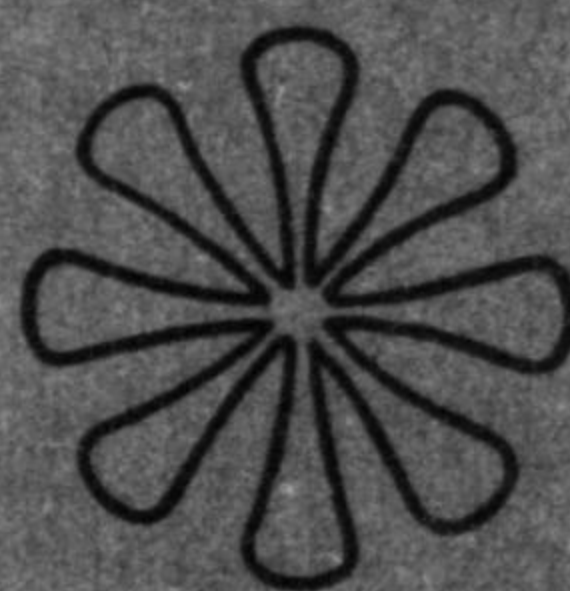


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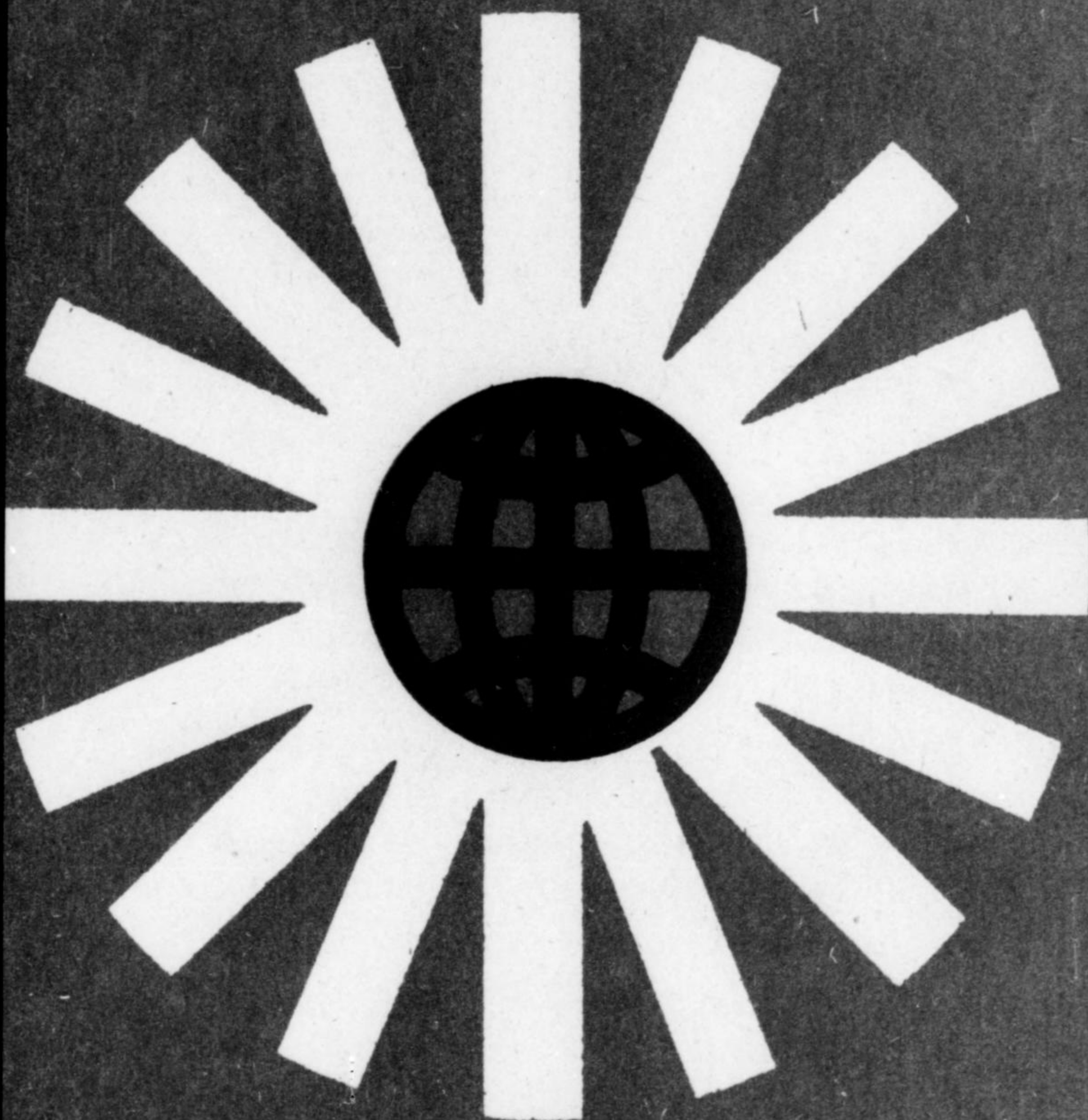
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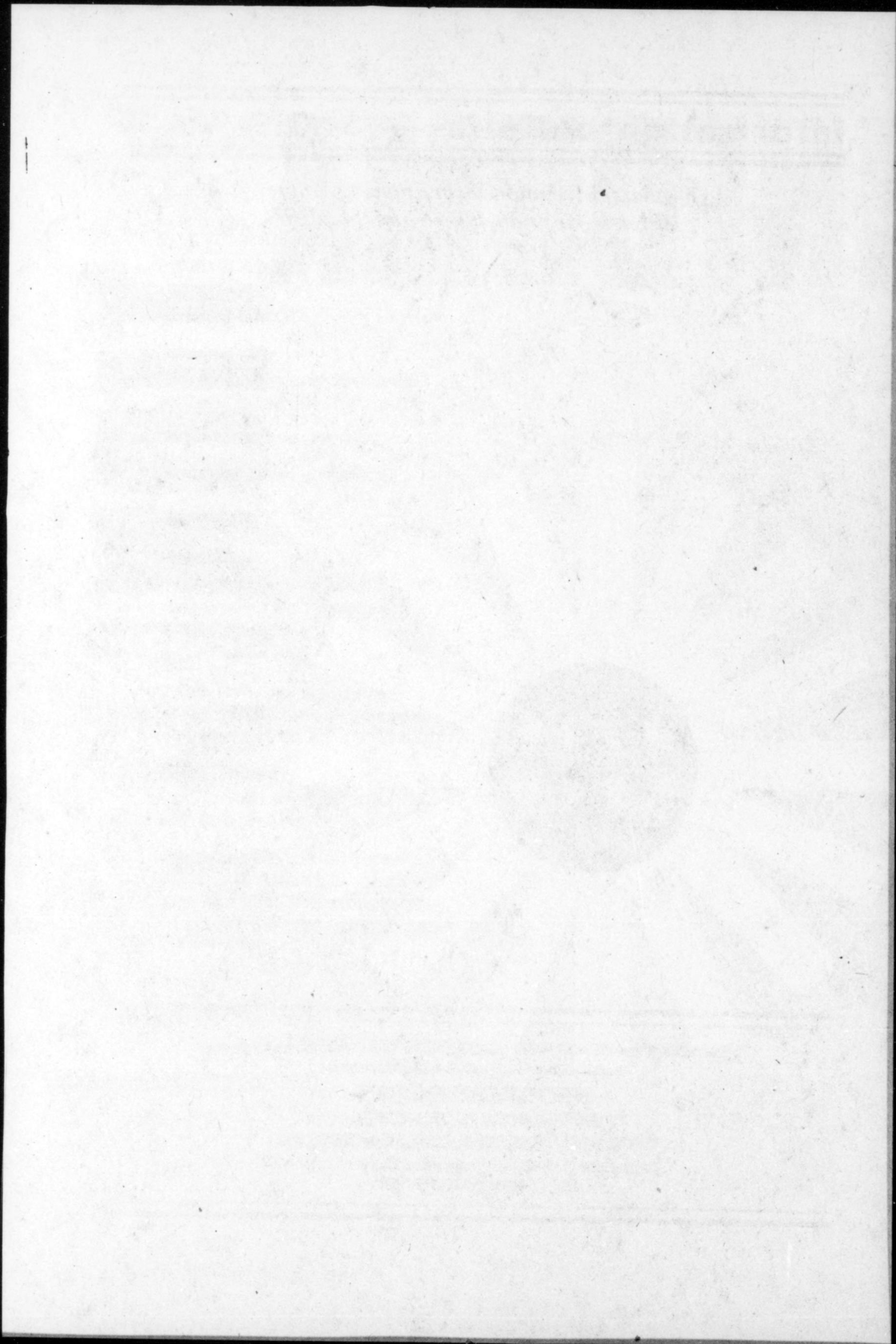
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CONGRESSES

TWENTY-THIRD CONGRESS OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF AUSTRIA

The 23rd Congress of the Communist Party of Austria was held in Vienna over December 8 to 11. More than 400 delegates, representing all nine Lands of the country, took part in the work of the congress, as well as delegations from a number of fraternal parties from abroad.

CPA Chairman Franz Muhri delivered the report, "The Political Situation and the Party's Objectives."

The head of the CPSU delegation, CC CPSU secretary Ivan Kapitonov addressed the Congress (speech published below), as well as representatives of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany, the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, the Communist Parties of Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria, Rumania, Chile, Portugal, France, Italy and others.

The delegates discussed and unanimously approved the Central Committee report to the Congress and adopted a number of decisions: "For security, social progress, for democracy, peace and international solidarity," "For disarmament, against the arms race," "For the political-ideological and organizational strengthening of the party," and others.

A new Central Committee and other leading party bodies were elected. At the CC plenum held after the Congress, Franz Muhri was re-elected Chairman of the Communist Party of Austria.

REPORT BY FRANZ MUHRI

Our party, Franz Muhri said, is working in numerous fields, concentrating on the struggle for the people's interests, guaranteed employment, social progress and solidarity with all anti-fascist and anti-imperialist forces, for democracy, peace and socialism. Certain changes in the domestic, political and international situation made it possible to draw conclusions at the Congress regarding further work, to specify the party's political, ideological and organizational tasks.

After pointing out the progress made in the struggle for political détente in the past few years, the speaker said that the more reactionary forces of international monopoly capital, especially U.S. capital, are trying to check détente and impose a new round of arms race. They have also staged campaigns over the so-called "Soviet threat" and "violations of human rights."

Speaking of foreign policy, F. Muhri stressed the Austrian people's desire for peace. The party considered it a success of the country's peace forces that the federal government had adopted a constructive position on a number of international issues.

F. Muhri emphatically condemned the anti-communist propaganda under way in the West. Exposure of this propaganda was part and parcel of the CPA's struggle for détente and durable peace. An important task of the party is to disseminate the truth about the socialist countries and the genuine nature and democratic goals of communism.

Détente, the speaker said, should not lead to complacency but to more powerful actions for peace. Accordingly the party, speaking from the Congress rostrum, calls on the people to demand that parliament and the government should contribute more actively to détente, to the struggle for disarmament, meaning also a ban on the manufacture of the neutron bomb and other weapons of mass destruction, for a positive outcome of the Belgrade meeting, and for full implementation of the accords reached at the Helsinki Conference.

A most important result of international development in the period under review, the speaker said, is the further economic and political strengthening of the world socialist system, whose chief force is the Soviet Union. The numerous events organized by the CPA on the occasion of the 60th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution had reflected, not only our ideological unity, but the fact that the communists were linked heart and soul with the first socialist country and with Lenin's party.

The Soviet Union and other socialist countries are the most dynamic economic force. Their working people feel secure. In advancing democracy and culture, the socialist countries have made gains that no capitalist country has ever achieved. The Soviet Union and the socialist community as a whole are a powerful and reliable bulwark for all fighters for democracy, national freedom, peace and socialism. The program of further struggle for peace, international cooperation, freedom and national independence announced by the 25th CPSU Congress meets the interests of both the Soviet people

and the peoples of the rest of the world. Austria's communists have no intention of minimizing the role of the peace forces in the capitalist countries, whose responsibility for peace today is greater than ever. However, it is a historical truth that the peace policy of the Soviet Union and the socialist community as a whole has played a decisive part in replacing the cold war by détente.

