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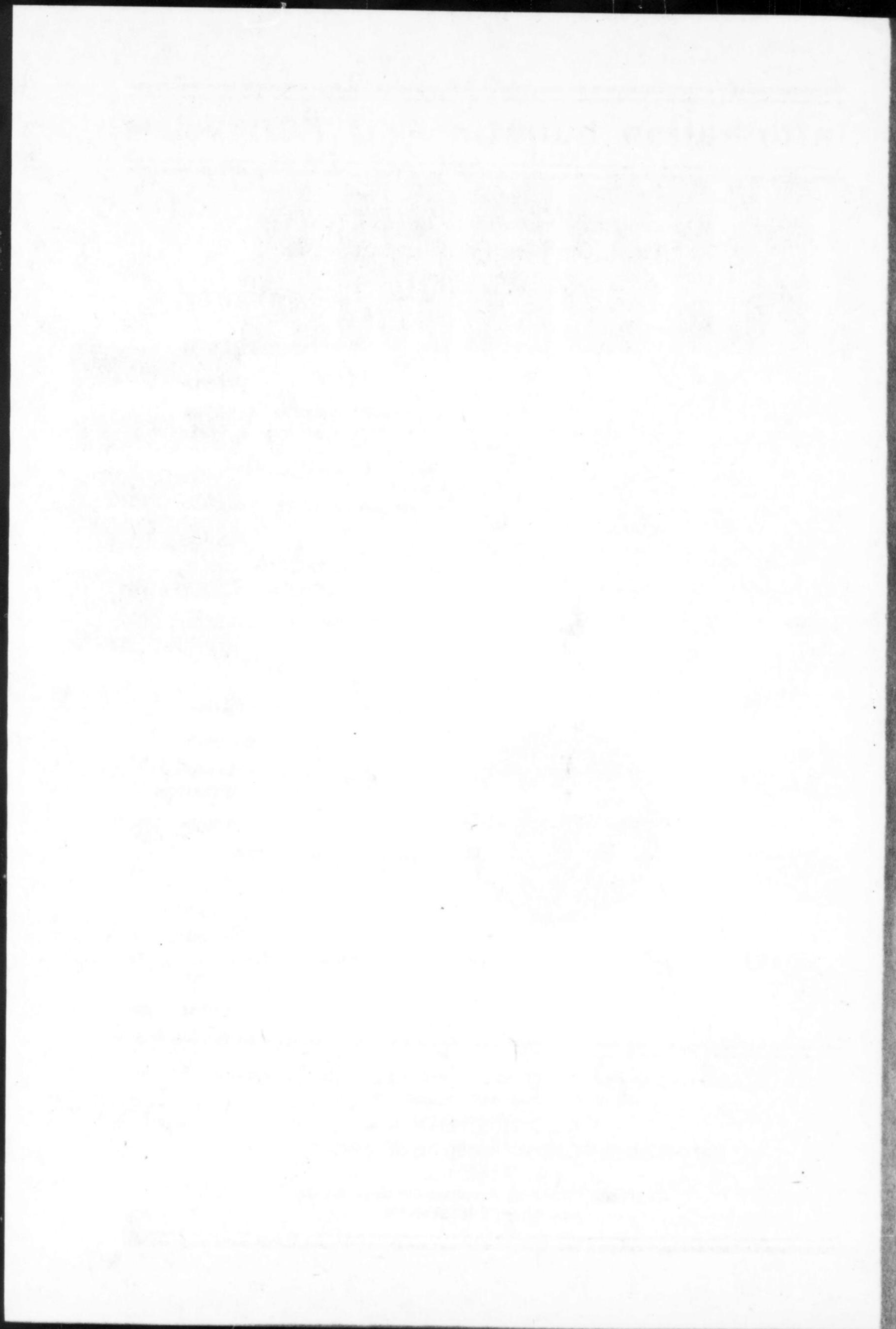
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IN ANGOLA**

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CONGRESSES

TWENTY-SECOND CONGRESS OF THE FRENCH COMMUNIST PARTY

The 22nd Congress of the French Communist Party was held from February 4 to 8 in Saint-Ouen, a suburban area of Paris.

It was attended by a delegation of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union headed by A. P. Kirilenko, member of the Political Bureau and secretary of the Central Committee, and by representatives of 87 Communist and Workers' Parties, national-liberation and democratic movements.

For five days the 1,522 delegates representing half a million Communists discussed the complex problems of present-day France and worked out the Party's tactics and strategy for achieving profound social changes. The debates once again confirmed that France's economic, political and social problems can be solved to the benefit of the working people, only on the road to socialism.

Congress adopted a special resolution instructing the Central Committee to submit proposals on revising the preamble of the Party Rules, especially the part dealing with the dictatorship of the proletariat, so that these proposals can be discussed at the 23rd Congress. It approved the policy document "What the Communists Want for France" and the Central Committee report, delivered by General Secretary Georges Marchais. (A summary of the report is given below).

An appeal to the French men and women was adopted, calling on them to reinforce the ranks of the Communist Party, the veritable defender of the working people's interests.

Elections to the Party's leading bodies were held. The new Central Committee comprises 97 members and 24 alternate members. Congress unanimously decided that Waldeck Rochet should continue to hold the post of Honorary Chairman of the Party.

The concluding speech at the Congress was delivered by Georges Marchais. On behalf of the delegates, he expressed gratitude to the delegations of the fraternal Communist and Workers' parties, and the national-liberation and democratic movement.

"Our guests," the General Secretary said, "have witnessed the internationalist sentiments of the French Communists at the Congress and all over the country. We assure the parties and movements represented by our guests that this solidarity will remain constant. Our Party will always be firm in fulfilling its internationalist duty."

During the Congress mass gatherings devoted to meetings with fraternal delegations took place in a number of towns. The gathering held in Nanterre, the administrative center of the Hauts-de-Seine department, was addressed by the head of the Soviet delegation, A. P. Kirilenko. (His speech is given below.)

At its meeting on February 8, the new Central Committee re-elected Georges Marchais General Secretary of the Party.

The members of the newly elected Political Bureau are: Gustave Ansart, Guy Besse, Etienne Fajon, Henri Krasuki, Paul Laurent, Roland Leroy, Georges Marchais, René Piquet, Gaston Plissonnier, Claude Poperen, Georges Seguy, André Vieuguet, Madeleine Vincent, Mireille Bertrand, Jacques Chambaz, Jean Colpin, Guy Hermier, Jean Kanapa.

Alternate members of the Political Bureau: Charles Fiterman, Maxime Gremetz, André Lajoinie.

Paul Laurent, Roland Leroy, René Piquet, Gaston Plissonnier, Jean Colpin and Charles Fiterman were elected secretaries of the Central Committee.

REPORT BY GEORGES MARCHAIS

It is necessary to change the society. That is the conclusion we arrived at in analyzing the situation in the country. Three years ago, the 20th Congress of our Party noted that the semblance of prosperity concealed great difficulties. Since then the situation has worsened. Misery and poverty have become common in the big cities and large industrial centers, as well as in the rural areas of present-day France.

There are today 1,400,000 fully unemployed, half of whom are under 25 years of age. Sixty-two per cent of those who have lost their jobs receive absolutely no aid. And another 600,000 work only part-time. Altogether, about two million people suffer from unemployment, and together with their families they number from seven to eight million. Unemployment is virtually a national calamity.

Especially grievous is the condition of 2,500,000 foreign workers, who are discriminated against in every way.

The work week in France is still the longest in the West European countries. The number of industrial accidents has reached one million. As a result, every year about 4,000 people die and 125,000 are maimed.

Considering all this, we can say that today at least 16 million people, whether employed or unemployed, lack the bare necessities for themselves and their families.

Georges Marchais further noted the worsening conditions of life of all sections of the working population. He stressed that the national economy is virtually slipping backwards. One-third of the industrial capacities are not being used at present. A quarter of French industry is controlled by foreign capital. The foreign debt is mounting.

Today France is a country where democracy is shrinking like shagreen leather. Step by step it is losing its sovereignty. The fate of our farmers is decided in Brussels, of our currency in Washington. Tomorrow, unless our people are on guard, their fate will be decided in Luxembourg, or rather in Bonn, by the headquarters of the reactionary forces and multinational companies of Atlantic Europe.

We have fought and will continue to fight tirelessly to defend the working people and their families against any encroachments and injustices, to maintain and raise their purchasing power, lessen the various burdens inflicted on them, and improve their working conditions.

We have fought and will continue to fight to safeguard and develop democratic rights and freedoms, Marchais continued. We have fought and will continue to fight to guarantee France and its people the right to decide their own future.

That France is in crisis is now evident. But while admitting this, the country's leaders attempt to minimize the dimensions of the crisis, claiming that it is a temporary economic recession. Yet, beginning with 1971, our Party has pointed to the general character of the crisis of French capitalism. The society created by the ruling bourgeoisie has demonstrated its inability to ensure higher material well-being, scientific and cultural progress.

The reason for this, as our Party has clearly pointed out and repeated once again in the draft congress document, is: undivided domination over the entire national life by a narrow caste with vast powers and riches.

At present, 25 financial and industrial groups dominate French society.

Twenty-five monopolies are run by less than 250 people, about 30

of whom are in the leadership of the most powerful groups and often of several simultaneously. They decide on the work and life of millions of people.

This caste controls the state. Today, economic power is closely intertwined with political power. The ministerial offices, where 500 people conduct affairs in secrecy and outside popular control, forming a permanent apparatus of big capital within the state, are staffed by direct agents of the monopolies.

Big capital is now the master of France. The aristocracy of money, consisting of a few thousand individuals, lives in inconceivable luxury. These people enjoy excessive material privileges. In one evening they can spend more money than a worker at the assembly line, whom they exploit, can earn in a lifetime.

This aristocracy exploits and super-exploits millions of wage workers.

From 1970 to 1975 the profits of the French monopolies increased by 83 per cent, while the purchasing power of the working people remained unchanged and in many cases was falling. During this time prices mounted by 60 per cent.

The contradictions of the system are sharpening to a point that is leading to its disorganization. That is why the majority of French men and women are working heavily but living badly.

A profound source of the crisis is the big bourgeoisie's control over the country's resources and the labor of its people, the victims of the drive for profit by the finance and industrial monopolies.

Marchais emphasized that the present crisis has invaded not only the economy but also the sphere of social relations, policy, ideology and morals. The social character of the crisis is determined by the fact that the working class and millions of other working people are rising in defense of their interests and, consequently, developing the class struggle.

In view of the working people's confrontation with state power in the service of big capital, the crisis is political. In all strata of society the desire for change is growing. At the same time the privileged ruling minority is resorting more often to tyranny, force and illegal methods in order to preserve its domination.

The ideological and moral aspects of the crisis are manifest in that the law of profit, the law of the "strongest" determining the behavior of those on the top rung, is penetrating all spheres of public life, increasing crime, corruption, pornography and lies.

Thus, Marchais stressed, the crisis in France poses the question

not only of the viability of the present regime but of the fate of the capitalist system itself at a stage characterized by the omnipotence of a handful of billionaires in the economy and state, in other words, of the fate of the system of state-monopoly domination.

As noted in our draft document, the rapporteur said, the crisis besetting France has enveloped the entire capitalist world. It is international, but not universal, since in the socialist countries economic development continues at a high level, knowing neither unemployment nor galloping inflation, and ensuring a steady rise of living standards. So the sources of the crisis in France cannot be attributed to external factors, as the ruling circles are trying to do. The international crisis is, in fact, the sum total of the crises developing in each capitalist country.

Dealing with the so-called new economic order widely publicized in the West, Marchais emphasized that the old order, which ensured direct and brutal domination by world imperialism, has become an anachronism. Thanks to the progress of the socialist countries, the successes of the national-liberation movement, the growing struggle of the working-class and broad popular masses in the capitalist countries, a new relation of forces has taken shape in the world. Imperialism can no longer do whatever it likes. This can be seen in the historic victory of the Vietnamese people. Conditions favor a new type of international relations, responding to the needs of the peoples, the demands of the present day.

