honduras in the immediate or more distant future depending on the social forces that win the upper hand. What is certain is that in present conditions we are making progress.

The reformist bourgeoisie of our country was able to gain prominence in this process, for while there are signs of growing political awareness of the masses, the revolutionary movement in Honduras is still weak and its organizational basis narrow, so that it is not the decisive political force of the nation. This situation was exploited by the reformist bourgeoisie.

NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT PLAN

The National Development Plan (NDP) announced by General Oswaldo López Arellano, head of the state, on January 1, 1974 reaffirms the reformist policy which a section of the bourgeoisie has been carrying on ever since December 4, 1972, when the policy was framed.

Politically, the NDP is geared to the capitalist road of development, which implies a series of administrative and structural reforms guaranteeing rigid control of the domestic situation by the reformist bourgeoisie. Therefore the misgivings of certain oligarchic quarters, which fear that the government may adopt a more progressive position and set out to introduce elements of non-capitalist development, are groundless.

Although the NDP provides for certain measures in mining, industry, the social sphere and taxation, its main object is a bourgeois agrarian reform. Indeed, the present government and, above all, the reformist bourgeoisie, which influences government decision-making, realize that agriculture is the sphere where semi-feudal production relations persist, hampering the country's capitalist development. This circumstance prompted the ruling quarters to put forward a National Agrarian Reform Plan as their fundamental aspiration. The plan takes a perfectly explicit stand on the issue by stating that "the reform is the main factor in the strategy of economic development of the country." In accordance with this criterion, the authorities have drafted a plan which does not go beyond bourgeois reforms and, indeed, fails to use all the opportunities of combating pre-capitalist survivals which the bourgeoisie has today.

AGRARIAN REFORM MODEL

The National Agrarian Reform Plan notes the existence of three sectors in Honduran agriculture:

(1) *Traditional*: over 400 semi-feudal latifundia, 120,440 minifundia and 62,800 landless families

(2) *Modern*: estates using up-to-date techniques and showing a high rate of labor productivity

(3) *New*: 70 cooperatives, 40 peasant leagues, 800 branches of the National Association of Honduran Peasants (ANACH), and 300 asentamientos. The plan states that the key task is "to strengthen modern farms and abolish traditional in favor of new forms." The reason for this is that the traditional sector has a negligible share on the home market and hampers industrial development. In short, this strategy is used, in our Party's view, because concentrated in this sector are pre-capitalist production relations blocking the growth of the productive forces.

Analysis of this model reveals an intention to speed capitalist development in the countryside, for this is the only result which the effort "to strengthen modern forms" is likely to produce. The differ-

ence between the new sector and the capitalist model is immaterial because with private ownership of the means of production it remains capitalist whatever the organizational system of social labor. A case in point is the cooperatives, which function within a capitalist framework. Surely they are collective organizations or enterprises exploiting wage labor.

Nevertheless, the agrarian model has an aspect which should be pointed out because it is unquestionably the very substance of the plan. We mean the Agrarian Reform Asentamientos. According to the plan, the asentamiento is a joint enterprise, or a form of associated production, enabling poor producers to pool their energies, equipment, services and other means primarily for cultivating the allotted land, producing and selling goods and then distributing incomes or losses among themselves in proportion to the contribution of each.

This form of collective farming, the simplest variety of cooperation in labor, can, nevertheless, serve as the basis for making participants more progressive-minded.

STRATEGY OF THE AGRARIAN REFORM

The strategy of the National Agrarian Reform Plan provides for redistributing the lands which are not fully used, or roughly 600,000 hectares, within five years. It is estimated that 120,000 families can be settled on these lands, each of them being allotted five hectares. They would form so-called associated enterprises to engage in farming. Each enterprise would comprise an average of 100 families, that is, the plan envisages the establishment of 1,200 associated agricultural enterprises. What would be, specifically, the functions of these enterprises?

The plan gives no details and so it is hard for us to complete our political analysis of it. However, since it is in effect a question of a variety of agricultural cooperative, the purpose of associated enterprises may be described as laying the groundwork for "communitary capitalism" that will both serve as the mainstay of private enterprise and, more important still, strive to prevail on the masses to accept this system. Thus the Honduran reformist bourgeoisie shows that it knows what it is doing.

However, to avoid misunderstanding, which may result from objective class criticism, we must say in so many words the Communists are no enemies of progress and hence do not idealize the past. This is why, even though the development of capitalism in the countryside will mean greater exploitation of wage labor in both private and col-

lective enterprises, we declare, in the absence of a better alternative, for announcing the reform because it will be a step forward compared with the state of semi-slavery or semi-serfdom in which our peasant masses are today. We will contribute to the accomplishment of the task set by the government, and will strive to ensure that this is not confined to the NDP but goes beyond it, so that major enterprises and a vast market may be brought into being and large-scale projects carried out. We do not idealize peasant labor but neither do we favor the Maoist theory which alleges that "people wearing bast shoes are closer to the socialist revolution than the people of industrially developed countries."

RESULTS OF FULFILLING THE NDP

We have said that the NDP is a step forward in the government's policy of reform. This means that the agrarian reform, the main object of the reform program, is merely an attempt to extend and put into practice the policy announced by Decree 8. Under this decree, 300 peasant asentamientos were set up in 1973. They are classed as "associated enterprises," and the new plan formally recognizes these asentamientos and provides for setting up another 1,200 enterprises of a similar type in five years, or roughly 240 a year. This fully shows up the bourgeois reformist bias of the NDP maintained by the military government ever since it was formed. However, consistent fulfilment of this program may have economic and political implications which in the near or distant future may be the following:

1. Increasing class conflicts at national level, especially in rural areas, where semi-feudal landowners will go to any lengths to retain their holdings. The most important result of these conflicts will be a precise differentiation of class forces between the rising agrarian bourgeoisie and a growing agricultural proletariat.

2. The emergence on the political scene of the masses in town and country due to the campaign which measures for restructuring the economy contemplated by the government will provoke.

3. Strengthening and expansion of mass organizations — the trade unions as well as cooperatives, communitary enterprises and other production units. Politically, the reform will have a stronger impact on the countryside, where the masses have traditionally been more divided and less organized due to the policy of reaction.

4. Growing political consciousness of the masses. It is safe to say that every since the 1969 war with El Salvador, anti-imperialist sentiment has been going up steeply among our people. The new stage will

add in important measure to anti-oligarchic sentiments among the masses, the basis on which the anti-bourgeois consciousness needed for subsequent battles of the proletariat against the bourgeoisie can be moulded.

5. Greater bourgeois legality. The reformist bourgeoisie itself needs this because it requires freedom of action. Legality depends largely on the government's attitude and not on the provisions of a nominal bourgeois Constitution.

Needless to say, the NDP, which contains precise class definitions, does not rule out anti-communist moves by some members of government, who will be "entitled to uphold" the new domestic situation.

6. The traditional parties will be discredited more and more. The NDP has again revealed (interpreting it in original fashion) the anti-Honduran, retrograde nature of the so-called historical parties, the Liberals and Nationals, and shown them to be political organizations expressing the interests of the reactionary oligarchy. This discrediting will increase as the NDP is put into effect and its main objectives are achieved, which will depend on the effort of the masses, for they alone can ensure that the program is fulfilled and carried deeper.

THE ULTRA-RIGHTISTS AND ULTRA-LEFTISTS TODAY

The reactionary oligarchs, who on December 4 lost their political but not economic power, have by no means renounced effort to regain their positions. Ever since the military government took its early steps, they have been hatching an ultra-rightist conspiracy to bring back the fascist-like system of the recent period. The traditional Liberal and National parties have become the main forces of the conspiracy. They call for the restoration of so-called constitutional order, that is, a situation enabling them to engage in machinations.

The 19th Congress of the National Federation of Farmers and Stock-Breeders of Honduras, which met in Santa Rosa de Copán last February, was a clear sign of an ultra-rightist conspiracy. Latifundists took the congress floor to attack the government's modest initiatives. The anti-communist campaign launched by ultra-reactionaries is part of their conspiracy. *La Prensa* and *La Noticia*, two newspapers controlled by Meruelos, a Cuban counter-revolutionary, and certain commentators who are USIA agents describe the NDP as a "Soviet" and "socialist" plan. They allege that the agrarian reform is aimed at eliminating private property. In other words, ideologists in the service

of conservatives and U.S. imperialism misrepresent reforms which do not go beyond bourgeois bounds, in an effort to deceive the people into questioning the real purpose of the planned measures. Everyone is aware, of course, that the ultimate goal of this hysterical propaganda is to clear the decks for an ultra-reactionary coup and restore the power of the traditional oligarchy.

Another important aspect of the traditional oligarchy's conspiracy is the threat of a new armed aggression against Honduras which comes from a similar oligarchy ruling El Salvador. It has been demonstrated that the reactionary oligarchs of Honduras see in a war with El Salvador or another neighbor the alternative to the process of reform which has largely stripped them of power and threatens them with still greater losses if the masses succeed in carrying the process forward. To head off a war which is also in the interest of El Salvador's oligarchs, the Communist parties of the two countries agreed to cooperate in solving the problem and evolved an action program to ensure that the conflict is not settled by ultra-conservative oligarchies but by our two peoples. The joint declaration approved last February states the case as follows: "Peace benefits the majority of the social forces of either country. War is harmful to them on all counts. Hence it is indispensable for all to rise as one man against those who try to profit from death and foment a conflict between the two nations."

The ultra-rightists' conspiracy benefits from the position of their invariable fellow-travellers, the ultra-Leftists, who fall into three more or less different currents: Maoists, neo-anarchists and social nationalists. Organizationally, the first belong to the so-called Marxist-Leninist Communist Party, and the others are members of the Honduran Working People's Party. The Maoists favor a "protracted war," as everyone knows. The neo-anarchists advocate "guerrilla war seats as the catalyst of revolutionary struggle," and the social nationalists call for the "Honduran road to socialism." All three trends hold that no changes have occurred in the political process even though their analyses of developments reveal certain differences of shading. They consider that Honduras is still ruled by a dictatorship of the traditional oligarchy and that the military government's positive steps are therefore "sheer demagoguery." The ultra-Leftists regard exposure of the government's activity as the right thing to do and as for striving to radicalize the process going on in the country, they have blacklisted it as "opportunism."

On February 5, the reactionary *Prensa* carried an editorial extolling the Maoists because they see nothing positive in the NDP. Of course,

the Maoists are not in the least embarrassed by the fact that they are praised by that Cuban counter-revolutionary, Meruelos, and hailed by a paper which encourages reactionary terror in our country.

Elated by the praises heaped on them, the ultra-Leftists persist in their infantilism and refuse to admit that revolution is not high-sounding talk but action and that every step forward can hasten the hour of decisive battles. Our Party's attitude in this historical situation is based on Marxist-Leninist principles and it is therefore absurd to accuse it of opportunist departures, as those who like big words and ignore the facts do.

POSITION OF THE WORKING CLASS AND ITS VANGUARD

The working class and its vanguard, the Communist Party, must take an explicit stand on the political process initiated by the reformist bourgeoisie. This developing process has three alternatives:

(a) it may be defeated as a result of the ultra-reactionary coup being fomented by the oligarchy in alliance with U.S. imperialism;

(b) it may stop half-way, without reaching its ultimate objectives, under the pressure of anti-democratic and anti-popular forces at home as well as of external forces;

(c) due to the struggle of the masses, it may culminate in the achievement of the bourgeoisie's far-reaching aims and go further by securing satisfaction of some demands of the working class.

Hence the democratic content of the domestic political situation will depend primarily on the resolve on the masses to fight and not on the government's position. We consider that the position of the working class and our Party may be stated in general terms as follows:

1. Explicitly and firmly supporting the positive aspects of the NDP, first of all those:

(a) paving the way for the elimination of pre-capitalist survivals;

(b) recognizing the need to establish a minimum wage;

(c) announcing that the timber industry will be put under government control;

(d) establishing a new and more effective system of control over the exploitation of our mineral resources by foreign companies;

(e) transferring all unused lands to the peasants, including the lands held by the banana monopolies;

(f) providing for social measures, primarily in the spheres of education and public health.

All these points are contained in our Party's minimum program. In

line with this specific and explicit position, we must resist and defeat all ultra-reactionary actions — both those originating at home and those organized from without — that are designed to bring back the rule of the traditional oligarchy. For the same reason, we must resolutely oppose the traditional political parties and contribute in every way to their further disintegration so that these parties, which are political spokesmen of the ultra-rightists, may have no opportunity whatever to restore their power.

2. Constantly revealing and demonstrating the limitations and inconsistency of the NDP, a creation of the bourgeoisie in keeping with its clearly expressed interests. In accordance with this position, we must resolutely support the working people's pressing demands, remembering that by virtue of its class nature the government may at any time give in to the demands of the capitalists while ignoring or paying less heed to the demands of the people, as is shown by the government's tolerance of artificial increases in the prices of prime necessities and fuel and in transport fares. The people cannot look indifferently on the mounting cost of living — in view of the ultras' conspiracy, they must put forward their own demands and take a stand against concessions, which are granted so often to the privileged.

3. Resolutely maintaining the independence of the working class, a requisite of objectively analyzing the political process and influencing the masses in regard to the main objective of the Honduran revolution at this stage, which consists in providing objective and subjective conditions for socialism in our country and determines the character and content of the *democratic, anti-imperialist, agrarian and popular revolution* dealt with in our Program Theses. The working class must not forget that it can win its freedom solely through its own efforts and that therefore political processes directed by other classes, even when these processes are democratic and progressive, cannot lead to the ultimate goal of the proletarian revolution. This makes it the duty of the working class and its vanguard to become the most significant force of the current process of change so as both to remove all obstacles which they are bound to encounter and to carry the process further. Accordingly, it is highly important to take every step toward forming a worker-peasant alliance and making it the pivot of a broad front of the masses. This must be done both to push forward the current political process and prepare for future struggles in which the people will seek complete and political independence.

RESOLUTIONS OF THE PLENARY MEETING OF THE CC OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN COMMUNIST PARTY

FOR PEACE AND LIBERATION

The Central Committee notes the major developments in the international situation that have taken place since its last plenary session, marked by a decisive shift in favor of the forces of peace, socialism and national liberation; against war, imperialism and reaction.

The developments are reflected in a greatly improved international climate of détente, and peaceful coexistence.

The heroic people of Vietnam, backed by the unstinting support of the USSR and other socialist countries and by the world democratic movement, have gained a brilliant victory. The invaders have been compelled to withdraw their forces and end their open intervention. Despite attempts by the Thieu puppet regime and its supporters to sabotage and undermine the Paris and related agreements, the way has been opened up for the democratic unification of Vietnam and the establishment of peace and democracy all over Indo-China.

