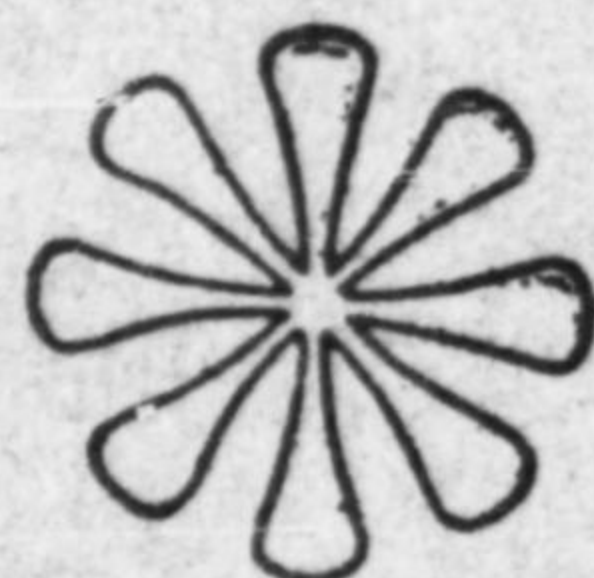


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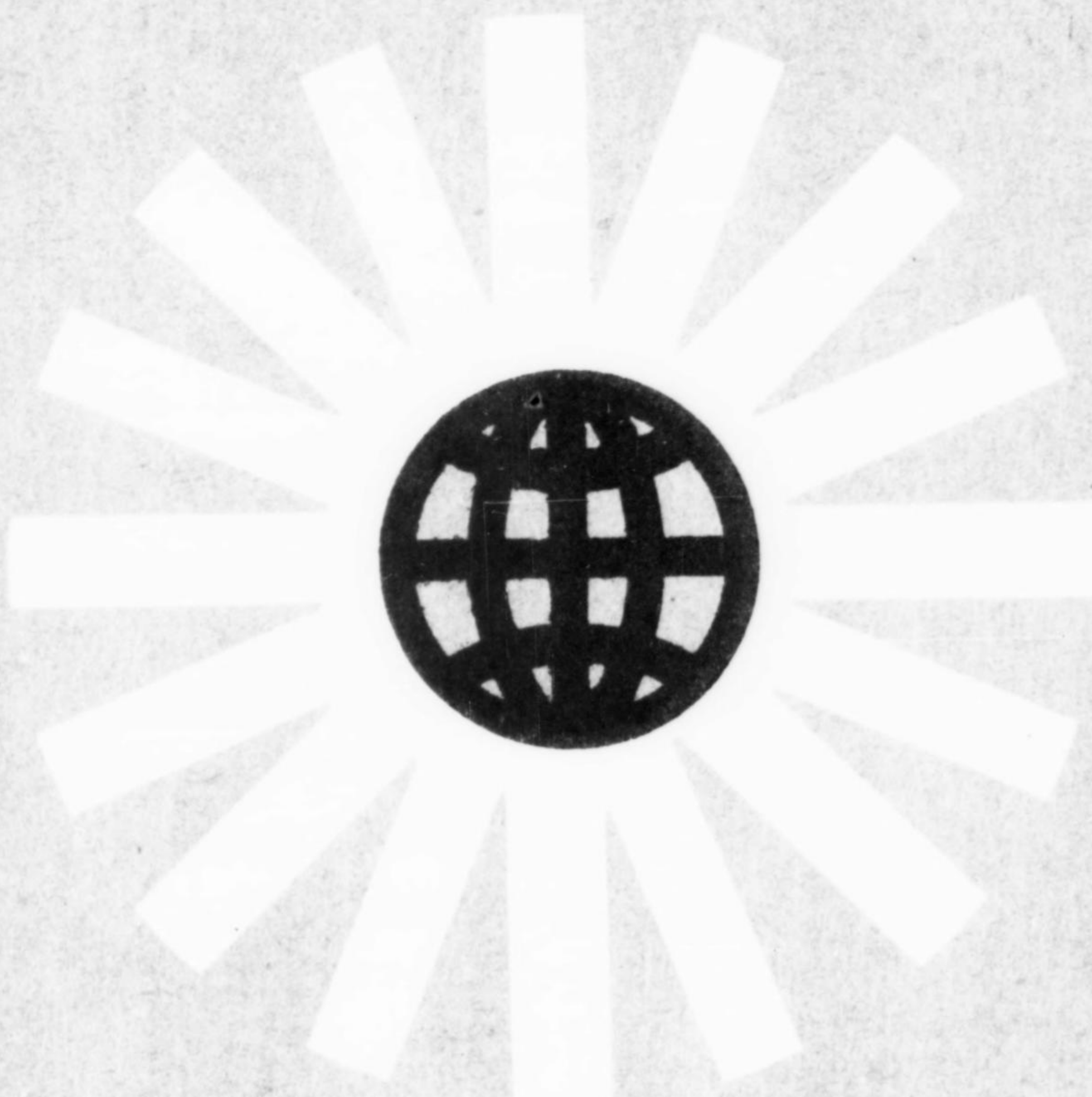
**SOCIALIST
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OF GERMANY
9TH CONGRESS**

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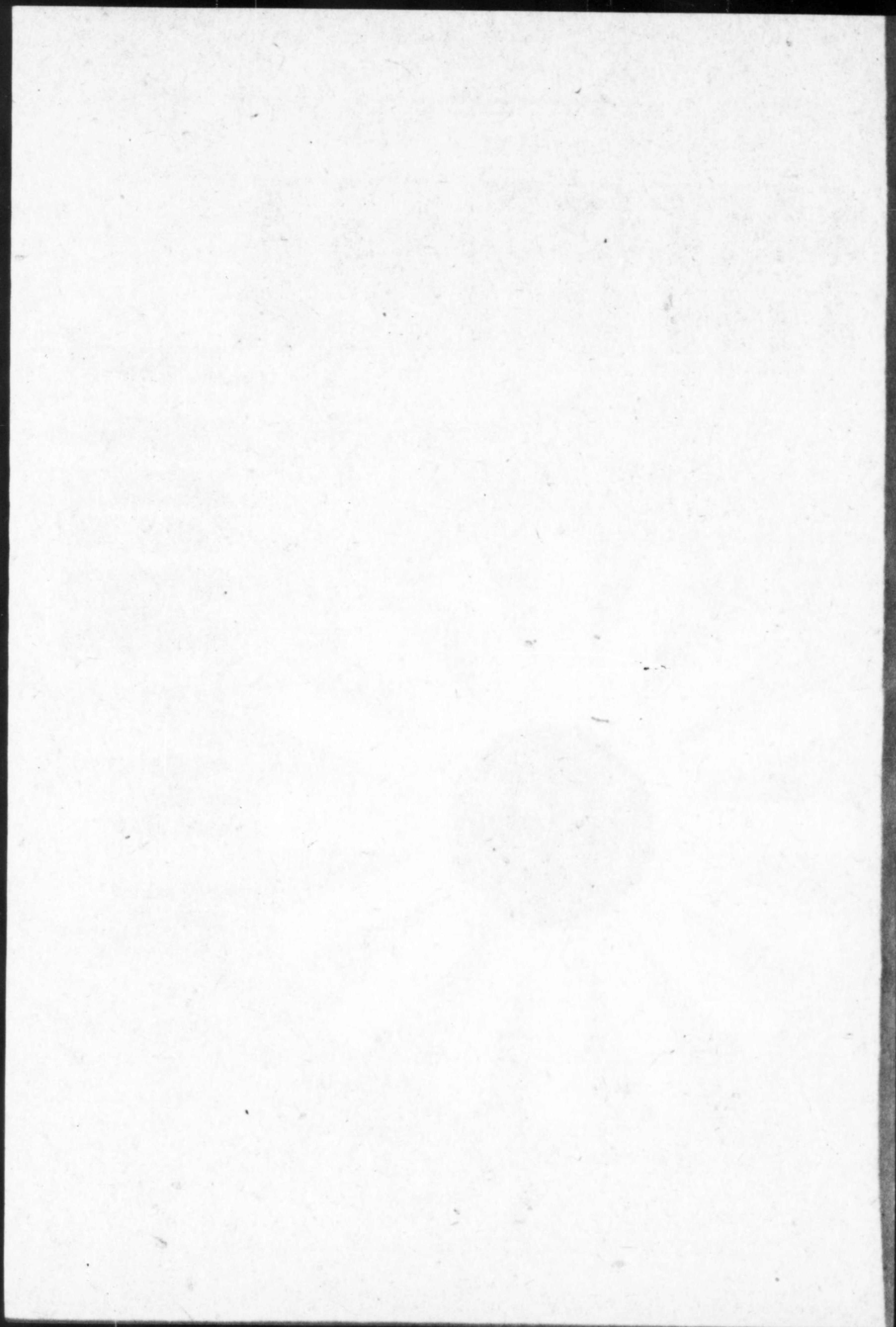
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BILATERAL MEETINGS

JOINT SOVIET-MOZAMBIQUE STATEMENT

A Party and government delegation from Mozambique paid an official friendly visit to the USSR on May 17-22, 1976, at the invitation of the CPSU Central Committee and the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet. The delegation was headed by Comrade Samora Moises Machel, Chairman of the Mozambique Liberation Front (FRELIMO) and President of the People's Republic of Mozambique.

FRELIMO Chairman Samora Machel was received by General Secretary Leonid Brezhnev. The warm and friendly talks confirmed a mutual desire by the CPSU and FRELIMO to strengthen inter-Party cooperation and their intention to promote the friendly relations between the USSR and the People's Republic of Mozambique.

The ensuing negotiations concerning bilateral relations and international problems were held in a sincere atmosphere of mutual understanding, friendship and solidarity. A mutual desire was expressed to strengthen and develop the friendship and cooperation existing between the two countries and peoples. Both sides stated their determination to build inter-state relations on the principles of revolutionary solidarity, on the basis of full equality, mutual respect, trust and non-interference in internal affairs.

I

Both sides noted with satisfaction that Soviet-Mozambique friendship, built up during Mozambique's hard-fought struggle for freedom and independence, is in the basic interests of the two countries, the consolidation of the anti-imperialist forces, the struggle against the remnants of colonialism and racial oppression and that it serves the cause of peace and international security.

Mozambique highly values the internationalist aid, the moral, political and material support extended by the Soviet Union to the struggle waged by the Mozambique people under the leadership of FRELIMO for national liberation, and is sincerely grateful to the Soviet people,

the CPSU Central Committee and the Soviet government for this aid.

The Soviet leaders informed the guests of the results of the 25th CPSU Congress and acquainted them with the practical measures taken by the CC CPSU and the Soviet government in fulfilling the program of further struggle for peace and international cooperation, for the freedom and independence of the peoples. The Mozambique side highly assessed the results of the 25th CPSU Congress, stressing its international significance.

Samora Machel informed the Soviet leaders of the successes of the class struggle in Mozambique under the leadership of FRELIMO, a struggle that had established in the country a regime based on a worker-peasant alliance and created the foundations of a people's democracy in order to build a society free from exploitation. Preparations were also described for the Third FRELIMO Congress.

The Soviet people, the Mozambique delegation was told, are watching with sincere interest the construction efforts of friendly Mozambique and wish its people great successes in the struggle for strengthening their political and economic independence, for the social renewal of their country, for the consolidation and development of people's democracy.

Conditions were favorable, it was stressed, for further developing relations between the Soviet Union and the People's Republic of Mozambique and both sides agreed to broaden and deepen the all-round mutual cooperation between the two countries.

Both sides attach great importance to promoting cooperation between the CPSU and FRELIMO. It was expedient, they noted, to jointly draw up and coordinate annual plans for Party contacts. They also declared for broader relations between the mass organizations of the two countries.

Trends were discussed in Soviet-Mozambique economic and technical cooperation and both sides agreed that this cooperation should be developed in every possible way. The Soviet Union agreed to help Mozambique develop certain branches of the national economy, education and the medical services for which the required credits had already been granted.

During the visit the earlier agreements between the Soviet Union and Mozambique on economic and technical cooperation, trade, airlines, merchant marine and cooperation in fishing, were complemented by an agreement on cooperation in culture and science.

The Soviet Union agreed to help Mozambique build up its defense potential.