Development in the capitalist world differs entirely from that in the socialist community. Recent years have seen the political, economic and moral crisis in the former go from bad to worse. The crisis has also involved Austria, where it has some peculiarities.

Setting out the party's economic program, F. Muhri noted the danger of one-sided orientation to the Common Market, saying that Austria's treaty with that agency ran counter to the national interest.

Our party, the speaker said, is proud of being part of the world communist movement, which decisively influences the course of world history. It declares for the growing unity of the communist and working-class movement on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. This is why it flatly rejects the divisive activity of the Maoist leaders of the CPC, whose struggle is not directed against imperialism but against the Soviet Union and communist parties. The CPA welcomes the persevering efforts of the CPSU for the normalization of Soviet-Chinese relations.

For some time now, F. Muhri said, anti-communists have been trying under the slogan of "Eurocommunism" to bring about differences between the communist parties of Western Europe and to use these differences against the socialist countries' brother parties, particularly the CPSU. The CPA is resolutely against these schemes. It reaffirms its sincere solidarity with all communists and all progressives of Europe and the world. The CPA considers it necessary to hold comradely discussions on differences while at the same time stepping up the joint struggle against the common enemy in line with the tasks set by the Berlin Conference of European Communist and Workers' Parties.

In reply to those, the speaker said, who advise the CPA to become "Eurocommunist," we say that we will not take the road of renouncing our convictions or principles. Such a road would be at variance with the interests of the Austrian working class, which now needs a strong Communist Party more than ever before.

Franz Muhri next dealt with the party's organizational problems. In

conclusion he said that the CPA would remain a staunch fighter and that the struggle for a really independent and democratic Austria, a socialist Austria, would end in victory.

Pravda, December 9, 1977

SPEECH BY IVAN KAPITONOV

At the beginning of his speech, Ivan Kapitonov conveyed fraternal fighting greetings from the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and its Leninist Central Committee to the 23rd CPA Congress and Austrian communists. In fulfillment of an assignment from Leonid Brezhnev, General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and President of the USSR Supreme Soviet, he said, we are happy to bring you heartfelt, revolutionary greetings and wishes for new big successes in all your activity.

Our delegation, Kapitonov went on to say, heard with keen interest the report of the CPA Central Committee to the 23rd Congress, delivered by Party Chairman Franz Muhri, a prominent leader of the communist movement. The report profoundly analyzed international developments and the political situation in your country and drafted a program of your party's struggle for the vital interests of the workers and the working people in general.

This year is a very special year for all of us. Just a month ago the Soviet people and their friends abroad, all progressive humanity marked the 60th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution.

Six decades is a brief period in mankind's history. But in that period the Soviet people, guided by the party founded by the great Lenin, have made spectacular headway, fundamentally changing the entire image of their Homeland.

Efficient use of the advantages of socialism, coupled with the achievements of the scientific and technological revolution, enabled us to move forward at a rapid pace. Suffice it to say that over the past decade our country's economic potential has virtually doubled.

A characteristic feature of the socialist system is the fact that man is at the center of its attention. The key task set by the party and the Soviet state in domestic policy — constant improvement of the people's living standards — is being successfully realized in the Soviet Union. The growing material and spiritual requirements of Soviet people are every more fully satisfied with every passing year.

Fear for the morrow, or of losing their job have no part in their life. They look to the future with optimism.

All this became possible only under socialism — a social system free of economic crises, production slumps and unemployment. Bourgeois propagandists are going out of their way to smear our system. But these are facts they cannot deny. Nor can they ever deny the salient fact that socialism is a society without exploitation and oppression, a society of national equality, a society of freedom and democracy for the working people.

Kapitonov then spoke of the new Soviet Constitution adopted on the eve of the 60th anniversary of the October Revolution. The new Constitution, we can fairly say, is the concentrated result of the entire 60-year development of the Soviet state.

The new Constitution comprehensively characterizes the leading and guiding role of the Communist Party, clearly reflects its real place in Soviet society and the state. The Soviet people link all their achievements and victories to the party, and see its policy and plans as their own vital cause. The people and the party are united by identity of views and actions, in close cohesion around the CPSU Central Committee headed by Leonid Brezhnev, an outstanding political leader and statesman of our time, a true continuer of Lenin's great cause and selfless champion of peace and communism.

The Great October Revolution, the speaker continued, shows the peoples of the earth a reliable road to peace, a way out of the morass of wars. The struggle for peace, to curb the forces of aggression has from the outset been the highest principle of Soviet foreign policy. In our time, the Leninist peace policy is epitomized in the Peace Program adopted by the 24th Congress and developed by the 25th CPSU Congress. To avert the threat of a new world war, curb the arms race, promote international cooperation — that remains the aim of Soviet initiatives in the international arena.

The new Soviet proposals to reach an agreement by all states on a simultaneous halt in the production of nuclear weapons and, together with a ban on all nuclear weapons tests for a definite period, to announce a moratorium on nuclear explosions for peaceful purposes, serve precisely these aims.

As is known, the situation in Europe has improved recently. We regard it essential to continue promoting this positive process, to develop and strengthen mutual understanding and cooperation with all European states. As for Soviet-Austrian relations, they are built on the sound foundation of the State Treaty, which like Austria's chosen

course of permanent neutrality have long since proved their effectiveness and viability. The Soviet Union stands for furthering all-round ties and contacts with the Austrian Republic, which, in our view, fully responds to the interests of the peoples of both countries.

Following Lenin's precepts, the speaker said, we are always mindful that our party is part of the world communist movement, that we are fighting together with other fraternal parties, equal members of the communist community.

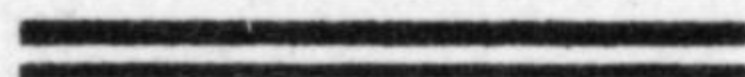
Life has shown that the world working-class movement and its vanguard — the communist parties — represent the leading, most active and consistent force in combating the imperialist policy of aggression and the arms race, and in efforts to ensure a firm and lasting peace between the peoples. This was confirmed by the Berlin Conference of European Communist and Workers' Parties, in whose preparation and conduct our party also took an active part.

The CPSU highly assesses the relations of fraternal friendship and cooperation with the Communist Party of Austria — a party firmly standing on the positions of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, a party persistently and steadfastly, at times in far from easy conditions, championing the interests of the working class and all working people of Austria. The Soviet people are well aware of the Austrian communists' big contribution to developing good-neighbor relations between our countries, to strengthening mutual understanding between our peoples.

Allow me to assure you, Ivan Kapitonov said in conclusion, that the CPSU will in future too solidarize with your struggle, that in it you have a reliable and true friend.

The head of the CPSU delegation handed the Congress, to the applause of the delegates, a message of greetings from the CPSU Central Committee and a memento — a painting depicting the Red Square in Moscow.

Pravda, December 9, 1977



THE PRESENT SITUATION AND THE TASKS OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF CANADA

The CC of the CPC met in plenary session on October 14-16, 1977, to assess the political developments since the last session of the CC. It heard a report by General Secretary William Kashtan. After discussion it was adopted unanimously. Special resolutions were adopted, one on *Plan of Work* and one on *Build the Party in Industry* (synopsis of the report is published below*).

REPORT BY WILLIAM KASHTAN

On the background of the need to put Canada back to work, active preparations are noted, on the domestic front, for a federal election in conditions of a deteriorating economic situation, a crisis of confederation, an energy crisis, and an increasing crisis of credibility of capitalism and the parties of monopoly, Kashtan said.

THE CRISIS DEEPENS

"The much heralded recovery in the capitalist world appears to have petered out . . . The attempt to get out of the crisis by traditional capitalist methods have proven inadequate" due in large measure to the fact that it merges with an energy, raw materials and currency crisis, each interacting on the other. The conclusion is that "the present crisis is not a transient feature of the capitalist world. It is not only cyclical but is now built into state-monopoly capitalism with its resultant growing economic and political instability."

"Signs now multiply of a new industrial crisis" in the capitalist world. The bankruptcy of the policy of non-inflationary growth advanced by the summit meeting of the seven advanced capitalist countries is seen in Canada. The situation is further aggravated by U.S.

*Prepared for *Information Bulletin* by Peter Boychuck, CC member, Communist Party of Canada.

control over key sectors of the economy. Devaluation which is aimed at stepping up the drive for markets is stimulating inflation added to by rising prices of energy and food.

The crisis has led "sections of monopoly to retreat from opposition to a policy of continentalism" and to advance proposals for a "new industrial strategy" based on the sale of natural resources, a retreat from building secondary industry. It is reflected in the Gillies proposal that being "hewers of wood and drawers of water" is not too bad. This is also reflected in the Yukon pipeline deal with the USA, in increased NATO commitments, etc.

What is needed is an alternative industrial strategy tied in with the struggle for détente and Canadian independence.

The crisis has undermined living standards which is seen in unemployment and rising prices. The working class has been losing ground in its battle with inflation, as is seen in the division of the national income, in increased poverty. Farmers too, are now faced with the reality of declining incomes.

As a way out of the crisis, some sections of monopoly now favor withdrawal of controls, some call for a "shakedown" of the economy through massive unemployment and a stepped up drive on the gains of the working class. This goes together with a well orchestrated campaign against the trade union movement and the working class, the aim being to place the blame for the crisis on them and absolve state-monopoly capitalism from responsibility. Behind this is an effort to isolate the working class and the trade union movement from its allies preliminary to the introduction of anti-labor legislation, aimed at first against the right to strike in public service and essential industry. This makes it absolutely essential for the working class and trade union movement to work for an alliance of all democratic forces to beat back this offensive and advance new aims in the struggle against the effects of the crisis.

The struggle between the forces of reaction and the forces of progress in Canada is being fought out on the economic and political front between a reactionary and democratic way out of the crisis.

THE FIGHT BACK — CONDITIONS FOR A NEW UPSURGE ARE MATURING

The working class which was temporarily sidetracked around discussions on tripartism following the October 14, 1977 general strike is now beginning to come forward with an alternative position to the three-point program of the government. This finds expression in the

Canadian Labor Congress (CLC) fight for jobs at this stage. This is to be welcomed and actively supported. What is called for now is the advancement of a real "alternative to the crisis policies of monopoly." Areas which need to be examined in this connection are:

- An effective wage policy.
- A democratic alternative to the economic and social policies of state-monopoly capitalism.
- A policy of unity at every level, be it in industry, the trade union movement, the working class and democratic movement.

A solid united front is necessary to defeat the monopoly offensive. To achieve this requires systematic exposure and isolation of right-wing trade union and NDP policies and leadership which stands in the way of unity behind class struggle policies.

"Right-wing policy can be defeated provided the left and center forces in the trade union movement unite their efforts around a common program and fight unitedly for its realization." The center forces in the trade union movement do not yet see the need for a fundamental change but nevertheless see the need for democratic reforms within the capitalist system including nationalization, a new Canadian constitution, the necessity of détente and peaceful coexistence. They constitute the allies the left needs to win and work with. "The left . . . cannot achieve these aims by themselves."

"Left center coalitions won't come by themselves. Their realization depends on the existence of a strong left and of communists in the trade union movement. . . . Therefore the absolute necessity of building the party in industry. This is directly related to the party policy on industrial concentration."

In the anti-monopoly movement special emphasis was placed on work among farmers who are facing new problems. There is continued necessity of working for labor-farmer cooperation, the strengthening of the farm movements and of the party in the countryside.

"The fight back against the crisis policies of monopoly of necessity includes the struggle in defense of democratic rights and its further extension, the struggle against racism and neo-fascism." "The adoption of resolutions on this question is not enough. There is a need for continuing exposure of racism, neo-fascism, restriction of democratic rights and their roots which lie in the very nature of state-monopoly capitalism. . . . The link in the chain at this stage is the struggle against racism in all its forms, as well as against all forms of discrimination against immigrant workers and their families. *Our party must work in*

such a way so that these working people will see in us their best champions and defenders."

THE CRISIS OF CONFEDERATION

Trudeau's emphasis on bilingualism and Québec's Government Bill 101 both focus on language as if this were the basic issue involved in the crisis of confederation. "Language and culture, of course ... are important, and in the specific conditions of Québec, reflect the unequal status of the French-Canadian people." These however cannot be solved separate and apart from a democratic solution to the national question based on the right of the French-Canadian nation to self-determination. "The national question cannot be fully solved unless social inequality and its economic roots are tackled and become part of the struggle against monopoly domination and for Canadian independence from U.S. imperialism." It is around these objectives that the unity of the working class of English and French Canada can be realized and its leading role in the struggle achieved.