Stressing the importance of the successful conclusion of the European Security Conference, the rapporteur noted that in the capitalist countries there is a growing tendency in favor of negotiations and peaceful relations with the socialist countries.

The West has been compelled to take the road of peaceful coexistence with the socialist countries. But there are increasing attempts in the West, especially in the recent period, to block the process of détente, to maintain and even step up the arms drive, to intensify the political and ideological struggle against the socialist states and to reduce cooperation with them. The leaders of the capitalist countries are continuing a policy in relation to the developing states that plays into the hands of the big international monopolies.

U.S. imperialism, Marchais continued, is staking on the integration of the developed capitalist countries in the Atlantic bloc, an economic, financial, political and military integration under the aegis of the USA.

This is not, of course, the "Atlanticism" of the 1950s. The relation

of forces has changed. Moreover, the crisis is aggravating the struggle between the monopolistic groups of various countries, their rivalry and brutal competition. Nevertheless, the U.S. interests take first place and U.S. domination is seen as incontestable.

It should be said, Marchais emphasized, that this idea finds support in Peking, which is inscribed in the general profoundly reactionary course of the Chinese leaders' foreign policy. International détente is an object of their everyday attacks, which puts them in the same camp with those who come out against the Angolan people, and are in full harmony with Pinochet. They approve the presence of U.S. troops in Asia and Western Europe, support the West-German ultras, stubbornly call for a stronger political and military union of "little Europe," serving the interests of the monopolies.

Building up their military potential, the Maoists attempt to impose their will on the Asian continent and display the most virulent enmity toward the Soviet Union.

We say in no uncertain terms that this policy is contrary to the interests of the peoples, including the Chinese. It is not only crazy, but dangerous as well. It plays into the hands of imperialism and can seriously endanger world peace.

The rapporteur spoke of the maneuvers of those circles in France who try to impose a policy of "Atlanticism" in the economic, political and military spheres. The French Communists are fighting for independence and peace. "Atlanticism" represents a mortal danger for the independence and sovereignty of France.

True to its traditions, Marchais said, the Communist Party will continue to exert every effort for the independence and sovereignty of France. National independence is by no means an outmoded concept, it is an important requirement of our epoch. Nothing is more topical, more contemporary than struggle for the independence, sovereignty and prosperity of France. The Communist Party calls on all democrats, all patriots of our country to take their place in this nationwide struggle.

The Party will also play an active part in the struggle to extend the policy of peaceful coexistence, for the right of nations to freely decide their own fate. It is imperative to make détente an irreversible process, to ensure peace and security in Europe and the world over, to resolutely move toward military détente, and to negotiate disarmament measures. France must uphold the just cause of the peoples fighting for their sovereignty in the Middle East and Africa. It must recognize the right of the overseas departments and territories to

themselves determine their status. It must establish fruitful and mutually advantageous cooperation with the developing countries on a new basis. This is what we advocate, and in this direction we are making active efforts, the rapporteur noted.

Speaking of how the Communists see the country's future, Marchais emphasized that the French people have all that is needed for creating a just society, for building socialism.

The immense material resources of our country were created by the labor of our men and women over the centuries, he said. Today France is a highly developed country with a vast industrial potential. Socialism will put an end to the plunder of our national wealth by big capital. It will place the national resources and the entire economic potential at the service of the nation as a whole and of each French man and woman.

Moreover, we have no intention of depending on the resources of our country alone, Marchais said. There exist, due especially to the policy of peaceful coexistence, broad opportunities for developing international cooperation. At present these opportunities are not being fully used by far.

Brutally exploiting the working people, the ruling class of France has denied them any possibility of participating in control over the state apparatus. It systematically and increasingly encroaches on their rights and freedoms.

When the working people see that factories are being shut down while production is at a standstill, that coal mines are closing while the government talks about the energy crisis, that hundreds of thousands of tons of fruit are being destroyed, while many families are unable to buy them because of high retail prices, they cannot help thinking: But this is absurd! What right have they to make such decisions? If we, working people, had the means to make them listen to us, if our representatives could make the decisions, things would be quite different!

Indeed, if the working people had a say in running the enterprises and in administering the state, they certainly would not allow the shut-down of factories and there would not be a million and a half unemployed. If the working people had a say, would there be discrimination in wages and salaries and in access to many professions, of which they are the victims? If the peasants had a say, would French agriculture be "auctioned off," as is being done now? Certainly not!

There is only one way to conduct a policy in the interests of the

working people. The working people must do it themselves, that is, run the country. This is what democracy means. For it is the workers by hand and by brain, the working people in town and country who make up the vast majority of the people!

Economic, social and political democracy, that is, modern democracy is today a vital necessity for the working people, the entire nation.

The big bourgeoisie naturally cannot effect such a renewal. At its birth capitalism facilitated the surge of productive forces. But today it has plunged the economy into a profound crisis. In 1789 the bourgeoisie established its power under the slogan of liberty; today it is the enemy of liberty. The rapporteur then spoke of numerous instances of encroaching on basic human rights which have become common in present-day France.

The history of mankind is a history of the struggle for freedom, Marchais said. The victory of the first socialist revolution, the founding of the Soviet Union, and then the defeat of fascism gave a new impulse to the liberation movement. Now 14 countries in Europe, Asia and Latin America have put an end to capitalist exploitation for all time. The big bourgeoisie is resisting this development in every way. It is trying to obstruct it by every means, including the most barbarous.

Further the rapporteur dealt with questions of implementing the common government program of the three left parties. This program envisages important social measures, leading to an improvement of the living and working conditions of the popular masses unprecedented in the history of France. These measures will strengthen the positions of the working people as a whole in all fields.

To us Communists, Marchais emphasized, the realization of this program is not an end in itself. We want to develop democracy further, we want to go to socialism.

The rapporteur then spoke of the draft program document submitted to the Congress, "What the Communists Want for France." We hold, the draft says, that "the principal means of production and exchange must fully become public property." That is a basic condition of socialism. There can be no socialism unless this condition is fulfilled. The experience of Social-Democratic parties shows that whoever abandons the principle of an imperative end to the domination of big capital over the basic resources of the country, which this capital controls at the present time, cannot build any kind of socialism.

The process of transforming society, Marchais said, will be a process of class struggle. As the draft document states, "the big bourgeoisie will never voluntarily relinquish its domination, its privileges. It always tries to use every means to preserve or regain its positions."

While France has profound democratic traditions, its bourgeoisie has the traditions of the Versaillites who strangled the Paris Commune. Therefore, every stage on the way to socialism will be accompanied by a struggle to obstruct the attempts of reaction to resort to subversive methods, to violence.

In the recent historic period, the report notes, the world has changed profoundly, creating favorable conditions for the liberation struggle. The relation of forces favors national independence, the freedom of peoples, democracy and socialism. The principle of peaceful coexistence is gaining ground. Stressing that the forces of peace and socialism are achieving notable successes, that the situation in the world and on the European continent is improving, Marchais noted that the forces of reaction have not laid down arms. The Communists, all progressives cannot remain indifferent to what has happened in Chile. They are closely following events in Portugal.

Taking up the question of creating an alliance of the French people in the name of the struggle for democracy and socialism, the rapporteur spoke in detail about the objectives of Party work among the various sections of the population. He noted that on a number of questions the Communist Party differs with its allies in the Socialist Party, which remains a reformist party. He stressed the leading role of the working class and its Communist Party in the alliance of left forces, in the struggle to unite all creative forces of the nation. The alliance of left forces, Marchais continued, was not generated by tactical considerations, it is a strategic policy. In our country the success of the struggle to transform society is determined by cooperation between the democratic parties, and is at the same time a necessary element of this struggle. The task of the Communist Party in the left alliance is to be in the van of the struggle of the working class and popular masses.

The rapporteur noted that the draft document proclaims as a decisive condition of socialism: "Only a political power representing the working people can fundamentally transform the economic and political life of the country."

Marchais further explained the essence of the discussion in the Party of the draft document, including the question of the dictatorship

of the proletariat. He said that the power that will guide the socialist transformation of society will be the power of the working class and other categories of the working people, workers by hand and brain, of town and countryside, that is, the great majority of the people.

This power will be set up and will act on the basis of a choice freely expressed in general elections, and its objective will be to implement a broad democratization of the entire economic, social and political life of the country.

In elaborating its strategy, the French Communist Party takes account of national specifics and traditions. But this, Marchais stressed, in no way contradicts the general laws and universal features of socialism, such as public ownership of the basic means of production and exchange, a planned economy, establishment of the power of the working people, democratization of the entire national life, the guiding influence of the vanguard party, inspired by scientific communism.

Stressing the importance of the successes of the socialist countries, Marchais pointed to the historic achievements of the Soviet Union. The hopes of the enemies to weaken the solidarity of the French Communists with the socialist countries are doomed to failure, he said.

Touching on problems of the international communist and working-class movement, Marchais remarked: The importance of our national tasks, the significance we attach to the interests and happiness of our homeland, in no way minimizes our international duty. Fraternal ties link us with the Communist parties in the first place. We are independent and equal as to rights, but at the same time we are a component of the mighty communist movement, the influence of which on world events is unprecedented in the history of mankind. He declared the solidarity of the French Communists with all forces fighting against imperialism, for national and social liberation the world over.

The concluding part of the report is devoted to questions of Party life. To conduct a policy in the interests of the working people, a party of the working people is needed. There is such a party, the rapporteur said. It is the French Communist Party. Without the Communist Party nothing can be changed in France. This is convincingly proved by experience.

The anti-communists accuse us of every conceivable sin, he noted. But are the Communists to blame that France is enveloped in a crisis, that the conditions of life of the working people and their families are

worsening, that arbitrary rule is rampant and national independence is infringed?

In the history of France there was a period when the Communists were in government. During that time — 1944 to 1947 — the working people and the entire population saw what this brought them. In three years, democratic and social reforms were implemented on an unprecedented scale. They were so important that ever since our people have defended them from the onslaught of big capital.

The three years of Communist participation in the government were years of social progress and broader freedoms in our country. After the Communists were removed from government the working class and all working people were denied participation in running the country.

The French Communist Party is the only party which refused to run the affairs of big capital in any circumstances, and the only party which always called on the working people to oppose class collaboration. It is the only party that always fought against anti-worker repressions, against encroachments on democratic institutes, against one-man rule. It is the only party that opposed colonial wars with their bloodshed, tortures and destruction, and fought for national independence for the colonial peoples. It is the only party that has always fought against abandoning national sovereignty, against any encroachments on the independence of France. Through patience and determination, it was able to draw broad masses of our people into this struggle.

Therefore we say to the working people, to everyone who wants changes: to implement transformations the Communists must be given their rightful place in administering the affairs of the country in order to direct it along the road of social progress and profound democratic reforms. We are ready to take upon ourselves this responsibility, the rapporteur declared.

The purport of the existence of Communists lies in their resolve to defend and achieve the triumph of the interests of the working people, to liquidate exploitation of man by man, to build socialism in France. In this they are guided by a theory that helps them reliably to direct their activity — scientific socialism, founded by Marx, Engels and Lenin. This is a living theory, which is constantly enriched by the experience of existing socialism, the conclusions drawn from the struggle of the peoples, the development of science. Strictly abiding by these principles, the Communists apply them with due consideration for the evolution of social realities.

Dealing with the organizational basis of the Party, the principles of democratic centralism, the rapporteur said: In our Party we are carrying on a broad, free and serious exchange of opinions. After discussion and adoption of a decision by the majority, this decision becomes obligatory for each without exception. Another rule which we adhere to in our activity is collective work, collective leadership at all levels. Collective work is inseparable from personal responsibility. The contribution of each Communist in elaborating and implementing Party policy, is both desirable and necessary.