II

After discussing international events, particularly those on the African continent, both sides agreed that our time is characterized by a growing struggle for national and social liberation, for peace, democracy and progress. In the past two decades African peoples have made historic advances in their struggle for freedom and independence. Colonial empires have crumbled under the blows of the national-liberation movement, supported by the socialist countries and other progressive forces of the world. More and more the African peoples' anti-imperialist struggle is growing over into an anti-capitalist struggle.

The Soviet Union and Mozambique declare their support for the struggle of the oppressed peoples of Zimbabwe, Namibia and South Africa for their rights, self-determination, freedom and national independence and call upon all the world's progressive forces to increase their support of this struggle.

The Soviet Union declares its complete solidarity with the People's Republic of Mozambique which is subjected to armed provocations and aggression by the South Rhodesian racists, and supports the decision by the Mozambique government to enforce sanctions against the South Rhodesian regime as foreseen by the United Nations Organization.

Sincerely hailing the Angolan people's victory over the combined forces of the imperialists, the South African racists and their accomplices, the two sides believe that at present it is the duty of all freedom-loving peoples to help and support the People's Republic of Angola in cementing its achievements, consolidating its international position, rehabilitating its economy and returning to a peaceful life.

III

The USSR and Mozambique stand on common positions in the struggle against imperialism and colonialism. They stated the coincidence of their views on a wide range of international issues discussed.

The sides are agreed that unity of action by the peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America with the socialist countries and other progressive forces of the world is an earnest of success in their anti-imperialist and anti-colonial struggle. They call for countering the combined forces of reaction with a mighty alliance of revolutionary forces comprising the socialist world system, the international working-class movement and the fighters for national and social liberation.

Both sides reaffirmed their stand for further improving the world climate, preserving and deepening international détente and consolidating the principles of peaceful coexistence among states with differing social systems. Both sides believe that détente is vitally important to all states and peoples the world over. The two sides condemn the intrigues of the more aggressive imperialist circles against détente and for creating new seats of tension and attempts by these circles to take advantage of détente for ideological sabotage against progressive countries.

Having exchanged views on the situation in the Middle East, the sides expressed their concern over the dangerous tension in that area. They stated their determination to help achieve an all-embracing political settlement in the Middle East based on Israeli withdrawal from all Arab territories occupied in 1967, granting the Arab people of Palestine their legitimate rights, including the right to an independent state, and ensuring the security of all states and peoples in the region and their right to independent existence and development.

The Soviet Union and the People's Republic of Mozambique state their support of the efforts of the People's Democratic Republic of Korea to unite Korea on a peaceful and democratic basis.

The Soviet Union and Mozambique maintain that the Indian Ocean should be free of foreign military bases and that the existing bases in that region should be dismantled. They condemn the establishment of a U.S. military base on Diego Garcia Island as endangering peace and the security of freedom-loving peoples.

Both sides noted that the movement of non-aligned countries is an important factor in international affairs. They agree that, united together on an anti-imperialist basis, these countries could contribute greatly to the common struggle for freedom and independence, for the equality of states, for peace and security.

The Soviet and Mozambique sides expressed their complete satisfaction with the results of the visit.

On behalf of the FRELIMO Central Committee and the Mozambique government, Samora Machel sincerely thanked the CC CPSU, the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium and the Soviet government for the friendly and fraternal hospitality extended to him and the other members of the Mozambique Party and government delegation during their stay in the Soviet Union, and invited General Secretary Leonid Brezhnev to pay an official visit to the People's Republic of Mozambique.

Samora Machel also invited Nikolai Podgorny, President of the

Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, to pay an official visit to Mozambique.

The invitations were accepted with gratitude.

Pravda, May 24, 1976.

MEETING OF L.I. BREZHNEV WITH S.M. MACHEL

On May 18 General Secretary Leonid Brezhnev met with Samora Moises Machel, Chairman of the Mozambique Liberation Front (FRELIMO), President of the People's Republic of Mozambique, who led his country's Party and government delegation on a visit to the USSR.

Taking part in the talks were CC CPSU Politbureau member, Minister of Foreign Affairs A. Gromyko; Alternate Politbureau member, CC CPSU secretary B. Ponomarev; Assistant to CC CPSU General Secretary A. Blatov; Member of the FRELIMO CC and Executive, Minister of Foreign Affairs of the PRM Joaquim Alberto Chissano.

S. Machel warmly thanked the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the Soviet people and Leonid Brezhnev personally for their all-round aid and support of the Mozambique people's national independence struggle and spoke highly of the CPSU's Leninist foreign policy meeting the interests of the world's progressive forces. He spoke of what FRELIMO and the PRM government are doing to abolish the remnants of the colonial past and to carry out the program of progressive socio-economic reforms to consolidate the country's political and economic independence and create the conditions in which a society free of exploitation can be built.

Leonid Brezhnev heartily congratulated FRELIMO and all the people of Mozambique on their victory over the colonialists and expressed the Soviet people's solidarity with the People's Republic of Mozambique and its struggle against imperialism, to strengthen the people's democratic system and build a new society. He described the Soviet people's labor achievements and how they are successfully carrying out the historic decisions of the 25th CPSU Congress.

Opinions were exchanged on current international problems and on Soviet-Mozambique cooperation.

L.I. Brezhnev and S. Machel noted that both parties held common views on the main issues of international policy and stressed the

importance of unity of world socialism and the national-liberation forces in the struggle for peace and security, for eliminating the vestiges of colonialism and racism. A mutual conviction was expressed that international détente created favorable conditions for consolidating the right of all peoples to national independence and for the cause of democracy and social progress.

Comrades L.I. Brezhnev and S. Machel confirmed that both the CPSU and FRELIMO wished to strengthen inter-Party cooperation and that they would assist in every way possible the further development of friendly relations between the Soviet Union and the People's Republic of Mozambique.

The meeting was held in a cordial, comradely atmosphere.

Pravda, May 19, 1976.



CONGRESSES

NINTH CONGRESS OF THE SOCIALIST UNITY PARTY OF GERMANY

The Ninth Congress of the SUPG was held in Berlin from May 18 to 22, 1976, with the participation of about 2,500 delegates, representing the two million Communists of the GDR. The growing prestige of the Party is reflected in the fact that in the period since the Eighth Congress over 334,000 people joined its ranks, more than two-thirds of whom are workers. The Congress was also attended by delegations of Communist and Workers' parties, national-democratic and socialist parties and national-liberation movements from 92 countries.

The agenda included: the report of the SUPG Central Committee; the report of the Central Auditing Commission; approval of the Guidelines for the Development of the GDR National Economy for 1976-80; elections of the leading Party bodies.

Erich Honecker addressed the Congress with the Central Committee report. (Published below.)

The delegates fully supported and unanimously approved the analysis, made in the report, of the present international and domestic situation of the socialist German state, and the broad program of economic, social and cultural development for the coming five-year period.

The speakers noted the great influence the decisions and materials of the 25th CPSU Congress had on the entire life of the republic. The report presented by General Secretary Leonid Brezhnev and other documents of the forum of Soviet Communists are being studied in all Party organizations.

Congress adopted a resolution on the Central Committee report. It fully approved the political line and practical activity of the Party's Central Committee. In approving the report, Congress resolved to consider its assessments, tasks and conclusions as the basis for the activity of all Party organizations for the coming period.

The participants greeted the speech of the head of the CPSU

delegation Mikhail Suslov, Political Bureau member and Central Committee secretary, with special warmth. (Published below.)

Congress was also addressed by Edward Gierek, First Secretary of the CC, PUWP, Gustav Husak, General Secretary of the CC, CPCz, Janos Kadar, First Secretary of the CC, HSWP, Todor Zhivkov, First Secretary of the CC BCP, and many other foreign guests.

The delegates heard the report on the Guidelines of the Ninth Congress for the Development of the GDR National Economy for 1976-80, which was delivered by Horst Sindermann, SUPG Political Bureau member and Chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers.

The rapporteur noted that the past five years had been the most successful in the country's history.

All that has been achieved in this period will serve as a solid base for the solution of even greater national-economic tasks envisaged in the Guidelines. The unbreakable unity of the economic and social policy, an essential aspect of the course charted by the Eighth Party Congress, has fully proved its viability.

As the report noted, the five-year period from 1976 to 1980 will see the all-round intensification and increased effectiveness of production and higher quality output.

The report emphasizes that the aims set in the Ninth Congress' Guidelines are based on the coordination of plans by the fraternal socialist countries in the CMEA framework. An important step to the further implementation of the CMEA countries' Comprehensive Program, the rapporteur said, is the concerted plan of multilateral integration measures for 1976-80, as well as the elaboration of long-term projects. Trade turnover of the GDR with the CMEA member-countries will increase by approximately 50 per cent compared to the previous five-year period, and the volume of trade with its main foreign-trade partner — the Soviet Union — will reach 28 billion rubles. Exports to the USSR and other socialist countries are to go up 1.5-fold by 1980.

The delegates unanimously approved the Guidelines for the Development of the GDR National Economy for 1976-80.

Congress discussed and adopted the Program and Rules of the SUPG, endorsed a protest resolution against the fascist terror in Chile demanding the immediate release of Luis Corvalan and other Chilean patriots. Congress elected the Central Committee and Central Auditing Commission.

At the closing session the decision of the first plenum of the newly

elected SUPG Central Committee was announced. Erich Honecker was elected General Secretary of the SUPG Central Committee.

The following comrades were elected to the Political Bureau: Hermann Axen, Friedrich Ebert, Werner Felfe, Gerhard Grüneberg, Kurt Hager, Heinz Hoffmann, Erich Honecker, Werner Krolikowski, Werner Lamberz, Erich Mielke, Günter Mittag, Erich Mückenberger, Konrad Naumann, Alfred Neumann, Albert Norden, Horst Sindermann, Willi Stoph, Harry Tisch, Paul Verner; as alternate members of the Political Bureau: Horst Dohlus, Joachim Hermann, Werner Jarowsky, Günther Kleiber, Egon Krenz, Ingeburg Lange, Margarete Müller, Gerhard Schürer, Werner Walde.

The following were elected SUPG Central Committee secretaries: Erich Honecker, General Secretary, Hermann Axen, Horst Dohlus, Gerhard Grüneberg, Kurt Hager, Joachim Hermann, Werner Jarowsky, Werner Krolikowski, Werner Lamberz, Ingeburg Lange, Albert Norden, Paul Verner.

At its meeting the Central Auditing Commission elected Kurt Seibt as its chairman.

General Secretary Erich Honecker made a concluding speech.

REPORT BY ERICH HONECKER

The Socialist Unity Party of Germany has accomplished a great deal in the period between its Eighth and Ninth congresses. The working class, cooperative farmers, intelligentsia and all working people scored impressive creative successes in the past five years. They were years of substantial progress in building a developed socialist society, successful solution of major tasks of our economy and social policy for the benefit of socialist society, of each individual.

These were years in which our flourishing socialist state of workers and farmers won full international recognition. They saw the further strengthening of our indestructible fraternal alliance with the Soviet Union and other countries of the socialist community. Firmly committed to proletarian internationalism, we extended solidarity to all anti-imperialist forces in the world fighting for national independence, democracy and social progress, Honecker said.

The German Democratic Republic made its contribution to averting the danger of a new world war and to safeguarding and strengthening peace.

The results of our home and foreign policy prove that the decisions

of the Eighth Party Congress have become reality. We have followed the correct road. The course charted by the Eighth Congress has fully stood the test of time. There is every reason to say that the Party has honored all the pledges made, as proved by its deeds.

We are now looking further ahead. Relying on what has already been achieved, we are at this Congress turning our attention to new and greater tasks. The Socialist Unity Party of Germany sets itself the aim of continuing the construction of a developed socialist society in the German Democratic Republic, thereby creating the basic conditions for a gradual transition to communism.

The fact that Congress will adopt a new Party Program lends it special importance. As Frederick Engels once remarked, every new program is a banner raised for all to see, and the world will judge our Party largely by this standard. Our Program is indeed such a banner, showing everyone where we are at now and what path we shall follow. A new Party Program has become necessary because the GDR is entering a new phase in the development of its society. It is essential that the Program take account of and reflect the big changes that have taken place both in our country and its international standing. The Program outlines the fundamental objectives of the SUPG, providing a clear orientation for our Party's advance along the road to communism. It will remain our guide to action over several five-year periods.