"The working people of Québec expect action to end unemployment, overcome the housing shortage, achieve a democratic restructuring of education. Not least, the working people of Québec expect the Lévesque government to introduce measures of public ownership, as it promised to do in its election manifesto, instead of finding reasons why this should not be undertaken."

"The vacillations and retreats of the Lévesque government ... emphasize ... the need for the working class to avoid tailing that government, and the need to strengthen the independent role of the working class and of the trade union movement."

The CPC is opposed to the maneuvers around the coming referendum ...

It is "equally opposed to the proposition that the referendum be countrywide. This proposal takes away the right to national self-determination, that is, the right of the French-Canadian people to decide their relationship to English-speaking Canada, and would impose on them a 'majority solution' by English Canada. To adopt such a course would deepen the crisis, rather than alleviate it."

Various options are being presented to status quo, separation, decentralization, and now the "third option" being prepared by the Unity Task Force headed by Pepin-Robarts. The latter falls between status quo and separation.

The CPC calls for a "new made-in-Canada Constitution" which would "embody the following principles: the equal voluntary partner-

ship of the two nations in a bi-national state; structural reform of the state to make that possible; democratic reforms to overcome inequalities in distribution of income; language and culture guaranteed by law; democratic rights for all Canadians, defense of the basic rights of the Native Peoples including their right to self-government."

The economic crisis exacerbates the national question. Therefore a democratic solution to the economic crisis and a democratic solution to the crisis of confederation are integrally linked together.

MAKE THE FIGHT FOR PEACE A PRIORITY TASK!

"We have entered a more complicated and dangerous situation internationally. The arms race is growing and become more intensive. New hotbeds of war are being created. The Carter Administration has more and more succumbed to the pressures of the industrial military complex." This is seen in the Cruise missile and neutron bomb. Underneath this is the evolution of a "new" strategy based on the concept that "nuclear war is not only thinkable, it is also winnable." "The aim here is to change the balance of power in the world, undermine the principles of equality of security with the USSR which was the basis of détente, and to revert to cold war confrontation with all its dangers."

"U.S. imperialism however will not succeed." It comes up against the real balance of forces in the world which is not in its favor. . . .

"The Trudeau government has also entered the arms race."

"All the lessons of the recent past" show there are "no winners in an arms race" and there are "no alternatives to détente and peaceful coexistence."

This reality has led to worldwide opposition to the arms race started by U.S. imperialism and NATO.

"Present developments emphasize that the fight for détente, the fight against the arms drive and the neutron bomb and other weapons of mass destruction must become a priority task of our party."

"We must translate priority tasks in a concrete manner. The first thing is to strengthen the peace movement everywhere we can, and reach out to the trade union movement, the NDP, the Church, the youth movement, the women, all Canadians who are concerned . . . What is involved here is a correct placing of the campaign against the neutron bomb within the context of the collection of signatures for the Stockholm Petition. . . . Within this framework we should raise with renewed strength the demand for Canada's withdrawal from NATO

and NORAD while pressing at the same time for dissolution of all military blocs."

The need for closer attention to the Middle East crisis was stressed. While the initiatives taken by the USA and USSR jointly open up better prospects for a just settlement of the Middle East crisis there will be strong opposition developed against it. Therefore the need to rally democratic opinion in Canada in support of a just settlement.

The publication of the *Progressive Jewish Newsletter* can play an important role in this connection and in undertaking a counter-offensive against bourgeois nationalism, Zionism as well as opportunism which finds its reflection among progressive Jewish circles.

"It should be clear that the stepped-up campaign of the forces of cold war, of opposition to détente and disarmament, calls for ever greater unity of all the forces of peace and more particularly, of all the communist and workers' parties. It is in this context that Eurocommunism should be examined. Imperialism is not interested in any kind of communism, except anti-communism. Imperialism's interest in Eurocommunism, to which it gave the name, is that it opens the door to a campaign against the Soviet Union, that it leads to playing off parties in Western Europe against the parties in the socialist countries. The aim is to create confusion and division among the parties." Previously, imperialism had pinned its hopes on Maoism and ultra-leftism as a means of splitting the anti-imperialist camp. Then it tried to counterpose the national liberation to the struggle for socialism. These efforts having failed, imperialism, aided by right-wing social democracy, now looks to Eurocommunism to do the trick.

"Eurocommunism suggests that there are new laws of social development, different to Marxism-Leninism," that the experience of the USSR and other socialist countries has no validity, that a new way to socialism now exists. "Eurocommunism elevates national peculiarities and substitutes them for the general laws of revolutionary change."

"All of this is being advanced under the banner of independence of parties and their right to choose their path to socialism." This is not the issue involved because all the parties are independent and work out their own strategy and tactics and programmatic positions. What is involved here is an effort under the theme of independence and so as to show it, to take the path of anti-Sovietism, to move away from internationalist positions. These mirror opportunist tendencies, retreats before the pressure of imperialism which also take on the form of equating NATO and the Warsaw Pact countries.

Proletarian internationalism is more essential than ever. It is linked up with the necessity of combating anti-Sovietism and anti-communism.

THE FORTHCOMING FEDERAL ELECTIONS

There are prospects that the next federal election will be in the spring of 1978. The issues which are today at the center of the stage can only be resolved by a new government with new policies, a government based on a democratic coalition which includes the Communist Party and embraces all democratic forces.

"As a step toward such a new government, we will work to elect a large progressive bloc to Parliament pledged to work for new economic and social policies, for a new direction to Canadian affairs in the interest of the majority of Canadians."

Party committees have already agreed to field 83 candidates. The objective of 100 candidates should be reached shortly, around whom to carry on the battle for party alternative policy to the crisis policies of monopoly.

The Liberal government continues to move to the right. The economic crisis is the pretext for doing so. The Conservative Party, although still in leadership difficulties, is not a spent force. It still wields considerable influence and strength. The NDP right wing is striving to build up an image of respectability, as a reasonable alternative to the Liberal government with the aim of replacing the Conservatives as the official opposition.

"The various images being projected by the three parliamentary parties cannot hide the deepening malaise in Canadian politics." Monopoly is striving in every way to black out the alternative being advanced by the Communist Party.

This emphasizes the role of the *Canadian Tribune*, *Pacific Tribune* and *Combat* in general and as part of party policy of industrial concentration. The results indicated at the Southern Ontario Press Conference showed the party was on the right track in calling for mass distribution of the paper especially in areas of industrial concentration.

The concluding section of the report dealt with the 60th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution, showing its achievements, impact on world development and how it has affirmed the validity of Marxism-Leninism. The vast experience of the CPSU and of socialist construction in the USSR has proven time and time again that there is no real socialism without the political power of the working class,

without the leading role of the working class and its party, as there can be no socialism without central planning based on public ownership of the main means of production.

Added to the many outstanding achievements of October is the new Soviet Constitution. Its guarantees of the many social and political rights of the people, its enhanced democratic character was contrasted with the reality in Canada. The report concluded that the new Soviet Constitution "will become a powerful weapon of the working class in its struggle to curb the power of monopoly and bring an end to monopoly rule."

FOR A PROGRESSIVE ARAB FRONT CAPABLE OF THWARTING THE PLANS OF IMPERIALISM, ZIONISM AND REACTION

Statement of the ICP Central Committee

The Central Committee of the Iraqi Communist Party held a special plenum to discuss the new situation in the Arab region and assess efforts to form a progressive Arab front. The plenum adopted the following statement.

The popular masses and progressive forces of the Arab homeland and throughout the world met with deep gratification the Tripoli meeting of the leaders of Iraq, Syria, Lebanon, Algeria, Democratic Yemen and the Palestine Liberation Organization. They regard this meeting, like other meetings of the Arab national-liberation forces — whether on a government level or that of people's organizations — as a response to the imperative need and an instrument for uniting their actions in the struggle to thwart the schemes of imperialism, Zionism and reaction.

A DANGEROUS PLOT

The Arab national-liberation movement now comes up against a dangerous plot designed to eliminate the Palestinian problem, split the progressive Arab forces, strike a blow at the patriotic regimes and

revolutionary forces, abolish their political, economic and social gains, undermine friendly relations and alliance with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, bring Arab countries under U.S. imperialist and Zionist control, plunder their natural resources and use them as a strategic base in an onslaught against the security and progress of the peoples.

The policy of the Egyptian President, his visit to occupied Jerusalem, his call for the Cairo meeting and the consequences of this policy form a dangerous link in the chain of these plans, which are aimed not only against the Arab national-liberation movement but are designed to undermine international solidarity with it, to erode Arab-African solidarity and to strike at the African national-liberation movements which oppose imperialism and racism.

CLASS POLICY

Sadat's capitulatory policy shows that he is openly siding with world imperialism, seeking — together with Arab reaction — to fortify U.S. influence and the positions of world capitalism in the region. It is the culmination of the policy of relinquishing the national and social gains of the 1952 Egyptian revolution, an embodiment of the class policy of the big, parasitical Egyptian bourgeoisie which, defying the supreme national interests and national dignity, seized the key positions in the state and society.

It is imperative at this juncture that the Arab world should adhere to the decisions of the 1974 Rabat summit, which run counter to Sadat's wishes, and above all the decision on recognizing the PLO as the sole legitimate representative of the Arab people of Palestine. In principle, these decisions can still serve as the basis for coordinated joint actions by the Arab states in view of the danger threatening them.

DIFFERENCES MUST BE PUT ASIDE FOR THE MOMENT

Reaffirming its support for the steps taken to convene in Tripoli a meeting of the Arab national-liberation movement on an official and popular levels, and the anticipated meeting in Baghdad, the Iraqi Communist Party hold that, in the name of supreme national interests, differences between the participants must be shelved for the moment to ensure the success of these meetings. In this context, of special importance is the Iraqi President's speech at the special regional congress of the Arab Socialist Renaissance Party on November

29, in which he emphasized, "it is time to put aside differences in the name of national interests so as to counter a greater and more serious threat than regional differences."

JOINT FIGHTING ACTION PROGRAM

In the present conditions, our party maintains, all forces of the Arab national-liberation movement should, above all, work out a common stand on the basis of the fighting action program so that differences in appraisal should not be an obstacle to elaborating a position and a joint program for staving off the grave threat to the Arab nation, a program condemning Sadat's policy of separate capitulatory solutions, and envisaging the total withdrawal of Israeli troops from occupied Arab territories, ensuring the Palestinian Arabs' right to return to their homeland and to self-determination, including the formation of their own independent national state, foiling the plottings of U.S. imperialism which is seeking, together with Zionism and Arab reaction, to impose its diktat on the Arab world.

Agreement on such a program and vigorous struggle for its realization will form the basis for raising the alliance of progressive forces and regimes to a higher level. This will create more favorable conditions and opportunities for all Arab states, particularly those directly confronted by Israel, to adhere to this program and to translate it into reality.

The Iraqi Communist Party supports the progressive national regime's substantial efforts against the Egyptian president's capitulatory step and the imperialist plans in the region, its exposure of the aims of these plans, its seeking to ensure the holding of a meeting of Arab heads of state, progressive parties and forces and people's organizations to create a progressive Arab front. It expresses support for Iraq's readiness to meet its serious commitments in this dangerous period for the Arab national-liberation movement.

STRENGTHENING THE FRONT'S ROLE

Obviously, for Iraq to worthily play its part in this battle, it is imperative to strengthen the Progressive National Patriotic Front's role in mobilizing the broad masses, explaining to them the danger inherent in the present big plot against the Arab national-liberation movement and the consequent grave threat to our own country by virtue of its resolute struggle against the schemes of imperialism, Zionism and reaction, and its substantial potentialities in this struggle. In these specific conditions, the front is entrusted with a big and

important role — it should contribute actively to a study of the new situation and its development, adopt appropriate decisions and define its own stand, and be efficiently instrumental in forming a progressive Arab front.

SUPPORT THE EGYPTIAN PEOPLE'S STRUGGLE

The seriousness of this stage of the Arab national liberation movement and the scope of the plottings by imperialism, Zionism and reaction necessitate support for the struggle of the Egyptian people, solidarity with the noble stand of its progressive forces opposing Sadat's policy. This also requires strengthening the internal fronts in each Arab country, surmounting the differences among the patriotic forces, efforts to consolidate the unity of the patriots, release the energy and initiative of the masses and to ensure their democratic liberties, seeing in this a primary condition for broad and effective mass participation in accomplishing the tasks facing them.