The class approach, the application of a genuinely scientific theory, the effectiveness of its democratic organizations, unity, militancy — these are the features that make our Party a vanguard party, Marchais stressed.

To extricate the country from the crisis, to champion the cause of the working people and achieve its triumph in order to defeat the big bourgeoisie today and prevent it from jeopardizing the democratic option of our people tomorrow, we need a stronger, more influential and vigorous Communist Party. This is the decisive condition for the victory of socialism in France.

We pose a problem to Congress, to all Communists, Marchais said. There are many of us and last year we made a big step forward. The Party was joined by 93,000 new members. This is a big success. But we are still not numerous enough either from the point of view of our tasks or our possibilities. Yes, the Communist Party comprises 500,000 members. But it is against us that reaction is directing all its blows. We are being discriminated against over the radio and on television and the authorities and monopolies are creating enormous difficulties for our press, *L'Humanité* in particular.

At the same time tens of thousands of men, women, young people who approve of our policy and vote for us, are ready to join our ranks. Therefore, the General Secretary said, we propose that the Congress set the goal of 600,000 Communists and 10,000 primary Party organizations at enterprises. The commitments made by Party federations show that we can rapidly achieve this goal.

The Party organizations must also pay constant attention to extending the communist youth movement, the school of struggle and rearing of revolutionary cadres.

A fierce battle is ahead of us, Marchais concluded. We are striving for a more stable, just and better life in a free, prosperous and peaceful France. We believe that this will come about, because we

have confidence in the militancy of our people, in their ability to harness nature and science to serve the progress of humanity.

Long live the alliance of the French people in the interests of social progress, national independence, democracy and socialism!

Long live proletarian internationalism, the militant solidarity of the working people and nations of the world!

Long live the great party of socialism in France — the French Communist Party!

SPEECH BY ANDREI KIRILENKO

Dear Comrades,

This international solidarity meeting, called on the occasion of the 22nd Congress of the French Communist Party, is taking place on a memorable day, February 6th. It was on this day in 1934 that the working people of your country, led by the Communist Party, firmly rebuffed a fascist putsch and laid the groundwork for the victory of the Popular Front, which in those conditions was a new form of struggle against fascism and the war menace, for peace, democracy and socialism. Party veterans who greeted the Congress recalled this today.

Allow me to convey to you and through you to all Communists and working people of France, heartfelt, fraternal greetings from the Soviet Communists and the Central Committee of our Party. In sending his greetings and best wishes, Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, General Secretary of the CPSU, asked me to tell you of his warm recollections of the meetings he had with Communist Party leaders and the French people during his visits to your country.

Exactly six years ago, I had the opportunity to speak from the rostrum of your 19th Party Congress. It was the year of the centenary of the birth of Lenin, leader of the international working class, and of the 50th anniversary of the French Communist Party. These two dates merged at the time into the magnificent slogan under which your Congress met: "Fifty years of loyalty of the French Communist Party to Leninism."

We representatives of the CPSU at the 22nd Congress are deeply moved by the warm welcome extended to us by its delegates and you Communists of Nanterre. We know that here in Nanterre you have a large and closely knit Party organization famous for its revolutionary

traditions. We would like to give you our first impression of your Congress and to tell you about the Soviet people's life today.

You know that the 25th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union will meet shortly, at the end of this month. It will discuss the fundamental problems of development of Soviet socialist society and sum up the results achieved under the ninth (1971-75) five-year plan and send home a foreign-policy tasks for the future.

What was achieved under each of our five-year plans was, of course, something more than a result of creative labor in that period alone. It was the overall result of what the country had done since October 1917.

Our People and their younger generation are well aware that what they have achieved to date would have been impossible had not the October Revolution triumphed under the leadership of the Communist Party, had not the imperialist interventionists and domestic counter-revolutionary forces been defeated, and unless far-reaching progress had been made under the early five-year plans through heroic efforts. And surely no one can forget the great role which the victory over fascism played in history, a victory whose 30th anniversary progressives of the world celebrated last year.

The path travelled by the Land of Soviets has been one of difficult battles and unfading accomplishments. You probably realize, comrades, why the Soviet people are so unshakeably devoted to the cause of the Lenin Party, why they accept and support its policy so readily and respond to its calls so sincerely, with deeds.

You probably realize, furthermore, why we cherish the achievements of socialism so much and resist its opponents so resolutely. You must also know of our fraternal attitude to genuine friends, to friends who understand us and identify themselves with us both in times of harsh trials and in joyful days of victory.

Our country is arriving at the 25th Congress of the CPSU with major achievements. By fulfilling the ninth five-year plan, we took a new important step forward, to communism. I will not cite any specific data here, for *L'Humanité* has reported them.

The magnitude of what the Soviet people have achieved in the economy, in raising the standard of living and in advancing science and culture is so considerable that it cannot be ignored. Even those who are hostile to us are forced to admit that the Soviet economy is developing at a high and steady rate and knows no such thing as recession or crisis.

I would like to stress that what is produced in our factories and

fields or developed in our research institutes and laboratories is intended for the good of the people and each citizen. In our country the standard of living is being promoted as methodically and continuously as economic growth.

Wages, pensions and various grants were substantially increased in the past five-year period. As a result, real per capita income went up by almost 25 per cent. As many as 50 million people moved into new, modern homes. And the most important thing is that Soviet people, who are masters in their country, look confidently ahead, knowing well that the years to come will bring them new benefits in a developed socialist society.

Even our opponents are compelled to write that there has been no unemployment in the Soviet Union for over 40 years now and that the prices of consumer staples, rent, fares and so on have not changed for decades, whereas the developed capitalist countries have over 17 million unemployed today. In the last four years alone, food prices in these countries have gone up by 40, 60 or even 100 per cent. It is not accidental that a wave of strikes swept Western countries in 1975 as well.

Comrades, the Soviet people have done very much but the targets which our Party is setting under the 10th five-year plan are considerably higher and bigger than in any previous period.

At the moment all Soviet people are discussing the draft, "Main Lines of Economic Development of the USSR for 1976-1980," to be submitted to the 25th Party Congress. In any newspaper or magazine — we publish many thousands of them, in dozens of languages — you can read articles and letters from working people dealing with the draft. It is being discussed at Party conferences, at meetings of work staffs and trade union meetings.

Expressing their unanimous approval of the draft, workers, collective farmers, office employees, scientists, engineers, technologists also offer criticisms and put forward numerous valuable proposals. This is a forceful manifestation of the nature of Soviet democracy, under which every working person has the right to take part in solving problems as important to the people's life as the drafting of a new five-year plan and actively exercises this right.

The CC CPSU draft is a concrete expression of the Party's policy of steadily improving the people's standard of life, the living and working conditions of every Soviet man or woman, of providing still more favorable conditions for the development of the individual. We will continue along this line according to a motto which expresses the

essence of socialism: "Everything in the name of man, everything for the good of man."

Our Party steadfastly carries on a policy of furthering socialist democracy. The functions of local government bodies have been considerably extended in late years and the role and prestige of working people's deputies have increased. The system of worker participation in production management has been developed further and functions effectively. This is also true of the vast system of elected people's control bodies. The trade unions have gained in importance and have the right to initiate legislation. They take part in decision-making on planning and production, labor, wages and social insurance, and supervise labor law enforcement and the application of safety techniques.

By providing wide scope for the creative energy of the people and ensuring their inner unity, Soviet democracy helps to consolidate the socialist system and strengthen our state. This, in turn, makes it possible to strengthen the Soviet Union's positions in the struggle for peace, against imperialism. In this way powerful support is given to the working masses in other countries, to all peoples fighting for a better future.

Dear comrades, you know well the foreign policy of the Soviet Union. The phrase "Peace Program" is well known today in every part of the globe. In advancing it, the 24th Congress of the CPSU took into account the interests of both our country and the peoples of all other countries. We consider that the security, prosperity and progress of our country can be fully assured only when there is lasting world peace.

Major results have been achieved through the joint efforts of socialist countries, the Communist and working-class movement and other peace forces toward attaining the goals set out in the Peace Program.

The main result is that the threat of a new world war has been put off. The people of Vietnam scored a signal victory. The flames of war were stamped out throughout Southeast Asia. The Helsinki Conference was a major step toward establishing durable security on our continent. The development of relations between the Soviet Union and France plays a big part in bringing about favorable changes in Europe.

It is important that the first agreements aimed at really curbing the arms race have been signed. The recent Soviet-American talks in Moscow improved the outlook for further headway toward this goal.

Our Party and its Central Committee worked hard to achieve all this. The Soviet people think highly of the activity of the Party, of Leonid Ilyich Brezhnev, for its class, internationalist approach to the solution of key problems of world politics, which is manifested in upholding the interests of socialism without compromises.

World progressive opinion expressed its approval of the World Peace Council decision to award L. I. Brezhnev the Gold Medal bearing the name of Frederic Joliot-Curie, your compatriot, an outstanding scientist, an inspired champion of peace and a Communist. Thus the importance of the unity and militancy of peace supporters, of all who are willing to fight with devotion for a greater security of the peoples, for their independent development and social progress, was re-emphasized.

The struggle for the strengthening of peace is today no less relevant and important than in the past. We all of us know that imperialism has not changed its nature. The forces of reaction and aggression want to undermine détente and turn back international relations to the cold-war days.

Since the Helsinki Conference and especially now, on the eve of our congress, the enemies of détente have visibly intensified their activity in an attempt to vilify the Soviet foreign policy, the policy of peace and détente which the USSR is so consistently pursuing. They want to discredit its efforts to materialize the agreements reached in Helsinki.

This is paralleled in many Western countries by a clamorous campaign "in defense of human rights" in the socialist countries. The object of the campaign is no secret. What we have is a fresh attempt to discredit the reality and ideals of socialism, inject confusion in the ranks of the progressive forces, camouflage the violation of the working people's rights in capitalist countries, and divert the attention of the masses from the vital problems of freedom and democracy.

The most vital of these is freedom from exploitation and oppression. For where there is exploitation of man by man, in whatever form, there is not, and cannot be, genuine democracy or genuine freedom. And no amount of formal procedures and institutions can conceal this fact.

Only freedom from exploitation is the reliable guarantee of such basic human rights as the right to work, free medical care, education, including higher education, social maintenance, effective participation in the management of factories, collective farms, educational

institutions, cities and republics, and in the affairs of the country as a whole.

Soviet laws precisely define, and reliably guarantee, also such human rights as freedom of speech, the press, assembly, freedom of conscience and religious belief, inviolability of the person and his home. These rights and freedoms are fully secured for all Soviet citizens. Such is the real Soviet reality.

True, some "freedoms" do not exist in the USSR. For instance, we have a law prohibiting the propaganda of war in any form. Nor does the Soviet state, a state of workers, collective farmers and intellectuals, permit propaganda of enmity between peoples, racism, violence and amorality, regardless of the labels they go under.

The Soviet people, whose will is expressed in the laws of our socialist state, are categorically opposed to freedom of action detrimental to our socialist society and security. They are opposed to those who, in pursuance of their reactionary aims, have no scruples in establishing direct contacts with imperialist subversive centers and counter-revolutionary organizations abroad.

In safeguarding the gains of socialism, the Soviet people are conscious of their historic responsibility for the destinies of their country, and in this they see their patriotic and internationalist duty.

It will be recalled that since the victory of the October Revolution there has not been a single day without malicious slander against our Party and the Soviet state. What has been the result? Most of the motley crew of anti-Sovieteers have long since been consigned to the dustbin of history.

But the Land of Soviets, led by the party of Lenin, has been advancing, for nearly 60 years now, to new frontiers in its socio-political, economic, scientific and cultural progress.

Our Party and people will continue to build communism, will continue their peace offensive. Together with you we will continue the effort to strengthen European peace and implement all the provisions of the Helsinki Final Act. Together with you we will work for a just settlement of the Middle East problem and for an end to the arms race.