Imperialism has been forced to retreat from its cold-war positions in a number of important areas and to recognize the principle of peaceful coexistence between states with different social systems.

The USA has negotiated a number of agreements with the USSR envisaging progress toward disarmament and cooperation in trade and research. The capitalist blockade of the GDR has been completely broken down. The FRG has had to come to terms with the Soviet Union and socialist Europe.

These developments have helped to lift the shadow of a nuclear catastrophe threatening all peoples of the world. They also create more favorable conditions for the struggle of all oppressed nations and classes striving for national and social emancipation.

Great credit for the worldwide advance of the progressive forces is due to the peace initiatives of the socialist countries, notably the Soviet Union. Basing itself on its ever-growing strength, potential and cohesion and guided especially by the Peace Program adopted by the

The African Communist, No. 57 Second Quarter 1974, pp. 34-39.

24th Congress of the CPSU, the world socialist community has won major victories for the cause of peace.

The sustained struggles of the international working class, national liberation and other democratic movements are a vital factor in the forces against imperialism and war.

We are confident that the continued vigilance of the world peace forces can defeat those tendencies within imperialism which favor a return to world confrontation.

The unity and might of these forces was reflected in the historic Moscow Conference of Peace Forces in November 1973. Never before has so broad and impressive a gathering of representatives of the world's peoples assembled and agreed upon the pooling of their efforts for peace, against imperialism and oppression. Our Party, recognizing that the fight for world peace is a necessary part of our struggle for national and social liberation in our country, pledges its support for the fulfilment of the decisions of this great Congress.

CHILE

The bloody events in Chile show that reaction and imperialism have not relinquished their aim to halt and reverse the forward march of the peoples by every possible means.

The traitor military junta, backed by U.S. monopolies and the CIA are trying to drown in blood the most important movement to transform the lives of the poverty-stricken masses of Latin America since the Cuban revolution.

We declare our complete solidarity with the working masses of Chile, with the Communists, Socialists and democrats who have been murdered, tortured and imprisoned in the course of the fascist plot to destroy democracy and overthrow the legal government of the martyred President Salvador Allende.

We demand the release of Luis Corvalan, General Secretary of the Communist Party of Chile and of all imprisoned patriots and democrats.

We express our full support for the determined fight of the Chilean people, led by Popular Unity, for the overthrow of the fascist junta and the restoration of Chilean democracy on the road to socialism.

ON THE MIDDLE EAST

By their aggressive, annexationist, anti-Arab racist policies, the Zionist rulers of Israel, acting as a bridgehead for U.S. imperialism, have created a constant situation of tension in the Middle East. They

bear the full responsibility for the renewed outbreak of war in October 1973 which cost thousands of lives and threatened an international war.

The Arab peoples, particularly of Egypt, Syria and Palestine, by their patriotism, courage and military ability, and relying on the consistent and highly effective assistance and technology of the Soviet Union, as well as the unity of the Arab states, was able to deal a devastating military and political blow at the Zionists. The prospects for a just and stable settlement in the Middle East have been opened up, following the cease-fire resolutions of the Security Council of the UN.

Our Party aligns itself firmly with the just cause of the Arab peoples. We uphold the brave stand of the Communist Party of Israel, led by Vilner and Toubi. We call for firm international action to ensure Israeli compliance with the cease-fire orders and Resolution 242 of the Security Council. We demand the withdrawal of Israeli forces from all occupied Arab lands and the guarantee of self-determination for the Palestinian Arab people.

FOR UNITY AND FREEDOM IN AFRICA

The African peoples' struggle for social progress, peace and the liquidation of the survivals of colonialism, racism and neo-colonialism, has made significant advances. The 10th Anniversary Session of the Organization of African Unity confirmed this trend and adopted measures to strengthen it further. It has successfully contributed to the solution of territorial disputes and other areas of conflict between African states which weakened their unity in the face of imperialism. The African states have taken a common stand in negotiations with the EEC. They have unanimously rebuffed Vorster's crude attempt to penetrate African states under the cover of opening a dialogue with them.

The cause of African freedom scored a major success with the declaration of the independent Republic of Guinea-Bissau which has won recognition from the majority of states of the world. This historic declaration marks a culmination of the prolonged and heroic fight of the people of the country, headed by the PAIGC, and is a significant contribution to the inevitable defeat and destruction of all the forces of colonialism and racism in Southern Africa. We demand the withdrawal of all Portuguese forces from Guinea-Bissau, the Cape Verde Islands, and universal recognition of the Republic.

The peoples of the countries of Southern Africa, under the leader-

ship of their national liberation movements, and using both military and political methods of struggle, continue to deal deadly blows at the Unholy Alliance of Vorster, Smith and Caetano. Our Party, in firm alliance with the liberation movement centered in the African National Congress, will intensify its efforts to raise the level of unity and militance of the people and hasten the struggle to a victorious conclusion. This is our main contribution toward the cause of all-African freedom and unity, and toward world peace.

ON MAOISM

The South African Communist Party vigorously condemns the unprincipled policy and tactics, based on anti-Sovietism, of the leadership of the Communist Party of China. It has betrayed Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism and embarked on a path of accommodation to imperialism.

The Maoist group openly allies itself with NATO, the EEC and the most reactionary forces in the world. It brazenly incites these forces against the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries. Its false theory of the "two super-powers" is designed to isolate the national liberation movements from their natural and most steadfast allies, the socialist community, to confuse and split these movements and weaken the united fight against imperialism.

The contemptible actions of the Peking leaders as exemplified by their support for Pakistan against Bangladesh, their approval of Numeiry's murder of Sudanese Communists, their haste to recognize the Chile junta and their negative stand in the Security Council toward Soviet efforts to advance the Arab cause, expose the great-power chauvinism and nationalist ambitions of the present Maoist leadership.

Our Party rejects the opportunist concept of neutralism in the so-called "Sino-Soviet dispute." We shall continue to fight actively against efforts to spread the disruptive theories of Maoism, especially in Africa.

ON THE FIGHT AGAINST APARTHEID

The Communist Party expresses its profound appreciation to the Socialist countries, the independent states of Africa, and to the working class, democratic and humanist forces of the world, who have given generous assistance to the fighting liberation movements of Southern Africa and helped expose the role of imperialism in sustaining the South African, Rhodesian and Portuguese regimes.

We call on the world's workers to uphold the correct decisions of the ILO-UNO Geneva Conference on Apartheid held in June 1973, to mobilize all the progressive forces for the implementation of these decisions, and to combat all tendencies to appease the white racists of Southern Africa and their imperialist backers.

We resolve that our Party, in conjunction with the entire liberation movement, should take the most energetic steps in the period to place in the forefront of the agenda of the international community: the complete isolation of the Pretoria racists in every sphere, as being totally unrepresentative of the great majority of our people.

THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNIST MOVEMENT

Reaffirming its historic and unvarying principle of proletarian internationalism, the South African Party considers itself an integral and inseparable detachment of the world Communist movement. We shall ever uphold and work for the unity and cohesion of the movement.

To this end the Party will work consistently to strengthen its links with fraternal Communist and Workers' Parties on a bilateral and multilateral basis. It mandates the Executive to take or support suitable initiatives to ensure timely discussion and agreement within the world Communist movement as a whole of new tasks and problems placed on the agenda by history.

IN BRIEF

BANGLADESH

A Central Committee meeting of the Communist Party of Bangladesh held May 7-9, discussed a report by General Secretary Mohammed Farhad and passed a number of resolutions.

The resolution on the domestic political situation notes that the situation has been aggravated by speculative price increases for staple consumer goods and by subversive activity. Imperialism and internal reaction are continuing their conspiracies and pressure tactics to prevent implementation of the government's progressive program. Of major importance in this connection is Prime Minister Mujibur Rahman's decision to use the armed forces to confiscate weapons from the criminals and other anti-social forces, discover speculator hoards of food and other products, and arrest persons engaged in

subversive activities against the state. The Central Committee of the CPB called upon the population to ensure the success of this campaign.

Firm unity and joint action of all honest and patriotic forces are needed to help solve the country's main problems and advance along the road of progress, the resolution stresses.

The plenum also passed a resolution on organizational questions, urging the Communists to strengthen and expand the Party's ranks.

In its resolution on international questions the Central Committee resolutely denounces U.S. plans of setting up a military base on Diego Garcia Island in the Indian Ocean. The resolution demands strict observation by the Saigon authorities of the Paris agreement on ending the war and restoring peace in Vietnam, and expresses support for the recent proposals of the Provisional Revolutionary Government for settling the Indochina problem and strengthening peace in South Vietnam. On behalf of the Communist Party and the people of Bangladesh, the Central Committee declared its solidarity with the people of Chile fighting against the reactionary junta and demanded an immediate release of Communist Party General Secretary Luis Corvalan. The plenum also voiced support for the Arab progressive forces fighting against imperialism and the Israeli expansionists, and for peace in the region.

BELGIUM

A meeting of the Communist Party's Central Committee held June 8 gave an analysis of the political situation in the country.

Although three months have passed since the parliamentary elections, the government has been unable to expand its base, by including representatives of the Socialist Party, in particular.

The meeting noted that attempts of various sections of the Belgian bourgeoisie to reach a compromise pursue the main objective of forming a right-wing front to put into effect an "austerity plan" in the interests of the monopolies. For its part, the Communist Party of Belgium advances a program in the working people's interests, providing, in particular, for a year-long freeze of public services charges and rent, for raising living standards and checking inflation.

COLOMBIA

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of Colombia, meeting in Bogota May 17-20, discussed the international and political domestic situation.

In his report CPC General Secretary Gilberto Vieira spoke of the new achievements and mounting international prestige of the Soviet Union, Cuba and other countries of the socialist community. He criticized the splitting activity of the Peking leadership which is harming the international Communist and Workers' movement.

Speaking of the political situation in Colombia, Vieira noted the growing influence of the Party among the masses. He stressed, in particular, that the Popular Opposition Alliance, of which the CPC is a member, had taken part in the recent general election as a bloc and represented an extremely important development. The situation since the elections, he said, favored democratic change.

The plenum sent a message of greetings to the Central Committee of the Soviet Union's Communist Party.

It also decided to launch an extensive campaign of solidarity with the people of Uruguay, for the release of Rodney Arismendi, First Secretary of the Communist Party of Uruguay, and to step up the struggle in defense of Luis Corvalan, General Secretary of the Communist Party of Chile, and other Chilean patriots imprisoned by the fascist junta.

CONGO

A plenary session of the CC of the Congolese Party of Labor held in Brazzaville in March-April discussed important questions of the Party's organizational building and of economic construction. It considered hundreds of membership applications and the problems of setting up local branches arising from the growth of Party ranks. '

The Central Committee stressed the need of working out a scientifically grounded, long-term economic development plan and formulated the guidelines for it. It called for further expanding all-round cooperation with brother parties in the socialist countries on the principles of proletarian internationalism.

The closing meeting was addressed by Marien Ngouabi, CPL, Chairman and President of the Republic, who noted the increased role of the Party in the nation's political and public life and its growing ideological unity.

The plenum passed a resolution on the national-liberation struggle in Africa which stresses that the People's Republic of Congo unconditionally supports the struggle of the peoples of Portugal's African colonies and of Zimbabwe, Namibia and South Africa for national liberation, against racism and apartheid.

A special resolution emphatically denounced the theory of "third

way" development. The CPL, the resolution states, cannot tolerate attacks against the Congolese people's choice. The People's Republic of Congo has adopted Marxism as a scientific teaching brought to fruition in the USSR, China, Cuba and other socialist countries. The Congo, the resolution concludes, will remain faithful to the end to its anti-imperialist policy.

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

A plenary meeting of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia held in Prague May 14-15 discussed a report of the Presidium on scientific and technological progress in the national economy presented by Presidium member and CC Secretary Josef Kempny.

The plenum passed a resolution calling for greater emphasis on scientific and technological progress in raising the economic efficiency and endorsed a report on the activities of the Presidium and Secretariat since the previous plenum.

Addressing the plenum at its concluding meeting, General Secretary Gustav Husak dwelt on national development since the previous plenum, noting that sound, positive trends were dominant in all spheres: inner-Party life, the society, the economy, ideology and international relations.

Positive tendencies also prevail in Party development, Husak said. The Party's ranks are expanding and growing stronger and political work is improving. More than 160,000 new full or candidate members had joined the Party since the 14th Congress. Especially noteworthy is the fact that more than 60 per cent of these are industrial workers, and 90 per cent are young people.

We shall continue to strengthen the ideological and organizational unity of the Party and its Central Committee, Husak said, to promote the unity of the Party and the people in close fraternal cooperation between the CPC and the CPSU, between Czechoslovakia and the Soviet Union and other countries of the socialist community. This road, Husak said, is the earnest of successful development of socialism in our country.

DENMARK

A Central Committee plenum of the Communist Party of Denmark held in mid-May discussed the political situation in the light of mass worker action against the bourgeois government's tax policies, and also preparations for the coming Party conference.

It called upon Danish workers to take an active stand for a new political course providing for effective measures to fight inflation and unemployment, cut military expenditure, effectively tax big business and regulate Danish imports from EEC countries.

FINLAND

A Central Committee meeting of the Communist Party of Finland held in Helsinki June 15 discussed the situation in the country and the Party's immediate tasks. It decided to convene the 17th Party Congress in the first half of 1975. The questions for discussion will include further consolidation of Party unity on the basis of Marxism-Leninism, proletarian internationalism and the decisions of the special and 16th Party congresses, and problems of the Party's ideological, political and organizational work.

The plenum discussed Communist efforts to strengthen the trade union movement. It resolutely denounced the actions of the Chilean military junta and demanded an immediate release of Luis Corvalan, the Communist Party's General Secretary, and other Chilean patriots.

The plenum sent a telegram on behalf of the CPF to the government of Uruguay, demanding the release of Rodney Arismendi, First Secretary of the Communist Party, and restoration of the Party's right to legal activity.

FRANCE

The Central Committee of the French Communist Party, meeting in Paris June 10-11, discussed "Popular Unity and Action in France After the Presidential Elections."

Reporting at the meeting, General Secretary Georges Marchais pointed out that the alliance of Left forces was continuing to expand and grow stronger. In the course of the presidential elections, he said, the Left forces had made an extremely important step forward which brought about a new political situation. The task now was to go forward so as to secure democratic change.

The Communist Party's efforts to tell the broad public the truth about the socialist countries yielded good results and the anti-Soviet campaign failed, Georges Marchais stressed.

Speaking of the tasks of the democratic movement in France, he said that they were defined in the joint government program of the Left forces, the basic principles of which were as relevant as ever.

The Communist Party, Marchais noted, must consolidate the suc-

cesses gained among the workers in the presidential elections and win over white-collar workers and technical specialists to the side of the Left alliance. Much work also has to be carried out among the peasants, the youth and women.