Unity of the various resistance contingents in the PLO framework acquires enormous significance in countering the above-mentioned plot.

THE CHIEF EARNEST OF SUCCESS

In the complex conditions of the growing activity by international and particularly U.S. imperialism, which is seeking by every means to direct and support Sadat's capitulatory policy and to cause a rift in the ranks of the anti-imperialist and anti-Zionist forces of the Arab world, the progressive Arab states must adopt a resolute stand, build up their military might, clearly distinguish between their enemies and friends, expose and isolate Arab reaction, exert efforts to deepen cooperation and coordination with the Arab peoples' friends — the socialist countries led by the Soviet Union and the world revolutionary forces, seeing in this the chief earnest of successfully thwarting the imperialist-Zionist plot, of ensuring a comprehensive solution of the Palestinian problem and a just peace in the region.

Unity of the progressive patriotic Arab forces on the basis of a clear and obligatory fighting program and a stronger fighting alliance with the world forces of progress led by the socialist countries, particularly the Soviet Union will provide an earnest of thwarting the pro-American capitulatory course of the Egyptian leadership with all its perilous consequences for the Arabs' future struggles. This will bring about a change in the balance of forces in favor of national liberation

in this region, thwarting the plan of imperialism, Zionism and reaction, safeguard the Arab peoples' gains and lead to new victories.

Tariq al-Shaab, December 4, 1977

PLENUM OF THE CPSU CENTRAL COMMITTEE

A Plenary Meeting of the CPSU Central Committee was held on December 13, 1977.

Comrade N.K. Baibakov, Vice-Chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, Chairman of the State Planning Committee of the USSR, delivered the report "On the State Plan for the Economic and Social Development of the USSR for 1978" and Comrade V.F. Garbuzov, minister of Finance of the USSR, reported "On the State Budget of the USSR for 1978 and on the Fulfillment of the State Budget of the USSR for 1976."

Comrade L.I. Brezhnev, General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, Chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, made a comprehensive speech at the meeting.

ON THE DRAFTS OF THE STATE PLAN FOR THE ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT OF THE USSR AND THE STATE BUDGET OF THE USSR FOR 1978

Resolution of the CPSU Central Committee

To approve on the whole the Drafts of the State Plan for the Economic and Social Development of the USSR and the State Budget of the USSR for 1978, and to submit them for consideration by the USSR Supreme Soviet session.

The CPSU Central Committee Plenary Meeting stresses that the principal task of all the party, government, economic, trade union and Komsomol organizations is to ensure that the 1978 assignments will not only be fulfilled, but overfulfilled by each labor collective, district, city, region, territory and Republic. This will be a major new con-

tribution to economic development and will be very important for the fulfillment of the 10th five-year plan as a whole.

The Central Committees of the Communist Parties of the Union Republics, the Territorial, Regional, Area, City and District Party Committees, party organizations, Ministries and departments should concentrate their attention, guided by the provisions and conclusions contained in the speech made by Comrade L.I. Brezhnev, General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, Chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, at the plenary meeting, on the practical ways to increase the effectiveness of production and quality of work, to ensure the rational use of the existing economic potential, the concentration of capital investments in the more important projects nearing completion, and the putting into operation of fixed assets as scheduled, the all-round acceleration of scientific and technological progress and intensification of production, the growth of labor productivity and a more strict policy of economy in the interests of further raising the Soviet people's well-being.

To do this an even broader socialist emulation drive has to be launched among working people in industry, agriculture, construction, transport and other branches; special attention has to be given to making the utmost use of internal reserves, to achieving the greatest results with minimum spending, to the introduction of advanced experience, to popularizing the initiatives of production innovators, to ensuring constant concern for improving the quality of output, and to working to carry out greater socialist pledges.

The CPSU Central Committee draws attention to the fact that greater organization and responsibility at all levels of party, state and economic management, the intensification of control over fulfilling planned assignments, and the further strengthening of production and labor discipline are extremely important in the present situation.

The CPSU Central Committee expresses its firm conviction that the workers, collective farmers, specialists, workers in all branches of our country's economy will make 1978 a year of dedicated labor effort and will achieve new successes in meeting the historical assignments posed by the 25th CPSU Congress.

Pravda, December 14, 1977

TRANSLATING THE PARTY'S PLANS INTO LIFE

The Land of Soviets is about to enter into the third year of the tenth five-year plan period. The workers, collective farmers and intellectu-

als are working with great elan to implement the social and economic program set forth by the 25th Congress of the CPSU. The party's decisions are scientifically sound, profoundly and comprehensively substantiated. They are aimed at further increasing the country's economic and cultural wealth and its defense capability, and at making life still more secure and happier for the Soviet people. This has been reaffirmed by the latest plenary meeting of the CPSU Central Committee and Eighth Session of the USSR Supreme Soviet, Ninth Convocation.

The plenary meeting and the Supreme Soviet session discussed the drafts of the national economic and social development plan and of the USSR state budget for 1978.

A major speech was delivered at the plenary meeting by Leonid Brezhnev, General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and President of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet.

L. Brezhnev's speech and the materials of the plenary meeting and session reflect the results of the work done by the party and the people in the first two years of the five-year plan period. They specify the immediate tasks and chart a program of further action, the implementation of which will make it possible to carry out the decisions of the 25th Congress of the party.

The year 1977, L. Brezhnev said, was a most intensive and important one politically and economically: the new Constitution of the USSR was adopted; the 60th anniversary of the October Revolution was widely observed; our economy made a noticeable advance. The Soviet people worked well, conscientiously, and the party, government, Komsomol and trade union organizations acted skillfully and efficiently. The result is that the decisions of the 25th Congress of the party are being successfully translated into life.

The results of the first two years of the five-year plan, summed up at the plenary meeting and the session, point to the tremendous growth of the Soviet economy. According to preliminary estimates, national income will show an increase of 8.4 per cent. The increment of industrial output for 1977 will add up to 5.8 per cent, as compared to the projected 5.6 per cent for the year. For the period of two years, it will total 10.9 per cent, which is at the set target level. The average annual volume of gross agricultural output for the period of 1976-77 will be 6.6 per cent higher than for the same period of the previous five-year span. The average annual production of grain will aggregate 209.6 million tons as compared to 181.6 million in the ninth five-year

plan period. As much as 240,000 million rubles have been invested in the last two years in the development of the national economy.

The real income of the population is growing all the time. Its per capita increment for the two-year period will add up to 7 per cent. Housing construction is proceeding on an extensive scale: more than 216 million sq.m. of housing will have been put up in the period of 1976-77, meaning improvement of living accommodations for 22 million people. The material and cultural requirements of the people are being ever more fully met.

In short, we do have something to put down to our credit and be proud of. But, while giving its due to these successes, the party is fully aware that we still have many problems. It was noted at the plenary meeting and the Supreme Soviet session that there still were shortcomings and bottlenecks in our economy. This is indicated by the falling short of the targets for the two years in some departments, the dissipation of resources, the lag in putting new capacities into operation, and the growth of unfinished construction. Whereas the plan has been fulfilled in terms of value, the targets for the manufacture of some items in real terms have not been reached, and there have been breaches of plan and contract discipline. All this creates difficulties. Their most common cause is that the planning and managing bodies, associations and enterprises are not consistent enough in pursuing the line for enhancing efficiency in production and improving quality of work. That is why it is necessary to show greater exactingness in working for the fulfillment of the decisions of the 25th Party Congress.

In his speech at the plenary meeting L. Brezhnev made a number of profound and well-argued propositions aimed at solving the most important national economic problems, and carrying out the five-year plan.

The careful and rational use of all that we have, of all that is produced by the economy, is one of the main reserves for accelerating economic development. Utilization of this reserve is a key task of economic activity at the present stage.

It is first of all a question of saving metals, especially ferrous metals. This question is not new, and ways of saving metals are well known: introduction of scientific achievements, new equipment and technology, better planning and more skillful use of economic levers, including provision of incentives for metal saving and collection of scrap metal. The same can be said about other kinds of output, raw materials, electricity and fuel.

No small reserves exist in making better use of agricultural produce. All the more so since its preservation requires much less expenses than its production, which naturally it is important and necessary to increase. Hence the task — more speedily to develop branches that are called upon to ensure the timely harvesting, transportation, processing, storage, rational use and bringing of the products to the consumer.

Much is to be done for the more efficient utilization of production capacities and for reducing the idle time of equipment. For these purposes it is necessary to ensure a higher coefficient of shift work, the rhythmical delivery of raw materials and accessories, and the use of scientific data and the experience of advanced workers. Yet some economic executives prefer to follow a different road, demanding new investments and building new plants of the same profile.

The plenary meeting stressed that it is expedient to raise the question of new construction only when all possibilities for the realization of existing internal reserves have been exhausted.

A feature of the present stage of economic development is that a whole number of important tasks have to be tackled simultaneously. "And nevertheless," noted L. Brezhnev, "we are being increasingly faced with the necessity of concentrating resources in main areas and in good time and of correctly determining priorities, that is, the sequence in which problems should be solved in accordance with their importance for the national economy." It is necessary not only correctly to apportion funds among branches, but also to concentrate efforts and resources and the possibilities of science and engineering on the most important inter- and intra-sectoral problems, proceeding from the interests of the entire state and the entire economy.

The art of planning and, in general, of economic management lies in the ability to find out those specific links where at minimum expense it is possible to obtain the maximum and rapid effect, the ability to approach the solution of any problem from the standpoint of end results. It is the duty of leaders in every branch and every ministry, while working for the improvement of their indices, to tie them in as closely as possible with the end national economic effect, to overcome the elements of parochialism and departmentalism, and to help meet real social requirements in the most economic and effective way.

In capital construction the primary task is to end the dissipation of means and resources. It is necessary to concentrate them on the early commissioning of precisely those building projects and capacities

which will help to increase the output of products especially needed by the country.

In agricultural engineering it is important to put the emphasis on increasing the output of machines essential for the concluding stages of production — up-to-date harvesters and units for the harvesting of grain, sugar beet, potatoes, vegetables, and laying in of fodder, and also equipment for the post-harvest working of produce. This will make it possible considerably to cut down losses.

In livestock farming increasingly decisive importance attaches to the development of fodder production, establishment of irrigated meadows and pasture lands, construction of fodder storage facilities, and accelerated development of capacities in the mixed feed industry.

Among major inter-sectoral problems there is no other more important than that of fuel and energy. In the next ten years, as was noted at the plenary meeting, oil and gas, primarily from Tyumen, will continue to play a decisive role in providing the country with fuel and energy. We have successfully completed the first stage of the program for the comprehensive opening up of resources and the development of the productive forces of Western Siberia. Now the most urgent need is to carry out the next stage. It is imperative to concentrate the resources and potentialities of capital construction at this truly great project of our time, and to back up economic measures with mass political measures, with the YCL and the press paying more attention to it.

Coal has held and will continue to hold an important place in the fuel and power balance of the country, with the output target for 1978 being 746 million tons. It is thanks to the huge army of miners, and above all their advanced detachment — “millionaire teams” which produce a million and more tons of coal each year — that the country gets such a great amount of the “bread of industry.” The hydro- and nuclear power industry will be developed at an exceptionally rapid pace.

“In short,” L. Brezhnev pointed out, “if we use the language of Lenin, the identification of the links laying hold of which we can pull out the entire chain is of decisive importance for the entire work of planning and managing the economy.”

An essential condition for accelerating economic development is the highest possible degree of organization, order and discipline in all spheres and in all sectors of economic activity — labor, technological and planning discipline. The party, trade union and Komsomol organization are called upon jointly with the management to create at

each enterprise and in each collective the necessary social and political climate for this. A climate which would generate a desire to work better, more efficiently and more productively and would create an atmosphere of intolerance toward the violators of discipline. The leaders of production at all levels bear an especially high responsibility for the irreproachable fulfillment of each target, for the strict observance of planning discipline.