The Party will remain unswervingly committed to its central policy of further raising the standard of living and cultural level of the people on the basis of a rapid growth rate of socialist production, higher efficiency, scientific and technological progress and growing labor productivity. In pursuing this line we are acting in accordance with the interests of the working people and the experience accumulated over the years.

The general policy line of our Party has been the subject of a nationwide debate. Dealing with the key issues of our republic's development concerning the life of every citizen, this debate was an impressive manifestation of socialist democracy in action.

The documents now before the Ninth Congress have met with such a favorable response because they reflect the vital interests of the working class and all working people. Not only has the Party come to its Congress as a firmly united and cohesive force, but confidence in it and its ties with the masses are stronger than ever. No one will ever be able to destroy this relationship. The Party and the people are one, joined together for all time.

The 25th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union has given a new impulse to the cause of communism and to the world revolutionary movement. We are making use of the materials of this Congress in solving the tasks we face. They serve our people as a reliable guide on the way to a communist future.

Led by the Socialist Unity Party of Germany, the working people of the German Democratic Republic will jointly accomplish deeds which can be called historic, because they benefit our country, and are at the same time a contribution to the international cause of peace and socialism.

I. THE WORLD REVOLUTIONARY PROCESS AND THE INTERNATIONAL ACTIVITIES OF OUR PARTY

Our Congress is taking place in stirring times. There is a general awareness that a revolutionary process of historic dimensions is going on. All continents and all parts of the world are affected today by the movement for remoulding the world along the lines of peace, democracy and social progress. The decisive motive force of this process is the socialist world system. Its strength, stability and dynamism in conjunction with the other revolutionary mainstreams of our day — the international working-class and national-liberation movements — are increasingly determining the march of world events. While imperialism remains a dangerous enemy, developments confirm that it has irrevocably lost its one-time dominant position in world affairs.

It should be manifest to everyone that under the powerful impact of the Peace Program adopted by the 24th CPSU Congress and as a result of the fruitful work performed by the CPSU Central Committee and its General Secretary Leonid Brezhnev, the position of world socialism has grown stronger, as has the unity of the countries fraternally allied in the socialist community, the communist and working-class movement and, indeed, all revolutionary forces of our day. Relying on the solid political, economic and military foundation of the fraternal socialist countries rallied around the Soviet Union, our joint foreign policy has achieved successes of historic dimensions over the last five years. Our consistent policy of peace and security has had a mobilizing effect on the peoples, introducing a change of direction from cold war toward international détente that is now at its most advanced stage in Europe.

The German Democratic Republic has made a constructive contribution to implementing the policy of peaceful coexistence between

countries with differing social systems. The SUPG Central Committee has at all times given due consideration to this task and worked persistently and purposefully for its solution. We can say today that the blueprint for peace adopted by the Eighth Party Congress has been fulfilled in every respect. The imperialist blockade imposed upon our state has fully collapsed. The socialist German Democratic Republic has won worldwide recognition. As a full-fledged member of UNO and other international organizations, the GDR currently maintains diplomatic relations with 121 countries. This is a success for world socialism, the result of the great international solidarity and support extended to our worker-farmer state. We should like to take advantage of this Congress to express our sincere gratitude for this to all our allies and friends all over the world.

Our foreign policy has contributed toward ensuring favorable international conditions for socialist and communist construction in our republic. At the same time, we have taken advantage of the enhanced international standing of the GDR to increase the strength of the socialist community and to extend international solidarity to all forces in the world fighting for freedom, national independence and progress.

Our indestructible fraternal alliance with the Soviet Union and the firm integration of our republic in the community of socialist countries are and remain the solid basis for our forward march along the road of the socialist construction and for our international activities. Our socialist alliance is a completely new type of alliance. It rests on identical socio-economic and political foundations, on a common Marxist-Leninist ideology, on shared communist objectives and on proletarian internationalism.

We are gratified by the fact that cooperation with the Soviet Union is becoming ever closer and more effective, extending to all spheres of public life. It is firmly rooted in the life of our citizens. Its dominant trend now is the growing fusion of the material and intellectual potentialities of our countries in solving the great common tasks that will reach far into the future. Life is providing striking evidence of how our socialist nations are drawing closer and closer together.

From the rostrum of our Congress, Honecker said, we should like to express our warmest gratitude to Comrade Leonid Ilyich Brezhnev, to the Central Committee of the CPSU, to all Soviet Communists and the entire Soviet people for the genuine internationalist support they have at all times extended to our Party and

country as well as for the manifold instances of cooperation, friendship and trust.

The Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation and Mutual Assistance between the GDR and the USSR, signed in Moscow on October 7, 1975, has raised our relations to a new, higher level.

The 25th Congress of the CPSU was an event of worldwide significance. The report of the CPSU Central Committee presented by Comrade Leonid Ilyich Brezhnev is clear evidence of a consistent and scientifically substantiated policy geared to the welfare of the Soviet people and, at the same time, conducive to the interests of all mankind. It contains a Leninist analysis of the international situation and progress in the USSR, and gives an answer to the questions raised by the practice of communist construction and by the revolutionary struggle in the world arena.

The report applies the yardstick of history to the pioneering achievements of the CPSU and the Soviet people with an eye to the forthcoming 60th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution. Within 50 years of development, interrupted by foreign intervention and Hitler's war of aggression, a society was forged such as the world had never yet seen: a socialist society free from exploitation and oppression, a society based on peace and humanism, freedom and respect for human dignity, a society imbued with confidence in the bright future of communism.

The experience of the CPSU, the most tried and tested Party of the world communist movement, as summarized in the documents of its 25th Congress, is of fundamental importance for the transition from capitalism to socialism in each country. As the Soviet Union continues to forge ahead along the road to communism it is becoming more and more apparent that this wealth of experience is of universal validity. Further expansion of our far-ranging cooperation with the CPSU and the Soviet Union will remain a top priority and, indeed, the dominant feature of the international activities of our Party and the foreign policy of our state.

We note with profound satisfaction that our relations with the other fraternal socialist countries have also attained a higher level.

The Marxist-Leninist parties are the leading force in the process of bringing the fraternal socialist countries ever closer together. Their firm and militant alliance is a manifestation of loyalty to Marxism-Leninism and its creative application on the basis of collective experience. The regular meetings of representatives of the fraternal parties

give a decisive impetus to the further convergence of our peoples and to coordination of our activities in the international arena.

The recent congresses of the fraternal parties of socialist countries are indicative of how the common features of social development are becoming more and more pronounced. Resting on the objective laws governing the construction of socialism, they open up new vistas for cooperation between the socialist countries and nations.

The new content of relations between our socialist countries finds its concrete expression especially in the way they work together in the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance and in the Warsaw Treaty Organization.

The national economies of the countries united in the CMEA are beginning to become more and more interlaced on the basis of the complex program of socialist economic integration. This offers qualitatively new opportunities for enhancing the economic potential of our community and at the same time contributes significantly to strengthening the ties of friendship between our countries and peoples in every respect.

That it has proved possible to preserve world peace over the past 30 years and to reduce the danger of war is chiefly due to the military might and peace policy of the Soviet Union and to the Warsaw Treaty Organization. We shall continue to give due attention to strengthening our joint political and defense organization.

Our experience confirms that the ever closer cohesion of our fraternal countries is indispensable for using to the full the advantages of socialism and its intrinsic dynamism in the interests of each individual country and of our community as a whole. Our Party will continue to devote all its energies to this end.

As Communists we are consistent fighters for peace. Peace is a basic condition for the continued successful construction of socialist and communist society. We have contributed immensely to the struggle for peace. We are pursuing an aim which has always inspired the revolutionary working-class movement — to free mankind from the scourge of war.

The persistent struggle for peace and the security of the peoples, and for the progress of mankind is advanced in the fundamental proposals made by Comrade Leonid Ilyich Brezhnev at the 25th Congress of the CPSU as an organic extension of the Peace Program adopted by the 24th Congress. This is a program of continued struggle for peace and international cooperation, for the freedom and independence of the peoples.

Erich Honecker declared on behalf of the Congress that the Ninth SUPG Congress fully supports this Peace Program.

While clearly seeing the main trend of world development, we do not for a moment forget that imperialism has not shed its inherent aggressiveness. At this very moment we are witnessing new and sustained attacks by the enemies of détente. They are stepping up the arms race and unleashing anti-communist and particularly anti-Soviet campaigns. Attempts are being made to break agreements. That is why a sudden aggravation of the situation cannot be excluded. This means that we must be on the alert.

The GDR's contribution to normalizing relations between the socialist and capitalist states is generally recognized. This is especially true of its constructive policy designed to help bring about the Quadripartite Agreement on West Berlin and conclusion of the General Relations Treaty between the GDR and the FRG. We favor furthering relations between the German Democratic Republic and the Federal Republic on the basis of the principles of peaceful coexistence and the norms of international law, which facilitates the process of détente in Europe.

It goes without saying that opportunities for good-neighbor relations with the FRG can be established only if it respects the universally recognized status of the GDR as an independent sovereign German state in line with the principles of peaceful coexistence. I regret to say, however, that at the present time full use cannot be made of these opportunities because of the strengthening of revanchist forces in the Federal Republic, Honecker noted.

The GDR, he said, will continue to reject any attempts by reactionary and revanchist elements in the FRG who cling to the outdated and futile theme of "keeping the German question open." This question is no longer open. History has long passed its judgment. As a result of the socialist revolution and the construction of a socialist society in the GDR, the foundations, content and patterns of national life have undergone qualitative changes. The people of the GDR have, by building socialism under the leadership of the working class and in line with the dominant trend of history, implemented their right to socio-economic, governmental and national self-determination.

A socialist German nation is developing in the German Democratic Republic. Its characteristic features are being shaped by the working class, the leading force in socialist society.

As a socialist nation state, the GDR is an inseparable part of the community of socialist countries. It is a member of the worldwide

United Nations Organization. From this it follows quite logically that the policy of peaceful coexistence is the only basis for further normalizing relations with the FRG as well as with all other capitalist countries. We are in favor of continuing this course. If the two German states act in a spirit of realism and common sense, then this will serve peace, détente and the happiness of the peoples.

The GDR has repeatedly shown its readiness to expand and further normalize its relations with West Berlin on the basis of the Quadripartite Agreement and other treaties and agreements concluded in accordance with international law. But whoever would use West Berlin to create an explosive situation should remember that such attempts have invariably harmed not only the West Berlin population. The situation in Europe also suffered. In such a situation, common sense is called for. This applies to all concerned.

We actively support the Soviet initiatives for holding a world disarmament conference, banning all nuclear arms testing, banning the development and production of new mass extermination weapons and for concluding a worldwide treaty on the renunciation of the use of force in international relations. Together with the other socialist countries, the GDR consistently comes out for the success of the Vienna talks on a mutual reduction of armed forces and armaments in Central Europe.

We resolutely condemn any manifestation of the imperialist policy of aggression and consistently seek political solutions to all conflicts in the interests of peace and the peoples' right to self-determination. It is the inalienable right of the peoples now and in future to defend themselves against imperialist aggression, to use all the means at their disposal to fight for their national and social liberation and to determine their own fate.

The fact that the strength of the socialist countries is continuously growing in all fields is of decisive importance for the world revolutionary process and the international balance of forces. The successes of socialism are creating ever more favorable conditions and opportunities for the struggle of the progressive and anti-imperialist forces. The facts forcefully prove that only socialism is capable of solving the vital issues of our time in the interests of humanity. That is why it is becoming ever more attractive to the peoples of the world.

In glaring contrast to this is the state that capitalism is finding itself in. Since the outbreak of World War II and the Great October Socialist Revolution, the general crisis of capitalism has extended to ever more spheres of social life in the capitalist world. This is re-

flected in the international position of imperialism, in its economy, ideology and morality, in town and countryside, in the individual and the family. In addition, a cyclical crisis of capitalism broke out in late 1973, the worst ever since the end of the Second World War, hitting all major capitalist countries at the same time. Harsh reality has shattered the theories of a "welfare state" and of a "reformed capitalism." All models of a crisis-free capitalist society have turned out to be defective. V.I. Lenin is right once again: imperialism is moribund, parasitic, decaying capitalism.

As Communists it is our desire to enable people to lead a happy life, free from fear and worry. For this confidence in the future is needed. For this we must strengthen socialism, strengthen the socialist community, and fight for peace throughout the world.