Some of the speakers before me come from countries fighting for social and national liberation. We understand and appreciate the feelings they expressed here. True to the ideas of the great Lenin, the Soviet people are demonstrating internationalism in deeds by their unwavering solidarity with peoples fighting for national independence and by giving them all-round assistance.

We will continue to strengthen our solidarity with the peoples of Chile, Angola, Spain — with all peoples fighting for freedom, against reaction, fascism and neo-colonialism. We welcome unity of all the progressive revolutionary and democratic forces of Portugal and condemn all attempts at interference in its affairs.

There can be no doubt that the forces of peace and social progress will in the end emerge victorious.

Comrades, we listened with close attention to the report of Comrade Georges Marchais, General Secretary of the French Communist Party, at its 22nd Congress, and the debate on the report.

We were gratified by the figures of the Party's growth, given at the Congress, its closer links with the masses, its active struggle for the interests of the people, against monopoly attempts to shift the consequences of the present crisis on to the working people, against attempts to split the left, democratic forces.

The French Communists are rightly working on the premise that a strong Communist Party closely linked with the working class and other strata of the working people and true to Marxism-Leninism is the best guarantee of success in the fight for democracy and socialism. The Communist Party's struggle for an independent foreign policy for France and for closer friendship between our peoples and countries is of vast importance.

Your Congress devoted much attention to the struggle for socialism. This, we believe, is a sign of the times, for socialism is on the agenda in many countries. And not only as a radiant ideal, but as a political task for today.

The building and development of socialism in the Soviet Union, in European and Asian countries and Cuba, is a veritable treasure-store of more than a half-century of experience of hundreds of millions of people. This experience is of immense value to all the working people locked in struggle for democracy and the new society.

History has shown that socialism is not born ready-made. In the fight for socialism, the Communist parties, the working class and all working people must make purposeful efforts for the revolutionary transformation of the exploiting society. They must solve ever new problems of construction, rectify the mistakes and overcome the shortcomings that might arise in this unprecedented pioneering effort.

The existence and achievements of the powerful community of socialist countries is the determining factor in the development of human society. The socialist world system — and this is well understood by both friend and foe — plays a decisive role in the anti-

imperialist struggle and is the bulwark of the entire liberation movement. The achievements of socialism represent an important external factor facilitating the success of the workers' struggle in capitalist countries for their fundamental rights and vital interests, for democracy and socialism. The Communist Party of the Soviet Union will continue to do everything in its power to strengthen the great community of socialist countries.

The achievements of the socialist countries are an inspiration to all peoples advancing to social and national liberation. Appreciation of that truth is manifested also in the fact that Communists repel the slanderous bourgeois propaganda campaigns against the socialist countries and popularize their progress.

The plenum of the FCP Central Committee in January 1974 adopted a statement, "The struggle against anti-Sovietism is the duty of *all*." In his speech at the 24th CPSU Congress, Comrade Georges Marchais emphasized: "All liberation movements, all battles for social emancipation, national independence and peace, rely on the support of the socialist world system and, above all, the Soviet Union. That is why anti-Sovietism, in whatever form and from whatever source, is a crime against the interests of the working class and the peoples."

The Soviet Communists highly appreciate this attitude as an expression of class solidarity and proletarian internationalism.

Comrades, our Party, its Central Committee, cherish the close and deep-rooted ties of solidarity and fraternal friendship with the French Communist Party. Our two parties, each in its own conditions, are waging a common struggle for peace, democracy and socialism, for the cohesion of the world Communist movement.

The Soviet Communists will continue to do everything to strengthen and deepen solidarity and cooperation between our parties on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism.

The Soviet people have a profound respect for the people of France and cherish their traditional friendship with them. The Soviet people want to further develop mutual cooperation in many different fields, which is in the fundamental interests of our countries and in the interests of European and world peace and security.

Long live friendship between the peoples of the Soviet Union and France!

Long live the militant fraternity of the CPSU and the FCP!

Long live Marxism-Leninism!

Comrade A. P. Kirilenko's speech was heard with close attention and repeatedly interrupted by applause.

A. P. Kirilenko handed to Gaston Plissonnier, Political Bureau member and Central Committee secretary, a message of greetings from the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union to the 22nd Congress of the French Communist Party, and a red banner, the gift of the CPSU Central Committee to the French Communist Congress.

Pravda, Feb. 7, 1976.

SEVENTEENTH CONGRESS OF THE MEXICAN COMMUNIST PARTY

The 17th Congress of the Mexican Communist Party, held December 9-14, 1975, focused attention on political, economic and social problems vitally important for the working-class and democratic movement of the country. It dealt with the Communists' tactics in the forthcoming federal elections, the Party's tasks in conditions of the surge of working-class struggles, the activity of the Central Committee in the past period, and the immediate tasks in strengthening the Party both organizationally and politically and enhancing its influence among the working class and the masses.

The delegates discussed the results of the Party's activity in the period under review, assessed the working people's class struggle and its prospects at the present stage, and outlined the main objectives of Communist activity in the forthcoming period.

The two years that have passed since the 16th Congress have confirmed the correctness of the Party's general line. Notwithstanding the rigorous conditions in which the MCP still has to operate, it now has more members and has grown stronger, it has set up new organizations and won new friends and supporters. The Communist Party has earned the reputation of a principled and consistent champion of the fundamental interests of the working class and all working people. Its voice carries increasing weight wherever the working people fight for their economic and political rights, for democracy and peace and to deepen the process of international détente.

The cohesion of all democratic and progressive forces, congress

stressed, facilitates positive changes on the international scene, the basis of which is the policy of peaceful coexistence. Thanks to this policy, consistently and dynamically pursued by the Soviet Union and other countries of the socialist community, the process of détente has become the main trend in international relations. Congress set the Communists the task of doing everything possible for the materialization of détente. It expressed complete solidarity with all peoples fighting for freedom and independence, against imperialism and neo-colonialism, stressed the immense importance of active struggle against all manifestations of anti-communism, and resolutely condemned the divisive and anti-Soviet policy of the Maoist leadership, directed against peace and social progress, and its convergence with imperialism.

Congress highly assessed the achievements of the Soviet people in fulfilling the decisions of the 24th Congress of the CPSU. It was marked by the friendship and cohesion of the MCP and the CPSU, and the world communist movement, and was a vivid demonstration of proletarian internationalism.

Congress elected a new Central Committee. Arnolfo Martinez Verdugo was re-elected General Secretary of the Party.

POLITICAL RESOLUTION

The 17th Congress formulated the election tactics of the Party. To develop these tactics and to carry out vigorous work in the election campaign, raise the Party's influence among the working class and masses and to strengthen its ranks, congress nominated Valentin Campa as a presidential candidate.

Congress approved the tactics on questions of the present political development and attitude in the Echeverria government. Our Party has in recent years striven to establish the autonomy and independence of the working-class and popular movement in relation to the government, guided by its own policy and the aim set forth in our program: to create, as an alternative to the regime, an independent revolutionary force.

It is important for the Party in this period to advance initiatives promoting cooperation and unity between the forces of democracy and socialism and to put forward an independent program at the elections. In the framework of our Party's policy of unity, the struggle for rapprochement with the more advanced circles of the Catholic church plays an important part.

The Central Committee considers it its duty in the present situation

to carry out a broad campaign for the political and electoral rights of the Party. The Party's local organizations must have the right to function freely. The Party must also have the right to print and circulate its own publications without restriction, to conduct public activities, to have schools, research centers and access to mass information media, as well as the right to participate openly in mass organizations. An, finally, the Mexican Communist Party must have electoral rights, the fundamental right of a political party in general.

The working-class movement is advancing to the forefront in the political life of the country. In the past two years important strike actions have taken place and more trade unions have adopted independent positions. Participation by independent unions in the May Day demonstrations in 1974 and 1975 attests to their growth, which no restrictions or threats could stop, like for instance those made by the President before May 1 last year.

The workers' demonstration on November 15, called by the democratic wing of SUTERM* and supported mainly by the independent unions and left organizations, is the highest form of struggle for the democratization of the unions and their independence from the state, and it shows the depth of the crisis of charrismo** in the unions.

The workers are fighting with increasing vigor for their rights, the democratization of their organizations and for class unity. Actions against charrismo must in future take account of the need to raise the class consciousness of the workers and to make the long-term objectives more widely known to the masses. The most important of them is to win trade union unity on the basis of class struggles.

The movement for the democratization of the trade unions and against charrismo is going on in various autonomous trade union centers, and there is growing awareness of the need for unity and mutual solidarity. The Communists and their allies in the trade unions must carry on a stubborn struggle to organize united actions and to advance to forms of organizational unity corresponding to the present needs.

With the higher concentration of production and capital, the role of the working class in society is growing. This confronts the Party with the task of improving the work of disseminating Marxist-Leninist ideas among the workers.

*SUTERM — United Union of Electrical Workers of the Republic of Mexico.

**Charrismo is the name given the conciliators, leaders of the yellow unions, and in general the corrupted part of the Mexican trade union leadership in the mid-40s of the 20th century. — Ed.

In the present situation the movements of the peasants and students, teachers and university personnel, as well as the actions of other popular forces are as important as ever.

In the fight for land and in defense of peasant households it is necessary to develop forms of united actions so that local actions grow into national political actions, which would openly take up the issue of changes in the agrarian legislation, in particular in Article 27 of the Constitution and the federal law on agrarian reform, of the rights of peasants and agricultural workers to organize independently of the state and of the abolition of big private ownership of land.

The university movement continues to play a positive role in developing democratic struggles, coming out in defense of autonomy, the right of the universities to establish self-government bodies, for democratic education and solidarity with the popular movements. To enhance this struggle we must strengthen the forces fighting for the broad organization of university students.

Along with progress in the working-class movement, the vanguard forces in the countryside and the education system can continue to play an important part in changing the relation of political forces, with broad mass participation in the struggle for democratic progress, against imperialism, for the implementation of socialist objectives.

An important feature of the present situation is the invigoration, organizational growth and unity of the democratic and popular forces. Despite the restrictions and obstacles, new democratic and anti-imperialist parties have been formed. As a whole, this represents a strengthening of the left forces in national politics.

A notable new phenomenon is the rapprochement and joint actions of the Mexican Communist Party, Mexican Working People's Party, Movement of Socialist Organization, Movement of Socialist Action and Unity, and the Socialist League. Also new are the contacts with the Popular Socialist Party, solidarity actions with the victims of imperialism, like for instance the Chilean and Vietnamese peoples, demonstration of friendship with the Soviet Union and Cuba, in which prominent Mexican public figures, representatives of democratic and left parties, including groups and circles of the government party, are taking part. All this attests to the correct position of the Central Committee in October 1974, when it proposed to the revolutionary and democratic organizations joint action for common demands, for political freedoms in particular.

Our Party has exerted efforts, notwithstanding the differences with other democratic parties, to create an atmosphere of respect and

solidarity among them, with the aim of building a broad and effective unity in the election period and for the future.

As we have noted earlier, the situation in which the struggle of the democratic and revolutionary forces is going on and the activity of all other forces is displayed, indicates a political crisis. Therefore, our Party must advance concrete, realistic and understandable objectives to the masses, which would raise them to political struggle, organize and educate them in the revolutionary spirit in the struggle for power, against the bourgeoisie. To define the key tasks of the movement, the fulfillment of which demands maximum effort, the Party formulated at its 16th congress the idea of winning political freedom for all citizens.

Political freedom is a vital necessity for the Mexican people, the working class in particular. Therefore the struggle for political freedom becomes the chief task in the battle to change the relation of forces. For this aim the various forces will unite: the workers shackled by charrismo, and those already free of it; the peasants oppressed by dependence on the state; university personnel, who oppose the authoritarian methods of administration in the system of higher education; the great majority of citizens, who are denied their own political organizations, and even bourgeois groups who are forced to take part in the actions of the ruling party. The struggle for political freedom facilitates solution of the crisis by democratic means which is expedient to the working class, peasants and all the exploited and oppressed.