The plan is the main instrument of realization of the party's economic policy. To enhance the role of plans and responsibility for their fulfillment, it is necessary to achieve the strictest balancing of plans, their timely preparation and their wide discussion in the stage of elaboration. But when the plan has been approved and assumed the validity of a law, only one duty is left — its fulfillment, and with the least costs and best effect at that. In evaluating the results of work and the payment of incentives, it is necessary to take stricter account of the fulfillment of commitments as regards goods supplies in a concrete nomenclature and in accordance with economic contracts. An effort must be made everywhere to assert a genuinely party, creative style in economic work, a style incompatible with overcautiousness and red tape, unnecessary applications to higher authorities and a desire to shift responsibility onto others.

Ours is the time of ever new remarkable initiatives by the Soviet people. The initiatives of the Muscovites aimed at raising labor productivity, the technology level of production and the quality of output, and the initiative of the Leningraders for the pre-schedule fulfillment of the orders of the projects under construction, have won a wide recognition. The efforts of the people of Lvov in the introduction of a comprehensive system of quality control, of the Chelyabinsk people in metal saving and of the people of Rostov who are now working without lagging enterprises, have gained well-deserved approval. All the people know the Shchekino method, the Zlobin method in construction, and many others. It is important to spread widely the good initiatives and to consistently and comprehensively ensure them organizationally, in the planning aspect and materially-technically. It is necessary to remove the obstacles standing in the way of advanced experience quickly and resolutely.

Raising the level of organization, discipline and responsibility largely depends on the qualitative preparation of decisions and control over their fulfillment. This is above all a matter for the collegiums of ministries and departments, the executive organs of the Soviets and especially the public inspection bodies.

The broadest involvement of labor collectives in the management of production, the all-out development of socialist emulation and the raising of its publicity and efficiency are inherent in the party approach to economic management. In the final analysis the fate of our plans is determined in labor collectives and in primary party organizations, and that is where the center of gravity of party political work should be.

"It is necessary," said L. Brezhnev, "to maintain and strengthen the labor enthusiasm and the rhythm of the anniversary-honoring emulation. Today work better than yesterday, and tomorrow better than today. Such is the slogan of the hour. And working better means laying the emphasis on quality, on efficiency, on the growth of labor productivity. Herein lies the core of socialist pledges, as of our entire economic activity in general."

The plenary meeting pointed out that the principal task of all party, government, economic, trade union and Komsomol organizations is to ensure the fulfillment and overfulfillment of the 1978 plan targets by every labor collective, every district, city, region, territory and republic. Taking guidance from the premises and conclusions made by Leonid Brezhnev, General Secretary of the CC CPSU and President of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, in his speech at the plenary meeting, it is necessary to focus attention on the practical solution of the problems linked with raising the efficiency of production and the quality of work, with making rational use of the available economic potential, concentrating investments at major projects about to be commissioned, with the timely putting to use of fixed assets, with the all-round acceleration of scientific and technological progress, with the intensification of production, with raising labor productivity, and with stepping up the economy regime to ensure further growth in the living standards of the Soviet people.

The Party Central Committee expressed its firm belief that workers, collective farmers and specialists engaged in all the sectors of the country's economy would make 1978 a year of dedicated labor and ensure fresh successes in the accomplishment of historic tasks set out by the party's 25th Congress.

The national economic and social development plan and the USSR state budget for 1978 were approved by consensus at the USSR Supreme Soviet's session and thus became a law.

The plan for 1978 is an important link in the fulfillment of the decisions of the party's 25th Congress and the targets of the tenth five-year plan. It provides for further economic growth, for higher

economic efficiency, for the development of industry and agriculture and for strengthening the country's defenses. It contains a vast social program envisaging a growth in the living standards and progress in science, culture, education, services and social maintenance. The plan is another manifestation of the party's concern for the working people and for meeting their growing material needs and cultural requirements.

We have everything for fulfillment and overfulfilling the plan: a powerful industry, modern agriculture, splendid people for whom the prosperity of their homeland is the supreme goal, and rich natural resources. But to accomplish this, it is necessary to work well, with dedication, to further unfold socialist emulation, to preserve and augment public property, and to raise organization and discipline.

The principal task now is to explain the decisions of the party Central Committee's plenary meeting and the USSR Supreme Soviet's session to every communist, every Soviet man and woman, and every collective; to specify what they should do and at what time to ensure the fulfillment of those decisions; to organize work efficiently; to provide conditions everywhere for successful work, for the fulfillment and overfulfillment of plans and production pledges.

To this end it is necessary to use all forms of organization and all means of ideological and political work. The mass media have a great role to play here. Their task is to popularize profoundly, comprehensively, vividly and clearly the greatness of the people's labor effort, to actively support creative initiative and advanced experience, to sharply criticize shortcomings and help eradicate them, and to work for their efforts to bear fruit.

The Soviet people warmly approve the decisions of the December plenary meeting of the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Supreme Soviet's session, the country's Leninist domestic and foreign policies, and the activities of the party Central Committee, its Political Bureau and the Central Committee's General Secretary, Leonid Brezhnev. The patriotic will of millions of people is to do everything possible to translate the party's plans into life so that our great socialist motherland should continue to flourish and gain strength.

Pravda, December 18, 1977



PLENUM OF THE SUDANESE COMMUNIST PARTY CENTRAL COMMITTEE

The SCP Central Committee met in a plenary session on July 1, 1977, to discuss the CC document on "Questions of the party's international relations and its corresponding tasks." Plenum approved the Central Committee theses and adopted a decision on "The Situation in the Red Sea Region."

The whole wide range of problems examined by the plenum is of vital importance in party work. Analyzing recent developments in the international situation the CC of the Sudanese Communist Party noted with satisfaction the objective changes taking place in the present-day world socialist-capitalist confrontation. The plenum observed the positive changes in favor of the international revolutionary process which is making headway and in a number of countries of the world is becoming quite notable. A definite part in this process is played by the socialist community and its vanguard the Soviet Union, who together constitute the bulwark of all progressive forces throughout the world in their struggle for socialism, progress, democracy and peace.

Outstanding indicators of the revolutionary upsurge as cited in the document are: the historic victory achieved by the Vietnamese people, and the emergence of the unified Socialist Republic of Vietnam, the downfall of the despotic and fascist regimes in Portugal, Greece, Ethiopia, and the disintegration of fascism in Spain. Of no less historic importance was the convening of the Helsinki Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, the collapse of the Portuguese colonial system in Africa and the emergence of Angola, Mozambique, etc. Furthermore, the working-class movement in the capitalist countries is gaining sway as is witnessed in the dramatic expansion of its socio-economic and political role in those countries. On the other hand the Soviet Union and the countries of the socialist community had irrefutably built increasingly powerful and unique type of societies, which are of an immense significance to the advance of the international revolutionary process.

Prepared for the *Information Bulletin* by Ahmed Salim, member of the SCP Economic Commission.

On the background of the present international balance of forces the plenum gave a deep analysis to the problems facing the national-liberation movement, tackling broadly its basic content, and its general tasks in the present historical stage of its development as opposed to neo-colonialism and the internal reactionary forces allying with it.

The document pointed out that the national-liberation struggle has become more sharp at the present stage of development, and had also acquired higher levels, since in many countries, the national-liberation struggle had already merged with the struggle for deep and radical social changes. As a historical phenomena this struggle has been influenced to a great extent by the immense social potential of the alliance between world socialism and the national-liberation movement. This influence was reflected in particular in the content of the struggle of choosing between the two opposed ways of social development.

Another feature of no less importance in the recent years is the growing role of the countries of the national liberation in the international arena. This is testified by their massive political activities in the positive non-alignment movement, their intensified struggles in the UN and its related organs to achieve equal and just economic relations vis-à-vis capitalist countries. Such activities, as the plenum points out, "constitute new tributaries that are flowing into the main stream of struggle of the newly-born states against neo-colonialism and its multinational monopolies." This situation of confrontation within the sphere of international economic relations will eventually equip the newly independent states with rich experience to fight back neo-colonialism whose main strategy is summarized in the document as follows:

"The basic and main line of neo-colonialism is to draw the developing countries to positions of utmost economic dependence, within the framework of capitalist development, and to gear their economies to the world's capitalist market. The instruments forged by neo-colonialism to maintain such objectives are quite diversified, but they are nevertheless focused on the retarding of the economic potential of the developing countries by blocking their way to the formation of substantial capital needed for a sound economic development; the storming and the virtual dismantling of the public sector and its other institutions, obstruction of the industrialization process on the one hand and the encouragement of mono-cash-crop based types of economies, and the exporting of dirty industries to the developing countries which meet with strong resistance from the working class

in the capitalist countries for environmental reasons, and/or other assembly and packing industries, which are less profitable in the present conditions of the scientific and technical revolution and which in all cases constitute isolated islands incompatible with the patterns of the national economies of those developing countries."

Analyzing the present situation in the Arab world the plenum touched upon the content of the Middle East conflict, and outlined the conditions it conceives as more conducive to a successful struggle based on a broad democratic alliance against the imperialist-Israeli aggressive alliance. In this context the plenum described the setbacks deriving from the practices of some Arab reactionary ruling circles who are now more inclined to implement a policy that is diametrically opposed to the objectives of the national democratic revolution and the aspirations of the Arab peoples. In this framework the plenum depicted the role of the watchdog played now by the Riyadh-Cairo-Khartoum axis in the region. Moreover the plenum pointed to the new phenomenon which needs more elucidation and a closer examination. This is the excessively reactionary role of the huge reserves of the petrodollars in the hands of Saudi Arabia and other Persian Gulf states. These fabulous financial reserves accruing from royalties and returns from crude oil constitute a new form of the neo-colonialist penetration, and a direct instrument of its expansion in the Arab region. The document outlined the extremely negative aspects of the influence of this newly emerging element on the struggle of the Arab national-liberation movement which up to now did not accumulate enough experience in the struggle against this new and obscure form of neo-colonialism. The difficulties in combating this negative phenomenon lie in its subtlety and the deceptive slogan behind which this neo-colonialist form is acting now. There is concrete evidence of illusions arising in some Arab regimes, who are now inclined to receive the Saudi Arabia's "aid" under such slogans as "national reconciliation" or "Arab economic integration," etc. Difficulties, on the other hand, arise from the objective fact that within the process of class stratification now taking place in the Arab region there are some social forces who up to recently constituted a part of the anti-imperialist camp but have now changed their positions and began to articulate a social program coinciding with the interests of capitalism in the Arab region. It is in this light that the document sees the full swing to the right of Sadat's regime in Egypt.

The CC of the Sudanese Communist Party put emphasis on the increasingly pressing necessity of the unification of the struggle of the

working class as well as its advanced forces, together with the other revolutionary and democratic forces for the enhancing of a new line-up of class forces on the base of a clearly formulated action program, as the only way feasible to carry out the anti-imperialist struggle successfully. The document of the SCP here stressed the concrete role of the communist parties of the Arab world and quoted the final document adopted by the Conference of Arab Communist and Workers' parties held in April 1975: "the incessant advancement of the role of the communist parties in the Arab national-liberation movement so as to cope with their growing responsibilities has become a vital necessity. Its imperativeness derives from the fact that the anti-imperialist struggle, and the struggle for social change is becoming sharply aggravated between the national and progressive forces and the forces of neo-colonialism, Zionism, and local reaction."

Summarizing the African situation and the process taking place in the continent at the present stage of the African democratic revolution, the plenum set itself to clarify the general strategy of neo-colonialism in Africa, the new forms it uses as a conduit or intermediary to realize its imperialist penetration, and the general direction of its assault on the African national-liberation struggle. The document of the CC here made a concise survey of the swift revolutionary changes in the African panorama as embodied in the emergence of new revolutionary regimes and the struggle that is gaining momentum for sweeping away the remnants of the colonialist white minority racist regimes in Zimbabwe and Namibia. U.S. imperialism, faced by this revolutionary upsurge, is trying to slow down its pace peddling ill-defined conciliatory formulas between the Black majority and the racist regimes in Africa. The heavy interdependence and coordination of the U.S. with the racist regime of South Africa has become more and more pronounced. The Republic of South Africa stands out as a prominent element in the military strategy of the U.S. both in the Indian and Atlantic oceans. The role of the South African regime as the main shock force in Africa is coming to the forefront as is now proved by its continuing open aggression against Angola.