From this follow the primary foreign policy objectives:

— Continuous strengthening of the fraternal alliance with the Soviet Union and the other countries of the socialist community. A course toward drawing our socialist nations and states closer together, enabling us to better develop and utilize the potentialities inherent in socialism.

— Anti-imperialist solidarity with all peoples fighting for their national and social liberation and active support for the world's progressive and revolutionary forces in the spirit of proletarian internationalism.

— Persevering work to strengthen peace and security in Europe and in the world. Expand the results of the policy of peaceful coexistence between countries with differing social systems. Political détente must be supplemented by measures toward military détente in line with the vital interests of all peoples.

II. THE DECISIONS ADOPTED BY THE EIGHTH PARTY CONGRESS HAVE BEEN REALIZED

Summing up the results achieved in various spheres in the period under review, Erich Honecker noted that the past five years have seen profound changes in the economic and social development of the GDR. The targets set in the Directives of the Eighth Congress were reached and in a number of key areas were greatly surpassed.

This is substantiated by the following facts: The national income grew from 108,300 million marks in 1970 to 141,000 million marks in 1975, an increase of 30.1 per cent. The sum total of the national income in the five years reached 634,000 million marks, and manufac-

turing output went up from 172,000 million marks in 1970 to 235,400 million marks in 1975.

We are fully justified in saying that the past five-year period brought out the advantages of socialism with particular clarity. None of the major capitalist countries attained a comparable growth rate over that period. The GDR consolidated its position among the world's 10 leading industrial nations.

The higher level of performance attained in all sectors of the national economy has been the most important condition for a substantial increase in the standard of living and cultural level of the people. We have, to a large extent, utilized our economic results to carry out a far-reaching social welfare program. The housing program is increasingly proving to be its linchpin, Honecker said. Our building workers completed 609,000 apartments over the last five years.

Great efforts are being made to keep improving trade and distribution of goods. Retail trade turnover went up from 64,100 million marks in 1970 to approximately 82,000 million in 1975.

The incomes of the population rose by an average 4.8 per cent annually instead of the planned 4 per cent.

III. UNITY OF THE ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL POLICIES

Social progress in our country demands a planned and dynamic growth of production forces, Honecker further said. The Central Committee is submitting to Congress the draft directives for the GDR's national economic development in 1976-80 containing concrete socio-economic tasks for the next five years. This course requires further construction in the GDR of the developed socialist society and creation of the basic conditions for a gradual transition to communism.

In the coming five years our national income is to reach a total of more than 830,000 million marks, which will put at our disposal 200,000 million marks more than we had from 1971 to 1975. Between 1976-80 our total manufacturing output is to reach 1,400 million marks, which is almost 400,000 million marks above the volume attained in the previous plan period. Labor productivity in industry is envisaged to rise by at least 30 per cent.

Capital investments for expanding construction in the five years will increase by 34,000 million marks. A total of 750,000 dwellings are to be provided through construction and modernization. This will mean better housing conditions for some 2.2 million citizens.

Strengthening of the material and technological potential of the country is closely linked with the acceleration of scientific and technological advance. That is why in the previous period the SUPG gave priority to questions of science and technology. This Congress will, undoubtedly, chart new and even more complex tasks in the field of science and technology, bearing in mind that our program describes it as "of crucial importance" for the consistent intensification of production "to organically combine the achievements of the scientific and technological revolution with the advantages of socialism."

A basic condition for the continued stable economic and social development of the GDR is the purposeful expansion of socialist economic integration with the Soviet Union and other fraternal CMEA countries. The Party sees this as its primary task also for the future. Integration will at the same time bring the peoples of the socialist countries closer together in all fields of social life.

IV. THE LEADING ROLE OF THE WORKING CLASS

The working class is faced with the historic mission of building a socialist and communist society and for this purpose its power must be firmly established, Honecker continued. The question of power is a matter of supreme importance. Without it the working class and its allies would have been unable to transfer the vital means of production to public ownership and to lay the foundations for socialism.

Karl Marx defined the principle that in the period of transition from capitalist to communist society the state can take no other form than that of the dictatorship of the proletariat. History knows of no instance of a socialist society having been built without it. The experience of the revolutionary working class of the world — including our own — has proved the correctness of this Marxist-Leninist principle. That is why our new Party Program states: "The policy of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany is aimed at the continued all-round strengthening of the socialist workers' and farmers' state as a form of the dictatorship of the proletariat representing the interests of the whole people of the GDR. It is the chief instrument of the working people, led by the working class, in the construction of an advanced socialist society and in advancing along the road to communism."

Dictatorship of the bourgeoisie always means rule of a minority, the rule of exploiters, even if it applies forms of bourgeois democracy. Being exploited and being free are two irreconcilable things. Freedom for the working people is only feasible after the end of exploitation, in

socialism. In contrast, the dictatorship of the proletariat means rule by the working class and its allies, rule by the majority. In our state, where exploitation no longer exists, it serves the interests of the entire people. Proletarian dictatorship, as Lenin noted, represents the highest form of democracy in contrast to the class-conditioned restrictions of democracy in the capitalist state.

Our Program states that the strengthening of socialist democracy is the main trend underlying the further development of our state.

The working class, as the holder of political power, as the producer of the major proportion of social wealth, Honecker went on to say, is the main social force in our republic. We will spare no efforts to enable it to further increase its creative force and influence in all spheres of social life. The trade unions have an outstanding role to play in this process.

Cooperation between our Party and the other parties — the Democratic Peasants' Party, the Christian Democratic Union, the Liberal Democratic Party and the National Democratic Party has strengthened, and the relations of trust between the parties as they work together amply demonstrates the growing political and moral unity of our people. The Socialist Unity Party fully appreciates the valuable contribution made by these parties in developing a socialist consciousness among their members and among those sectors of the population they represent.

The rapporteur then touched on questions of ensuring the defense of the republic.

In dealing with inner-Party questions, Honecker said that the period under review saw an event of historic impact — the 30th anniversary of the merger of the Communist Party and the Social Democratic Party to form the Socialist Unity Party of Germany. Today it can be said that our Party has fully lived up to all the demands placed on it in the past period. Faithful to the principles of Marxism-Leninism, it has stood the test as a politically conscious and organized vanguard of the working class and the working people in general.

Our Party has grown stronger in the course of implementing the decisions of the Eighth Congress. Steeled politically, ideologically and organizationally and enriched by experience, it is today more firmly rooted in the people than ever.

Today the Socialist Unity Party comprises 74,306 branches and Party organizations on shop floor level with a total of 2,043,697 members and candidates. Following the establishment of 2,099 new

branches since our Eighth Congress, the Party has been able to strengthen its influence in important spheres of the economy and society.

In the past period, 334,162 applicants were admitted as candidates of the Party; 69 per cent of them are workers in production, 3.3 cooperative farmers, 4.7 production engineers, department heads, technologists, etc. That means that 77 per cent of the new Party members are employed in material production.

Almost 110,000 candidates were admitted within the framework of the emulation drive launched by the Free German Youth in honor of the Ninth Party Congress. They are young people under 25 years of age, active members of the FGY. This influx is especially gladdening to us.

In its activity our Party can rely on a huge collective of proven and experienced cadres who are loyal to the working class and linked by close bonds with the entire people. They do good work, displaying expert knowledge, political farsightedness and principled behavior.

Continuous Marxist-Leninist education and further improvement of qualifications are fundamental prerequisites for improving Party guidance.

Considering the Party as a whole, it should be noted that 27 per cent of its members and candidates are university or technical college graduates, 60 per cent of whom are former workers. This fact is indicative of the new educational level of Communists.

Throughout the period under review we have devoted major attention to the development of theoretical work and taken important decisions to encourage it. Priority was given to further elaborating questions concerning the construction of an advanced socialist society.

It is imperative to give a firm rebuff, in a militant Marxist-Leninist spirit, to bourgeois and revisionist views of all hues and to wage an all-out struggle against Maoism and the forces who seek to halt the progress of the world revolutionary process and the consolidation of détente.

Experience clearly shows that communist characteristics are formed primarily in the process of socialist labor. On the one hand, this presupposes that the opinions of fellow workers and public be taken into consideration. On the other, high demands made on people must be accompanied by due respect for them, which does not rule out an uncompromising attitude to shortcomings.

In a word, in all our work we should make it clear that it is not a

matter of the people serving the Party, but of the Party serving the people.

Further Honecker stressed the role of the mass media in ideological work among the citizenry.

In its politico-ideological work the SUPG is guided by the unshakeable principles of Marxism-Leninism, proletarian internationalism and its own experience in creative revolutionary activity in building a socialist society and strengthening the community of socialist states.

Our Party is a contingent of the great world communist movement. In our activity we are guided by our internationalist duty. Together with the CPSU and the other Marxist-Leninist parties we seek to strengthen the unity of the world communist movement and to consistently translate the ideas and collective conclusions of the 1969 International Meeting into reality.

New and higher demands are being made on the unity of the international communist movement. On the one hand, concrete socio-economic and political conditions are becoming more complex and varied, as are the tasks confronting the Communist parties. The objective laws governing the socialist revolution and the construction of socialism and communism operate today under the most diverse conditions. On the other hand, the internationalization of the class struggle is accelerated and likewise the tasks and duties facing the revolutionary forces. Clearly, the many new tasks facing the Communists today can only be solved jointly, in coordinated struggle and on the platform of joint actions. The experience of past and present revolutionary struggles reaffirm the precept formulated by Marx, Engels and Lenin: In view of the fact that the class enemies are organized on an international scale, the revolutionary labor movement will only be able to obtain its objectives when it works together across national frontiers and continents.

Therefore, it is our permanent task to strengthen the unity of the world communist movement. This task includes warding off all attempts to disavow Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism as the theoretical and political basis for the activity of the communist movement, to undermine its unity and thus weaken its fighting strength.

Strengthening our unity therefore presupposes a consistent struggle against nationalism, right- and "left"-wing revisionism and opportunism of whatever hue.

This holds particularly true of Maoism which has entered a new phase of its anti-Leninist course. In China itself, Maoism has effected

a further turning away from the principles and experience of socialist construction. In its international activities it has openly passed over to anti-Sovietism, and direct cooperation with the most reactionary wing of international monopoly capital. This attitude also becomes evident from the increased hostility toward the first socialist German workers' and farmers' state.

From the rostrum of this Congress we declare our readiness to normalize relations with China in line with the principles of equality, respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity, non-interference and other principles of international law. We should also like to stress that if China returns to policies which are genuinely rooted in Marxism-Leninism, renounces the hostile policy vis-à-vis the socialist countries and embarks on a road of cooperation and solidarity with the socialist world, then such a change will meet with due response on our part.

Our Party's international activities are directed at utilizing and further developing all forms of cooperation with the fraternal parties which help accomplish joint tasks. We advocate a variety of forms of cooperation, bilateral and multilateral meetings of party leaders, and regional and international meetings.

We are in favor of exchanging views and delegations, of holding joint theoretical and scientific conferences and producing collective publications.

The SUPG seconds the opinion of many fraternal parties that the considerable changes that have taken place in the international political situation and the challenges that are now facing Communists make it necessary to prepare a new international conference of Communist and Workers' parties.

We note that ideological cooperation has become more concrete and efficient over the past few years. In our relations with the fraternal parties of the socialist countries, the emphasis is on the tasks resulting from the present stage in the construction of socialism and communism. We attach special importance to cooperation with the CPSU in the political and ideological fields and to studying Soviet experience so indispensable in building socialism in our own country.

Our relations with the fraternal parties in the capitalist countries center around exchanging experiences and agreeing upon joint standpoints in the struggle against imperialism. The SUPG highly assesses the contribution which the fraternal parties have made for the international recognition of the GDR. From the rostrum of this Congress we should like to express once again our warmest gratitude

for this assistance. On our part, we highly evaluate and support the struggle waged by the working class against monopoly capital and for the vital interests of all working people, democracy and socialism.

In preparing for the conference of Communist parties of Europe, the SUPG holds that it should be used to formulate common aims for the new stage of struggle and to give a fresh impetus to the struggle for peace and progress the world over.