The plenum passed a resolution noting that the overwhelming majority of French men and women want change. The Left alliance had become the main and permanent factor in the nation's political life. The task now was to unite and cement the overwhelming majority of the people. Such broad national unity would make for genuine change, a new policy for social progress, democracy, national welfare, and the greatness of the country.

The plenum adopted a Political Bureau proposal to call a special congress of the French Communist Party next October.

FRG

A Board meeting of the German Communist Party held in Düsseldorf May 17 considered the political situation in the country in the light of the change of government and the Party's tasks. Party chairman Herbert Mies declared in his report that the GCP stood most forcefully for the Federal Republic's playing a positive role in world affairs. It would support all positive government actions promoting peace and European security, and cooperate with all those who wish the Federal Republic to become a factor of peace and détente in Europe.

Mies spoke highly of the constructive policies of the Soviet Union and other countries of the socialist community aimed at a further normalization of relations between states and securing peace. It was especially important, he said, to breathe more life into the FRG's treaties with European socialist countries and to promote the normalization of relations between the two German states.

The GCP chairman emphatically denounced the anti-Soviet and anti-peace policy of the Chinese leadership, which seeks contacts with the most reactionary circles in the FRG, conspires with them against European security and détente, and supports extremist right-wing forces in West Germany.

Speaking of the tasks of the GCP, Mies noted that West German Communists favor joint action with Social Democrats and all those who stand opposed to reaction and the domination of big business. The main task remains the struggle to build up the GCP, party of the working class.

At the 4th plenum of the GCP Board, held in Düsseldorf on June 15, presidium member and board secretary L. Müller delivered a report on "The GCP's Struggle to Maintain and Expand Social Rights and Benefits for the Working People of the FRG." A report on the activities of the Presidium of the GCP Board was made by K. Fritsch.

The plenum adopted a social policy program providing for a broader struggle in defense of the working people's social rights.

Resolutions were also passed demanding an immediate release of Luis Corvalan, General Secretary of the Communist Party of Chile, and Rodney Arismendi, First Secretary of the Communist Party of Uruguay, and calling for a repeal of the ban on the Communist Party and other democratic organizations in Uruguay.

GREAT BRITAIN

An Executive Committee meeting of the Communist Party of Great Britain held in the first half of May analyzed the situation in the country and the tasks of the Left.

In its first 10 weeks in office, the Executive noted, the Labor government had introduced welcome reforms such as pension increases, the rent freeze and food subsidies. But the right-wing still held the main government posts and there had been no real break with the economic and foreign policies of the past. Unless there was a major change in government policy, the meaning of individual reforms would be nullified by the heavy burdens the developing capitalist crisis would place on the working people.

The Communist Party called upon the people to fight for the following program:

- End the anti-labor Industrial Relations Act and NIRC (industrial tribunal), and release of the Shrewsbury Six;
- Repeal the Counter-Inflation Act;
- An expansionist economic policy;
- Nationalize North Sea and Celtic Sea oil, land and key sections of the economy;
- A six month prices freeze, reduce interest rates, a wealth tax;
- £1,000 million arms cuts as a first step;
- End repression in Northern Ireland, and a Bill of Rights;
- Withdraw from the Common Market;
- Active participation in the European Security and Cooperation Conference.

The Executive emphasized the urgent need to strengthen the

Communist Party, develop the mass labor movement and the importance of linking the struggle for immediate aims with the tasks of socialist change.

HUNGARY

On March 19-20, the Central Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party held an enlarged plenum to discuss world affairs, the position of the Hungarian working class, cultural and educational work and the tasks in this field, and a proposal for convening the 11th Party Congress.

The Central Committee noted, in particular, that the leading role of the Party and the working class in Hungarian society was growing and links between the two were becoming ever closer.

The main condition for the working class to exercise its leading role is the Marxist-Leninist ideology of its revolutionary vanguard. The Central Committee holds that the number of workers in the Party and in leading posts in society should be continuously increased.

The main task in cultural and educational work is to raise the cultural standards of the workers.

The Central Committee decided to convene the 11th Party Congress in March 1975, and set up a committee under Janos Kadar to draft a new Party Program.

It also passed decisions on organizational matters and appointments of leading cadres.

ITALY

A joint meeting of the Central Committee and the Central Control Commission of the Italian Communist Party, held in Rome June 3-5, passed a resolution endorsing the analysis and conclusions contained in a report by General Secretary E. Berlinguer on the political situation and the results of the divorce referendum.

The referendum campaign, the resolution says, should serve as a basis for expanding the democratic movement, and for the fight for freedom and reforms in Italy. It confirmed the correctness of alliance with the Socialists and the need to continue the dialogue with all democratic political forces.

The plenum pointed to the fascist menace, reaffirmed in the neo-fascist provocation in Brescia.

The resolution also points out the seriousness of Italy's economic situation.

Communists are convinced, the resolution says, that the nation

needs a new political leadership, a new economic and foreign policy, the strengthening of democratic and republican institutions.

JAPAN

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of Japan held its Third plenum in Tokyo May 8-10. A report on behalf of the Presidium on Party work since the February CC plenum was made by T. Fuva, Chairman of the Secretariat. K. Ueda, head of the Party policy committee, submitted a draft on "The Struggle in the Elections to the Upper House and the Four Main Political Undertakings of the CPJ."

The plenum's resolution sets forth three main tasks: get all Communist candidates elected in the national constituency; increase representation in influential local constituencies; raise the Party's poll in all local constituencies.

MONGOLIA

The Eighth plenary meeting of the Central Committee of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party (MPRP), held June 10 in Ulan Bator, was addressed by Yu. Tsedenbal, CC First Secretary and Chairman of the Council of Ministers, who dwelt in detail on the Mongolian people's achievements in implementing the 1974 economic plan and on immediate economic tasks. He paid special attention to measures for expanding agriculture and improving the farmers' living standards.

Our people, said Tsedenbal, are able to build socialism successfully, relying on the growing unity and fraternal friendship with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries.

The resolution passed by the plenum fully approved the political line and practical activity of the Political Bureau in carrying out the foreign and home policy tasks set forth by the 16th Party Congress.

The plenum also discussed questions to be submitted for debate at the coming session of the Great People's Khural (parliament) and elected Zh. Batmunkh a member of the Political Bureau.

RUMANIA

At the end of March the Central Committee of the Communist Party approved a proposal for establishing the post of President of the Socialist Republic of Rumania, which combines the functions of head of state, commander-in-chief of the armed forces, Chairman of the Defense Council and Chairman of the Council of State. On the plenum's recommendation, the Grand National Assembly elected N. Ceausescu President of the Republic.

The plenum also adopted recommendations on the removal and transfer of a number of leading officials of Government bodies, ministries and departments.

It approved amendments in the Party Charter and proposals for changes in the Constitution of the country.

The session approved the Theses for the 30th anniversary of Rumania's liberation from the fascist yoke and a plan of activities devoted to this significant date.

SWEDEN

A meeting of the Executive of the Left Party — Communists of Sweden held in Stockholm June 15-16 decided to convene the Party's 24th Congress on March 12-16, 1975. It also discussed questions of expanding the worker struggle against rising prices and for shorter working hours and better working conditions.

The Executive issued a statement demanding the immediate release of Luis Corvalan, General Secretary of the Communist Party of Chile, and other political prisoners held by the Junta.

STATEMENTS AND SPEECHES

STATEMENT BY EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE, CC OF PORTUGUESE COMMUNIST PARTY

The statement, issued in Lisbon on May 30, says:

The Portuguese Communist Party, which has won prestige by its actions over decades of working-class and popular struggle against fascist oppression and capitalist exploitation, sounds alarm in view of the serious dangers arising because of the maneuvers of those who are trying to split the mass popular movement, weaken and undermine the alliance with the Armed Forces Movement, and open the road for counter-revolution.

We are threatened by a conspiracy of the most reactionary elements not yet removed from their posts after April 25. With the help of self-styled "Left" adventurist groups, these elements are trying to impel us along a road of economic chaos and wipe out the democratic freedoms already won.

These elements are exploiting the material difficulties of the working people resulting from decades of past exploitation. Now they display truly remarkable generosity in connection with the workers' demands. They provoke the total ruin or weakening of small and medium enterprises by demanding wage rises far beyond the possibilities of many sectors and even the national economy as a whole. These elements, who maintain suspicious ties with the owners of big enterprises and some representatives of the management in a number of enterprises, are urging the workers to strike in key industries: public transport and public supplies. They thus provoke the population's dissatisfaction with the new democratic order that has emerged as a result of the victorious Armed Forces Movement.

The bus drivers' strike skilfully provoked by representatives of the

*Captain Peralta was wounded and taken prisoner in Guinea-Bissau; he was later transferred to Lisbon, where he was kept in detention.—Ed.

management, disrupted the municipal transport of the capital and seriously affected production, trade and life itself in the city.

On the other hand, the bakery workers' strike was provoked by big industrialists and known fascist agents active in the trade union under the old regime. The overwhelming majority of workers in the industry disagree with the strike. Objectively, it creates added difficulties for the workers and poorest families, the main consumers of bread. The industrialists are doing all they can to keep the workers by force from ending the strike, the workers who do not want to disrupt normal supplies of a staple food.

These maneuvers of people interested in counter-revolution and the restoration of fascism are facilitated by the actions of various adventurist groups and grouplets invoking leftist rhetoric to support these counter-revolutionary maneuvers and provoke confrontations with the police. An example of such actions are the events connected with the attempt to free Cuban captain Peralta* at the very time when talks with the representatives of the Republic of Guinea-Bissau are being held to end the war and achieve a political settlement recognizing the peoples' right to self-determination and independence, and when legal efforts are being undertaken to secure the Cuban citizen's release.

The working class and the working people as a whole must redouble their vigilance, grasp the meaning of the profound political changes taking place in our country, and firmly defend the freedoms won. Portuguese workers should never allow themselves to be used to oppose the democratic regime that appeared as a result of the victory of the April 25 movement, and the Provisional Government, in which the Portuguese Communist Party, party of the working class, is represented.

In the present situation a strike should be used with the utmost caution and only after all other means of struggle have been exhausted and if employer resistance during negotiations prevents the fulfilment of reasonable demands. On the other hand, the masses must expose and reject the demands of demagogues and Left adventurers concerned only with halting and torpedoing the present process of democratization. These elements display utter incomprehension of the changes that have taken place by advancing slogans totally divorced from the concrete situation and the present objectives of the working class and the people.

The masses have every possibility of defending their newly-won

freedoms and rights. That is why everything should be done to keep from being drawn into social conflicts, to prevent strikes from causing grave difficulties in economic and public life; it is necessary to prevent disruption in industry, transport or supplies from causing widespread dissatisfaction that counter-revolutionaries will try to exploit.

The Communist Party is confident that the workers will realize that the prime task at this decisive hour is to bar the way to counter-revolution and consolidate democratic freedoms. Impatience in the struggle for demands, however just they might be, can create favorable conditions for a return to a fascist tyranny even more cruel and bloodthirsty than the old one. Portuguese workers, who have experienced decades of oppression and terror, will do all they can to prevent this from happening. With a correct understanding of the political situation, its possibilities and prospects, it is possible to expand democratic freedoms and prepare and carry out free elections in which the people can select the regime of their choice. The key to this perspective is for the workers to concentrate their energies.

ALVARO CUNHAL ON THE SITUATION IN PORTUGAL

The following statement was made by Alvaro Cunhal, General Secretary of the Portuguese Communist Party, to special Pravda and TASS correspondents in Lisbon on June 2.

The main feature of the political situation is the liquidation of fascism and the winning of important democratic freedoms. This is the result of the Armed Forces Movement (AFM) of April 25 which reflected the senior officers' dissatisfaction with the former regime and also the strength, scope and determination of the masses, which, in turn, influenced the officer corps. A democratic movement expressive of the profound aspirations of our people, and accompanied by the unparalleled activity of the working people, won through to victory. The organized mass demonstrations after April 25 were indicative of the new opportunities for winning fundamental democratic freedoms.

The AFM is basically in tune with the aims of Portugal's democratic forces. Its program has become the program of the Provisional Government set up to hold free elections within the next 12 months and convene the Constituent Assembly to enable the Portuguese people to choose the kind of system they want. This has the undivided

support of the Communist and other former opposition parties. Democratization is the central aim of the Provisional Government and of all the democratic forces.

The other crucial problem concerns the wars unleashed by Portuguese colonialism. They have been dragging on for many years, are the main cause of our people's economic, social and other difficulties, and are largely responsible for the rise of democratic trends within the armed forces. For the radicalization process in the army is not only a result of the internal situation, but also of the colonial wars and the successes of the national-liberation movement, the result of all the difficulties and hardship the wars have caused to the Portuguese people. The colonial wars brought into focus all the contradictions of Portuguese politics, and the demand to end them was paramount in the AFM program. On April 25, on the very first day of the coup, the demand for democratic freedoms was coupled with the demand to end the colonial wars. Indeed, that is one of the most pressing demands of our people.

It would be wrong, however, to think that there is a consensus on the colonial problem in the broad coalition of democratic forces. The Portuguese Communist Party has from the very outset taken a clear-cut principled stand for independence of all the overseas territories as the only solution, and we are not going back on that. But not all the members of this coalition share our view, though all of them agree that Portugal must develop in democracy. There are different trends: the neo-colonialists and other elements want to go on exploiting the colonies. In short, there are many different opinions on the colonial problem and its solution remains one of the most complex political tasks.

However, the AFM and the Provisional Government programs contain two positive provisions: recognition that there is only a political, and no military, solution for the colonial problem, and, second, that the war must be brought to a close as quickly as possible.

These are important starting points for negotiations with the national-liberation movements, which will, in the end, lead to a solution. In fact, negotiations have already begun. They are both necessary and useful, will help progress toward eliminating Portuguese colonialism, and are in accord with the wishes of the Portuguese people and the peoples of Guinea-Bissau, Angola and Mozambique.

Now about the Communist Party. Our priority task is to consolidate the democratic gains won on April 25, bar the road to counter-revolution, prevent a fascist comeback, block all attempts by reaction to regain the positions we have won, and lead the country to free

elections and the Constituent Assembly. That is what all Portuguese want, and that is the main task of our Party. And it is not an easy one — we are already encountering difficulties in the economic and social fields. The main obstacle, now and up to the elections, is monopoly domination; the monopolies still run the country's economy, with all the social and political consequences following therefrom. And since the Provisional Government program does not envisage far-reaching socio-economic changes, it was be very difficult to control, let alone counteract, the monopolies, which, of course, were staunch supporters of the overthrown regime.