A democratic solution would make for political relations, rather than the police relations existing until now, between the left forces and representatives of bourgeois power; it would guarantee the political and electoral rights of the popular mass parties opposing the presidential regime, eliminate state interference in the working-class movement and tutelage over the peasants, and confirm the right of universities to democratic self-government. A democratic solution to the crisis implies recognition of the right of the masses to create instruments of struggle for satisfaction of their demands, for freedom, against big capital.

The chief elements of the mounting political crisis are the growing crisis of charrismo and the electoral system. This determines the fundamental objectives of political activity designed to give an impulse to the working-class and democratic movement in the new stage.

The basic component of our tactics is development of broad political and social alliances. Increasing unity of the democratic and left

forces will help to augment the political weight of the working class in order to influence the country's future development.

The political struggle of the Communist Party and the crisis situation in the country open up broad opportunities for the development of our forces in the working-class movement. A notable phenomenon of this period is the growing struggle of the workers for the independence and autonomy of their organizations. The diversity of situations arising in the process of working-class struggles, prompts us to use varied tactics pertinent to the concrete conditions and demands determined by the surge of political and economic struggles of the working class. Of immense practical significance is the consolidation of our cadres in factories and trade unions, utilization of all opportunities for penetrating working-class centers and establishing contacts with workers, strengthening of the existing primary organizations and setting up new ones, including intermediate Party bodies in industrial regions.

Without abandoning the fundamental line of organizational work in the working-class movement (formation of councils), we must also boldly set ourselves the task of participating, together with the working people, in the executive committees and leading trade union bodies at different levels.

In implementing this line of greater influence in the working-class movement, the Communists must remember that the majority of the unions are subordinate to the state. Therefore we must vigorously support the forms of clandestine organizations that have been set up with so much effort in factories. Preservation of these forms and combining them with open work wherever possible, will make for rapid progress in the working-class movement.

Our Party firmly upholds the line of united action of different contingents of the trade union movement in defense of the workers' interests. And we lay the stress on united action of all independent contingents who have overcome the influence of charrismo. The independent unions can influence the country's trade union organizations in general if they unite their forces. In this aspect, of special importance is the elaboration of a political program which the unions must advance at the present time. The Party must study this question more deeply in order to advance prospects that would attract the movement as a whole to positions conducive to raising the struggle of the workers to a higher level.

The intention of the big bourgeoisie to bar the democratic and left

parties from the elections determines the conditions of struggle in the present election campaign.

The democratic and left parties cannot remain on the sidelines. Recognition of their political rights opens up the way to political freedom, which is decisive in achieving a democratic solution to the political crisis. The Mexican Communist Party demands these political rights and its registration at the elections, it demands a reform of the system, and that the citizens supporting it and participating in its political struggle not be denied their rights once again. Rejection of these demands would show that instead of furthering the political life, new obstacles are raised in its way.

The Communist Party wants to win political and electoral rights, seeing in this a more effective contribution to the formation of a broad democratic movement with good election prospects. This would be a step forward in the interests of the revolutionary proletariat and the Mexican people. During the last election campaign the Communist Party's policy was that of active boycott of the elections, supported by hundreds of thousands of Mexicans. At these elections the crisis of the present electoral system became apparent. Active obstruction contributed to the deepening of the crisis.

However, a new situation has arisen in the country. Conditions are more favorable for vigorous actions by the opposition forces. The masses who abstained at the previous elections can now go over to a higher level of civil action and political struggle by participating in the elections in order to put forward their demands as an alternative to the program and policy of the ruling bourgeoisie.

The 17th Party Congress considers that the democratic and left forces must advance their own alternative and not succumb to the pressures of the ruling bloc; they must not support candidates of the big bourgeoisie but nominate their own candidates to counterpose the representatives of institutional anti-democracy and their opponents the Panists.*

The Communist Party holds that the best way would be to create a broad coalition of parties, groups, democratic and left movements in order to present a bloc responding to the interests of the working class and the Mexican people, and supporting the program of political, economic and social demands at the forthcoming federal elections. But we were unable to form such a coalition. In these circumstances the 17th Congress resolved that the Communist Party, while continuing its efforts to create a coalition, would participate in the elections

*PAN — National Action Party.

with its own candidates and electoral platform of resolving problems of concern to the majority of Mexicans.

The main purpose of the Party's participation in the forthcoming campaign is to make its program known to the broad masses, organize broader sections of the people for the struggle for cardinal changes in the economic and political situation of the country.

The principal objectives that the Communists must pursue in the campaign are: organizational strengthening of the Party; broad-scale mobilization of the masses around its platform; popularization of the Party's program and political line; enhanced struggle for an electoral reform and for electoral rights for the Communist Party and other democratic parties; a better understanding of the need to unite all democratic and left forces; to make known all these tasks to the working class in the first place in order to raise the level of its consciousness and draw it into the political struggle.

Proceeding from this, the Central Committee must specify the concrete aims determining the activity of all Party organizations as a whole, as well as the election campaign plan. In the forefront is the task of concentrating activity in the major industrial centers, in factories and working-class areas, the main centers of peasant activity, the rural proletariat, the university and popular movements. On their part, the district committees must work out plans at their own level for the election campaign.

The platform advanced by the Party's candidates during the election campaign will be based on the program approved by the 16th Party Congress; it should stress those aspects of the program that are directly related to the present situation and the prospects of an alternative. During the campaign the accent should be on the main problems that affect today the working class and all working people of town and country as a result of the oligarchic and anti-popular economic policy of the present regime, and on the need to invigorate the mass struggle to win political freedoms. At the same time, the Communists must explain to the masses the anti-democratic character of the electoral system and the true interests of those whom the candidates of both the Institutional Revolutionary Party and National Action Party represent.

Congress adopted a decision recommending Valentin Campa as a candidate to the post of president at the forthcoming elections. This decision was taken on the consideration that Valentin Campa personifies the best traditions of the Mexican working-class movement — honesty and revolutionary staunchness — contrary to the

treachery and corruption of the leaders who are the lackeys of the bourgeoisie. Comrade Campa symbolizes the struggles of the Mexican working class for political and ideological independence from its class enemy, embodying the militant spirit and a life dedicated to the building of the class party of the proletariat — the Mexican Communist Party.

We have always said that no changes will come about unless the organized and mobilized masses are capable of winning them, unless their actions are strong enough to impose a new type of political relations. The political bureaucracy and the big bourgeoisie will make no concessions to the masses unless the latter resort to more militant actions.

The Mexican Communist Party, as an internationalist proletarian party, will rise in the eyes of revolutionaries and democrats as a Marxist-Leninist organization capable of finding the necessary solution to the political crisis. This is of extraordinary importance for our organization. It depends on its Central Committee, on each member whether the Party will emerge from this trial still stronger, more prestigious and steeled for the solution of far-reaching objectives leading to a democratic and socialist revolution.

Workers of all countries, unite!

Mexico City, December 14, 1975.

(Abridged from *Oposicion*, December 27, 1975)

SUMMARIES

BULGARIA

At its plenum in Sofia on January 27-28, the Central Committee of the Communist Party endorsed the agenda of the 11th Party Congress, scheduled to open on March 29. A report on the activity of the Central Committee since the previous congress and on the forthcoming tasks of the Communists will be delivered by First Secretary Todor Zhivkov. The agenda also includes the report of the Central Control and Auditing Commission and the directives for Bulgaria's socio-economic development in 1976-80. The norms of representation and the procedure of electing delegates to the congress were approved.

The plenum also discussed the Central Committee's theses on the fulfillment in 1976-80 and in the period ending in 1990, of the program for improving the public welfare (adopted in December 1972), the theses on the development of Bulgaria, public organizations and movements, and some organizational questions.

Rabotnichesko Delo has published the Central Committee's theses on the state and development of the Communist Party and public organizations and movements.

The section of the theses dealing with the Party's guiding role stresses that today the Communist Party is indissolubly united around its Central Committee headed by Todor Zhivkov, and that it staunchly adheres to the life-tested Leninist course. The new problems and tasks of social development up to 1980-1990, it says, call for a greater guiding role of the Party.

The fraternal unity of the Bulgarian and Soviet Communist parties, the theses emphasize, will continue to be the unshakeable foundation for deepening the integration processes and all-round cooperation between their countries.

Special attention is paid in the document to purposeful and effective ideological work.

Touching upon the current problems of public organizations and movements in Bulgaria, the theses point to the need of further enhancing their role in the building of a developed socialist society.

CANADA

The Central Committee of the Communist Party, meeting for two days in Toronto, discussed William Kashtan's report on the political and economic situation of the country.

This report and the speeches by other participants in the plenum gave a comprehensive analysis of the present situation characterized by the increased determination of the working class to step up the fight against the monopolies' attempts to shift the main burden of inflation and other crises onto the shoulders of the working people.

The Communists believe that the economic crisis being experienced by Canada and other capitalist states is graver and more protracted than bourgeois economists predicted. What is needed to overcome this crisis is a policy that would restrict the unlimited power of the monopolies, boost economic development, and help reduce unemployment and improve the conditions of the people.

The plenum declared for combining the workers' economic demands with political struggle, for forming a broad democratic, anti-

monopoly coalition capable of defeating the right-wing forces, changing the alignment of political forces in favor of the working class and opening the way for a better future for the nation.

CYPRUS

The Central Committee and the Central Control Commission of the Progressive Party of the Working People of Cyprus (AKEL) held an extraordinary plenum in late January. It unanimously approved the Political Bureau's document that expounds the Party's attitude toward the forthcoming inter-community talks and the proposals to be submitted by the Greek side.

Full agreement was expressed with the proposals made by President Makarios at a recent joint meeting of the Council of Ministers and the National Council of Cyprus, which discussed the forthcoming inter-community talks.

Addressing the plenum, AKEL General Secretary Ezekias Papaioannou said that preservation of the present situation on the island does not accord with the interests of the Cypriot people — both Greeks and Turks. The state of uncertainty only serves the imperialist designs aimed at dividing Cyprus and turning into a base for the more aggressive circles of NATO, he emphasized.

Next August marks the 50th anniversary of the Communist Party of Cyprus. A plenum of the Central Committee and the Central Control Commission of AKEL approved the statement and these commemorating this date.

AKEL, the successor to the Communist Party, will celebrate this jubilee as an event of great importance in the history of the working-class movement of Cyprus, an event that illuminates our people's road to freedom, social progress and socialism.

The founding in April 1941 of AKEL as a mass political party was a historic victory for the Communist Party in its struggle to legalize its activity, an important landmark in the fight of the working class and the people of Cyprus for political and democratic rights.

For more than 50 years, the documents says, the Party has been guided by scientific socialism and has consistently defended the interests of the working class, the peasantry, of all working people in town and country; it has been organizing and mobilizing the people to fight for national freedom, and is the bearer of socialist ideals in Cyprus.

The experience of the last 15 years, the document further says, has fully borne out the correctness of the Party's anti-imperialist policy.

Noting that the Cypriot people are living through difficult times, AKEL advances as a top-priority task the withdrawal of all foreign troops from that country.

The Party considers that a durable solution of the Cyprus problem is impossible without the normalization of relations between the Greek and Turkish communities, without mutual understanding and cooperation between them.

AKEL firmly believes in the ultimate triumph of socialist ideals, the statement says in conclusion.

MONGOLIA

At its 11th plenum the Central Committee of the People's Revolutionary Party discussed the tasks of developing virgin lands and increasing agricultural production.

A report was delivered by N. Zhagvaral, member of the Political Bureau and secretary of the Central Committee, who analyzed the state of the country's agriculture and expounded the tasks of further developing that branch, as set by the Party. In the current five-year period it is expected to bring 230,000 hectares of virgin land under crop.