Together with all Marxist-Leninist parties we are working for closer cooperation between all revolutionary and anti-imperialist forces and consider that the unity of the communist movement is indispensable for such cooperation. It is in this spirit that we are developing and strengthening relations with the revolutionary-democratic parties and movements in Asia and Africa, and will continue to give all-round support to their just struggle. The SUPG displays active solidarity with all Communists, all forces and peoples fighting against imperialism, fascism and aggression, for national and social liberation, progress and socialism.

The Socialist Unity Party of Germany maintains and promotes relations and contacts with many socialist and social democratic parties.

In line with the teaching of Marx, Engels and Lenin, the SUPG will continue to contribute in every way to the unity of the socialist states, the Communist parties, the international working-class movement, all revolutionary forces and peoples fighting against imperialism, for social progress and socialism. Our Party will always be faithful to the invincible banner of Marxism-Leninism and of proletarian internationalism, and will raise this banner even higher in the struggle for socialism and peace.

In conclusion the SUPG First Secretary said: In setting our objectives for the forthcoming period we rely on a firm political and theoretical foundation. The new Program of the SUPG submitted to our Congress for discussion is based on the splendid traditions of the struggle of the revolutionary German working-class movement.

Our policy insolubly combines the national and the international element, socialist patriotism and proletarian internationalism. Our Party has at all times been aware of its responsibility toward its own people and to the international working class. Everything we do in the construction of a socialist society in the GDR is also done in order to further strengthen the socialist community and the world revolutionary movement.

The new Program of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany, which is

the leading force in the German Democratic Republic, the first workers' and farmers' state on German soil, expresses the interests of the working class and all working people. It shows the way into the future for the whole people; it is a vast plan for the socialist present and the communist future of our people.

We are faced with tremendous tasks. We are filled with optimism because the objectives are clear for all to see, we know which path to follow and we are aware of our strength. Our Ninth Congress, we are certain, will give a fresh and strong impetus in building socialism and communism in the GDR. Yet again words will become deeds, and decisions taken by a Congress of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany will become reality in the lives of the people.

(Erich Honecker's report was heard with close attention and repeatedly interrupted by prolonged applause.)

Abridged from Neues Deutschland, May 19, 1976.

SPEECH BY MIKHAIL SUSLOV

Permit me to convey to you, delegates of the Ninth Congress of the Socialist Unity Party, to all Communists and working people of the German Democratic Republic warm fraternal greetings from our Leninist Party, its Central Committee, the entire Soviet people and to wish your congress success.

It gives me great pleasure to carry out the personal instructions of General Secretary Leonid Brezhnev — to convey to you his heartfelt greetings and very best wishes.

We were all greatly impressed by the SUPG Central Committee report delivered by Comrade Erich Honecker. The outstanding achievements in the economy and socio-political life of the German Democratic Republic, the growing well-being of the people, the advance of science and culture, as highlighted in this profound and interesting document, cannot but gladden every GDR patriot, your foreign friends and all like-minded people. It deeply gladdens the Soviet Communists, all Soviet people who see in the people of the GDR their dependable ally and comrade-in-arms in the struggle for the common communist cause.

These days, at the highest forum of the Socialist Unity Party, the historic scale of your successes in socialist construction is seen most clearly.

Three decades ago Wilhelm Pieck and Otto Grotewohl, by for-

malizing the political unity of the working class, expressed its resolve to take responsibility for the country's future, to lead it along the road of an anti-fascist, democratic and, then, socialist revolution. Less than a year had passed since the victory in May, since the liberation of Germany from the nazi plague, and not everyone had yet appreciated the significance of this historic event.

But it became clearer with each development stage of the worker-peasant German state. It is being fully revealed now when the SUPG, the recognized vanguard of the GDR people, is summing up the results of its activity over the past period, defining the tasks for the coming five years and adopting the new Party Program.

From the bottom of our hearts we congratulate the workers and peasants, workers in education and the health services, in science and culture, as well as the women and youth, all parties and organizations of the National Front of the republic on successfully carrying out profound revolutionary transformations and on entering a new stage of building a developed socialist society in the homeland of the founders of the great revolutionary teaching — Karl Marx and Frederick Engels.

From our own experience and the experience of other fraternal parties we know well what factors are decisive in implementing the plans of building the new society. The results reported by the SUPG at this Congress cogently prove that the Party is following a correct political line based on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, and creatively implementing the general laws of socialist construction in the conditions of the GDR.

These results are evidence of the high level of labor and political activity of the working class, cooperative farmers and the people's intelligentsia, of their full support for the political course of the SUPG and its Central Committee headed by our great friend Erich Honecker, outstanding leader of the international communist and working-class movement and stalwart fighter against fascism.

The confident and dynamic progress of the German Democratic Republic, like that of the other fraternal socialist countries, is of great national as well as international significance. It adds to the economic might and political influence of the socialist community and multiplies the attractive force of communist ideals.

As early as in the first years after the October Revolution V.I. Lenin pointed out that the victorious working class would influence world development primarily by its example, its successes in building a new life. This was true at the dawn of the revolutionary epoch when

socialism was represented only by our Soviet country, which had just set about transforming society. It is all the more true now, when the example of socialism consists of the rich and varied experience of the great family of socialist states, when the Soviet Union has built a developed socialist society, and when the same objective has been placed on the agenda in the German Democratic Republic and in a number of other fraternal countries.

In present conditions, the example of existing socialism acquires special significance. Aggravation of the general crisis of capitalism, production slumps, growing inflation and taxes, and mass unemployment show more and more clearly that a system based on social and national oppression and inequality is historically doomed. Millions upon millions of people throughout the world are coming to realize that socialism alone is capable of providing an answer to the topical problems set by history, to ensure conditions for the free development and flowering of all peoples.

The historic process in the modern world is developing in a sharp ideological struggle between capitalism and socialism. Seeking to hamper the spread of Marxist-Leninist ideas, the imperialists and their henchmen are attempting, through slander and misinformation, to give a distorted picture of life in the socialist countries by magnifying the slightest difficulties arising in the complex task of building a new world. But no matter what the proponents of capitalism may do, the odds indisputably favor socialism. Its historic pre-eminence over capitalism is continually growing, owing to the creative effort of the fraternal parties and popular masses to ensure a steady upsurge of the economy and culture, raise the living standards, further develop socialist democracy and build new, genuinely fraternal relations between the nations.

We highly appreciate what our German comrades are doing to solve this task. I wish especially to note the favorable results of the sustained work of the SUPG in overcoming the nationalistic and chauvinistic prejudices nurtured by German imperialism and fascism, in educating the new man, distinguished by fidelity to the lofty ideals of socialism, collectivism and comradeship and an understanding of international solidarity. Better than anything else, L.I. Brezhnev noted in his speech on the 20th anniversary of the GDR, this proves the superiority of the socialist over the capitalist system, the superiority of our communist ideology over bourgeois ideology.

One of the most important successes of the past period was the universal recognition of the GDR's sovereignty, wide international

recognition of the inviolability of its borders and its admittance to the United Nations. This is the direct result of the principled and peace-loving foreign policy of the German Democratic Republic, its growing international prestige. It cogently proves, at the same time, that the coordinated foreign policy of the socialist community countries makes it possible to successfully solve the vital tasks facing individual socialist states and to achieve the overall strengthening of the socialist world system as a whole.

The solidarity of the socialist countries, their joint actions on the world arena are of great significance for the successful liberation struggle of the peoples. Our joint initiatives, which are directed at strengthening peace and the security of the peoples and have the support of the international working-class and national-liberation movements, of all progressive and peace-loving forces, have generated a beneficial process of improving the international climate and the affirmation of the principles of peaceful coexistence in relations between states with different social systems.

We are all aware of the complexity of the development of détente, the stubborn resistance of the forces of reaction and militarism, whose camp the U.S. hawks, West German revenge-seekers and the Maoists have joined on an anti-communist, anti-socialist and anti-Soviet platform. Unfortunately, there are also personalities in other political circles and countries who connive at the militaristic aims of the enemies of détente.

That is a dangerous game. Any attempt to provoke a new round of international tension and to throw humanity back to the cold war presents a threat to peace, to all peoples and states, irrespective of their socio-political system.

Peace is indivisible and all political parties and leaders who influence the elaboration and conduct of international policy are responsible for it to their peoples, to today's generations and to those who will replace them.

The entire foreign-policy activity of the fraternal socialist countries is imbued with an awareness of this high responsibility. Our Party was guided by it in putting forth at its 25th Congress the program of further struggle for peace and international cooperation, for the freedom and independence of the peoples.

Allow me to express our gratitude to the Socialist Unity Party of Germany for supporting this program, for the socialist German state's big contribution to the achievement of our common lofty aims on the international scene.

The successes of the cause of peace, of social and national liberation depend today largely on the cohesion of all revolutionary, progressive and peace-loving forces. The great slogan of proletarian internationalism advanced in the *Communist Manifesto* has been and remains the most powerful weapon of the working class, of all who are fighting together with it for the transformation of the world in the interests of the working people. Departure from the principle of proletarian internationalism is fraught with losses and defeats. To it our movement owes all its gains. With it, undoubtedly, new victories can and will be won.

To uphold proletarian internationalism today means to work to strengthen the cooperation of fraternal parties, to promote their common struggle for peace, security and social progress. The coming conference of European Communist parties, in our view, is called upon to make a big contribution to this. With its other participants, the CPSU will do everything for the conference to facilitate the further cohesion of the Communists on the principled basis of creative Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, the joint solution of topical problems which agitate the peoples of the continent.

You are well aware of the great tasks the 25th CPSU Congress set the Party and the Soviet people. Our people are now working enthusiastically to translate them into life. And the awareness that together with us the peoples of the big family of socialist states are going in the same historic direction, along the same Marxist-Leninist course, serves as a great impetus for us.

Our Party, the Soviet people highly value the relations of friendship which unite the Soviet Union with the German Democratic Republic. These relations did not appear of their own accord but were built, and are being built, by the Communists, the working class and the working people of both countries over the years. And we are deeply gratified that today our friendship has become not only the cause of the vanguard but of the broad popular masses, that there exists between our parties an identity of views on all topical questions of our day, that an atmosphere of sincerity, mutual respect and comradely confidence exists in the relations between our Central Committees.

The firm alliance of the USSR and the GDR now finds expression also in the active political and defense cooperation of our states in the Warsaw Treaty framework, in the broad economic, scientific, technical and cultural ties, in the constant contacts of Party and public organizations and in the mass contacts between the citizens of the two

fraternal countries. Splendid prospects for the further development and deepening of our relations in all directions appeared with the new Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation and Mutual Assistance between the GDR and the USSR, signed by comrades Leonid Brezhnev and Erich Honecker on October 7, 1975.

Many kind words were spoken here about our country, and an exceptionally high assessment was made of the 25th CPSU Congress, the activity of the Central Committee and Leonid Brezhnev personally. We express heartfelt gratitude for these fraternal feelings. Permit me in turn to assure you of the invariable solidarity of Soviet Communists, the Soviet people with the Communists and people of the German Democratic Republic.

We wholeheartedly wish you, dear comrades, every success in translating into life the new program of the Party, and in building a developed socialist society.

May the fraternal friendship between the Communists and peoples of the Soviet Union and the German Democratic Republic grow ever stronger!

Long live peace!

Long live communism!

M.A. Suslov's speech was heard with close attention and time and again interrupted by applause. Those present greeted the heartfelt congratulations and good wishes from General Secretary Leonid Brezhnev with a standing ovation.

Pravda, May 20, 1976.

STATEMENTS AND SPEECHES

SOUTH AFRICA REGIME MURDERS ANOTHER DETAINEE

We accuse the S.A. apartheid regime of murder! We charge Vorster's security branch of systematic and deliberate torture of political detainees!

A political detainee, Mr. Mosobiya Mdluli, who was arrested by the South African security police on Thursday March 18th, was found dead in his cell on Friday March 19th.

His widow said the police called at her house at about 11 p.m. on Thursday and asked for her husband who was in bed. "The police came to my home this morning and told me my husband was dead. They did not say how he died. He was in perfect health when he was taken away," she said.

When his wife went to the mortuary to identify his body, she was refused permission to see him, and told to come back two days later. When eventually allowed to see his body, she found that it was badly bruised, cut and swollen.

On March 24th, an attorney, Mr. Mlungifi Mxenge, a former Robben Island prisoner and a close friend of the murdered detainee, was arrested by the security police. Earlier he had also testified to Mdluli's sound state of health. Mr. Mdluli's brother is also understood to have been detained.