The government has taken positive decisions and a firm stand on many important issues. But it has made very modest progress on matters affecting social relations. Yet, despite these difficulties, we feel sure of achieving our aim of a democratic Portugal. Our confidence is based on two factors. First, the existence of a powerful democratic movement, of which the Communist Party, with its immense influence and high prestige, is the vanguard. Second, the close alliance between the AFM and the popular movement, that is, between the progressive military who have material and military resources at their disposal, and the mass popular movement. And once we strengthen this alliance, fascist reaction will stand no chance whatever of carrying out a counter-revolution, and we will be able to retain and extend our gains.

Such is our Party's policy in the Provisional Government and in the country — we do not have two policies, one in the government, and another outside it.

I am often asked by interviewers if I am speaking as General Secretary of the Communist Party or as a member of the Provisional Government. My answer is: both, because our Party has one policy, not two.

The Provisional Government is made up of men holding different views and the discussions at its meetings are sometimes a projection of the broad public discussion. The Provisional Government is not a close-knit team, though there is a high degree of agreement and a congenial working atmosphere. No one can say that we are disunited; we always strive for agreed decisions. That is how things actually stand.

Though the Communist Party does not yet exist *de jure*, it enjoys *de facto* legality, though it still has no official status. The government is not made up of party representatives; we do not officially represent the Communist Party in the government, but we uphold and follow the Party line.

I would like to take this occasion to convey the following message to the Soviet people.

The Portuguese Communists are old and firm friends of the Soviet Union and the CPSU. We consider the Soviet Communists our close friends and brothers. In the trying day of the past, and now in these favorable times for our people, we are keenly aware of the warm friendship of the Soviet people and their Communist Party. Now, as in the past, we draw inspiration from their great successes achieved under the leadership of the Communist Party, the party of Lenin. I want to convey to the Soviet people and their Communist Party best wishes from the Portuguese Communist Party, working class, all working people, and to wish them continued success in building communism for the good of the Soviet people, the working people of the world, and the Portuguese people fighting for democracy, peace and national liberation.

Pravda, June 3, 1974

FOR A NEW PROGRESSIVE AND DEMOCRATIC ALTERNATIVE IN TUNISIA

Early this year the Tunisian Communist Party published a pamphlet under the title in the heading. Below follows a portion of the introduction and the full text of the third, last, part of the document.

Our country is going through a period of serious difficulties.

The main problem remains the choice of a development policy in keeping with national and social requirements and capable of withstanding the existing objective difficulties. Accordingly, Tunisia's Communists intend to submit and support a *new progressive and democratic alternative*. Such an alternative is based on our people's experience, both positive and negative. It also takes into account the experience of other nations who, like our people, have encountered, or are continuing to encounter, complex problems of development, consolidation of political independence and winning of economic independence. This alternative will find expression in the framework of the struggle for a united Arab Maghreb on a firm anti-imperialist and progressive basis.

Tunisia acquired some experience of progressive development during the 60s. Proceeding from the need to set up a planned economy under state auspices, the nation set itself the tasks of changing the structures inherited from the colonial past, industrializing the country and achieving social and cultural progress.

But this progressive experience failed. The defeat was especially painful for all left forces. As a consequence, the idea of structural reforms, cooperatives, etc. was discredited among broad sections of public opinion.

It is necessary to understand the causes which led to that defeat in order to draw the necessary conclusions. It is also necessary to deepen the analysis of the situation since 1969 and the events shaped by it. Finally, it is necessary to determine the objective possibilities for a new progressive and democratic alternative and define a new political line capable of clearing the way for such an alternative.

(The two sections of the document present a detailed analysis of the positive and negative aspects of Tunisia's economic and political development in the 60s—*Ed.*)

III. A NEW PROGRESSIVE AND DEMOCRATIC ALTERNATIVE

1. The Communists' main objective is socialism. At the present stage they offer a new progressive and democratic alternative in keeping with the aspirations of the working people in town and countryside, and the aspirations of the youth. This alternative is also in keeping with the legitimate interests of the small producers, peasants, artisans and small industrialists, who are beginning to ponder over the consequences of the present pro-capitalist policy. Such an alternative is in the national interest because it can ensure our country's genuine and independent development, economically as well as socially and culturally. It is in keeping with the spirit of the time, when the forces of progress and socialism all over the world have grown considerably and are continuing to develop.

However, although the objective possibilities for a new alternative of progressive development exist and will become even more pronounced, it is equally obvious that a long struggle is needed to overcome difficulties and obstacles and pave the way for such a prospect.

2. The first thing is to restore faith in the very idea of progressive development. It is necessary to face the facts in order to overcome them easier. Following the failure of the first progressive experience it is not easy to promote the idea of cooperatives and sometimes of

structural reforms without encountering scepticism, if not hostility. The campaign of greatly exaggerating mistakes and shortcomings, held before, at the time of and after the Ben Salah process, has left a mark on the peasants, artisans and small traders and even on some sections of the working class. Some of the peasants, for example, recall the "cooperative time" with horror, as though it was hardly short of a calamity.

It must be explained that the new progressive and democratic alternative faces the future, not the past, that it does not mean a blind reversal to the policy of the 60s, although it can and should use the experience of the time, which is of interest if only because it existed at all. Those who helped bring about its failure recall only mistakes and shortcomings to discredit any idea of progressive development in the eyes of the masses and justify the pro-capitalist orientation. But consistent progressives should take into account both aspects, positive and negative. They should take into account the errors that led to failure so as not to repeat them. But they should also take account of the positive achievements and use them for implementing the new policy of progressive development, whose forms and features must differ from the previous policy.

3. The need for a new progressive alternative stems from the very content of the main task facing the country at the present stage of its development. As we have often stressed, the task is not only to set up a healthy, efficient, prosperous and developed national economy, but also one capable of promoting political and economic independence and of gradually raising the living standards of the masses, whose support can be won only in this way. Overall, the question is of ensuring *development* that is dual in content, *national* and *social*.

It is at the same time necessary to stress that the neo-liberal, pro-capitalist policy geared mainly to private initiative cannot achieve this task. Only a new progressive alternative can create the conditions for genuine development in keeping with the national interests and aspirations of the masses at large. Only it can help resolve the main contradiction between the Tunisian people, on the one hand, and imperialism and local reaction, on the other.

4. But does this alternative mean a rejection of all private enterprise and universal collectivization? Of course not. And those who claim the opposite do so either to deliberately mislead the masses or because of an utter incomprehension of the objective and subjective content of the present stage of the revolutionary process in Tunisia.

In countries like ours, where national capitalism has not yet formed

completely, the task is not to do away with all private enterprise only because it is "capitalist," not to set up cooperatives as a universal structure, but to prevent capitalism from becoming the main, dominant system in which power would be in the hands of a poorly developed capitalist bourgeoisie subordinated to imperialism and neo-colonialism. In this respect it can be said that, on the whole, the new progressive alternative is non-capitalist in character.

5. The economic program of non-capitalist development is based mainly on the expansion of the state sector and on a far-reaching reform of agrarian structures with the aim of raising the standards of the productive forces and gradually changing the relations of production. The experience of the 60s has confirmed that the leading industries and the economic infrastructure can develop and, in general, efforts for industrialization can be successful only in the framework of a state sector or one close to it. This experience also shows that forms can and should be found for the selected involvement of private national or even foreign capital in industrialization under state control. In particular, efforts should be made, through persons concerned, to work out forms of encouraging and stimulating small handicraft industries and factories which could help the more developed state industry in meeting the demands of the home market.

6. The failure of the experience of the 60s should be used to explain the need for a genuine agrarian reform restricting the size of large capitalist farms and transferring the surplus to peasants with no or little land. Farm laborers, poor peasants and small holders should be made to see the need to fight for this and other social measures capable of promoting the maximum growth of all branches of agricultural production within the framework of national development. The agrarian reform should put into effect the slogan: "The land to those who till it!" Thus, agrarian reform is the key issue. As for agricultural cooperatives, the new progressive and democratic alternative should tread very cautiously and reckon with realities. The main principle is that agricultural cooperation has the aim of creating better working conditions for the peasants, raising their living standards and stimulating production on a larger scale than possible on private farms. Cooperatives, in all their forms, should become the concern of the peasants themselves. They should be set up according to their wishes and be run by them in a democratic manner.

7. The success of the new progressive alternative depends also on a flexible and differentiated stand vis-à-vis the private trade sector. The danger of trying to nationalize retail and semi-wholesale trade or

bring it together in a uniform structure has been amply demonstrated. More, it may even be useful to keep small and medium private trade capital to ensure proper food distribution, provided controls over prices are instituted and consumer cooperatives are gradually developed.

But it is necessary to nationalize foreign and wholesale trade, especially in the leading branches, and not only to curb fast dealers and speculators, but also to control imports in the interests of the national economy, expand export opportunities and encourage the buildup of production assets.

8. The implementation of a progressive economic program also requires a stronger centralized banking system run by the state to help combat inflation, protect the national currency and revitalize the country's finances. This would make it easier to organize a crediting system, control it and coordinate investment credits in the best interests of development.

The Maghreb orientation on a progressive, anti-imperialist basis allows for planned economic integration and the best, rational utilization of all natural and manpower resources for industrialization, economic independence and harmonious development.

9. For the new progressive alternative to be realized it must win the hearts and active support of the working people in town and countryside, the active cooperation of our youth and students. It must become for them a genuine alternative leading out of the grave situation into which the present policy of capitalist development is driving them. That is why this new alternative must include a program of social change in the interests of the working people, in the interests of the youth. It should open for them the prospect of a gradual improvement in labor and employment conditions, in opportunities for education and vocational training, and in living and cultural standards. Though sacrifices are sometimes necessary, they should not be at the expense of the minimum living standards or the expansion of education and culture. They are acceptable only if accompanied by a general betterment of the national economy and the conditions of the masses.

10. Two reefs must be avoided in the struggle for the new progressive alternative.

THE FIRST REEF: SECTARIANISM AND THE ULTRA-LEFT TREND (GAUCHISM)

Sectarianism seeks to belittle the significance of new developments

in the national democratic revolution and underestimates the specific features of the class struggle in a country like ours. It proceeds from narrow, subjective considerations in one of the main issues, that of alliances. Sectarianism leads to isolation.

Gauchism, the ultra-Left trend restricted mainly to students, is relatively new in Tunisia. Although it is an expression of protest against all the negative features of society it offers no radical solutions. And be it noted that growing political consciousness among students, their enthusiasm and desire to plunge into the struggle are highly positive factors which have nothing to do with gauchism as such.

The ultra-Leftists elevate impatience to theoretical status, declaring "proletarian revolution" to be the immediate task of the day. They make nothing of stages or alliances, and every bit of unrest is seen as a prelude to "revolution." Revolutionary rhetorics and stereotypes borrowed from ultra-leftist literature in Europe, and not only Europe, substitute for a scientific analysis of the present stage, a correct assessment of the balance of forces and painstaking work among the masses to rally them to the defense of immediate and future interests and set up an alliance with all progressive forces, including those in the Parti socialiste destourien PSD — (Socialist Party of Fighters for Independence of Tunisia. — *Ed.*)

Ultra-leftists reject any policy implying a degree of support for positive measures, and any alliance with progressive forces within the Parti socialiste destourien. Some of them accuse us of being "revisionist" and wanting to revise the Marxist teaching of the dictatorship of the proletariat. In reality, gauchism is a caricature of Marxism. The present analysis is vivid evidence of our active struggle against revisionism of any brand, Right or Left.

Alliances can develop and acquire better and more original forms. They can lead, as a result of a long process, to an organic merger of all genuinely socialist forces on the basis of Marxism. But, obviously, such a merger cannot occur prematurely, before the necessary conditions are ripe. Involved at present is the long-term perspective, and hence the autonomy of Communists remains a vital necessity for the workers' and democratic movement, for the progressive movement as a whole. Such autonomy provides the conditions for the Communists to make their distinctive, irreplaceable contribution as Marxists and champions of the interests of the working people in town and countryside.

12. Although the non-capitalist road presupposes democratic

change and can become a transitional period to socialism, it is not yet socialism. National government, even springing from petty-bourgeois strata, can direct the country along non-capitalist development only if it follows a progressive, anti-imperialist orientation.

And here the question of the *role of the working class* arises. The working class should head the movement for the transition to socialism and for building socialism. This is one of the fundamental propositions of Marxism. But the value of the teaching of Marx and Lenin consists in that it is a living science, not an ossified dogma.

In the Third World, for example, the leading role of the working class allied with other popular strata takes original forms. This role does not necessarily mark the beginning, and usually is a result, of a revolutionary process whose forms vary both from country to country and from stage to stage. It should not be viewed in a narrow context or outside the new international situation.

The Communist parties of newly independent countries may be expected to gain in influence and leverage, and indeed, some of them have already become a major national factor. This is due to the new economic and social problems facing the national liberation movement, as well as to changes coming about in these countries, especially in the working class, which is growing numerically, concentrating as industrialization goes on and gaining experience with the expansion of trade union and political struggles due to the sharpening of class antagonisms.

The rise and evolution of progressive forces with a petty-bourgeois and nationalist background are a new factor which, far from reducing the indispensable role and necessity of Communist parties, gives them new dimensions and provides new opportunities for struggle and alliance. These forces may take an anti-imperialist and even an anti-capitalist stand. Many of them may develop politically and ideologically and draw nearer to the working class and its Party.

This prospect, which characterizes a new stage in the national-liberation movement, is expressive of the new, progressive social content of the movement. It must be analyzed without the slightest dogmatism or revisionism. It cannot become reality automatically just because the petty bourgeoisie is in power. It will be a result of the radicalization of part of the petty bourgeoisie, intense political struggle, and revolutionary pressure by the most advanced social and political forces, for the petty bourgeoisie is not homogeneous, as we have seen, nor does it follow a progressive policy always and everywhere. Its negative features, vacillation and inconsistency are evident in many countries.

The experience of numerous countries shows that initially power does not belong to progressive forces only and that these forces themselves do not at first adhere to a radical position. As soon as they call for a restructuring and pose a threat to the interests of big proprietors, they clash inevitably with reactionary forces. That is when the hour of a new ideological choice strikes. Progressive experience may have weak points for some time. Being unreliable and unstable, it may be broken off by rightists. But sometimes the resolve of the most advanced progressive elements upholding this experience and carrying it forward on anti-imperialist lines may lead to a new stage according to an evolution process whose content is set out below.

Sharp class battles and alliances with other Left forces give rise to further differentiation. The situation changes qualitatively as the radical forces take the upper hand. These forces assume a new political and ideological character by adopting advanced ideological positions and eliminating Rightist forces. Renunciation of petty-bourgeois reformism and acceptance of scientific socialism, create conditions primarily for a closer alliance, and even an organic connection, on a Marxist basis between the Communists and other advanced progressive forces. This makes it possible to extend access to power. All this is a historical possibility which the Communists take into account, well knowing that there is no other road.