As to its role in the U.S. military planning the regime of South Africa is described in the document as follows:

"The racist regime of South Africa is acquiring an increasingly militaristic importance to the U.S. whose military expansion in Western Europe has reached a point of saturation. In Asia this expansion is

not breaking new grounds because of opposition to it in Japan, Australia and New Zealand, and the thinning out of its heavy presence in Thailand and the Philippines.”

The plenum further put a big stress on the importance of the unity of the international communist movement in confrontation with its class enemy who is continuously trying to undermine its unity and retard its triumphant march.



as of February 1st., 1978
our new address will be
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STATEMENTS AND SPEECHES

FOR IMPLEMENTATION OF THE 15th CPCz CONGRESS PROGRAM IN THE SPIRIT OF THE REVOLUTIONARY LEGACY OF THE VICTORIOUS FEBRUARY

*Decision of the CC Presidium, CP Czechoslovakia, on the
30th Anniversary of the Working People's Victory
in February 1948*

On February 25, 1978, 30 years will have elapsed since the Czechoslovak working people's victory over reaction.

The Victorious February 1948 is a key milestone in the history of the struggles of the Czechoslovak workers and working people in general, under the leadership of the Communist Party, for liberation from capitalist domination. They successfully concluded the years of struggle to overthrow the exploitative bourgeois system, opening the road to socialist construction in our country. In conditions of the growing onslaught of world reaction and the unleashing of the cold war against the emerging world of socialism, the Czechoslovak working people's victory over reaction in February 1948 was an important contribution to the world revolutionary process begun 60 years ago by the Great October Socialist Revolution.

February 1948 was a continuation of the class and national-liberation struggles in our country. The anti-fascist struggle of the Czechoslovak people, with the communists composing the most decisive political force, resulted in a national democratic revolution. The Slovak National Uprising, the May Uprising of the Czech people and the liberation of Czechoslovakia by the Soviet Army were the key events in this revolutionary process. The hegemony of the working class in the national democratic revolution made it possible to restore the Czechoslovak Republic on a new foundation, as a people's democracy. The Kosice Government Program, drafted and implemented

by the Communist Party, exemplified the creative implementation of Lenin's ideas on the objectives of the proletariat in a democratic revolution. It expressed the conviction of the broad masses that the new government should carry out political and social measures that would gradually lead to a society of social justice, i.e. to socialism.

The Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, which had won great prestige in the class battles against capital and in the national-liberation struggle against fascism, sought to consistently implement a program of national democratic revolution, its development, deepening and gradual growing over to a socialist revolution. Proceeding from Marxist-Leninist theory, from an analysis of the concrete correlation of internal and international forces, and relying on democratic traditions, on the political maturity of the workers and the working people as a whole, the CPCz embarked on a peaceful development of the revolution. It harbored no illusions and anticipated the resistance of reaction, its plots, and prepared for the eventuality of sharp class clashes.

After the war, conditions appeared for the peaceful development of the revolution. These included, first of all, the favorable international climate resulting from the defeat of fascism, and the tilting of forces in favor of socialism. Another factor was the hegemony of the working class, which honorably passed the test of struggle against fascism, displaying heroism, selflessness and patriotism. This was reflected in the position of the CPCz, which became the ruling party. Realization of the national democratic revolution destroyed the old state apparatus, and the people's organs, the National Front government and the national committees took over power. The Republic was built as a common state of the Czechs and Slovaks on the principle of complete equality. . . . An important step also was the nationalization of key branches of the economy in October 1945, which quashed the positions of the big bourgeoisie and foreign capital and strengthened the republic's economic independence. . . . Thus, developments inevitably led to gradual socialist changes.

The results of 1946 Constituent Assembly elections reflected the people's enormous confidence in the Communist Party, which fought tirelessly for their vital interests. The CPCz emerged as the strongest political party in the country, and Klement Gottwald became Prime Minister.

However, the bourgeois elements who gradually secured a dominant position in the leadership of the National Socialist Party and the Populist Party in the Czech lands, leadership of the Democratic Party

in Slovakia, hampered the revolutionary process. They sought to halt it and gradually to restore the conditions of pre-Munich Czechoslovakia. The reactionaries, forced to relinquish their positions, intensified their resistance. They concentrated on undermining the economy, with the aim of preparing the ground for a political shift in its favor, and for a coup.

The CPCz maintained its initiative in developing the revolution and determined its pace. It concentrated on securing a majority in the coming elections, waging a struggle for popular majority. In these circumstances it was imperative to win over the countryside and to strengthen further the alliance with the working farmers. The CPCz introduced a number of measures in the spirit of the principle "the land belongs to those who till it." The Communist Party's efforts aimed at implementing the constructive program of the Gottwald government, exposure of the bourgeoisie's subversive policy, the communists' selfless, patriotic approach to surmounting the economic difficulties, consistent democratism in solving the growing problems within the framework of the National Front, the ever closer ties with the broad masses — all this augured an absolute majority for the CPCz in the 1948 elections.

Through 1947 the class political struggle over the further road of the revolution entered a new phase. A new factor was the aggravation of the international situation. . . . International developments encouraged the Czechoslovak reactionaries in their attempt to halt the revolutionary process. They sought to disrupt the National Front and set up an anti-communist bloc, concluded anti-communist agreements, exploited the consequences of the disastrous drought and prepared for a counter-revolutionary putsch. The first open clash occurred in Slovakia. In the autumn of 1947 when it was proved that certain officials of the Democratic Party had contacted foreign reactionaries for their subversive aims, an open political crisis broke out, marking the beginning of a profound countrywide crisis. The vigorous actions of the Communist Party, the Slovak workers and farmers resulted in the isolation of the reactionary forces by democratic means, thereby weakening the political position of the bourgeoisie throughout the country.

This led to the further mobilization of the Communist Party and enhanced its vigilance. It insisted that representatives of other political parties should consistently fulfill the obligations they had assumed in the National Front. The reactionary elements, however, frightened by the demands of the popular masses to strengthen the revolutionary

gains and to further the revolution, ventured on a hazardous step: they sought to provoke a government crisis, set up a bureaucratic government, oust the communists from power even before the elections and gradually change political conditions in the country. In February 1948 the political representatives of bourgeois reaction attempted to carry out an openly counter-revolutionary coup as part of imperialism's plans to restore capitalism in Czechoslovakia, fortify world reaction and the anti-communist, anti-Soviet front.

The political and government crisis instigated by the reactionary forces was surmounted in a democratic, constitutional, parliamentary way thanks to resolute mass actions led by the CPCz. The counter-revolutionary machinations of the bourgeois elements were countered by a united working class prepared for a decisive battle, its People's Militia and allies and, above all, the working farmers. The regenerated National Front formed the basis for uniting all honest and creative forces, who under the leadership of the working class joined the struggle against reaction and expressed their determination to proceed along the road of socialism. The consistent revolutionary stand of the CPCz made it possible to resolve the cardinal question of the revolution. *For the first time the dictatorship of the proletariat, real power of the working people, in which the working class played the decisive role, was established in an industrially developed country with bourgeois democratic traditions.*

Victorious February 1948 quashed the plans of international and internal reaction to restore capitalism in Czechoslovakia, to take it back into the imperialist fold. The fact that we could rely on the friendship and firm alliance with the Soviet Union deterred imperialist intervention, and our peoples were able to sovereignly decide on their destiny in accordance with their vital interests. Czechoslovakia conclusively took its place among the countries of the emerging socialist community. The victory of the working people in 1948 opened up unprecedented prospects for the political, economic, social, cultural and national development of Czechoslovak society and simultaneously strengthened the positions of socialism throughout the world.

Our people are building a developed socialist society under CPCz leadership on the basis of the 15th Party Congress program and proudly declare their fealty to the revolutionary behests of Victorious February.

The victory of the working people over reaction in February 1948 was possible above all owing to the fact that they were led by an

experienced Communist Party, a party steeled in class and national-liberation battles and armed with the Marxist-Leninist teaching, a party that had mastered the strategy and tactics of class battles. In the concrete conditions of Czechoslovakia it worked out a political line expressing the vital interests of the working class and broad popular masses, and thereby also the real requirements of social development. Owing to this policy, our people saw from their own experience that only the Communist Party consistently defended its vital interests. The CPCz is recognized as the leading force in the country.

The Communist Party, the vanguard of the working class and leading force in the country, had to stand up to severe trials. Socialist construction had to be carried out in conditions of fierce internal class struggle and the cold war. Despite considerable difficulties, big successes were achieved in building socialism. In surmounting the difficulties, errors occurred. There were also tragic mistakes, due to violation of the Leninist norms of party life and of running the state. The Communist Party surmounted the difficulties and gradually rectified the mistakes. The experience of socialist construction shows that socialism can be successfully built, strengthened and developed only on the basis of a conceptual, realistic policy understandable to the people, on the basis of the Marxist-Leninist teaching, respect for the general laws of socialist construction and their creative application in the concrete historical conditions. In this sense, January 1968 was an organic step toward rectifying the accumulated mistakes and shortcomings and toward solving the growing crisis in the party and society.

However, the post-January 1968 party leadership was unable to resolve the new problems. The opportunist elements, which gradually acquired a decisive influence, made possible the organized onslaught of the rightist and anti-socialist forces. Positive development was disrupted by the onslaught of the counter-revolution and socialist gains were endangered. Thanks to the internationalist aid of the Soviet Union and other socialist community countries, the Marxist-Leninist forces in the party and society were able to mobilize themselves and to rebuff the counter-revolution, overcome the party and social crisis, to consolidate and actively develop the socialist society.

All our successes since the April 1969 Central Committee plenum, since the establishment of the new party leadership headed by Comrade Gustav Husak are the result of implementation of the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. They are the

result of the consistent struggle against all manifestations of opportunism, revisionism and anti-communism, bourgeois and petty-bourgeois survivals, and due to the timely tackling of tasks in our forward movement. Precisely such a principled approach enabled our party to resolve many of the tasks which the January 1968 Central Committee plenum put on the order of the day.

Each stage of social development poses new demands to the party in strengthening and constantly renewing its ideological, organizational and action unity. That is why the 15th CPCz Congress, following up the 14th Congress in elaborating the program of the further construction of an advanced socialist society, focused attention on the party itself, as the vanguard of the working class and the working people in general, on strengthening its class character, improving its internal life in the spirit of the Leninist principles, on the quality and effectiveness of the work of each organization, and placed high demands on every communist.

Thanks to the Victorious February and to the goal-oriented efforts of the party, the process of creating the revolutionary unity of the working class in its struggle against capitalist domination has reached a new level and acquired a new quality. *The working class, the heir of all that is great and progressive in the history of our people, has once and for all assumed leadership of our nations and has become the leading force in building a new social system. . . .* A major party objective, the 15th CPCz Congress rightly emphasized, is to strengthen the position of the working class — the master and chief creator of material values, the backbone of our political system — and to enhance its activity, political consciousness and participation in political and social life.

Experience shows that the successes of the socialist revolution and socialist construction depend directly on increasing the leading role of the working class, on its stronger unity, its alliance with the farmers, the intelligentsia, with all working people. This bloc of working people, headed by the working class, has expanded at every successive stage of socialist construction, and its unity has grown deeper in the process of successful revolutionary changes. Strengthening the alliance of workers, farmers and the intelligentsia is at the heart of the party's strategy and tactics.

The fraternal relations and cooperation of the nations and nationalities of Czechoslovakia on the principles of the Leninist nationalities policy, and the federative structure of our state are undoubtedly among the most important historical successes of the

Communist Party. The joint action of the working people of our nations and nationalities in February 1948, which rested on the firm foundation of the internationalist working class unity, was yet another decisive factor of the glorious victory. It proved already at that time the strength of the party's Leninist nationalities policy. It passed the test as an instrument in the struggle against bourgeois nationalism and chauvinism and as the principal pillar in building and strengthening the common socialist state.

Socialism created conditions for the gradual solution of the complex nationalities question. The 15th Party Congress could state responsibly and with pride that the big differences in the economic, political and cultural life of our nations and individual areas had been eradicated. Our nations and nationalities live in harmony in their common homeland. Relations between them are based on the Leninist principles of equality and equal rights, and on the principles of proletarian internationalism.

In the struggles to wrest political power from bourgeois reaction and during the entire period of socialist construction the National Front proved its viability as the political expression of the alliances of the working class, cooperative farmers and the intelligentsia, of the internationalist community of our nations and nationalities. The National Front is a tested form of our political system. Its policy today is aimed at implementing the program of building an advanced socialist society.