Mr. Mdluli was first detained for three months in 1966. In 1967 he was convicted on two counts of furthering the aims of the African National Congress and served a year on each count. After his release he was banned for two years.

Mr. Mdluli's death brings the known total of detainees killed while in detention to 23. In each case, families and friends gave evidence of signs of torture. But on all occasions, post mortem findings have been "death by accident" or "causes unknown."

In the last year an unknown number of people have been detained by the South African security police. The exact number is unknown

because in terms of the South African law police do not have to inform anyone about arrests and detainees are kept incommunicado and in solitary confinement. The number of people known to have been detained in the past year, under the notorious Terrorism Act (some of whom have since been released), now stands at over 100. Of those who have been fortunate enough to be brought to trial, almost all have told the courts of the tortures to which they have been subjected. Many of them have been kept in solitary confinement for over a year.

We call on all people to raise their voice against the South African regime. Mr. Mdluli's death only exposes the inhuman situation to which people are subjected in South Africa. This is the daily reality of life in South Africa, not the "changing face" of apartheid which is being promoted by the South African government's propaganda machinery and its very influential apologists.

Organize demonstrations and pickets in your area!

Expose the crime of apartheid!

Send protests to the South African regime!

Call for the release of all political prisoners!

Support revolutionary forces led by the African National Congress for a democratic and non-racist South Africa!

African National Congress of
South Africa
(Abridged)

SOVIET UNION

HEARTFELT GRATITUDE

Leaders of socialist states, Communist parties, statesmen and public figures of the world, Party, government, trade-union, Komsomol and other organizations, work collectives of industrial enterprises, collective and state farms, scientific, cultural and educational institutions, army units, many Soviet citizens and comrades-in-arms have conveyed their congratulations and good wishes on my being awarded the title of Marshal of the Soviet Union and the Marshal's Star.

As I see it, conferring on me the rank of Marshal of the Soviet Union and the warm congratulations are not only a recognition of my contribution to the actions of our splendid Armed Forces in the Great

Patriotic War and my activity in strengthening the defense capacity of our country, in consolidating peace and the security of the peoples. It is, primarily, a high assessment of the historic merit of the Leninist Communist Party and Soviet state in the struggle for a lasting peace on earth in the interests of all humanity. It is also an expression of fervent gratitude to the entire Soviet people for its heroism in upholding the freedom and independence of our socialist Homeland and in liberating the peoples from fascist oppression. By selfless creative labor the Soviet people have raised cities and villages from ruins, have made our great Homeland — a reliable bulwark of peace and progress — even more beautiful and stronger than ever.

Guided by the precepts of the great Lenin, the Communist Party and Soviet state, together with the fraternal socialist countries and all progressive peace-loving forces, are doing everything to promote still closer friendship between the peoples, their fruitful cooperation in furthering détente, peace, freedom and progress. Our Leninist Party, the Soviet people, its splendid Armed Forces will always remain true to these lofty ideals.

My heartfelt gratitude goes to all who have sent me warm and friendly congratulations. They are an inspiration to continue to devote all my strength to the great cause of building a communist society in our country, the cause of peace and the bright future of all humanity.

L. Brezhnev
Pravda, May 15, 1976.

STATEMENT OF THE SOVIET GOVERNMENT

Attention is drawn to the fact that certain circles in the FRG who still live by the cold-war dogmas and, as before, are out of touch with reality, are seeking to undermine everything that has benefited Soviet-West German relations in the past period, flagrantly distorting Soviet foreign policy and spreading all manner of trumped-up stories about its objectives and intentions. It is necessary, therefore, to show the absurdity of such allegations regarding the Soviet Union and its policy, to explain once again its principled line in international affairs, including its relations with the Federal Republic of Germany.

1. As is known, a serious turn in the relations between the Soviet Union and the Federal Republic of Germany was achieved on the basis of the 1970 Moscow Treaty. These relations were normalized,

and on the only possible basis — renunciation of claims to recarve the existing European borders.

The benefit derived from this by both sides and by Europe as a whole, is clear. Therefore not a single major political party now questions in principle the need for the FRG to maintain normal relations with its eastern neighbors.

2. The FRG politicians who do not take a rational view of things are trying to prove that the NATO countries are displaying softness in dealing with the Soviet Union and allege that as a result détente benefits only the socialist countries. To this end they deliberately minimize the results of East-West cooperation while the existing difficulties are depicted as insurmountable.

It is stubbornly and importunately alleged that the Soviet Union is using détente for building up armaments and creating an additional threat to Western Europe.

3. The purpose of the actions of the West German opponents of normalizing the international scene, in concert with like-thinking elements in the USA and other capitalist countries, is clear: to frustrate détente and, if possible, reverse development. It is not by chance that primarily those who have not relinquished their revanchist views are trying to sow doubts regarding the intentions and good will of the Soviet Union, its adherence to the cause of understanding between the peoples.

4. The Soviet Union is a peace-loving state and has no intention of attacking anyone. The CPSU and Soviet government orient the people on creative labor, on peace and friendship with other peoples and states. What the Soviet Union is doing to ensure security and in conformity with its military commitments to its allies, is necessary in circumstances when the other side is engaged in an arms drive and rejects proposals for disarmament. If it depended on the Soviet Union alone, the talks on all aspects of the disarmament problem would have long ago been concluded with the adoption of concrete decisions. The USSR is prepared, on the basis of reciprocity and the principle of non-impairment of the security of all participating countries, to agree to the most radical solutions in this field. Its proposals on this score are well known and fully retain their validity.

5. Détente does not and cannot mean a freezing of the objective processes of historical development. It is not a safeguard for decaying regimes. It does not indulge the right to suppress the peoples' just struggle for their national liberation. It does not remove the need for social transformations. This is a matter for the people of each indi-

vidual country. It would also be erroneous to suppose that lessening of tension should be paid for by one-sided concessions by the socialist countries, that in conditions of détente the reactionary imperialist circles can achieve what they were unable to achieve during the cold-war period.

Détente implies, first of all, exclusion of the use or threat of force in disputes and conflicts between states. Its purpose is to check the threat of a new world war, to allow the peoples to face the future without fear. An inalienable condition is strict observance of the principles of non-interference in the affairs of other states, respect for their independence and sovereignty.

6. The Federal Republic of Germany is a major international partner of the Soviet Union.

The Soviet Union regards the changes in the general climate of relations between the two countries as of major importance. Thanks to reciprocal efforts estrangement and distrust are gradually receding in the face of the need to seek and find a common language in matters of mutual interest.

The stable political basis in USSR-FRG relations facilitates the steady development of their trade and economic ties. The fivefold increase in the Soviet-West German trade turnover in the past five years speaks for itself. Such a development directly benefits the peoples and strengthens the material foundation of peace.

All this would have been inconceivable some five or seven years ago. The critics of the Federal Republic's eastern policy should be reminded of this. They are all too ready to hold forth on what has not yet been done, but refrain from mentioning the fact that former FRG governments were either unable or did not wish to put their country's relations with half of Europe on the rails of constructive cooperation.

7. The Moscow Treaty is not only an historic landmark in Soviet-West German relations. Drafted in its wake were the FRG's treaties with the Polish People's Republic, the German Democratic Republic and the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic. Diplomatic relations were established between the FRG and other socialist countries.

Its readiness to build its policy in conformity with the existing world situation has permitted the FRG to occupy a proper place in the system of international relations. The road to the United Nations Organization opened before it. By supporting the course toward détente in Europe, the FRG averted the threat of international isolation.

8. The conclusion of the Quadripartite Agreement on West Berlin was a major event in the life of postwar Europe.

The quadripartite agreement is essentially oriented on normal, good-neighbor relations between the FRG and the Soviet Union, as well as with the GDR and other socialist countries. This is the only context in which it can function successfully.

This also should not be forgotten by those politicians who call for testing the "solidity" of the quadripartite agreement, who continue to regard West Berlin as a handy tool for a return to the political criteria and aims of the past.

9. Those who would like to call in question the prospects of peaceful cooperation in Europe, who are whipping up the arms drive and demand a "tough" policy toward the socialist countries, who flagrantly violate the spirit and letter of the FRG's treaties with the socialist countries and seek to revive nationalistic and revanchist concepts should openly say what alternative they offer to the European peoples and their own people, how they see the future of the FRG.

It is no accident that the opponents of détente in the FRG are evading these questions. The ideas of peaceful coexistence are too deeply rooted to risk a frontal attack against them. Their tactics boil down, primarily, to causing spurious complications on the international scene, obstructing cooperation with the socialist states, capitalizing on the least difficulties in the attempt to prove that the policy of détente is heading toward a dead end.

10. Much will have to be done to make the process of détente irreversible, to give it the proper scope. As to the Soviet Union, it intends, as stated at the 25th CPSU Congress, to continue consistently along the course of developing relations of long-term cooperation with the Federal Republic of Germany in politics, economics, science and culture.

11. On the basis of what has been achieved, our countries can attain much in furthering bilateral cooperation in the political, trade, economic and other fields. Development of the practice of political consultations, consolidation of our relations on the basis of treaties, consistent development of cultural, scientific, tourist, sports and youth exchanges would serve this purpose. Economics and trade, where the utilization of reciprocal experience and pooling of resources have and will continue to benefit both countries, offer as before a broad field for joint effort.

There are vast opportunities for the development of cooperation

between the USSR and the FRG also on the international arena. This means pooling efforts to implement major projects of significance for the whole of Europe, whether in power engineering, environmental protection or in transportation. The question of disarmament and of curbing the arms race — the crucial issue of our time — should likewise become an important sphere of joint action.

12. Lasting peace, General Secretary Leonid Brezhnev stressed, should become the natural condition of life of all European peoples. Hundreds of millions of Europeans come out for this. Today, as in the past, the people of the Federal Republic as well as the people of any other European state, are faced with the cardinal question: to what will they direct their energy, on which scale will they throw their weight — that of peace or of war. No sensible person can evade this question, and still less anyone who has a part in defining foreign policy.

The future and destiny of the FRG are inalienably linked with the course of development in Europe, and with peaceful development in particular.

Abridged from *Pravda*, May 22, 1976.

TWENTY YEARS OF INDEPENDENCE

Statement by the Tunisian Communist Party

Twenty years have passed since the historic day when national independence was won, marking the beginning of a new era for our country. The Tunisian people honor the memory of the martyrs who gave their lives for the freedom of their homeland; they pay homage to all those who, by their struggle and their sacrifices, contributed to the victory over colonialism.

At the same time the 20th anniversary celebrations should not obscure the fundamental problem that still awaits its solution — the content of the country's further development. While certain achievements have been registered in the past 20 years, there is no doubt that the pro-capitalist policy followed since 1969 is an obstacle to the genuine rapid development of Tunisia and threatens the positive results achieved since independence.

This policy favors the rise and strengthening of a new Tunisian bourgeoisie associated with, and dependent on, foreign capitalism. It facilitates neo-colonialist penetration, compromising the prospect

of economic independence. The Tunisian economy remains unbalanced, and is developing not to meet the national interests, but at the bid of the Tunisian and foreign investors.

Development is not along integral non-capitalist lines and does not rely on a solid state sector in industry, serving the interests of the nation, or on genuine agrarian reform. Hence it is virtually impossible to achieve a real and durable solution to such problems as unemployment, the mass exodus from the rural areas and under-employment. It is practically impossible to consistently improve the people's standard of living or curb the growing social inequality.

More and more Tunisian working people, especially the youth, are emigrating or are compelled to work for low wages for the owners of factories working for export. The crisis of capitalism and the machinations of profiteers in search of easy money are continually depressing the working people's purchasing power.

The development of agriculture along the capitalist road and the growing concentration of land ownership forces the impoverished peasants to go to towns in search of a livelihood.

The reforms in the educational system serve to strengthen its elitism and caste character.

Twenty years after independence instances of flagrant violation of democracy are increasing. Tunisian and foreign capitalists are free to exploit the working people and net high profits.

At the same time, the right to strike is being successively curtailed in the name of the so-called social peace. Student autonomy has been virtually abolished, and any student movement is brutally suppressed. More and more dissidents are put on trial and the sentences are severe.

Twenty years after independence freedoms of association, the press, assembly, etc., although constitutionally recognized, have been virtually wiped out. No opinion save the official one can be freely expressed.