A speech was made by Y. Tsedenbal, First Secretary of the Central Committee and Chairman of the Presidium of the Great People's Khural. He said that Mongolia, relying on all-round fraternal assistance from the Soviet Union, has resolved the key task of developing virgin lands and has become self-sufficient in grain and flour.

VENEZUELA

A plenum of the Party's Central Committee, held in Caracas, considered the political situation in the country, reviewed the Party's activity in 1975 and outlined the plan for 1976.

Support was expressed for the Angolan people's just struggle against the imperialist forces, and it was demanded that the Venezuelan government recognize the legitimate government of the People's Republic of Angola.

The plenum called for stepping up the campaign for the release of Chilean Communist Party general secretary Luis Corvalan and other Chilean patriots, and of political prisoners in Paraguay and Uruguay.

Full solidarity was proclaimed with the struggle of the people of Panama to win back the Panama Canal zone. The plenum approved the nationalization of the country's oil industry and the policy of improving Venezuela's relations with socialist countries.

STATEMENTS AND SPEECHES

“OUR PARTY AND THE SOVIET UNION”

Statement of the Secretariat, Communist Party of Belgium

A statement by the National Secretariat of the Communist Party of Belgium sharply criticizes the biased coverage of Soviet life by Belgian radio and television.

The Secretariat notes that these media systematically conceal from the public the remarkable economic, social and cultural achievements of the Soviet Union. The information on the Soviet Union they usually supply has virtually turned them into an instrument of anti-Soviet propaganda. There is also the fact that they misrepresent the position of our Party on this matter.

The CPB, the statement goes on to say, emphatically identifies itself with the Soviet Union, which makes a decisive contribution to the building up of the world socialist system. This strong solidarity is in harmony with the interests of all working men and women, the entire Belgian people, who can find durable solutions to the problems arising from the crisis of the capitalist system only through reforms in which growing exchanges and cooperation with the Soviet Union will hold a prominent place.

Even when the CPB differs with the Soviet comrades on this or that point, this cannot undermine its principled solidarity with the CPSU and the Soviet Union, nor can be compared in any way to the smear campaign carried on by the enemies of socialism and progress.

The Secretariat points to the need for the Party to take into proper account and combine in the struggle for socialism its general features with historical and current conditions and the distinctive features of each country and each epoch. This means that the economic, social and cultural level achieved before the country's transition to socialism, the democratic gains maintained by the workers and other popular forces and the balance of forces between socialism and capitalism in the world and on the continent will strongly influence the conditions and forms in which socialism is materialized in Belgium.

The CPB is aware of the distinctive conditions in which socialism came into being and has been developing where it exists. The Soviet Union was able to take the place it holds in the world today through tremendous efforts, which the grim legacy of tsarism and repeated aggression on the part of imperialist powers compelled it to make.

In conclusion, the statement says that it is only for the Soviet people and no one else to decide in what way and how fast they should go on extending socialist democracy, which is in many respects superior to the political regimes of the West. This process will no doubt be influenced by the gains which the working class and democratic forces of Western countries will be able to make in fighting against imperialist attempts to nullify the Helsinki agreements and in seeking a progressive and peaceful solution to the capitalist crisis.

Summarized from *Drapeau Rouge*, January 21, 1976.

"UNITE THE MASSES TO OVERCOME THE CRISIS"

A CPB document bearing this title will be discussed as preparations go ahead for the 22nd Congress, to be held from April 9 to 11, 1976.

CPB Chairman Louis Van Geyt says in his preface to the document that the main task facing the Belgian working people, more and more of whom become victims of dismissals and the shut-downs of enterprises, is to end the crisis.

The monopolies and the governments dominated by them, he adds, are stepping up their policy of social and economic regress and strengthening NATO contrary to the Helsinki agreements and in obedience to multinational companies, the Pentagon and the CIA. Events that have occurred since the latest Party Congress (1973), as well as public debates, make it possible to set the working-class and democratic movement clear-cut objectives, encourage closer unity of action of the Party and increase its influence in the country.

The document analyzes the current situation and indicates the outlook for the struggle to reshape society.

The current crisis shows that the time is nearing when the capitalist system will no longer be able to develop and adapt and when the people will refuse to tolerate it any more. The crisis affecting Belgium is not only a product of the general crisis of capitalism, but a consequence of the policy which Belgian governments subservient to big

capital have been following for years. This policy greatly facilitated the penetration of foreign capital into Belgium to the detriment of national industry.

Economic development along capitalist lines clashes more and more with the need to meet the requirements of a modern society. It is becoming ever more imperative to break monopoly power and lay the foundations of socialism. This radical transformation calls for the establishment of people's rule, which would nationalize the principal means of production under the leadership of the working class. This is the only way to bring society out of the impasse into which capitalism has led it. It will pave the way for a new type of economic development based on meeting the needs of the masses, safeguard the people's social and political gains and enable the working people really to take part in the management of enterprises and in the exercise of worker and democratic control over the entire economy.

Noting the achievements of socialist countries, the document states that the CPB regards solidarity with these countries, especially with the Soviet Union, as the main condition for effective struggle by the working-class and democratic movement in countries still dominated by big capital.

The existing system has proved unable to stop inflation or the growth of unemployment. The CPB calls for the unity of all working-class and democratic forces to bring about a new policy. To carry on a new policy at this stage, it is necessary to effect reforms curbing monopoly power. Genuine democracy can be established only with power in the hands of a progressive government that will deprive the monopolies of their might by nationalizing enterprises and introducing worker and democratic control.

To end the crisis, it is essential to put economic and political life on a sound basis. This can be done only if political and economic reforms are carried out.

The CPB demands that the pension age be lowered and the working people's tax burden eased.

The document says that to resist the policy of big capital, it is necessary to strengthen the common trade union front and form a political front of left parties that must unite all forces, including members of the Workers' Christian Movement.

Summarized from *Drapeau Rouge*, January 22, 1976.

HANDS OFF HELSINKI AGREEMENTS

Gordon McLennan,
Secretary General,
Communist Party of Great Britain

The Tories are bankrupt of policies to tackle Britain's crisis. Every statement or appeal their leadership makes is characterized by narrow, bigoted, selfish individual and class interests, offering no solution to the acute problems facing the majority of working people.

Yet they represent a real and serious threat to the best interests of Britain and the British people. This was starkly illuminated last week by Margaret Thatcher's vicious cold-war speech and subsequent provocative propaganda exercise with British armed forces in West Germany.

The speech was composed of three main elements — bitter hostility to any further steps toward stable peace and disarmament; subservient and uncritical support for United States imperialism; hatred of socialism and the national liberation movement. Thatcher clothes all this in the familiar trappings of the "red manace" and anti-Sovietism. There followed an orchestrated offensive of support from the right-wing press and Tory ultras.

Throughout the capitalist world, forces hostile to détente have been increasingly active since the signing last August of the Helsinki agreements on European security and cooperation. The fact that all the nations of Europe and Canada declared at the Helsinki conference that they would seek peaceful ways of resolving outstanding European and international problems, was a great victory for humanity. Coming as it did 30 years after the defeat of fascism in the Second World War, it represented a beacon of hope and sanity in a world still burdened by massive military expenditure and overcast by the threat of war.

Of course, the Helsinki conference did not solve any problems. But it created a better basis for solving them. That was the triumph of Helsinki, which owed more to the peace policy of the Soviet Union than to that of any other country.

Now the left and other progressive forces should speak for the real interests of Britain, advocating the policies of peace and disarmament. This is not only because too many of our people have been

killed and maimed in war, and a nuclear war would mean slaughter on an unimaginable scale. It is also because the preparations for war have a disastrous economic consequence.

Nearly £5,000 million of taxpayers' money is being poured out every year on military expenditure, much of it on weapons of mass extermination in pursuit of a policy which puts Britain in danger of nuclear destruction, rather than defending our people. Thatcher and others who fulminate against the spending of taxpayers' money on essential social services, never utter a word about this gross misuse of public money.

Successful implementation of the Helsinki agreements would open up greater possibilities of extended trade with the socialist world. The big deals signed recently between Britain and the Soviet Union and other socialist countries are testimony to this. Such trade, beneficial to all involved, means jobs for workers in factories and offices throughout Britain who might otherwise join the mammoth queues at labor exchanges.

Recent events raise with new urgency the need to build a mass democratic movement of struggle that will change the present disastrous policies of the government. Only the fighting unity of all left forces, including Communists, can bring into action the powerful movement of mass struggle now needed.

This is the challenge before the left posed anew by the Thatcher Tory cold-war offensive.

Abridged from *Morning Star*, January 31, 1976.

THERE IS A WAY OUT

*Interview with a Chilean Communist Party leader
working clandestinely*

Q. How would you characterize the situation in the country?

A. Everything that occurred during 1975 fully confirms what was said by our Party in December 1974. We then warned of the disastrous consequences for the country of the fascist dictatorship imposed by the military junta. They are reflected in the ever-worsening economic crisis, mass unemployment and the handing over of natural

wealth and enterprises to imperialist capital. To that should be added the ruthless suppression of democratic freedoms as the only method of temporarily maintaining power.

The dire poverty and ruin of the majority of Chileans under the fascist regime shows that the struggle for revolutionary changes was and remains an imperative. The objective conditions for developing mass struggles are now more favorable than immediately after the dictatorship was installed. On the other hand, the dictatorship is growing weaker and totally isolated, resulting in the desperation of the fascist military junta.

Q. How would you assess the junta's optimism with regard to "improving" the economic situation of Chile?

A. What strikes the eye in the country's economic situation is the obvious aggravation of the crisis. The latest survey of the Society for Industrial Development notes the sharp reduction in output. In the period from January to August 1975, it declined by 23.6 per cent contrary to earlier forecasts of this body of manufacturers. Trade is down by 22.1 per cent compared with January-August 1974.

On the other hand, the import of food products has fallen because the people have no money to buy them. Half the population is slowly dying of hunger. Moreover, the import of machines, fuel, raw materials and spare parts has been curtailed. This speaks of the disastrous situation in the national economy. At the same time the military fascist junta is increasing expenditures on arms imports, as evidenced by the new budget. These are unproductive expenditures that do not create more jobs or resources, but increase the country's debt and, more dangerous still, lead to stepped-up repressions.

The above situation in the field of production has resulted in inflation and a high cost of living. According to data of the National Statistics Institute, prices of consumer goods have increased on the average by 32 times between 1973 and August 1975, while the minimum wage rose only 11 times. Thus the social difficulties became a crime against society. Popular consumption is limited to a few essential items, the prices of which have doubled in comparison with other consumer goods. The people no longer eat kidney beans, now costlier than meat. For the working-class families inflation runs at 15 to 20 per cent a month. Official surveys show that, as a result, in 1975, the national product will be 10 per cent less than in 1974.

The crisis situation is most favorable for big capital, which resorts to various machinations to buy state enterprises for an insignificant price, with payment over seven years in proportions very favorable to

it. The economic policy of the fascist military junta pursues the aim of eliminating the nationalized enterprises, concentrating capital in the hands of a group of monopolists, laying the country open to exploitation by imperialist companies. Let Pinochet and Leigh keep parroting that they do not make the rich richer and the poor poorer. Reality shows that the result of their economic activity fully corresponds to what we have said above.

Q. How do you see the situation in other spheres?

A. It is a general crisis which involves the entire life of the country, the civilians and the military, various organizations, and is reflected in the loss of the rulers' prestige at home, and in their moral corruption in the field of sports and culture, decline in education and the forcible revival of past national values and traditions.

Q. Does that mean that the country has no prospects of genuine national development?

A. Under the present reactionary regime, none whatever. Such prospects could arise as a result of a complete change in the political orientation of the country. For this we need a new socio-economic system, with a democratic, anti-fascist government running the country in the interests of the overwhelming majority, and first of all, in the interests of the working people.

Q. What, in your view, is the essence of the struggle of the workers and other sections in conditions of the profound crisis?