The people's victory in February 1948 clearly showed that the CPCz has never lost sight of the fundamental question of socialist revolution — the question of political power, of the transformation of the working class into the ruling class. The party has always proceeded from the principle that the earnest of socialist construction is to build a state serving the workers and the working people in general, to set up a political system that will ensure development of genuine socialist democracy. Only by overthrowing the power of the bourgeoisie, on the basis of the dictatorship of the proletariat, were we able to build such a democracy.

Socialist democracy in Czechoslovakia is democracy of the people and for the people. The new quality of this democracy and its superiority over bourgeois democracy lies in the broad class-based social structure of the socialist state, in the real content of socialist democracy and its application in everyday life. Active participation of broad masses of working people in shaping and implementing policy is an incontestable advantage of socialist democracy.

Aware of its responsibility for the development of the revolutionary legacy of February 1948, the party must always bear in mind the class-political conditions of the present-day world and persistently strive to strengthen and improve the socialist state, a cardinal instrument in building and managing the socialist economy, the system of education and instruction, in expanding science, culture and other social processes, and simultaneously an instrument of power designed to protect the people's gains.

Experience has shown that only by waging a sharp political struggle against the bourgeoisie and all its advocates can the working class overthrow the power of the bourgeoisie, uproot the pillars of the old society one after the other, and build a new, socialist society. The defeat and elimination of the exploitative society is caused also by defeating its ideology and the strengthening of the new spiritual values, the Marxist-Leninist world outlook.

The experience gained in the past 30 years shows the immense importance of the struggle to work a change in social awareness and of mastering scientific socialism. Ideological struggle is a complex process.

... In the struggle for a socialist society nothing is more dangerous than underestimation of the ideological struggle and party educational work. This is one of the most important lessons of the critical analysis of the development of the party and society after the 13th CPCz Congress. The magnitude of the tasks in building socialism at the present stage, and the systematic attacks of the class enemies place particularly high demands on the quality and efficiency of ideological work, on enhancing the working people's socialist awareness. That is why the 15th Congress enjoins all communists to master Marxism-Leninism, to develop ideological work, to give constant attention to mass political work and to wage a resolute struggle against all forms of opportunism, especially right-wing revisionism, against all forms of anti-communism and bourgeois ideology. High vigilance must be maintained against all those who try to disrupt the constructive efforts of the people, put obstacles in our way, poison the atmosphere and seek to disrupt and to incite.

February 1948, like the further development of our society, has confirmed the need to combine national and internationalist interests.

Our people will never forget the tragic experience with the policy of the Western imperialist powers and the Czechoslovak ruling bourgeoisie, which placed the Republic and the people at the mercy of fascism, endangering the very existence of our nations. Czecho-

slovakia's liberation and its restoration on a new, people's democratic foundation were achieved thanks to the Soviet Union's decisive share in the victory over fascism, to the selfless assistance the Soviet Union rendered our people in the struggle for freedom, thanks to the victory of the Soviet Army, whose 60th anniversary we shall also mark in February. The existence and international prestige of the Soviet Union created favorable external conditions for the national democratic revolution to grow into a socialist revolution. Czechoslovakia's alliance with the Soviet Union enabled our people to resolve in February 1948 the question of the country's future development according to their ideas and wishes. On the basis of friendship and cooperation with the might Soviet country, large-scale socialist reconstruction of our society was carried out. *Mutual assistance, cooperation and alliance with the Soviet Union and other socialist community countries ensure our state and national sovereignty, guarantee our future freedom, reliably protect our nations against imperialist blackmail and threats and create conditions for a successful political, economic and cultural development.*

The defense and strengthening of peace is an urgent objective at present. That is why the task of strengthening the tendency toward international détente and averting the danger of nuclear war is increasingly topical.

The Czechoslovak Socialist Republic is actively developing international relations and contributes to the positive changes on the European continent and throughout the world. The Final Act of the Helsinki Conference has become also for us an important pillar in the present structure of international relations, a program of broad cooperation in the political, economic and humanitarian spheres.

... All our efforts to build an advanced socialist society are coupled with the struggle to strengthen united action of the international communist and working-class movement in the spirit of the joint conclusions and principles adopted at conferences of the communist and workers' parties. We proceed in this spirit also in implementing the conclusions of the Berlin Conference of European Communist and Workers' Parties, in the struggle for peace, security, cooperation and social progress in Europe. *Loyal to the bequest of the revolutionary struggles of our people, loyal to the bequest of the Victorious February, we shall constantly strengthen friendship, alliance and all-round cooperation with the Soviet Union, with the world socialist community, the unity of the international communist and working-*

class movement, we shall support the struggle for peace and social progress throughout the world.

In the course of the three decades which have elapsed since February 1948, far-reaching revolutionary changes have been wrought in the political, economic and cultural life of the people, changes which are unprecedented in our history. Despite the difficulties, errors and mistakes which accompanied the construction of socialism, the results attained in the past decades show, compared to bourgeois Czechoslovakia or the situation in the contemporary capitalist world, the immense ideological, political, moral and material superiority and strength of socialism.

In implementing the line of the 15th CPCz Congress, we proceed from the results attained after April 1969, especially in the period between the 14th and the 15th congresses, which is indubitably one of the most successful periods in the whole past history of our socialist construction. By building an advanced socialist society, we continue the work for which the basis was laid by the February 1948 victory of the working people, seeing it as an inseparable part of the global historical offensive of socialism. By further strengthening in every respect socialism in Czechoslovakia we shall strengthen the world socialist community, the forces of democracy, progress and peace.

Our people firmly support the policy of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia and demonstrate this every day by their labor endeavor and their political attitudes. Owing to this, despite the complex and challenging international and internal economic conditions, the fundamental targets and aims of the party's economic policy are being gradually fulfilled. Successful realization of the sixth five-year plan objectives confirm the correctness and realistic character of the party's policy.

Like the 60th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution, the 30th anniversary of the Victorious February, too, provides a good opportunity for promoting labor efforts, political, social and cultural work at all workplaces and in all spheres of our life, for mobilizing all forces for fulfillment of the tasks ensuing from the decisions of the 15th CPCz Congress, of all the challenging tasks of the second and third years of the sixth five-year period.

Our accomplishments since February 1948, under the leadership of the CPCz, commit us to develop further, deepen and strengthen them in all respects.

In line with this, the celebrations of the 30th anniversary of the victory of Czechoslovakia's working people over reaction in February 1948 will be held under the motto:

For implementation of the 15th CPCz Congress program in the spirit of the revolutionary legacy of the Victorious February.

The CPCz Central Committee is convinced that the whole party, all organizations of the National Front, workers, farmers, the intelligentsia, all working people will approach the important jubilee — the 30th anniversary of the February Victory — with creative and dedicated work, with new successes in the construction of an advanced socialist society.

Abridged from *Rude Pravo*, November 23, 1977

INTERVIEW WITH ALVARO CUNHAL

In an interview given to a *Unita* correspondent General Secretary of the Portuguese Communist Party Alvaro Cunhal comments on the government crisis in his country.

Q. The first question is about the dialogue with the Socialist Party. During the talks before the election the PCP noted a certain "rapprochement" and made a positive assessment of some of the most important statements. How do you explain the fact that the Socialist Party has made no progress in this direction?

A. The Socialist Party has refused to come to agreement with us for many reasons, the main one being that our positions really differ.

In alliance with the reactionary parties the SP government has for 16 months been engaged in a fierce offensive on the revolutionary gains of our people, trying gradually to bring back the power of big business and the landlords. It shifted the burden of crisis onto the working people. With the support of the armed forces, and due to their ruthless interference, it took land, livestock and machines from the collective farms and cooperatives and returned them to big landowners.

The factories, which had been saved from bankruptcy by the efforts of the workers and due to their inspection and control of production, were returned to the sabotaging entrepreneurs. The

government achieved the adoption of laws that put nationalization in question. It has paid big capitalists billions as compensation. It negotiated with the imperialists the granting of loans which are strangling the Portuguese economy and hamstringing our national independence. Preoccupied mainly with restoring capitalism, and taking into account the new aspects of the country's economic patterns and their dynamics, it has aggravated the economic and financial crisis and pushed the country to the brink of catastrophe.

By contrast, the Portuguese Communist Party regards the protection of the agrarian reform, nationalization, workers' control and other revolutionary gains of the Portuguese people as measures indispensable for the protection of the democratic system and national independence.

We demand that the onslaught on revolutionary gains be stopped, that the status quo be guaranteed at various economic enterprises (private, nationalized, cooperative-owned, self-managed and collective) and, on this basis, powerful national efforts made, through mobilization of our domestic resources, to advance production by restricting the consumption of less needed goods and cutting down some imports with the primary object of drastically reducing the balance of payments deficit.

We approached the government and the Socialist Party with a proposal to elaborate a common platform. They rejected our proposal because they do not yet realize that the policy of restoring capitalism presents a threat to democracy, the country and the Socialist Party itself. Or, perhaps, because they indulged in illusions, hoping that the Communist Party would give them a free hand.

Q. What way and what government formula do you suggest to bring the country out of the crisis?

A. Most important for our party is not a government formula but a platform or a political program. If a common platform is elaborated, the solution of all questions concerning the composition of the government will be greatly simplified. In that case we would be prepared to consider various government formulas, with or without communists in the government.

Q. During the debate in the Assembly, Soares, on the one hand, and the right-wing leaders, on the other, spoke about a possibility of a "Portuguese Pinochet" appearing in the country. What is behind these hints by Soares and others? Does a reactionary threat of this kind exist?

A. The reaction is strong and very active. Now it is engaged in

conspiracy. It combines the activities of terrorist groups with legal activities under the guise of parties and democratic organizations. Among its allies are the left-wing extremists staging provocations. But the biggest danger comes from the alliance of the Socialist Party with the right-wing forces, because this opens the road to counter-revolutionary actions. If the working people maintain unity and the democrats join forces, this will provide conditions for guarding the democratic regime against attempts of staging a reactionary or fascist coup.

Q. What are PCP's relations with other democratic forces?

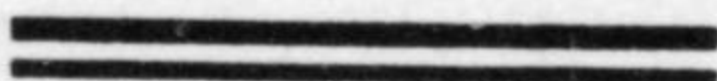
A. There are numerous forms of organization and joint action. Relations between communists and democrats of other trends, above all between communists and socialists, are expanding everywhere. We seek to have more contacts and talks with the Socialist Party because agreement between the Communist and Socialist Parties is a central condition for finding a democratic way out of the crisis, considering the present composition of the Assembly. If no such agreement is reached, we shall demand that general elections be held ahead of time at the earliest date.

The last question is about the PCP's position in the country and the growth of its membership as reported in the press.

"Due to its ideology and policy," replied Alvaro Cunhal, "and also due to its organization and the forces supporting it, the PCP has become the only big party of the working class, the most consistent defender of the revolutionary gains of our people. Significantly 20,000 new members joined the party over the past three months. This growth is important in itself as it increases the numerical strength of our party which at the time of its Eighth Congress (November 1976) had a membership of 115,000.

"But it also has a much broader significance. The growth of our membership is a sign of increased political awareness and the mounting struggle of the working people and the democratic forces moving closer to our party. The new party members are an advance unit who were the first to join our ranks so to speak, on the crest of the wave of struggle. In the complex and dangerous situation today this means that ever broader sections of the population believe in the Communist Party as a party of hope and future."

L'Unita, December 12, 1977



LEONID BREZHNEV ANSWERS QUESTIONS FROM A PRAVDA CORRESPONDENT

Question. As 1977 comes to an end, what do you think are the most characteristic features of our country's international position and of its efforts for peace and détente?

Answer. Quite recently, at the jubilee celebrations, I spoke in fairly great detail about different aspects of the Soviet Union's international position. So I will single out only a few points.

First of all, the celebration of the 60th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution and the adoption of the new Constitution of the USSR vividly showed the Soviet Union's great prestige internationally, and its growing influence on world developments. The world has seen once again that in the international arena the state born of the October Revolution is consistently, in a principled way and very successfully, conducting a policy of peace and friendship among nations, an honest and fair policy. Briefly, a policy that the country of socialism, the homeland of Lenin, should conduct.

The new foreign policy initiatives which we put forward during the jubilee events evoked a broad and, on the whole, positive response. Some of them are already being tackled practically, are being discussed at different forums, including the United Nations Organization and the Belgrade meeting.