Twenty years after independence the Tunisian Communist Party and its press are still banned (since 1963). And this despite the fact that Tunisian Communists participated in all the battles of the national-liberation movement, and later worked actively for the construction of an independent Tunisia along a progressive road.

This policy has resulted in profound dissatisfaction, as expressed in frequent workers' strikes and student actions. There are increasing demands for the satisfaction of the working people's immediate needs as well as for amnesty for political prisoners and for genuine democra-

tization of public life. Though the government continues to ignore these demands, struggle for them will undoubtedly expand.

Government propaganda is utilizing past mistakes in seeking to discredit the policy of progressive and democratic development, and to maintain the illusion that the present policy is the only possible one. But experience is making it increasingly clear that the *new progressive and democratic alternative*, which will not be a mere repetition of the alternative of the 60s, is not only possible but necessary. The triumph of such an alternative depends on all the progressive forces of Tunisia, on their alliance, their patient but resolute action.

JOINT DECLARATION OF FIGHTERS FOR PROGRESS AND DEMOCRACY

On the occasion of the 20th anniversary of Tunisia's independence and with the aim of uniting the democratic and progressive forces, a document was published in Tunis on March 20, 1976, which says in part:

Tunisian patriots concerned over the country's future and advocating social justice and democracy must fight for a new course which

(a) on the socio-economic plane must:

- put an end to the speculation and parasitic activities;
- develop and expand the state sector in industry and carry out a genuine agrarian reform in the interests of the peasants;
- assure the country's real development in line with the task of achieving economic independence and meeting the social demands of the disinherited strata.

This socio-economic policy must take account of the specificity of Tunisian society and the interests of the broadest social strata. As a progressive policy, it should also take account of the main lessons of the events of the 60s.

(b) on the political plane the new course must be expressed in:

- an end to all forms of repressions and amnesty for all political prisoners;
- respect for the autonomy of all national organizations;
- real exercise of all democratic freedoms, including the freedom of association inscribed in the Constitution;
- an anti-imperialist foreign policy aimed at the solidarity of the Maghreb and Arab peoples.

The fighters for progress and democracy are convinced that only such a course corresponds to the national interests and profound aspirations of our people. They are also convinced that this course will triumph if the broad popular forces — workers, peasants, youth, intellectuals — actively uphold it on the principles of unity and solidarity. They undertake to join forces and to make the necessary sacrifices in order to build a just and prosperous, democratic and genuinely independent Tunisia.

Tunis, March 20, 1976. Abridged.

FOR UNITY OF THE DEMOCRATIC FORCES TO FREE THE COUNTRY AND STOP THE BLOODSHED

Statement of the Communist Party of Uruguay

In face of the campaign of lies, calumny and provocation which the Bordaberry fascist dictatorship and rightist military leaders have launched against our Party and other democratic forces, the Communist Party declares:

This provocative campaign should be seen as part of the perfidious plan designed to fascisize the country at a time when the regime which is destroying the homeland of Artigas has been completely discredited. In this its sponsors are copying the nazi methods of spreading the most incredible lies in the hope that it might produce at least some effect.

The dictatorship is deliberately lying in speaking of a contemplated military uprising, and this when the people are well aware of our Party's 55 years of activity on a national scale, proving that we are a mass revolutionary and patriotic organization. The 55 years of our struggle show that terrorism, putschism and adventurism are alien to us.

The dictatorship is deliberately lying when, in its crude anti-Sovietism, it provocatively speaks of "training in a Soviet military school," knowing very well that this is a lie designed to facilitate a rupture of relations with the USSR, of which the ultra-reactionaries have long been dreaming.

The dictatorship is deliberately lying in crudely and insistently attempting to prove that our Party had been linked with the "Tupa-

maros" movement up to 1972. At the time both in parliament (now dissolved) and in face of public opinion, the reactionaries were compelled to stop their provocative attempts to implicate our Party as well as the Broad Front and members of the traditional parties.

This falsehood is based on the old nazi principles of *political provocation* as a component of politico-psychological warfare. Beginning with the nazi-engineered Reichstag fire, fascist regimes need these methods as a preliminary to more severe forms of repression against the peoples.

Why is this provocation launched now? With its help attempts are being made at a "blitzkrieg," initiated on October 21, 1975, to consolidate this "coup within a coup," and to justify the arrest of 2,000 people, bringing the number of detained in the country to almost 7,000. Hundreds have disappeared, and their relatives have no idea of their whereabouts. Several more victims have been added to the number of dead: Carlos Maria Argenta Estable, Julian Lopez, Igor Fernandez, O. Bonifacio Oliveira. In Las Piedras, at the time of handing over the body of a worker who was tortured to death, one person was killed as a result of a clash between representatives of the repressive forces. It is impossible to determine the number of victims because the regime gives no information, whereby it carries the entire responsibility for the crimes. All the arrested have been brutally tortured and many are on the verge of death in hospitals and prison camps. There are instances where prisoners who had been tried and released from the Carretas prison have been again detained and subjected to torture, as was the case with former deputy Jaime Perez and Raul Rezzano. Hundreds of people are seeking political asylum, while thousands are persecuted.

With the aid of these repressive measures unsuccessful attempts are being made to change the country's political life, and the provocation itself serves to cover up the grave political and socio-economic situation:

(a) *Economic bankruptcy* and the fiasco of the Vegh Villegas "anti-inflationary plan." Instead of the planned 30 per cent growth rate of inflation, it reached 70 per cent which, coupled with the huge state budget deficit (more than double the planned level), calls in question the Declaration of Intention signed with the International Monetary Fund which can only be implemented by further infringing national sovereignty and making greater inroads into the people's living standards.

As a result, Uruguay is becoming the only country in the world

whose annual foreign currency debt surpasses its export revenues. More is spent on repression than on production, education, the health services, etc. Wages are being reduced to a miserably low level.

(b) *Betrayal of the country's interests.* In conditions of widespread corruption practised by the local oligarchy and its accomplices (in meat packing, private banking, housing construction and transactions in wheat) Uruguay is gradually losing its face as a nation. The dictatorship seeks to attract foreign capital, which is more concerned in rapidly amassing profits than in developing the country. And this at a time when the government is planning to denationalize the country's natural resources.

(c) *Systematic and complete violation of constitutional norms.* The aim here is to culminate the consistent violation of the Constitution by a maneuver designed to forego elections, thereby prolonging indefinitely the mandate of the government. In this way, Bordaberry is making a mockery of his own declaration that he will not remain in power a single day longer than stipulated by the Constitution.

(d) *Liquidation of the remnants of civil and individual liberties.* Nobody is ensured against being assaulted at home at any time of day or night without judicial permit, against being arrested and tortured or that his relatives will not be held as hostages, etc. People live in permanent fear of arrest, abduction or of being sentenced anywhere from 6 to 18 years without any reason at all, simply "on suspicion."

National culture and the arts are also under attack. Well-known personalities are arrested and maltreated and their activity and appearance over radio or TV prohibited. Workers' trade unions are attacked and their premises taken over by the repressive forces. All political activity is prohibited and any freely expressed opinion is brutally suppressed. Even the church hierarchy is coming under attack.

(e) *Isolation from other Latin American countries and the world.* Scorn for world public opinion is encouraged by Bordaberry's incredible statement in *The Washington Star* to the effect that the world is living in conditions of a "third world war," and calling for a stop to the advance of communism with the aid of nuclear blackmail. The main trend of our time is détente, whereas the dictatorship wants to turn the world back to cold-war times. The fascist paranoiac Bordaberry is not only staging anti-Soviet and anti-socialist provocations, but is bringing our small country into conflict with the other Latin American countries not ruled by dictatorial regimes; he attacks the United Nations Organization, the International Labor Organization

and Amnesty International. Activity of the OAS Human Rights Commission is forbidden in the country and its former chairman is being persecuted. Even the Vatican is attacked because of its appeal for respect for human life. It is not accidental that Bordaberry calls his struggle "solitary." Yes, alone against the whole world — to such an extreme have the reactionary forces brought our country in the eyes of the world.

As a result, our republic finds itself at the dramatic crossroads: either *with the dictatorship* to a "permanent war," a continuous civil war to eliminate all patriots, or *with popular unity* to establish peace with freedoms and solutions which will help to transform the country and to give the national traditions of Artigas back to the Uruguayans.

The country is living under the shadow of fascism. The stepped-up repressions further aggravate the misfortunes of 2.5 million Uruguayans who live by their labor or on pensions, while benefiting the oligarchic minority which came to power with the support of the rightist military leaders, U.S. imperialism and the "gorillas" of the continent. Unless an end is put to the present unjust war — in which the only prisoners, abducted and killed are representatives of the popular camp — thus saving the lives of the arrested political, trade union and military leaders: Jaime Perez, J.L. Massera, Alberto Altesor, W. Turiansky, G. Cuesta, R. Pietrarroia, L. Tournon, J. Mazza-rovich, D. Mendiondo, E. Bleier, Dr. H. Sacchi (ex-president of the Medical Workers' Trade Union), General Liber Seregni (Chairman of the Broad Front), and others, and unless political economic and social solutions are found, Uruguay will, by the "logic of military solution," be thrown into a bottomless abyss fraught with irreparable consequences for the coming generations.

We appeal to the working class, the broadest democratic, political, public, religious, civic and military circles to seek ways to unity in the name of the "sacred concern" for the future of the homeland to avert catastrophe and put an end to the bloodshed. The lessons of history prove that fascism can be defeated given united struggle of the masses, ruling out all manifestations of sectarianism.

The alternative is clear: freedom and democracy or fascism; homeland or colony; restoration of the purchasing power of wages, salaries and pensions or hunger and poverty; the people or the oligarchy.

We call on the Party and the Communist youth to close their ranks at this crucial and difficult moment, to carry our call for unity, organization and struggle to the broadest masses of the working class and people based on the historic conviction that fascism is doomed,

that the Party cannot be destroyed while it is linked with the masses, follows the correct strategic and tactical line, and its leadership includes people who were subjected to brutal torture but whose spirit was unbroken.

A lie has short legs. Sooner or later we shall build an anti-dictatorial front of all patriotic forces, which together with the entire people will crush the present sinister dictatorship.

Our present sacrifices are not in vain. Yes, the struggle is worthwhile. The harsh trial which has fallen to our lot and from which we must draw the corresponding lessons in order to continue our activity in the deepest clandestinity without losing our ties with the masses, cannot obscure the main thing. Three years of inflexible struggle by the people and the Party has impeded the consolidation of the dictatorship, aggravating its contradictions and revealing its fascist character, which on the political plane contributed to its isolation both at home and abroad.

The present drama is temporary, and when the fascist night has passed, the exploits of the undaunted victims of the dictatorship who remained true to their ideals will stand out in all their glory.

The road is long and difficult but, true to our ideology, following the path of struggle and the broadest popular-patriotic unity, we will find the way to victory.

Executive Committee,
Communist Party of Uruguay.
Montevideo, March 1976.

GUS HALL'S ADDRESS TO A MEETING OF COMMUNIST PARTY LEADERS

This is one of those moments when it is necessary more than usual to keep in mind and in a sense separate that which is short-term and transient from the more basic and longer-range currents in economic and political developments.

Without such a separation one can be diverted and spun around by the currents of the changing momentary events. For example, the economy is slowly moving out of the cyclical crisis, but serious long-term after effects remain. Some of the cyclical elements are

receding, but the primary essence, the general crisis of capitalism continues along its prescribed course of decay.

If we are to influence mass patterns of thought we have to be in the election campaign now. This is the springtime of pollination and cultivation as far as elections are concerned.

We can have an effect on the political scene; therefore, we will make the elections the centerpiece of our work from now until November.

We will carry on propaganda and agitation on a scale without precedent in our Party's history — with circulation of the press in millions of copies, with breakthroughs in the size of mass meetings, with a maximum use of radio and television, with leaflets and pamphlets in the millions of copies, hundreds of street corner meetings. We will organize house-to-house canvassing on a continuous and mass scale.

CRISIS CONTINUES

Big business propaganda is working to convince the people that the economic problems are all disappearing with the abatement of the crisis. We must expose this deception. The nature of some of the problems will change, but the economic problems will not only remain, but many of them will remain on a crisis level.