A. The working class, all working people of town and country are now in the van of the struggle, because they become increasingly convinced of the need to not only resist the policy of ruin, but to replace those who are temporarily in power and bear the responsibility for converting Chile into a hell of hunger and poverty. During 1975, despite the lack of trade union freedoms, the working people found the strength, courage and wisdom to carry on some trade union work independently of the fascist military junta. In November and December 1975, the trade union organizations fought tough battles against lay-offs at Ferrocarriles (a state-owned railways company) and Codelco (a copper corporation).

Q. Why is not resistance to the junta expressed more openly?

A. The position of the Communist Party is clear, stressing the need to create an anti-fascist front. The fascist military junta remains in power not so much by force of arms as due to the dispersion of the anti-fascist forces. Undoubtedly, many officers and men will participate in the anti-fascist front. We repeat once again that the anti-fascist front cannot be made up only of the Popular Unity parties. It must

involve other political forces, including the Christian Democratic Party. Thus the people will go over to more open and resolute forms of struggle as the much needed unity of all popular and anti-fascist parties develops.

Q. What is your opinion of the junta's attacks against the church?

A. The Communist Party holds that this, apart from other things, is an expression of the junta's despair because of its failure to win over the church, especially the Catholic.

Q. Do you believe in the loudly proclaimed unity of the armed forces?

A. By no means. Such unity never existed. Many top-ranking officers, senior and junior officers were deceived by the putschist generals. The majority of the people in uniform, like all Chileans, suffer from the rising prices.

Q. How do you assess the voting in the UN?

A. As the Communist Party sees it, condemnation by the United Nations is not directed against the Chilean nation, but against the fascist dictators. International condemnation is a consequence of the brutal trampling of human rights and the flouting of democratic freedoms daily practised by the military junta. The Communist Party demands immediate amnesty for all political prisoners, whether under investigation or convicted by the military junta, as well as the return of the exiled. Moreover, the Party demands lifting the state of siege and liquidation of the DINA,* and immediate measures for the restoration of a normal situation in the country.

Q. What is the role of the Communist Party in the struggle against the dictatorship?

A. In the struggle against the fascist tyranny the Party is in the front ranks, together with other Popular Unity parties and democratic forces. Along with the people, the Communists are fighting in defense of the mass organizations, trade unions, various organizations existing among the population, peasants, women, youth, middle sections, the free professions, intellectuals, etc., and for their development and independent activity. They are fighting selflessly for the satisfaction of everyday demands, advanced by these sections of the population, insisting on respect for their organizations.

Unidad Antifascista, December 1975.

*DINA — Departamento de Investigacion Nacional (National Investigation Administration), set up by the junta for struggle against the resistance movement. — Ed.

STATEMENT AT A TRIAL

Raymond Suttner, 30, a senior lecturer in law at Natal University, was sentenced to seven and a half years imprisonment in the Durban Supreme Court on November 13, 1975, for violating the Suppression of Communism Act. On November 6, 1975 he made the following statement at the trial, which is printed below in condensed form.

I have furthered the aims of the African National Congress (ANC) and the South African Communist Party. This was carefully considered. I want to tell the court why I acted in this way and still consider it correct.

From my earliest encounters with black people, I have been aware of the contrast between my own living circumstances and theirs. I felt, from the beginning, that it could not be right that some people, merely because they were black, should have to live with less than they needed.

Notwithstanding its rechristening as "separate development," none of the main features of apartheid have changed. The black people have never sought Bantustans and similar unrepresentative institutions. Their real leaders have made it clear that they consider the whole of South Africa to be their homeland and they will accept nothing less than their right to share fully in its power and prosperity.

The suppression of the ANC, the Communists and other allies in the liberation movement has meant that we do not hear calls for equality in one undivided South Africa as frequently as we should. Their banning may have created the illusion of wider acceptance of apartheid than there is in fact. We do not hear the most outspoken criticism of apartheid nor what the liberation movement would substitute for it. It is hard to find out what the ANC and its allies stand for. We generally only hear what its opponents say about them.

I have been cut off from information about the ANC and Communist Party for most of my life. I was told of the evils of these organizations and heard all the charges of their alleged villainy. I was never allowed to hear their answer. In trying to find a meaningful political role in our situation, I sought information about the ANC and its allies. When I read their literature and heard their aims, I saw that they did not, as their detractors suggested, advocate indiscriminate violence nor the setting up of a tyrannical regime. I found they had a

simple aim — to make a new society that would benefit all, not a few.

When I studied their background, I had little doubt that the banning of the ANC and Communist Party was an undemocratic and unjustified act. There had been no evidence of these organizations using violence before they were made unlawful bodies. Similarly their turn to violence could hardly be called unprovoked or without cause.

For many years I participated in protest activities — organizing petitions, holding placards, marching and various other demonstrations against racial discrimination. None of these or similar protests had any effect. But what is more, the government denied our right to oppose them — leaders were banned or arrested without trial.

Around 1969 I started to ask myself whether I was doing this out of habit or whether these activities were achieving anything. The Minister of Education had left few illusions about their impact when he said in one statement that student petitions went straight into his waste paper basket.

I continued to read about and discuss ANC policy. What I heard and read strengthened the admiration that I had felt for the selflessness and dedication of men like Albert Luthuli, Bram Fischer, Nelson Mandela, Walter Sisulu, Govan Mbeki, Ahmed Kathrada and Denis Goldberg — some of the leaders in the liberation movement.

I came to feel that I could contribute most by aiding the ANC and its allies. I came to believe that the course that they followed was the only way to achieve freedom in our country. It is true that this means supporting a policy including the use of violence. The law under which I am charged does not ask the court to enquire what precipitated the violence. The court cannot dismiss these charges because the ANC and its allies were forced to take up arms. It cannot rule that ANC violence is a response to the violence of the apartheid regime.

Yet there are factors in the ANC decision that make it abundantly clear that they did not desire violence, that they use it reluctantly. ANC strategies are aimed at minimizing conflict and promoting democracy. Violence is not seen as an instant answer to all problems. Certain types of actions such as terrorism or undisciplined heroic acts, even if well motivated, are rejected as exacerbating the bitterness and hostility. I am convinced that this policy responds to suppression and oppression in the only way possible.

I have no doubt that the policies of the ANC and the Communist Party hold out a bright future for us. I know that the liberation movement is neither anti-white nor terrorist, that it works for the day

when men and women will have all the comfort and security they need. I realize that this is not the picture that is presented to South Africans. But because I know that it is true I could not obey a law expressly aimed at suppressing these democratic forces. It was my duty, I believe, to act honestly and for the benefit of all our people, to inform them of their situation and the way to an alternative, free society. That was the aim of all my work.

I am not the first, nor the last, to break the law for moral reasons. I realize that the court may feel that I should have shown more respect for legality. Normally I would show this respect. I would consider it wrong to break laws which serve the community. But I have acted against the laws that do not serve the majority of South Africans, laws that inculcate hostility between our people and preclude the tolerance and cooperation that is necessary to a contented and peaceful community.

For this I will go to prison. But I cannot ever accept that it is wrong to act, as I have done, for freedom and equality, for an end to racial discrimination and poverty. I have acted in the interests of the overwhelming majority of our people. I am confident that I have their support.

Abridged from text of document.

THE THREAT TO UNITY HAS BEEN OVERCOME

*Interview by President Tito to the
Zagreb newspaper Viesnik*

The situation in Yugoslavia and in the League of Communists has improved since the 10th Party Congress. At that time there was a danger of our revolutionary gains being depreciated. Liberation in the LCY and so-called federalism made for the appearance of a dangerous nationalism not only outside the Party, but in the Party itself, threatening the unity of the League of Communists and the unity of the peoples of Yugoslavia as a socialist state. For instance, there was a marked striving of leading LCY bodies of some republics to free themselves of the higher leadership of the LCY as much as possible. Secret meetings of republican leading bodies were held without the knowledge of the LCY Central Committee. Democratic centralism

was almost completely eradicated from the vocabulary of the Communists. The Party leadership of one republic kept sinking deeper into the bog of nationalism. The LCY leadership in Croatia, Tito continued, fanned dangerous nationalistic and chauvinistic tendencies, undermining one of the most important gains of our revolution — the fraternity and unity of our peoples.

Clearly we had to replace the top leaders in the Executive Committee of the League in Croatia, and energetically counter all such tendencies.

In Serbia we also replaced the League leadership — the Executive Committee — because of its rotten liberalism, endangering the LCY and facilitating the growth of nationalism.

Thanks to stubborn efforts we were able to consolidate the LCY ranks by the 10th Party Congress, where complete unity was displayed. Therefore, though not a few problems still exist, we have made notable progress.

Dealing with the question of overcoming existing problems, Tito said that not all Communists clearly comprehend certain important issues. First of all, we must organize work in the League in such a way that every member will understand how he should behave and what he should do, that is, will comprehend his role. He must be aware of the significance of his role, know what he can and what he cannot do, proceeding from the moral image of a member of the LCY.

The crisis situation, Tito further noted, was not generated at grass-roots level, but in the leadership. And when the Communists saw this, they swiftly cleansed their ranks of those who hampered socialist development.

Tito stressed that LCY members must rectify their mistakes through self-criticism, because self-criticism is a powerful educational means in forming the new man and a self-managing society. This we still lack. Criticism we have enough, as well as fault-finding, even to an excessive degree, but there is no self-criticism.

For some time idle talk has been going on as to what will happen in Yugoslavia after me, the President said. Partly because the people engaging in it do not understand or know our social system, its organizational structure and ideologico-political course. As is known, ours is a collective leadership both on the federation level and in the republics.

The LCY is on the way to becoming what it should be and what it had been earlier. The meeting of the LCY Presidium mobilized and invigorated the activity of the Communists both with regard to

strengthening our ranks and the political and ideological education of the members. Marxism has been re-introduced in the schools. Marxist education is being invigorated on a countrywide scale. I am not, of course, satisfied with what has been achieved since there are still people in the LCY who do not belong there. Moreover, there is still a lack of discipline in carrying out decisions, especially in certain organizations. Congress decisions are being implemented too slowly and there are even cases of their violation. We must take stricter measures against all this, including exclusion from the League of Communists.

Not can we be satisfied with the level of ideological education of Party cadres, Tito said. It is not only a question of Party cadres receiving a definite Marxist education. This is something we must begin in the primary schools and continue right through university. Especially important are school programs. They must all be imbued with Marxism and Marxist ideas. It is also necessary to compile textbooks clearly and understandably interpreting Marxist science.

We must adopt a correct attitude to those who made mistakes through lack of knowledge. But we will not be lenient toward those who consciously commit errors; we will be strict, exclude them from the Party or apply other punishment, Tito continued.

We must more energetically counter petty bourgeois consumer psychology, which alienates, dehumanizes and degrades man, does great harm to the LCY and the development of a self-managing society. And it has become widespread, especially in towns.

There is an influx of new members to the Party — young people and workers. Thus, by improving the qualitative composition of the LCY we improve the situation in the Party itself.

Assessing the situation in the press, radio and television, Tito said: "In this respect I am quite severe. At times I cannot understand why publicity is given to some things which harm our relations with other countries. These are sensitive subjects, and the press, radio and television must fully abide by the decisions and positions of our government in relation to individual countries. This is not always taken into consideration, there are cases of arbitrariness, or of some journalists not comprehending certain things and writing in a way that we then have to apologize for through diplomatic channels." There is not enough contact between us and the journalists, and these contacts should be more regular with regard to important issues which must be explained, and which they must deal with in detail.

Abridged from *Borba*, February 1, 1976.

FROM THE PARTY PRESS

COMMUNISTS AND THE STATE

In the process of building a developed socialist society and while advancing to communism, the state is the main instrument of the working people led by the working class, says the draft program of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany. The instrument for accomplishing so immense and exacting a task must have appropriate qualities. This is why the draft states explicitly: "The policy of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany is directed toward the further all-round strengthening of the socialist state of workers and peasants as a form of the dictatorship of the proletariat expressing the interests of the whole people of the GDR."