THE SECOND REEF: OPPORTUNISM

Opportunism usually emerges when the movement encounters serious difficulties. Taking the quest for a "new line" as a pretext, in reality it seeks ways of side-stepping the real difficulties and demands of the struggle in favor of a "convenient" solution. As a result, analyses lose their scientific character and become subjective, and phenomena which at first glance develop in line with such "solutions" are idealized. In the specific conditions of our country, where opportunism idealizes the power of the petty-bourgeoisie political views cease to be independent and are reduced to blind tailism and a wait-and-see policy vis-à-vis the authorities. Opportunism ignores the positive experience of the Tunisian Communist and workers' movement which, despite setbacks, mistakes and the difficulties of emergence and struggle, is a precious national tradition which should be ably enriched and developed.

The ultra-leftists and opportunists sow doubt, confusion and division. They idealistically distort ideas, some of them correct, which they deify and counterpose to, or divorce from, other aspects of life.

Whatever the screen behind which the ultra-leftists and opportunists hide, and regardless of the sincerity or personal qualities of those who follow them, they are on a wrong and harmful path.

11. The political and ideological activity of the Communists is closely associated with their policy of alliances. But the two aspects should not be confused.

1) The meaning of alliances is determined by the main task: the struggle for the new progressive alternative. In this respect broad alliances are an urgent national need of primary importance. As the situation changes so will the form and content of the alliances. It is necessary to create the most favorable conditions for them.

In the social plane, the question is of a front of workers, peasants, intellectuals, students and, to one degree or another, of anti-capitalist sections of the petty bourgeoisie. In the course of the struggle against imperialism and neo-colonialism and for national development, that alliance can expand to include sections of the middle bourgeoisie holding national and patriotic positions.

In the political plane, all national progressive forces are interested in alliances, which are not restricted to Communists and the forces that have sided with the Ben Salah political orientation, but should bring together all those, within or outside the Destour ranks, who want to contribute, in one way or another, to the progressive alternative. It is necessary to lead the broadest sections and extricate them from reactionary influences.

Such alliances are the basis for a national and democratic alliance. In certain conditions of the struggle for national and anti-imperialist objectives the popular alliance may expand to include other national and patriotic forces regardless of their class positions or social views.

The framework of basic alliances leaves room for alliances with limited objectives and based on specific problems or demands.

The harm of Left disunity and absence of mutual understanding has been amply demonstrated. Hence it is essential to overcome the factors that often prevented cooperation between Communists and various progressive forces, notably in the Parti socialiste destourien. Where Communists have the task of doing away with all forms of sectarianism, other progressive forces should put an end to anti-communism, that poisonous weapon of reaction and imperialism. Experience has shown, to progressive PSD forces as well, the erroneousness of the stand failing to recognize the contribution of Communists and rejecting the idea of alliances with them, the harm of anti-communist propaganda conducted from narrow, biased positions, to the benefit of reaction.

2) The establishment of broad-based, bold alliances, which occupies an important place in communist activity, does not mean giving up independent political and ideological work or merger with those whom the Communists see as their allies. Alliance presupposes the existence not only of common views but also of political and ideological differences characteristic of each component of the united front. Communists should be flexible and capable of "doubly fighting for unity" while not foregoing independence or the upholding of their own program and ideology.

The evolution and radicalization of progressives of petty-bourgeois origin may take place both when they are in power and when they are in opposition to a reactionary government, and are fighting in alliance with other progressive forces, for people's democratic rule.

Whatever the actual opportunities Tunisia's progressives may have, an important lesson of the Ben Salah experiment is the necessity for the rise of a revolutionary progressive movement at grass roots, among the masses, that may form the basis for a national popular and democratic alliance. A new bloc may develop and assert itself in the course of a long struggle in which workers, peasants, youth and revolutionary intellectuals must join. Besides, conditions may mature for the transition from one stage to another and changes may take place that will make it possible to effect a revolutionary transition to socialism, the key goal of the Communists. At present the Communists advocate a program for a new progressive and democratic alternative. It calls for political and ideological struggle and a policy encouraging the broadest possible alliances.

13. The political and ideological struggle for the success of the new progressive alternative is inseparable from the struggle to bring about democratic freedoms and remove the many obstacles raised against diverse Left forces to prevent them from voicing their views and operating unhampered. Arbitrary methods are spreading in the country's political system. The political police is much too influential and enjoys unlimited power. It arrests people and keeps them in prison indefinitely. Sometimes it uses unlawful and inhuman methods of torture. The new legal code substantially curtails the right to strike.

The desire for greater democracy is realistic today. Progressive political forces must fight for democracy in an appropriate context, namely, in that of the struggle for the new alternative of our country's development. With this aim in view, it is essential to carry on a political campaign for ending persecution and repression against progressives.

Specifically, the following demands should be put forward:

- apply the constitutional guarantees of freedom of speech, association and press;

- revoke the ban on the Communist Party and its press, an unfair and unwarranted measure adopted 10 years ago;

- respect the autonomy of the university and the General Union of Students;

- preserve and respect the right to strike and trade union freedoms.

There can be no doubt that only under far-reaching democracy is it possible to fight effectively against the intrigues of reactionaries and retrograde elements and begin a real dialogue for a fair solution of our country's problems, a dialogue in which our whole people are interested.

14. The fight for the new progressive alternative is inseparable from the campaign for the pressing demands of the masses in view of the effects of "liberalization" in the economic, social and cultural spheres. The political consciousness of the workers, intellectuals and young people shows a certain growth, if a limited and uncertain one.

Workers go on strike against the will of union bosses. Lately railwaymen, transport employees of Sfax and then Tunis, miners and dockers of Tunis-Gouleta, and the working people in a number of other industrial enterprises have had to strike so as to uphold their just demands. Many of these strikes led to victory. But many others brought on repressive measures, taken with the complicity of certain union leaders. However, there is no cowing the working people, who at union meetings take a stand against today's working and living conditions.

Intellectuals, especially in the universities, come out openly against "liberalization" and in defense of university autonomy. Student discontent repeatedly took vivid, occasionally anarchic forms, detrimental to the struggle.

In view of the foregoing, the advocates of "liberalizing" the economy, who give free rein to all sorts of smart dealers and speculators, are sometimes compelled to take the defensive. The government says it has nothing to do with "liberalization." It cannot go all the way in "revitalizing" the economy, which often implies measures legalizing private property. It finds it ever more difficult to make the working people put up with a hard life while profiteers get richer and live in luxury. Pressure from the working people and students, who fight for their demands, wrests an occasional concession.

It follows that the struggle for pressing demands can halt or even

push back the "liberalizers," who want the masses to pay for the country's economic difficulties. Hence this struggle can pave the way for the new progressive alternative.

15. In fighting for the new alternative of development, the Tunisian progressives must take into account the changed situation in the world, in particular the Arab world. They must bear in mind all the new that is born of this change and the new opportunities flowing from it.

(1) A new international development is the fact that the imperialists, in particular the U.S. imperialists, had to retreat and that the first steps were taken toward détente and peaceful coexistence. These new factors are a result of the achievements of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries in various fields, a result of the progress made by the national-liberation movement, which is seen, among other things, in the victory of the courageous people of Vietnam, and lastly, a result of the progress made by the Left in a number of capitalist countries through struggle and due to unity.

It would be wrong, however, to regard these new developments as final and irreversible. Imperialism is still imperialism, that is, a force entirely hostile to socialism and the national-liberation movement. It has not renounced the policy of strength and continues to strike blows, entering into alliance with extreme domestic reaction, as the events in Chile showed. As for countries of the Third World, imperialism steps up its effort to disrupt their objective alliance with the socialist countries and weaken their positions thereby, resorting to anti-Sovietism and anti-communism to this end. The recent Algiers conference of non-aligned countries produced favorable results and revealed various aspects of this effort. Vigilance and sustained political and ideological struggle are indispensable if the forces of socialism and national liberation are to push imperialism farther back and assure the triumph of détente and peaceful coexistence.

(2) As regards the Arab world, to which our people belong, the new war in which the armed forces of Egypt and Syria clashed with those of Israel created a new situation. The conflict with Zionism and imperialism was aggravated to such an extent that the clash assumed the character of a vast national-liberation struggle to retrieve the occupied territories and restore the national rights of the Palestinian people. Egypt, Syria and the Palestinian resistance were backed by all Arab countries, which helped them in one measure or another and used the "oil weapon" to a greater or lesser degree. Whatever the purely military results of the war, its political results are important.

a) Thanks to their high fighting efficiency, the Egyptian and Syrian armies exploded the myth of the invincibility of Israel and showed the Zionists and their imperialist patrons that they cannot impose a solution of the Middle East problem by force.

b) In this instance, U.S. imperialism showed itself once again to be an enemy of the Arab peoples and the national-liberation movement. The Soviet Union, on the other hand, disproved the false theory of "two superpowers" and showed itself once more to be a true friend and powerful ally of the Arab peoples championing the just cause of national liberation.

c) The Arab peoples enjoyed widespread solidarity whose source is the objective alliance of the world forces of socialism, national liberation and the international working class in their historic struggle against imperialism. At the same time Israel, which has linked its fate with imperialism, is now isolated, in particular on the African continent, as never before.

d) After the UN Security Council had passed a ceasefire resolution new opportunities appeared for the full implementation of the November 1967 resolution and the establishment of a just and lasting peace in the Middle East, which cannot be achieved without meeting the Palestinian people's legitimate national rights.

The results achieved to date are very important to the struggle which the Arab peoples will carry on in the immediate future. However, these early gains may well be nullified by imperialist intrigues, whose main trend is coming out already. Their main purpose is to isolate progressive forces and undermine the Arab peoples' alliance with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries by exploiting once again the theory of "collusion between the two superpowers," which equates the Soviet Union with the United States. It should be noted that the Arab summit in Algiers tore this theory to shreds and gave due credit to the Soviet Union and other socialist countries.

Nevertheless, vigilance and an unrelenting political and ideological struggle are as necessary as ever to frustrate these intrigues. This struggle is in the best interest of Arab progressives and all Arab peoples, including ours. Indeed, there can be no question of taking a serene view of anachronistic anti-Soviet positions militating against Soviet reality, the socialist system and the Soviet Union's role in the world, against the interests of our people and other Arab peoples.

Leading progressives in Tunisia should display more active solidarity with other Arab progressive and patriotic forces and with Palestinian resistance organizations. They should combat anti-Sovietism,

for it runs counter to their national interests, and insist on Tunisia's adopting an explicitly anti-imperialist foreign policy of active solidarity with the struggle of the progressive forces in Arab countries and throughout the world.

To use the possibilities created by the evolution of the situation at home and abroad and put the new progressive and democratic alternative into practice, Tunisia's Communists must realize that theirs is a special role. They must show patience and perseverance to overcome the difficulties which are due to the measures taken against their Party. Without confining themselves to outdated and rigid formulas or giving in to opportunists, they must pursue a policy of dialogue with the country's other progressive forces while abiding by their own views and their loyalty to the working people's cause.

Marxism brings an innovating point of view into the struggle between diverse ideological trends. A modern scientific method of analyzing and evaluating realities and their evolution in the course of history, it appeals to the intellectuals, especially young people, ever more strongly. Tunisia's Communists, who are Marxists, work to carry forward the scientific and critical traditions originated by Ibn Khaldoun, Tahir Haddad and other scholars. They intend to use the latest achievements of revolutionary theory together with positive elements of rationalist and modernist trends in the national movement.

Being followers of the revolutionary traditions of the Tunisian Communist Party, which played the role of pioneer and carried high the banner of the working class and of socialism in the most trying conditions, the Communists strive to contribute to the cause of all working men and women, youth and the whole of our people at this stage of development of Tunisia, at a time when economic and social demands are coming to the fore, as well as to further the cause of the peoples of the Maghreb and the Arab peoples.

ON THE NEW DEVELOPMENTS IN THE INTERNATIONAL SITUATION AND THE NECESSITY OF CONVENING A NEW CONFERENCE OF THE COMMUNIST AND WORKERS' PARTIES

The Executive Bureau of the Central Committee of the Tudeh Party of Iran examined the new developments and tendencies which in recent years have occurred in the international situation. All the recent developments bear witness to the fact that the collective conclusions arrived at by the Consultative Conference of the Communist and Workers' Parties, have proved their correctness in practice. In the past five years the balance of power has constantly changed in favor of socialism, against imperialism. While the socialist community, headed by the Soviet Union, advances in the different economic, social, political, scientific and technical spheres, the capitalist system is faced with an ever-growing general crisis, which in turn is reflected by enormous financial difficulties, an aggravation of the contradictions inside the imperialist camp, a regrouping of the monopolies, struggle among the major capitalist countries and a sharpening of the differences between the imperialist camp and the "Third World."

According to the analysis of the Consultative Conference of the Communist and Workers' Parties (1969), under the existing conditions the possibilities of a new upsurge of the revolutionary and progressive forces are growing.

Real and concrete factors are at hand which contribute effectively to the settlement of some major problems of our time in favor of peace, democracy and socialism.

Imperialism has historically lost the initiative. It is no more in a position to regain it. It cannot turn the wheel back. The socialist community, the international working class movement and all the other world revolutionary forces determine the development of mankind.

The cold war, as a dangerous instrument of imperialist policy, is gradually fading away. The policy of peace and peaceful coexistence

is increasingly gaining ground. Imperialism has no alternative but to accept it as a basis for handling international affairs and settling international problems.

The socialist community headed by the Soviet Union is the decisive driving force behind this change. The peace program adopted by the 24th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and its implementation have paved the way for a worldwide peace offensive.

The struggle of the socialist countries, the international working class and the national-liberation movements, i.e., the struggle for peace, democracy and progress against imperialism and reaction have gained new momentum.

The national-liberation movements in Asia, Africa and Latin America, in areas of acute conflicts like South-East Asia and the Middle East are scoring new points. There is no doubt that the further change of the balance of power in favor of socialism, détente and the gradual transition from the climate of cold war to a climate of peaceful coexistence will offer new possibilities and open new horizons to the struggle of the toiling masses against imperialism and reaction, for achieving their economic, social and political goals.

Under new conditions, the anti-imperialist and anti-monopolist forces are bound to develop new methods, which will give new impetus to their struggle. In the national-liberation movements the revolutionary forces are attempting with growing success to work out correct and concrete programs for their struggle against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism, for national independence, peace and social progress.