As the overall feature of crisis recedes, the capitalist establishment tends to abandon the victims trapped in the economic deepfreeze. We must increase our efforts in the struggle to keep the welfare of the people in the deepfreeze on the front burner.

For example, we must now take initiatives in the struggle to end the discrimination in the hiring end of the cycle. The latest Supreme Court ruling on counting seniority from the day of not being hired because of discrimination may open up some new avenues in the struggle for ending the inequality on the seniority lists.

This all must come through in our election campaign. The election campaign provides the means through which we can raise these struggles to new heights. And we can win victories in these struggles, both economic and political victories.

DETENTE

In most of capitalist Europe the concept of Communist and Socialist governments has moved to center stage. It is an encouraging fact that one out of three Italians and one out of every five French people vote Communist nowadays.

The day of reckoning approaches for the fascist junta in Chile.

The nervousness of U.S. monopoly capital is expressed in the arrogant threats of aggression against Cuba.

We must expose the fact that détente has not been a one-way street. The people who make the charge never talk about concretes. The real truth is that in the fields of trade, science, culture, technology, if anything, the flow is more favorable to the U.S. side. Some circles of monopoly capital, in spite of this, are willing to bite off their nose of trade to spite their ideological faces. The latest opinion polls clearly show that both Jackson and Reagan lost support because of their extreme positions on policies of détente and Ford gained because of his moderate positions on this same question.

RACISM

Monopoly capital's agitprop machine is working overtime in a number of areas. The drive to make austerity acceptable "because there is no other alternative," is not limited to the period of the economic crisis. It is related to the new stage of the general crisis. It is designed to make an overall cut in the standard of living acceptable.

But it is directed, in the first place, against workers' wages, the unemployed and the poor. And it has a sharp, racist edge. The idea that most of the unemployed are out of work because they don't want to work has made some dangerous inroads into the thoughts of millions. This part of Wallace's demagoguery has taken root in many parts of the country.

The austerity drive hangs like a sword over the contract negotiations involving six million workers this year. We must set this drive in the context of the huge corporate profits which are just zooming and the 120 billion dollar war budget, the government gifts, subsidies, and tax loopholes for the rich. We must concretely show what a 100 billion dollars from the war budget, another 100 billion dollars from the corporate gifts, tax loopholes, etc., can do if they are turned over and used for human welfare.

We must take note of the fact that the insidious and seemingly low-key element of racism has spread in the U.S.

The slogan of "defending neighborhood schools" has become a convenient cover for racism. Some of the opinion polls indicate that the idea that Blacks are getting too many concessions has gained some ground. These are insidious but dangerous developments. This sets the stage for the not so low-key racism. This is also an area where

we can make a great contribution, especially when we relate it to the need for unity in the class struggle and the struggles generally.

Reaction has made some headway in its phony campaign about "big government spending." This is a feature of the austerity drive. We must turn this into an argument against big government spending for big business and big military.

In this new stage of the general crisis of capitalism, when the contradictions are sharper, the two old parties simply are less and less vehicles for honest liberals or progressives because they are vehicles of the monopolies. When the monopolies are in trouble they do not tolerate liberalism willingly.

The big question obviously is, with such poor pickings in the two-party orbit, what are the prospects for the growing sector of the independent voters — the liberals, the progressives and the broad left? With each election, this becomes a more critical and a central question for all concerned in the elections. And there is movement in many sectors and areas. They all reflect this growing sense that a new political movement, a new electoral vehicle is necessary. We want to work with these movements on the question of political independence.

We will make, possibly, our biggest contribution if we work to raise the sights of these movements to where they can become integrated into a new broad people's political movement based on the coalition of the working-class, the Blacks, Puerto Ricans, their communities — a movement that will sustain a new political party — and the fact is that there is a growing section of the voters and non-voters who will not respond to the election process for anything less than that. . . . You cannot arouse these large sections with anything less than a new independent movement and a new party.

COMMUNIST CANDIDATES

Our program and candidates can become a realistic and meaningful alternative for a broad spectrum of the electorate. Our campaign can stimulate and help crystallize independent movements. We can stimulate the movement to elect workers, Blacks, Chicanos and Puerto Ricans to public office. We can stimulate the left to run for public office.

In directing the main fire against the most reactionary and ultra-right forces in the country, we can influence millions to move in that direction. We have to aim our campaign to the millions who are

disillusioned and alienated with the two old parties. We have to present the meaningful alternative to the millions who have withdrawn as a protest or because of a sense of hopelessness, from the electoral process.

We must, in the United States, consciously build a Communist electoral constituency. In this campaign we have to go into questions of how the ruling class will view a communist vote. And people are generally aware that the ruling class makes concessions where the mass pressures are the sharpest.

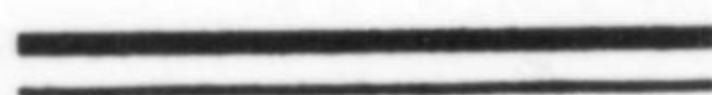
For example, a big communist vote in Detroit would become a serious concern for the executives of GM and Ford and the federal government and how they deal with auto workers in Detroit and in Chicago.

We have proof of this that we are saying. We can point to the hundreds of millions of dollars the U.S. spends 3,000 miles away, in France, Italy, Spain and Portugal in its attempt to overcome the votes of the Communist candidates. So you can imagine what they'll do here if they do that 3,000 miles away. A big Communist vote in New York City would make the federal government take notice. The banks would come to the rescue of New York City. In fact, it is the only way that New York can get out of the present mess that it is in.

We must put forth slogans like, "A vote for the two old parties is a vote for more of the same. It is a wasted vote. If you want the establishment to take notice, vote Communist." Or, "Would you vote for your boss to be a shop steward? So why vote for his candidate for public office!" And we should add, "Vote for candidates who have been shop stewards." Or, "Would you elect your landlord to the Rent Control Board? So why vote for his candidate for public office! Vote for Hall and Tyner!" "Would you elect a banker to supervise welfare programs? So why elect his candidate to public office!"

So besides the broadest propaganda and agitation, we must conduct a campaign to build a communist electoral constituency. It is a campaign to develop a deeper and a broader class consciousness in the country.

Abridged from the *Daily World*, April 3, 1976.



FROM THE PARTY PRESS

MAOIST PRACTICES

It is rightly said that a deviation becomes particularly dangerous if it does not stop at a definite point or confine itself to a definite problem but begins to encompass every sphere and becomes in the end an outspoken fallacious position impinging destructively on every theoretical or practical issue. The activity of the Maoist leadership of the Communist Party of China is a convincing case in point.

The Maoist leadership tried to cover its departure from the Marxist-Leninist line in the early 60s with high-sounding demagogical catchwords that influenced above all the masses in the Third World. Ultimately, however, it found itself opposed to all that is noble and upright in any country and landed over a number of problems in the same trench as international imperialism and home reaction.

The Chinese leadership makes no secret of its concern over the gains of the forces of peace and socialism in the struggle for peace and détente. It tries to provoke a campaign against the results of the Helsinki Conference, which it describes as a "Soviet victory." It takes a stand against agreements that have put an end to contradictions inherited from World War II, alleging that they formalize the "legitimacy" of the socialist presence in Europe.

In Southeast Asia, China's leaders oppose the unification of the two parts of Vietnam, saying that there is "no need to hurry." They demand of Vietnam five of the islands belonging to it in the East China and South China seas. They express their resentment at the establishment of the Laotian People's Democratic Republic and, moreover, extend material and military aid on the sly to a group of rebels led by men like Nosavan or Boun Oum. They also try to isolate newly independent Cambodia.

As to Africa, China continues to gloat over the reverse of the national forces and Communist Party of Sudan, victims of the massacre ordered by Nimeiri. It backed his infamous regime materially and morally. And no sooner had the matter began to be forgotten as a thing of the past than the disgraceful stand taken by the Maoists on Angola refreshed it in everyone's memory. In a country enjoying the

sympathy of all African peoples and the support of the whole of progressive mankind, the Chinese leadership made common cause with mercenaries, Zaire, South Africa and the CIA by opposing the Angolan people's freedom and independence. This prompted President Ahmed Sekou Touré of Guinea to make a sharp statement to the Chinese ambassador in Conakry. "Your deeds run counter to your words," he told the ambassador. "China constantly calls itself 'revolutionary' but reality is the exact opposite. How can you be revolutionary if you side with imperialism and those African leaders who carry on a neo-colonialist policy, and this at a time when the national-liberation movement in Angola is threatened with defeat?"

On the Indian subcontinent, China joined Pakistani reaction and the CENTO bloc in resisting the Bangladesh people's aspiration to independence. In India today it backs right-wing separatist tribes subsidized by the United States.

In Western Europe, the Chinese leadership does not scruple to warn the capitalists against the "threat" of growing Communist influence, meaning the Communist parties of France and Italy. When the world was outraged by the barbarous executions of Spanish patriots under the Franco regime and many states protested against repression in Spain by recalling their envoys and condemning those crimes, the Hsinhua news agency broadcast comments bristling with falsehoods about the Spanish working people's struggles, which it described as "anarchist activities." At a reception given at roughly the same time to mark Franco's advent to power, the Chinese ambassador congratulated and praised the fascist dictator in florid language in spite of the boycott of the reception by numerous diplomats. When, two months later, Franco died the Chinese leadership sent a telegram of condolences and a wreath of roses and officially greeted Juan Carlos on his accession to the throne, thereby supporting the restoration of absolute monarchy in Spain.

The Chinese leaders' line in Portugal is unchanged. Along with that reactionary general, Spínola, they harp on the "Communist threat to the left flank of NATO." As regards Chile, China isolated itself there from almost all the countries of the world by withholding comment on the bloodbath staged by the regime against Communists, Socialists and other patriots. The Chinese abstained when the draft resolution condemning the Chilean fascist junta was put to the vote in the UN. Indeed, at a time when the Pinochet regime's international isolation was growing, Peking built up commercial and economic relations with it. It promised to grant that regime a long-term credit of \$58

million, purchase larger quantities of Chilean potash and copper and export rice.

In our Arab region, the Chinese leadership's subversion hardly differs from its policy in any other part of the globe. It has stopped supporting the national-liberation movement in the Persian gulf (the movement of the peoples of Oman and Dofar) and openly backs the policy and military moves of Iran in the area. It has done much to undermine the Arab national-liberation movement and the Palestinian resistance by exerting pressure on them so as to alienate them from their chief ally, the Soviet Union. On many problems raised in the UN, it opposes decisions benefiting the Arab and Palestinian peoples. Its recent strident approval of the abrogation of the Soviet-Egyptian Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation coincided with the approval expressed by the United States.

In spite of China's attempts to justify its "revolutionary" (!) position, that position ultimately coincides on every point with the counter-revolutionary position of the U.S. Kissinger said so with satisfaction at a news conference in Peking late last year by pointing to the "parallel" policies of the United States of America and the PRC.

The conclusion drawn by the main architect of U.S. imperialist policy is undoubtedly correct. It is based on the Chinese leadership's practices in Europe, Asia, Africa, Latin America and the UN and its official statements as well as, in many cases, on personal impressions derived by imperialist politicians from visits to China and interviews with its leaders.

Edward Heath, ex-leader of the British Conservative Party, said after meeting with Mao Tse-tung in September 1975 that Mao's way of thinking and reasoning had reminded him of Adenauer and other Western political leaders with extreme right-wing leanings.

In September and December 1975, Fanfani of Italy and Strauss of West Germany said that Teng Hsiao-ping, deputy Chairman of the CPC, had voiced alarm over the growth of the left in West European countries, which "jeopardizes Western unity vis-à-vis the increasing danger posed by the Soviet Union and other socialist countries." The West German Chancellor (October) and the French Foreign Minister (November) had similar impressions. Furthermore, President Ford was instigated during his latest visit by Peking, which declared that "the increased U.S. military budget is unquestionably a contribution to the fight against Soviet expansion."

The Chinese leaders have gone as far as that. And that must have

prompted Kissinger to speak at the Chinese leadership's headquarters of the "parallel" policies of China and the U.S. nor did the Maoists object — they heard the statement without batting an eye.

There can hardly be more convincing evidence of the extremes to which the Chinese leaders' deviation has brought them or a more striking instance of the link-up of "left"-wing opportunism with the most aggressive imperialist country.

Al-Jamahir, Jordan, March 1976.