This is in keeping with our own experience and the experience of the entire revolutionary working-class movement, which is generalized in the scientific theory of Marxism-Leninism.

Karl Marx, who went through the Paris Commune, an event of historic significance, and assessed it, wrote in his notes to the Gotha program: "Between capitalist and communist society lies the period of the revolutionary transformation of the one into the other. Corresponding to this is also a political transition period in which the state can be nothing but *the revolutionary dictatorship of the proletariat*."

This is a truth. It has repeatedly been tested by history and its correctness has been proved beyond doubt.

The dictatorship of the proletariat is based on the alliance of the working class with the peasants and other working people, and hence it always represents the majority of the people. It is directed against the exploiting minority so long as the struggle to take and hold power goes on. In our state, in which there are no more exploiters, it represents the interests of the whole people, as the draft program says.

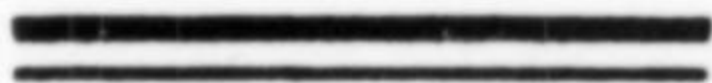
This needs to be emphasized because counterposing the dictatorship of the proletariat to democracy has become a favorite trick of the bourgeoisie. Actually the antithesis is between working-class and bourgeois power, with bourgeois dictatorship always a disguised form of the dictatorship of big capital, that is, of the rule of the minority

over the majority. Working-class power, the dictatorship of the proletariat, is highly democratic. It is the highest form of democracy, as Lenin pointed out. Those who do not realize this will be surprised to read in our draft program the following statement: "The main line on which socialist state power is developing is the further flowering and perfection of socialist democracy."

Socialist democracy is a living reality in our state. Along with elected people's deputies and their democratic working methods based on real experience there exist the most diverse forms in which citizens ranging from activists of commissions under local government bodies to members of parents' councils and from trade unionists in the enterprises to members of National Front commissions in residential neighborhoods participate in government and economic management. Important measures for building the socialist social system, important bills and now also draft documents of the coming Ninth Party Congress are submitted to the public for discussion. Our democratic life, which is varied and rich in content, is infinitely superior to all that is known in capitalist countries as democracy and the right to participate in government.

We describe our state as a form of the dictatorship of the proletariat. Lenin pointed out that all nations would come to socialism but that diverse forms of dictatorship of the proletariat might develop in the process. Other socialist countries have forms differing from ours and the future will see new forms. However, the essence is working-class power, which expresses itself in the dictatorship of the proletariat. The working class and its allies cannot establish a socialist system without this power. Our Party was able to take the socialist road and make progress because on the issue of state as on others, it proceeded from Marxist-Leninist principles. Our new program will help us to persevere in this policy.

Neues Deutschland, February 4, 1976.



THE SITUATION IN ANGOLA

Observer

The events in Angola have been obscured by a fog of misinformation in the Western press. Reactionaries have left no stone unturned in their attempt to mislead world public opinion. Certain U.S. quarters are especially active, persistently and in the teeth of facts distorting the developments in Angola, in other words, presenting them the other way round. Peking, which in such cases always plays up to international reaction, also contributes to this campaign.

What then is the real situation in Angola?

The national-liberation movement in Angola emerged and took shape as part of the general national-liberation struggle in Africa against imperialism, colonialism, and racism. It was headed by the Popular movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA) which was formed in 1956. Fifteen years ago the Angolan people actually took up arms to liberate their country. It took the MPLA long years of heroic struggle to rally around itself the representatives of various national-patriotic, ethnic, and social groups and proclaim on November 11, 1975 the sovereign People's Republic of Angola.

Today the MPLA is the recognized vanguard of the Angolan people. Important for the victory of the Angolan national-liberation movement were the clearly-defined aims of its program, including the elimination of Portuguese colonial rule; converting Angola into an economically independent, industrialized, modern and strong country; an agrarian reform envisaging the limitation of private land ownership and allotting land to the landless peasants; and equal rights to all Angolans irrespective of their race. Non-alignment was proclaimed the main principle of the country's foreign policy.

Today the Angolan people and its legal government are an important element of the national-liberation movement on the African continent and are already facilitating its extension. Guided by the decisions of the United Nations and the Organization of African Unity on the problems of decolonization and the elimination of racism and apartheid, Angola is consistently following the road already taken by many other African countries.

Practice shows, however, that the peoples' path to independence and unhindered development along the road of social progress is thorny and complex. The establishment of a young state takes place in conditions of hard-fought struggle with enemies and it is opposed

by the motley alliance of the most reactionary forces in the world today including the imperialists, the South African racists, and the Peking Provocateurs, who have placed themselves at the service of mercenaries ready to kill anyone, anywhere for dollars. The whole world knows that these mercenaries are recruited in the United States, Federal Germany, Britain, and some other Western states and are being regularly transported to Angola.

The neo-colonialists and racists would like to retain the south of Africa as a stronghold against all the progressive countries on the African continent. It is no secret that the strategic military schemes and economic interests play a far from small role in this. The militarist quarters of some Western countries and the imperialist monopolies understand only too well that consolidation of people's power in Angola will protect the natural wealth and the population of the country from exploitation by the multinationals, give a strong impetus to the liberation struggle of the peoples of Namibia, the Republic of South Africa and Zimbabwe against the racist regimes, and further invigorate the African people's struggle for social and economic transformations and for the complete liberation of the continent from the vestiges of colonialism and racism.

All the forces opposing the people of Angola were indifferent to their fate when they were under the fascist Portuguese yoke, living under colonial oppression. But, in the early 60s, as soon as real prospects appeared for the Angolan people to launch a successful fight for independence, they began to display an unusual interest in the affairs of the distant African country. They openly supported the fascist Portuguese regime, which had waged a brutal colonial war in Angola, and laid the foundations for the splitter organizations that had sold themselves to their imperialist bosses, out of which both the FNLA and UNITA later emerged.

The U.S. Secretary of State, speaking recently in San Francisco, tried hard to prove the unprovable — Soviet intervention in the internal affairs of Angola — and to shield long-standing overt and covert U.S. intervention in the Angolan developments. But he is clearly at odds with facts as well as logic. He is trying his best to blur the distinction between the real intervention in the affairs of the People's Republic of Angola, (such as the invasion of its territory by the South African armed forces instigated from outside), and the moral and political support and other assistance given by the Soviet Union to the genuine lawful government, and at its request for the purpose of curbing foreign aggression against the new African state.

The question arises: what is the truth and what is pure invention?

Is it not common knowledge now that the USA has covertly been giving financial aid to the FNLA and UNITA groupings? The amount is also known. It has been divulged by Washington itself. This aid materializes in mass deliveries of arms to the splitters, worth millions of dollars, in attempts to economically strangle the young state, in political pressure on other African states, and other subversive actions.

Nor is it a secret, that the FNLA and UNITA, prodded from outside, disrupted in the past the functioning of the transitional government in Angola, thwarting a possible political settlement and opening the way to armed foreign intervention.

The Republic of South Africa is openly attacking the lawful government of Angola. Its troops have invaded Angolan territory, thereby committing aggression against an independent state. The number of its troops operating on Angolan territory now, as admitted by no less a person than the South African Defense Minister himself, runs into many thousands. Washington also admits that South African troops have been sent to Angola with the knowledge of the USA and at the direct request of UNITA. As to the reports that the RSA proposes pulling out its troops, the South African authorities declare that they have no intention of doing so. The RSA's racist Parliament has even approved a bill granting the government a right to armed intervention in the affairs of African states south of the equator in general should "a threat to its security" arise. Such an unprecedented act means making aggressive expansionism a principle of the foreign policy of that racist state, in contradiction of elementary standards of international law.

The Peking leadership is playing a shameful part in the struggle against the national-liberation movement of the Angolan people. It is delivering to countries neighboring on Angola large consignments of arms which are used by the splitters in the fight against the democratic forces of Angola, sending military instructors and specialists there, and training military personnel for the traitors to the Angolan people. Holden Roberto, the leader of a group of splitters, frankly admits that all his soldiers have been trained by the Chinese and that the Chinese have been unreservedly assisting him. Not only have the Maoists themselves been intervening in the affairs of independent Angola and acting in concert with the imperialists, but they are also cynically trying to vindicate the brigandage of the South African racist regime.

The recent Extraordinary International Conference of Solidarity

with the Struggle of the People of Angola denounced the aggression of South Africa and its imperialist allies in Angola, and the policy of the Peking leaders who, as the General Declaration of the Conference stated, had sided with the enemies and found themselves in alliance with South Africa, the USA and their agents.

The internal and external enemies of the Angola people would like to present the development in Angola as an internecine war or a "civil war." It is clear, however, that what is actually taking place there is overt imperialist aggression against the sovereign People's Republic of Angola and the struggle of its people against flagrant interference in their internal affairs. The criminal actions against the independent state cannot check the inexorable objective development of society today, and Angola is no exception.

The Angolan people must be ensured conditions for the completion of their country's liberation and the consolidation of its territorial integrity, for a peaceful and independent development along the road of social progress. There is only one way of solving the destiny of the Angolan people — the way they have chosen themselves. Angola belongs only to its people. And they have voiced their opinion on this major question: they want to determine the road of their development themselves. Angola has its legitimate government which exists and operates in the lawful capital of the country.

Each day brings news testifying to the strengthening positions of the government of the People's Republic of Angola. What is more, the positions of the legitimate government continue to strengthen also in the international arena. About 50 states have recognized the People's Republic of Angola, including 26 African states, most of the members of the Organization of African Unity. The Republic enjoys extensive public support even in the countries which for one reason or another have not yet recognized its legitimate government.

The Soviet Union and other socialist countries are not indifferent to the destiny of the Angolan people. The Soviet stand in this respect is free of temporary, opportunistic considerations. It has always been a principled one. From the outset the Soviet Union fully supported the struggle of the patriotic forces for liberation from the colonial yoke. Together with many other states the Soviet Union signed the UN Declaration on Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples which says that all nations have the right to self-determination, on the basis of which they can freely establish their political status and develop economically, socially and culturally. The 29th session of the UN General Assembly adopted a resolution calling on all govern-

ments to give the peoples under colonial domination all moral and material aid to help them achieve national independence.

Strictly following the principles of these and other decisions of the United Nations, the Soviet Union rendered moral, political and material assistance and support to the Angolan people. As President Julius Nyerere of Tanzania justly pointed out: "The MPLA would not be able to fight against the Portuguese colonialists with just bows and arrows. The West refused to supply arms to the MPLA at that time, it supported the Portuguese colonialists. The Soviet Union and its allies gave these arms. Today Angola is independent." These are good and truthful words.

The Soviet Union continues to give moral, political, diplomatic and other assistance today, too. It by no means considers that the Angolan question can be settled only by military means. The Soviet Union has never opposed a political solution to the Angolan question. The USSR welcomed the formation of the transitory government of Angola with the participation of representatives of various movements. The rival FNLA and UNITA groupings, however, due to outside influence, split the government. Today, too, our country supports the efforts of Angola's government toward consolidating the patriotic forces advocating genuine independence and the democratic development of the country.

The Angolan people highly assess their friends' support, President A. Neto of the People's Republic of Angola said: "Just as at the outset of the struggle against the Portuguese colonialists, today, too, when we are fighting against imperialism, the progressive countries of Africa and of the whole world are our true friends. From them we receive moral, material, political and diplomatic support in our struggle. The socialist countries have given us the greatest, most fundamental assistance in our struggle from the start."

Despite its complexity, détente is the main trend of the present international situation. However, the lessening of international tensions in no way means freedom of action for aggressors, opportunities for colonialists and racists to continue plundering the riches of other nations, or to try to restore their lost positions by force. Such actions create tension and aggravate the situation. Hence it is clear who bears the responsibility for all this. It is also clear on what basis the situation in Angola and around it can and must be settled.

Pravda, February 11, 1976.