As a matter of fact, it must be emphasized that the positive change in the international situation is being accompanied by manifold contradictions and problems. Hence, although as a whole it develops in a positive direction, it is still faced with all sorts of difficulties and dangers. Imperialism has been pushed back. But still it is strong and dangerous. The ultra-reactionary imperialist circles, regarding détente as being harmful to their interests, do their best to halt the offensive of peace, to destroy its achievements and to take the world back to the atmosphere of cold war. They instigate local wars in different parts of the world, organize military coups and other plots. Through massive arms supply to the countries of the "Third World" and supporting the reactionary governments, they try to suppress the national-liberation movements, and if this is not possible to divert them from a really revolutionary way. The countries of the "Third World" have for many centuries been the main source of raw mater-

ial, cheap labor for the colonial and imperialist powers. After the collapse of the colonial system, they have attempted to revive it under the cover of neo-colonialism.

Considering all the developments in the world arena, it must be underlined that we are still far from a world in which peace and peaceful coexistence have taken an irreversible character. That is why, to consolidate peace, the peaceful and revolutionary people of the world must still fight hard.

Hence to study the new economic, social, political and ideological developments, an all-round and collective consolidation of the Communist and Workers' parties is required. In this consultation a common line based on the conclusions drawn from the study of the new factors could be worked out.

Thus, the vital necessity of common action by the various units of the world revolutionary movement will be met and it will be consolidated. The experience of the consultative conference of the Communist and Workers' parties of 1969 has proved that it is the best way to exchange ideas, analyze the complex developments in the world and to work out a common line which meets the urgent needs of the Communist and Workers' parties in their revolutionary struggle.

Considering the above-mentioned facts, the Executive Bureau of the Central Committee of the Tudeh Party of Iran confirmed the proposal of the Party Secretariat regarding the convocation of a new consultative conference of the Communist and Workers' Parties and charged it with the establishment of contacts with the other fraternal parties and, in the framework of our possibilities, to take all the necessary steps to help in convening such a consultative conference.

*Executive Bureau of the CC
of the Tudeh Party of Iran
May 1974*

RESUMPTION OF THE WAR IN IRAQI KURDISTAN AND THE RESPONSIBILITY OF IRAN'S REGIME

Since April this year heavy fighting has taken place between the Iraqi army and the Kurdish units under the command of Mulla Mustafa Barezani. In the past weeks all the efforts of the Iraqi Central Government to find a common language with the Kurdish movement have failed. The Democratic Party of Kurdistan rejected all the proposals regarding the autonomy offered to the Kurds by Baghdad. Following the orders of Barezani, a number of Kurdish officials working in the Iraqi administration have left their posts, seeking refuge in the mountains, others — among them several prominent Kurdish personalities — ignored Barezani's orders and announced their support to the Baghdad Government. The war now going on in the Iraqi mountains, is savage and inflicts heavy losses in lives and property on either side. Surely it will not lead to the solution of the Kurdish problem, but rather sharpen the contradictions existing between the Arab and Kurdish people of Iraq.

It will offer the reactionary forces in Iraq new possibilities for intensifying their attempts to overthrow the present progressive Iraqi regime. From the international view-point, the resumption of the war will result in new tensions in that area and inject new elements of discord and enmity into the relations between Iraq and her neighboring countries.

The Iranian people are anxiously watching the developments in the neighboring country. The Iranian progressive political circles underline the fact that the Shah's regime bears grave responsibility for the resumption of the war. Since the Iraqi revolution of July 1958 and the overthrow of the monarchy, the relations between the two countries have always been strained. The imperial government of Teheran has never sincerely recognized the existence and respected the legitimacy of the Iraqi Republic. The outbreak of the Arab-Kurdish war in Iraq, under the rule of General Kassim in the early 60s, offered the Teheran government a chance to intensify its anti-Iraqi intrigues. Though being a sworn enemy of the national rights of Iran's nations and nationalities, the Shah's regime did not hesitate to establish relations with the Kurdish movement under Mulla Mustafa Barezani and to use

it as a spearhead of its adventurist policy toward Iraq.

Everybody knows that the Iranian Kurds living in the western provinces of Iran, are deprived of all their national rights. After the Second World War the armed uprising of Iranian Kurds under the leadership of Sadr Ghazi, Seife Ghazi and Mulla Mustafa Barezani was suppressed by the Central Government's expeditionary forces. Mustafa Barezani, at that time military leader of the insurrection, narrowly escaped execution. The two other Kurdish leaders were hanged. Thousands of Iranian Kurds were either sent to prison or massacred. The atrocities of the expeditionary force in Kurdistan are still in the memory of the Iranian Kurds.

Those who are familiar with the contemporary history of Iran, know that Iran's support to the Iraqi Kurds is merely an act of enmity against the anti-imperialist policy of the present Iraqi government.

It is at the same time a preventive measure against any potential insurrection of Iranian Kurds. With its double-faced and malicious policy the Shah's regime, on the one hand, puts the Iraqi government under pressure, on the other hand it exposes the Iraqi Kurds to an all-out military offensive, which might result in the failure to set up a stable Kurdish autonomy that eventually might spread to Iranian Kurdistan.

Those who are not familiar with the complex and intricate situation in this part of the world, might wonder how it happened that the Kurds did not accept autonomy offered by the Iraqi Central Government. No doubt that there were some differences between the two sides. But it is beyond any doubt that there would have been a good chance to solve the differences through peaceful negotiations, unless the Iranian government had instigated trouble.

In a declaration dated March 19, the Executive Bureau of the CC of the Tudeh Party of Iran clarifies the position of our Party regarding the present disturbances in Iraqi Kurdistan. In this declaration the true nature of the Iranian policy, its aims and purposes concerning the recent developments in Iraq, are exposed.

The declaration points out: "The Tudeh Party of Iran insists on the fundamental solution of the national question. It is in favor of guaranteeing the Iranian peoples their legitimate rights. Our Party considers the autonomy for Iraqi Kurdistan a positive step that might contribute to the peaceful solution of the differences between the Iraqi Central Government and the Democratic Party of Iraqi Kurdistan. The Tudeh Party of Iran wishes that, on the basis of autonomy, an agreement between the two sides involved in the conflict should be reached. . . .

On behalf of the Iranian people, our Party condemns the provocative role played by the Shah's regimes as regards Iraqi Kurdistan."

CURIOUS LOGIC OF A DESPOT

In an interview with the Shah a few weeks ago, the Chief Editor of the West German paper *Die Zeit* Theo Sommer asked the question: "If a hijacked plane landed at Teheran Mehr-Abad airport, what would you do with the hijackers?"

The Shah's answer was prompt and decisive. "I immediately ordered all of them to be shot. For them, it would be better not to come here." This is the kind of thinking of a man who is ruling our country.

In fact, any reasonable man condemns the hijacking of planes. In our opinion the possibly good intentions of some of the hijackers in no way justify to risk the lives of innocent passengers. But hijacking is a crime like other crimes and must be subjected to certain inescapable judiciary procedures.

In the civilized countries no one, under no pretext, is permitted to order the execution of people without trial. The kind of the crime committed in no way affects this elementary requirement of the administration of justice. Yet the Shah of Iran, the man who considers himself the symbol of justice and humanism, is of a different opinion. He firmly sticks to medieval traditions of his ancestors regarding themselves as the "shadow of God on earth" who arbitrarily decided on the life or death of the citizens. In his mind, any other way of handling the state affairs, is not only irrational but also ruinous. Theo Sommer explains this attitude of the Shah in a polite manner remarking: "The Shah has not been influenced by Western Democracy." As a matter of fact, the Shah does not conceal his clear-cut opposition to Western democracy. Of course not from a progressive angle, but the opposite. He scornfully points out: "Look, what is going on in your continent and compare it with the situation in our country. I am very sorry that I am witness to the downfall of the Western democracy. This is very hard for you as well as for me."

In the past months, the Shah has repeatedly rejected Western democracy in favor of his despotic and medieval rule. In his eyes, the way he rules in Iran, is the best way to manage the country's difficulties.

He boasts: "I am trying to establish a progressive social system ...

if this is not democracy, I would like to know what democracy means? I am standing on the Left of the Leftists."

Those who are familiar with the situation in Iran, know quite well that the assertions by the Shah are nothing but empty phrases. Nobody can deny that the present Iranian regime has severely violated the most elementary rights of the Iranian people. In Iran does not rule the law, but the despotic will of an ambitious clique headed by the Shah and the members of his clan. SAWAK, the Iranian Secret Service, is the "iron hand" of the Shah's regime. Headed by General Nasiri, a close associate to the Shah, SAWAK is a criminal terrorist organization of the Gestapo type. General Nasiri was one of the main figures of the military coup of August 1953 against the late Premier Mossadegh. Since this CIA-organized coup, Nasiri stands in contact with the American intelligence agencies. In all the atrocities committed against the Iranian patriotic people in the past 20 years one can easily find the finger-prints of this sadistic criminal. General Nasiri is officially Deputy Prime Minister. But as chief of SAWAK he is in no way responsible to the government. He reports directly to the Shah and receives orders from him. This way, the Shah is personally and directly involved in all the atrocities of SAWAK which is the main pillar of his despotic rule.

Democracy is one of the main issues in the political fight in Iran. On this issue, all the opposition parties and organizations, regardless of their world outlook and political affiliations stand united. They fight to overthrow the one-man rule of the Shah. On this issue, no compromise is possible. This is an opinion which is shared by all the political parties of the opposition and the broad masses of the people in Iran.

FROM THE PARTY PRESS

AGAINST MAOIST IDEOLOGY AND POLICY

The communist press of socialist and non-socialist countries continues to carry articles against Maoist ideology and policy. Following are some extracts.

BULGARIA

"Another 'Cultural Revolution'?" (*Rabotnichesko Delo*, February 1974):

Reports of an incipient new purge first came in from China last year. The struggle between pragmatists and "leftists" in the upper echelons of the Chinese CP and state has long been a subject of home and foreign press comments.

At the 10th CPC Congress, Chou En-lai pessimistically predicted that "the struggle between the two lines will go on in the Party for long years to come" and that that was a perfectly normal phenomenon which would "recur 10, 20 or 30 times." Experience has shown that each "revolution" of this kind sacrifices one or more prominent persons. Most political observers today are inclined to regard Chou En-lai as the next victim.

The outbreaks of "revolutionary passion" are not accidental. Not long ago *Jenminjihpao* called for the extension of the campaign under way to ensure that 95 per cent of the cadres and the masses join actively in exposing Lin Biao and Confucius. Perhaps it is among the remaining five per cent that one should look for potential victims of the new "cultural revolution." The very fact that they exist suggests that a blow is to be struck at them. The relatively large proportion of "enemies" speaks only too plainly of inner-Party differences and struggle, which generally lead to a purge in the Party and the government bodies, an operation described by Peking as "rectifying the style of work" or a "cultural revolution."

The existence of serious antagonisms within the Maoist leadership

is also seen in the fact that a major reshuffle was effected in military district and army commands. Seven of the 13 high-ranking men were relieved of their posts — a drastic measure which cannot be explained as a mere reassignment of cadres.

The near future will undoubtedly bring answers to many questions the article says in conclusion. It is quite clear, however, that a bitter struggle has flared up in China between the pragmatist group led by Chou En-lai and the "Left radicals." Whoever wins, one can hardly expect anything fundamentally new in either the home or foreign policy of the Peking leadership. All signs are that the current purge, as the previous ones, is designed to bolster up Mao's position and lop off the branches threatening the "purity of the Chairman's ideas," that is, restore a centralism verging on the absurd and indispensable to Maoist anti-Soviet and anti-communist policy.

"The Maoist Theory of 'Superpowers'" (*Rabotnichesko Delo*, May 27) refutes the Chinese theory of a "conspiracy between the two superpowers."

The slogan of "fighting against the two superpowers," the article comments, has become one of Peking's anti-Soviet instruments. By "superpowers" the Maoists mean the Soviet Union and United States. They substitute imaginary contradictions between the "two superpowers," on the one hand, and all other states, on the other, for the main contradiction of the contemporary world, the contradiction between socialism and capitalism. Trying to discredit the Soviet Union, the Chinese leaders accuse it and the United States of "collusion" against other countries, particularly the developing ones.

However, the Maoists' demagoguery about the alleged "conspiracy" cannot mislead even the most credulous. Seeing that the Soviet policy of normalizing relations with the U.S. is hailed by public opinion, the Maoists changed tack and have lately been talking chiefly of the "rivalry" between the "superpowers."

In April this idea was elaborated by deputy Premier Teng Hsiao-ping at the special session of the UN General Assembly. He said that the two "superpowers" — the Soviet Union and United States — are a "hotbed of a new world war by virtue of their contest for world hegemony." The shift of emphasis from "conspiracy" to "contradictions and struggle between the superpowers" is not accidental. This propaganda is intended primarily for third-world countries and is believed to sound "convincing to them." In the light of the vast aid which the Soviet Union extends to the developing countries, the talk

about a Soviet-U.S. "conspiracy" against Asian, African and Latin American countries is simply ridiculous.

There are, of course, irreconcilable contradictions between the U.S. and Soviet Union, but the main contradiction is that between capitalism and socialism. It is not a struggle between allegedly homogeneous "superpowers" but a struggle between two opposite systems.

The main purpose of the theory of "superpowers," the article says, is to promote anti-Sovietism. At home, the idea is to foment hatred for and hostility to the Soviet Union and divert the people's attention from the failures of Maoist policy and the real needs of the country. Abroad, the theory serves several purposes which amount to the attempt to frustrate the Soviet Union's fight against the threat of nuclear war.

The Chinese leaders also want to prevent normal relations between the Soviet Union and Western Europe and Japan. This is why they try to obstruct the European Conference on Security and Cooperation, insist on building up the military power of the West, including that of NATO, and recommend turning the Common Market into a military political alliance against the Soviet Union.

The Maoists would like to break away the developing countries from their natural ally, the Soviet Union. In trying to bring about a united front of Asian, African and Latin American countries against the "superpowers," China aspires to the role of leader of the front.

Peking's attempts to sow distrust and hatred for the Soviet Union are bound to fail, the article says in conclusion. The foreign policy which the CPSU and Soviet Union pursue on class principles to promote peace and the peoples' independence and social progress is the most fitting reply to the Chinese leaders' anti-Soviet and anti-socialist fabrications.

CYPRUS

Haravgi, organ of the AKEL Central Committee, carried an editorial in its May 21 issue, which reads in part:

Speaking at a reception for President Makarios, Chinese Deputy Premier Teng Hsiao-ping lashed out against the USSR and repeated the old story about "two superpowers," equating the USSR, the bulwark of socialism, with the imperialist United States.

Such behavior by the Chinese leaders and the unscrupulous slander of the Soviet Union betray a lack of elementary respect for their

guest, President Makarios, whose attitude toward the USSR, its government and people, are well known. And *Haravgi* quotes the President's interview on Moscow radio and television: "The Cypriot people value the support of the Soviet Union in their fight for an independent, united and sovereign state. This support has made for closer friendship and is for us a source of inspiration in resisting foreign pressure and threats."

That statement by President Makarios, the paper continues, can be taken as an advance reply to the Chinese leaders' anti-Soviet calumny. The Cypriot people, government and President do not see any "threat to the independence, sovereignty and security of the Mediterranean countries," including Cyprus, emanating from the Soviet Union or from the presence of its fleet in the Mediterranean.

The threat to Cyprus and all the Mediterranean countries, the paper emphasizes, emanates from the presence of the U.S. Sixth Fleet and from the policy of U.S. imperialism and NATO.

In common with all the peoples of the Mediterranean, the Cypriots know from their own experience what it can expect from the Soviet Union and from U.S. imperialism, from the presence of Soviet naval vessels and the presence of the U.S. Sixth Fleet. The record of the past 10 years has taught the Cypriots that the U.S. and NATO and their Mediterranean watchdog, the Sixth Fleet, would like nothing better than to crush their independence. The people of Cyprus know only too well that at critical moments, when the plots against Cyprus were activated, it has always been the Soviet Union's powerful support that compelled the would-be interventionists to abandon their plans.

In the light of all these facts, *Haravgi* writes, the Chinese leadership's anti-Soviet slander will not find response in Cyprus. For the facts speak much more eloquently and convincingly than even the most subtle lying propaganda.

Every Cypriot patriot knows that this anti-Soviet slander is aimed also against the cause and struggle of his country, for it plays into the hands of those who would tear our people away from its natural allies and champions and impose plans for the division and enslavement of the island. That is why our people indignantly reject these unscrupulous attacks on the Soviet Union by Chinese Deputy Premier Teng Hsiao-ping.

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

On June 8, 1974, *Rudé Právo*, the CC CPC daily, carried a com-

mentary on the Maoist leaders' policy in the field of international ties.

It was a very short time ago, the newspaper writes, that Edward Heath, the British Conservative leader, completed his visit to China and yet Peking is preparing for the arrival of other guests, namely, Gelmut Kohl, Chairman of the West German CDU, and Josef Strauss, head of the Bavarian CSU.

On returning to London, Heath held forth about the "Chinese leaders' cordiality." He attributed it to Peking's appreciation of the Conservative cabinet's role in the EEC, an organization which should, as the Chinese leaders see it, create in Europe a strong anti-communist counter to the socialist countries, above all to the Soviet Union.

The West German opposition leaders were said officially to have been invited with a view to "fostering mutual relations." Reality is simpler, however. Strauss said a few years ago, when diplomatic relations were established between Federal Germany and China, that "our enemy's enemy is our friend." That implied "enemy" of China was the Soviet Union. Besides, Strauss relishes Mao Tse-tung's thesis about the "great chaos in the world," because both are against détente. Also, Peking fully identifies itself with Strauss's concept of a "new and strong Europe" (with the Bundeswehr playing an important role in it) and his hostility to the idea of normal relations with socialist countries.

Developing relations between countries with different social systems is a normal and useful process and so are meetings of political leaders. However, the list of those whom the Chinese leaders choose to meet is most revealing.

Over a short period, they opposed a visit by a delegation of British miners because it included a Communist, and prevented the inclusion of Communist MPs in a French parliamentary delegation about to leave for China. They stated that there must be no members of the CP of Japan in delegations of Japanese cities arriving in China.

And that is not normal.

Commenting in *Rudé Právo* (June 8, 1974) on military preparations in China, Zdenek Horeni wrote:

Foreign sources and observers point to a "considerable increase in the nuclear potential of the PRC as regards both missiles and bombers" and to "serious progress in carrying out the program for building submarines and aircraft." The bulk of China's nuclear missile force is directed against the Soviet Union. The Chinese leadership has massed almost 1.5 million troops on the border with the Mongolian People's Republic and the Soviet Union.

The "revolutionary" slogans used by the Chinese leaders today are a smokescreen intended to conceal China's extensive cooperation with a number of capitalist countries in building up its military potential. Indeed, recent years have seen an abundant flow of strategic goods from capitalist countries to China whereas earlier all export of this commodity to China was strictly forbidden.

The Peking administration has set up a network of dummy and intermediary companies which operate with the tacit consent of imperialist quarters. According to *Le Courrier de politique étrangère*, a French news bulletin, every major West German company supplies China with strategic equipment of this or that type.

The U.S. press reports that dozens of Scandinavian, Italian, Austrian, French and American companies have joined in deliveries of plant and strategic supplies needed for nuclear-missile systems.

China is known to have purchased in Japan and Western Europe parts and plant for its second hydrogen bomb center in Paotow, Inner Mongolia.

To carry out its arms program, China has invited from capitalist countries numerous experts in missilery, nuclear physics, electronics, computers and other fields. Foreign missile and nuclear experts are said to be paid in China a hundred times as much as their Chinese counterparts.

China has for years been dominated by war hysteria. The Ninth Congress of the CPC (1969) proclaimed Mao Tse-tung's "strategic idea," which urges "preparations for war or calamity." The 10th CPC Congress (1973) called on "the working class, poor and middle peasants, army officers and soldiers, and the population as a whole to step up war preparations."

The formation of a home guard is a new development in China's militarization. Only the blind can fail to see behind the hue and cry affecting vast sections of the population a purely political campaign designed to whip up hatred for the Soviet Union. Speakers at the 10th Congress alleged without batting an eyelid that the Soviet Union was planning a "surprise attack" on China. The Soviet proposals for normalization of relations were withheld from congress delegates and public opinion and still are.

The Chinese authorities have so far left these proposals unanswered. In fact, they have gone on stepping up the war hysteria and anti-Soviet campaign. The Maoists continue to suggest to the people that a world war is inevitable and that China will emerge victorious from it.

The beat of war drums is designed to divert the Chinese people's

attention from the setbacks of the Maoists' home policy and the growing threat of a food crisis and to keep 700 to 800 million people in a state of permanent tension and fear so as to preclude every manifestation of discontent. The drum beat is supposed to convince the Chinese that they must tighten their belts again, without a murmur.

FINLAND

Kansan Uutiset, the CC CPF daily, carried a leading article on the Chinese leadership's policies.

Reports from China, it says, suggest that a new stage of struggle for power has begun in that country. Much is unclear as yet but the foreign policy trends and methods of the Chinese leadership are perfectly evident.

At a time when the peoples of Europe and, first of all, the communist and working-class movement, welcome the headway toward peace and security on our continent made through sustained effort, *Jenminjihpao*, the Chinese daily, alleges that the European conference, instead of strengthening security, confirms the "threat of Soviet expansion." In other words, the paper makes common cause with the extreme Right.

To a growing number of people, at least in Europe, recent months have shown that the Chinese leadership's policies have nothing to do with the effective political struggle which the Soviet Union and other members of the socialist community, the world communist movement and other democratic and peace-loving forces have been carrying on for peace, democracy and socialism, against imperialist policy.

GDR

"Peking's Complicity with the Enemies of Détente," editorial, *Neues Deutschland*, May 27:

The mass media of the West, including the FRG, are simply delighted at the Peking leaders' complicity with the reactionaries of NATO and the West European community opposed to détente. The information media of the "free world" vie with one another in publicizing statements by Peking's leading politicians. They seize on everything that is likely to benefit the advocates of NATO's arms buildup so as to check or even reverse the process of détente in Europe. They now show particular zeal in quoting deputy Premier Teng Hsiao-ping, whose utterances bristle with anti-Soviet attacks and gross calumnies against the peace policy of the socialist community. Characteristically, this is fully appreciated by those NATO quar-

ters which talk about the alleged "threat from the East" to justify the arms race in NATO countries. The Peking leaders are ready to "welcome" effort by the peoples of Western Europe to "heighten their vigilance from day to day."

In close alliance with all enemies of détente who are in the capitalist camp, the Chinese leaders have launched a fierce campaign against the European Security Conference and the Vienna talks on armed forces and arms reduction in Central Europe. Chinese propaganda questions the socialist countries' aims and tries to convince capitalist Europe that it is "dangerous" for it to recognize the political realities existing on the continent and the principles of peaceful coexistence. To achieve this objective, it supports and spreads the falsehood which says that the Soviet Union intends to use the Conference as a means of bringing the whole of Europe under its "undivided sway." One has only to compare this "argument" with the anti-Soviet sallies of West Germany's mass media to see that the Peking leaders actively help reactionaries and revanchists. Peking's pseudo-revolutionary talk turns out to be a cover for its own, truly hegemonist ambitions.

It is not surprising, therefore, that Peking has always declared for strengthening the aggressive NATO bloc, keeping U.S. troops in Western Europe and forming a West European political alliance at an early date, and campaigned at the same time against the recognition of European frontiers and the realistic aspects in the policy of West European countries. During their talks with French statesmen, Peking officials insulted the Finnish people by "warning" the French against "Finlandization," that is, peaceful coexistence in Europe. The Chinese leadership openly interferes in inner political debates in West European countries. It explicitly backs the advocates of entry into the EEC and exerts pressure on opponents of the move.

China's spokesmen have long stopped their hypocritical talk that the PRC supports the German Democratic Republic's struggle against West German revanchism. Peking today sides frankly with those who would like to go back to the period of cold war and tension. Entirely in line with the revanchist section of the bourgeois camp in the FRG, official spokesmen of the PRC call the Treaty on the Principles of Relations between the GDR and FRG a "passing phenomenon." They want in this way to undercut what makes for a healthier climate in Europe. Furthermore, Peking supports the thesis about "unity of the nation," which is indefensible and was disproved by history long ago. It even alleges that the German problem "has not been solved yet."

China is steadily extending relations with the West German reactionaries who are willing to cooperate with it on anti-Soviet lines. The Chinese press picks up battered lies about the GDR spread by hostile West German media.

Outspoken hostility to the fundamental interests of the socialist GDR throws a stark light on the ideology and policy of the Maoists, who have broken completely with Marxism-Leninism.

There is no doubt that NATO strategists put great stake on the Maoist leadership's great-power and adventurist position. On April 4 last, NATO Secretary General told *The Times* of London that the Chinese government was "very much aware" of NATO's usefulness, just as NATO was aware of China's position on the eastern flank of the Soviet Union. "Although there are no concrete plans, it stands to reason that at the back of the minds of NATO governments, the position of China in time of crisis is being positively judged."

Hence, the fundamental task in our struggle for peace and international security and in our resistance to all attacks by reactionary forces hostile to détente, is to expose Maoist ideology and practice. Nor must we underrate in any way the dangerous nature of Peking's adventurist moves against socialism, détente and the unity of revolutionary forces.

However, the real alignment of world forces and the meaningful policy of the socialist community united round the Soviet Union have produced substantial favorable changes, so that no amount of ill-intentioned and hostile maneuvering by the Peking leaders can stop further progress.

MONGOLIA

The following is part of a speech at the Eighth plenum of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party Central Committee by First Secretary Y. Tsedenbal, published in *Unen* on June 11:

There are ample facts to show that the present Chinese leaders continue to be the most vicious opponents of international détente. To the class foreign policy of the socialist community aimed at assuring peaceful conditions for the development of mankind, they oppose an anti-popular, social-chauvinist policy that has nothing in common with the interests of peace and socialism. The unprincipled policy and practical actions of the Maoists are spearheaded against the Soviet Union and other socialist countries and against the world revolutionary movement. The Maoists are making a desperate attempt to block

the efforts of the socialist community and the forces of peace for continued improvement of the international situation and for security for all the peoples.

More, the Chinese rulers are doing everything to aggravate crisis situations in various parts of the world and keep alive tension and friction between states of the two opposite social systems. They want to retain the imperialist military presence in Europe and Asia and are urging the NATO countries to come out in a united front against the Soviet Union and the other Warsaw Treaty nations.

In furtherance of their hegemonistic and chauvinist aims, the Peking leaders are prepared even to enter into collusion with the most reactionary imperialist forces. The anti-Sovietism and social-chauvinism of the Chinese leaders have led to their final break with Marxism-Leninism and to betrayal of the interests of peace and socialism and the vital interests of the Chinese people itself.

The Maoists' anti-popular policy and their divisive actions, designed to undermine the unity of the revolutionary forces, play into the hands of the enemies of socialism, the dark forces of imperialism and reaction. But no power on earth can undermine the world of socialism and turn back the wheel of history.

The Chinese leaders continue their annexationist policy toward the Mongolian People's Republic, subjecting it to constant political, economic and ideological pressure. They are staging demonstrations of strength and generating tension on our frontiers. They are openly preparing for war against the Soviet Union and Mongolia on the pretext of a "threat" from the north. The war preparations were intensified after the 10th Congress of the Chinese Communist Party which decided on total militarization and confrontation with world socialism.

Peking's ideological sabotage is meant to undermine our friendship with the Soviet Union and other fraternal countries.

Our policy with regard to the present Chinese leaders is clear: we shall continue our irreconcilable struggle against the hostile theory and practice of Maoism, against provocation and subversion by Peking. This does not contradict our desire to normalize relations with the People's Republic of China and re-establish friendly ties with the Chinese people.

Our Party and people condemn Maoist intrigues on the international scene, the attempts to undermine the unity of the socialist community and of the world communist movement. Our Party will continue its uncompromising and principled struggle against the reac-

tionary ideology of Maoism, against anti-Sovietism and all other forms and manifestations of anti-communism.

POLAND

Nowe Drogi, theoretical and political journal of the Polish United Workers' Party, carried in its June issue an article by L. Krasucki entitled "The Fight Against Confucius — its Background and Character."

The Confucius debate, the author says, has turned into a mass campaign reminiscent of the "cultural revolution."

To all practical purposes, the Maoist party is a conglomerate of rival groups formed and developed as part of Maoism and competing with one another in extolling Mao Tse-tung and his ideas. Opposed to all these groups — and therefore kept under constant surveillance by them — are those who, despite years of moral and physical terror, have remained true to the principles of Marxism-Leninism.

The factional struggle within Maoism, the author writes, is being conducted in the atmosphere of discontent caused by the failures affecting every aspect of life of this vast country and the harm done by a policy directed against the vital interests of the main strata of society. What we have is a fresh aggravation of the ideological, political, social and economic crisis of Maoism.

This situation is the result of renouncing the general laws of building socialism and rejecting Leninism in favor of Maoism. The "great leap" and "cultural revolution" hurled the country back several years.

Disregard of the general laws of development and of essential social and economic requirements has led to unemployment. Tens of millions of young people are either being deported to densely populated rural areas or forced into para-military organizations to work on the construction of bomb shelters, trenches and anti-tank obstacles.

There need be no doubt, the author emphasizes, that the present campaign against Confucius is another big dose of "opium for the people" to sidetrack their attention from Chinese realities. But it is also a new phase in giving Marxism "a Chinese look," in the further Maoist indoctrination of society, in imposing Maoist doctrines and the Maoist power structure, and systematically ridding society of the "poison of the past."

SOVIET UNION

On June 6 last, *Pravda*, the CC CPSU daily, carried an article by

M. Yakovlev entitled "Peking: Theoretical Chimeras and Practice."

In Peking, the author writes, they change slogans and foreign-policy tactics from time to time, invariably leaving intact their anti-Soviet slant and great-power objectives. It is an unprincipled and adventurist policy exemplified, in particular, by the metamorphosis which the Chinese leaders' views on the world of today have undergone in recent years.

In the early 60s the Maoists discarded the class approach in evaluating the alignment of world forces and put forward the theory of "intermediate zones." At the close of the "cultural revolution," they modified this theory by advancing the equally unscientific theory of "two poles." And not long ago Peking revised this theory, too. It says that there are "three worlds" today: the Soviet Union and United States; the developed capitalist and other countries opposed in common with the "third world" to the "hegemony" of the first world; and the "third world," or all developing countries, including China. Furthermore, Teng Hsiao-ping, a Chinese leader, co-author of the theory of political differentiation in today's world, declared that the world socialist system "no longer exists."

Why this theoretical "flexibility?"

By equating the Soviet Union and United States and using their new theory to call for struggle against the two "superpowers" but actually against the Soviet Union, the Peking leaders want to distract the peoples' attention from the struggle against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism and rally diverse forces to fight against the Soviet Union and the socialist community. This concept also serves as a theoretical justification for the Peking leadership's alliance with the imperialists against the Soviet Union and helps use the "third world" for the great-power, hegemonist ends of Peking.

This anti-Soviet stance of Peking manifests itself everywhere and in every aspect of its foreign policy. While declaring that Europe has become a "field of battle between the two superpowers," Peking does its utmost to scare the West European countries with the bogey of the "Soviet menace." The purpose of this effort is to prod militarist quarters in Western Europe into stepping up the arms race, reinforcing the aggressive NATO bloc and pushing Europe back to cold-war days.

The Peking leaders fiercely resist the idea of a collective security system in Asia. Yet they declare in support of the imperialist military alliances existing in that region. They favor U.S. military presence in Asia because they see in it a force hostile to the Asian peoples'

movement for freedom and independence. Peking does not object to the existence of old or the establishment of new U.S. or British military bases in Asia or the Indian Ocean. At the same time it is conducting a frenzied slander campaign to undermine the Soviet Union's relations with the developing countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America and dissociate these countries from their natural allies, the Soviet Union and other members of the socialist community.

The Chinese leaders persist in fomenting strife in the Middle East despite the fact that some initial progress has already been made towards a just and durable peace there. The purpose of their acts of provocation and false rumors they put about is to torpedo a peaceful settlement in the area and disrupt friendly relations between the peoples of the Soviet Union and Arab countries, so that these countries may find themselves face to face with the Israeli aggressors and the imperialist forces backing them.

The foregoing shows that Peking's theory and practice are intended to bring about a broad anti-Soviet front. As an Eastern proverb says, shout "halva" as you may, the taste in your mouth will be no sweeter. Rabid reactionaries are the only ones to respond to Peking's efforts. As for the peoples, they rebuff the anti-Soviet, anti-communist sallies of the Maoists.

URUGUAY

Last May the CC CP of Uruguay made a statement about the anti-Soviet information published in *Peking Informa*, a journal circulated in Argentina and other Latin American countries.

"By foully slandering Soviet policy," the statement says, "the Chinese leaders try to justify the U.S. imperialists' economic and military expansion as an 'answer' to Soviet 'expansionism'."

The CC CPU goes on to say that *Peking Informa* is out to smear the Soviet Union's good relations with various Latin American countries, especially Peru, defame the relations which have lately formed between the Soviet Union and Argentina, and nullify the beneficial effect which these relations have brought and are bound to bring, for the peoples of the continent.

The CC notes that without naming the U.S., *Peking Informa* alleges that Soviet policy "amounts to the same as" that of the United States in objectives and methods. Thereby the journal tries to write off the charges levelled by the peoples against imperialism. In case this is not enough, the CC adds, here are two monstrous facts: first, the journal hails the fascist and provocative activities of dictatorships

and oligarchic governments in Latin America against Soviet representatives, and second, the Chinese leaders express satisfaction at the military coup in Chile. And whereas the Soviet Union and almost all socialist countries have severed relations with the Chilean dictatorship and condemned its crimes, the Chinese leaders maintain friendly relations with the Pinochet government.

All this, the CC says in conclusion, shows "how low the Chinese leaders have sunk politically and ideologically and what bourgeois nationalism leads to."

WEST BERLIN

The West Berlin Socialist Unity Party paper *Die Wahrheit* carried an article by M. Friedlander, "Peking's Struggle for the Black Continent."

Africa has held a special place in the plans of the Chinese leaders for a long time, the author says, but never before has China's African policy been so active: throughout 1971-73 there was a high-pressure campaign to advertise China on that continent.

Following the failure of its attempts to seize leadership of the socialist community, Peking concentrated on building up its influence in the national-liberation movement. Its counter-program to the decisions of the 1969 International Conference of Communist and Workers' Parties was based on the contention that the center of the world revolution had shifted to the Third World. Hence, it declared the national-liberation movement headed by non-proletarian elements the main force of the international revolutionary process.

That was the concept Chou En-lai took on his tour of 10 African countries in 1963-64. He declared that there was a "brilliant revolutionary situation in Africa."

China's African policy of the 60s contributed to situations in several countries that favored reaction and helped to seal the fate of many patriots active in the national-liberation movement. But that policy led to the isolation of the Chinese leadership, and in 1969 it started out on a new tactic, especially after the failure of its adventurist ultra-Left methods. Now Peking found that Africa "was not yet ripe for revolution." Subversion gave way to a policy of aid and cooperation on a bilateral basis. In short, this was a pragmatic reorientation of China's African policy.

All the available facts point to the following:

First, the forms, methods and tactics of China's African policy have changed, but not its aims. The concepts and slogans the Maoists

are exporting to Africa are designed to justify China's claim to leadership of the Third World and to drive a wedge between the African peoples and the socialist countries, particularly the Soviet Union. Directly or indirectly, this policy coincides with the interests of neo-colonialism, and is being used by it.

Second, China's present African policy has several aspects dangerous to the revolutionary movement, inasmuch as they hamper the exposure of Maoism as an anti-socialist ideology hostile to the African peoples. Specifically, this refers to Peking's concentration on economic assistance, which enables China to pose as a disinterested trading partner. It also provides more opportunities for direct political influence, primarily on nationalist, rather than liberation, elements, for which there is a social basis, even in progressive African countries.

Third, there are a number of objective factors militating against Maoist influence: the changing world alignment of forces in favor of socialism and self-exposure of the Chinese leaders.

Factual rejection of the Maoist foreign-policy principles by the Algiers Conference of Non-aligned States (Sept. 1973) is fresh evidence that the Third-World nations are opposed to Peking's hegemonistic proclivities.

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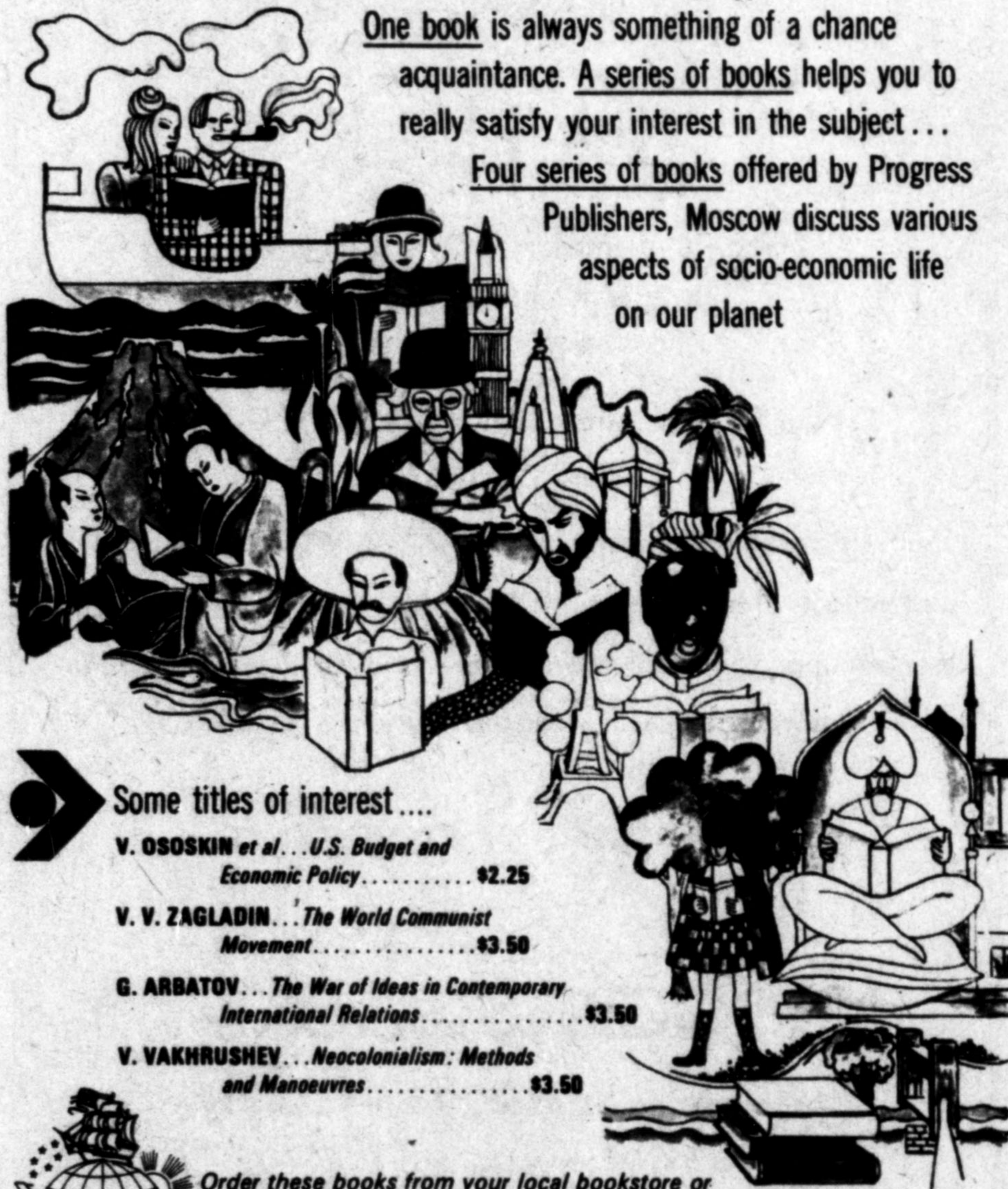
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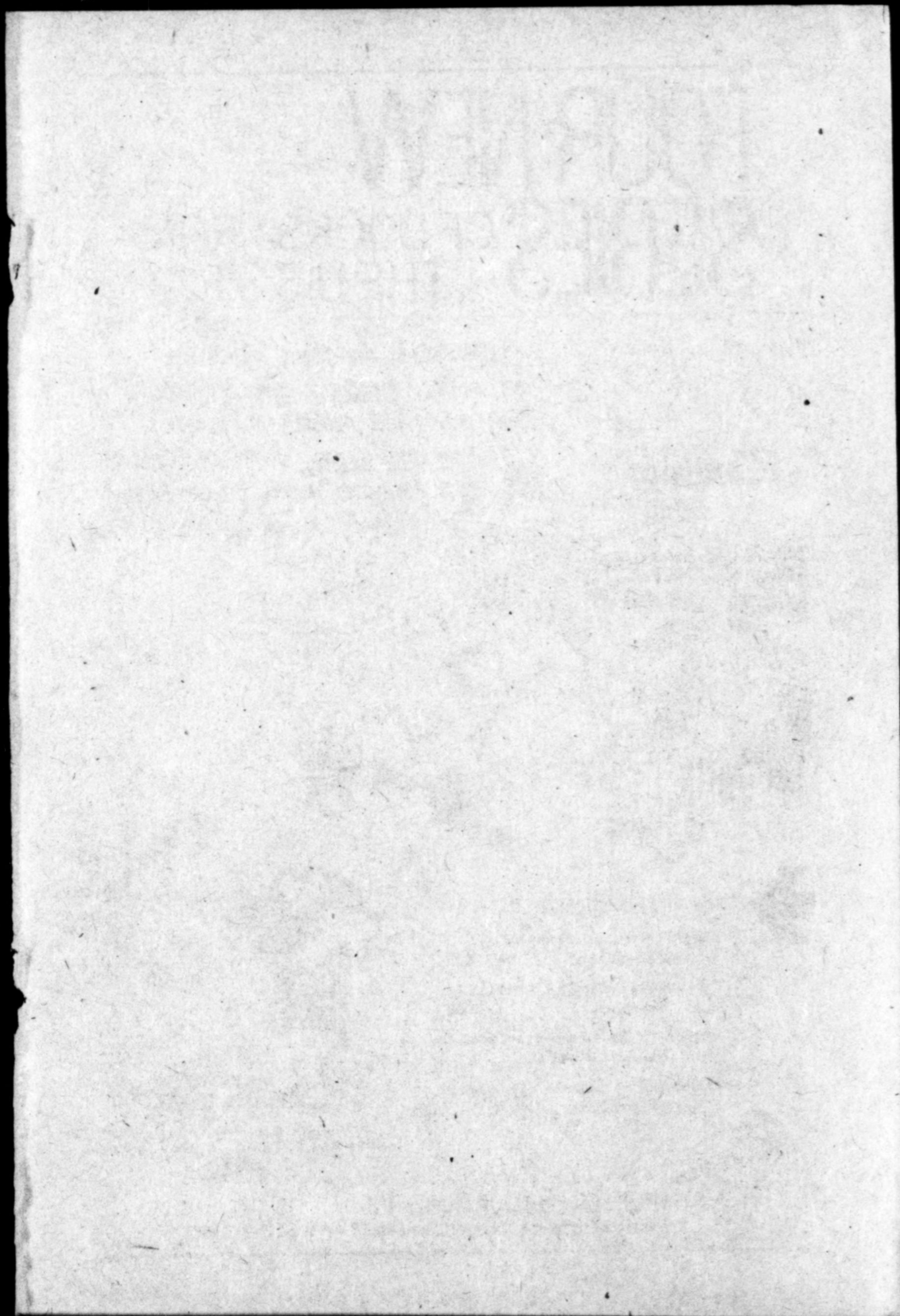
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