The Soviet Union will continue its efforts to try and completely eliminate the threat of nuclear war, consolidate the favorable changes that have occurred in international relations, deepen détente, and expand peaceful cooperation among countries.

In this connection I would like to express the hope that my coming visit to the Federal Republic of Germany and talks with Chancellor Schmidt will not only serve the further development of Soviet-West German cooperation in several spheres, but also the broader interests of détente and peace in Europe.

Just a few days ago the UN General Assembly adopted a very important and extremely timely document — a declaration expressly dedicated to the need to deepen and strengthen international détente. All the UN member-states, except China and Albania, voted for it. It is not a bad mirror of world opinion and correctly reflects the desire of the people for détente and peace. And the Soviet Union has made

many other concrete and, I might stress, realistic proposals, especially concerning disarmament. This all convincingly shows the dynamism and effectiveness of the foreign policy of the Communist Party and the Soviet state.

Question. On disarmament issues, how do you think things are working out?

Answer. An important area of foreign policy like disarmament is always within the field of vision of the Central Committee and its Politbureau. For obvious reasons, the Soviet-American strategic offensive arms limitation talks are prominent here. And we do not lack the readiness to conclude these talks successfully. In our thinking, there are possibilities for this, and I might even say, the possibilities are not bad at all. Judging by certain statements, the American side has also expressed definite optimism. One would like this to be backed up by practical deeds. I think that a new agreement would be a big and good thing for both the USSR and the USA and for universal peace.

Our disarmament negotiations now cover a wide area of issues, from ending all nuclear tests and banning chemical means of warfare to consolidating military détente in Europe and scaling down military activities in the Indian Ocean zone. A great part of the initiative, if not the overwhelming part, in posing these questions comes from the Soviet Union. The main thing that has to be done now is to move from disarmament talks to real steps signalling the beginning of disarmament. This, and this alone, will really meet the desires of the peoples, who want a lasting peace, who strongly condemn actions aimed at increasing the threat of a new world war, who condemn the arms race.

And actions of this kind do take place. How else can one assess, for instance, the intensive whipping up of the arms race in the NATO military bloc? This is a most dangerous tendency for mankind, and is becoming even more dangerous because more and more barbarous means of warfare keep appearing.

Take the neutron bomb. This inhuman weapon, all the more dangerous because it is being passed off as "tactical" and almost "innocent," is now being insistently imposed on the world. In this way an attempt is made to erase the demarcation line between conventional and nuclear weapons, to make the shift to nuclear war outwardly imperceptible. This is a downright lie, a deception.

The neutron bomb is being insistently recommended for deployment in Western Europe. Well, those who live far from Europe might

treat it lightly. But Europeans who, figuratively speaking, live under a common roof, probably have a different opinion. It is unlikely that they want this common roof, sagging under the enormous weight of armaments even as is, to take an extra dangerous load.

The Soviet Union is firmly opposed to the development of the neutron bomb. We understand and fully support the voice of millions of people in all corners of the world who are protesting against it. But if this bomb is developed in the West — developed for use against us, which nobody even tries to conceal — it should be fully realized there that the USSR will not remain a passive observer. We will face the need to meet this challenge in order to ensure the security of the Soviet people and of their allies and friends. In the final analysis, it will all escalate the arms race to an even more dangerous level. . . .

We do not want this, so we suggest that agreement be reached to mutually renounce the production of the neutron bomb in order to spare the world from this new weapon of mass destruction. This is our sincere desire, and this is our proposal to the Western powers.

Question. What can you say about current developments in the Middle East?

Answer. The Middle East is a serious problem. There have lately been changes there but unfortunately negative ones. And they happened at a time when it seemed things were moving ahead positively, toward the holding of the Geneva Peace Conference, and a great deal had been done for this, including by the joint effort of the USSR and the USA as the Conference co-chairmen. But today the situation has become sharply aggravated. The calling of the Geneva Conference and an overall Middle East settlement have become a more difficult matter.

The latest developments in the Middle East are well known, and I would like to stress only the following here. The Soviet Union always has been and is still a consistent adherent of an all-embracing settlement in the part of the world in which all the parties concerned, including of course the Palestine Liberation Organization, should take part. It should be a settlement providing for the withdrawal of Israeli troops from all Arab territories occupied in 1967; for the exercise of the inalienable rights of the Palestinian Arab people, including their right to self-determination and to the establishment of their own state; for the right to independent existence and security for all states directly involved in the conflict, both the Arab states bordering on Israel and the State of Israel itself; for ending the state of war between the relevant Arab countries and Israel. Only by carrying out these

fundamental provisions can peace in the Middle East be really lasting instead of a precarious armistice.

We by no means think that the road of one-sided concessions to Israel and of separate negotiations with it — such as the notorious negotiations between the Egyptian and Israeli leaders — leads to this objective. On the contrary, it leads away from this objective, causing a deep rift in the Arab world. It is a policy aimed at frustrating a real settlement, and, above all, at torpedoing the Geneva Conference even before it begins.

And the tremendous amount of praise for the imaginary “advantages” of so-called direct talks, i.e., of Israel’s talks with each of the countries it attacked, is actually nothing but an attempt to deprive the Arab people of their strength which lies in their unity and in the support for their just cause by friendly states.

That is why the USSR stands for the convocation of the Geneva Conference, in conditions that would guarantee it does not become a screen concealing separate deals detrimental to the interests of the Arab people and to the cause of a just and lasting peace. This is our position. It is completely supported by the Soviet people and approved by forces of peace around the world.

Pravda, December 24, 1977

STATEMENT OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF TURKEY

At the beginning of November 1977, the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the CPT held a series of meetings with the secretaries of high-level party organizations. The following subjects were discussed at the meetings:

1. The international situation and post-election developments in Turkey;
2. Preparations for the celebration of the 60th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution;
3. Development of the Communist Party of Turkey since the Conference.

At the meetings a many-sided and wide exchange of ideas took place. In addition to developments and gains, deficiencies and dif-

ficulties were also brought forward. Criticism and self-criticism were made. The meetings laid the foundation for a new stage of development in our party. They proved invaluable in terms of gathering cadres and intensifying the work of the party.

At the meetings, international developments were discussed and evaluated. Imperialist and NATO circles are blocking the process of détente. They are supporting the extreme reactionary, fascist and neo-fascist forces which are raising their head in the capitalist countries. We see a concrete example of this in the efforts of the reactionary collaborationist bourgeoisie and government of Turkey to bring in fascism. The danger of fascism is marching against our people.

Economic, political and social crises are continuing unabated in our country. In order to continue its rule, the monopoly bourgeoisie, the partner of imperialism, is resorting to fascist methods. In close connection with this, the conflict, the class struggle between the working class and the reactionary forces is intensifying and sharpening. In this situation, the bourgeoisie is directing the sharp edge of its attack against the CPT, the unity of the working class and the class trade unions. It is hampering the efforts of the broad masses of the people, the national and democratic forces, to establish a unity in struggle. The Maoists and all kinds of opportunists are lending support to this attack of the bourgeoisie by inciting hostility against the CPT.

The bourgeoisie is intensifying chauvinism and increasing its constant, barbaric oppression of the Kurdish people. At the same time, it is trying to prevent the establishment of solidarity between the Turkish and Kurdish peoples, trying to turn the peoples which live in Turkey against each other. In this situation, certain secessionist elements, by attacking the CPT which is organizing the common struggle of the working class, of the Kurdish and Turkish peoples, are serving this policy of the bourgeoisie.

In determining its policy, the Central Committee of the CPT takes all these contradictions and developments into account and puts forward a concrete path of struggle.

At the meetings, the development of the CPT since the Conference was discussed and evaluated. The Central Committee and the Political Bureau of the CPT have conducted their work in accordance with the decisions of the Conference. Developments have proved the correctness of the Conference decisions.

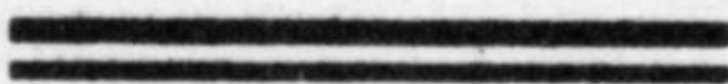
Important advances are being made for our party to become a mass party, to increase its influence and gain further respect. Our party is

growing in numbers and developing in organization. The party cadres are young and dynamic, 60 per cent are workers. The slogan, "The factories are our fortresses" is being put into practice. Our party's ties with mass organizations, trade unions, and youth and women's movements are becoming stronger. The key question, which remains on the agenda, is to further strengthen these ties, to go deeper into the masses, working first of all in the factories and organizing the rank and file.

It is imperative to educate the members and candidate members of the party in the ideals and principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, to develop cadres and to consolidate our party's Leninist political, ideological, and organizational unity. In this period, when the danger of fascism is increasing, we must apply more thoroughly the principles of conspiracy and illegality and we must protect our cadres. Advances are being made in organizing planned and systematic party work, in eliminating amateurism, and in developing division of labor and collective leadership. It is imperative to accelerate this process.

Our party's oral and written publications are effective. Still, we must develop and coordinate these publications in accordance with the present stage of development of the party. First of all we must achieve a mass circulation of *Atilim*, the organ of the Central Committee.

Political Bureau of the Central Committee,
Communist Party of Turkey
November 9, 1977 *Abridged*



FROM THE PRESS

AN ATTEMPT TO DIVIDE THE LEFT

The recent congress of the Communist Party and the adoption of the new draft of its program has aroused interest far beyond its own ranks.

The extent of the press comment, whether favorable or hostile, is testimony to the significance of that congress and the relevance of the new version of "The British Road to Socialism."

David Owen's speech in Cambridge a few days ago, warning Labour Party members to have nothing to do with British communists reflects this.

There is little doubt that he senses that the new edition of the program will have considerable attraction for Labour Party members, since it embodies so many of their cherished hopes.

In fact, a number of its ideas have been campaigned for over many years by Labour Party members and endorsed by Labour Party conferences on a number of occasions. But the right-wing Labour leaders have refused to carry them out.

Dr. Owen fears that the Communist Party is "far more dangerous than before" because of its further development of a road to socialism ... based on British traditions and circumstances, and on the maintenance and extension of our existing democratic liberties.

He questions the sincerity of the British Communist Party's commitment to democracy, but can find nothing in the Communist Party's program to back up his view.

The Communist Party's aim is nothing less than the greatest possible extension of democracy throughout all aspects of British society.

The Communist Party fights for the continuous, massive and ever-increasing participation of people in actually managing society.

Under the present right-wing dominated Labour government, of which David Owen is a leading minister, many democratic rights are being eroded. It is the Communist Party which strives to defend and uphold that traditional right. It is the right-wing leaders who are trying to destroy it.

Dr. Owen asks the communists to show "political humility." We

all need to be humble before the working people, in the sense that our political activity should be devoted to serving their interests, listening to their demands and learning from their experience.

We communists may not always succeed in acting thus, but this is the basis of our work.

As for the right-wing leaders, their humility is reserved for the big monopolies, to whose wishes they consistently defer.

The Communist Party is democratic in intention, since its aim is to end the dictatorial domination of our society by big business and its political organizations.

It is democratic in its method, since it strives to bring about fundamental change by the democratic assertion of the will of millions of working people who comprise the overwhelming majority of the population of Britain.

It is democratic in its deepest sense, since its ultimate purpose is to construct a society in which people have full power to exercise their democratic rights, organize their own political parties, and take all decisions concerning their own lives and the shape of society as a whole.

It is because he realizes the attractiveness of such a perspective that David Owen wants to stop Labour Party members having any form of contact with communists.

Dr. Owen has a realistic understanding that the British Communist Party, although it has not much more than 25,000 members, is an important factor in British political life.

This is in marked contrast to Eric Heffer, who, in his recent articles in *The Times* and the *Guardian*, writes of the significance of "Euro-communism" but argues that the Communist Party of Great Britain is irrelevant.

As Dr. Owen recognizes, the British Communist Party is influential. How much more so would it be if it had a larger membership and more readers were won for the *Morning Star*.

But David Owen, in trying to erect barriers between communists and others on the left is setting himself against history.

We communists, with others on the left, represent the wave of the future. That future is being created now, in countless campaigns, committees, and struggles.

We are confident that unity on the left will continue to grow because it corresponds to the deep needs of our time, to the necessity to move from capitalism to socialism.

Jack Woddis

Abridged from *Morning Star*, December 7, 1977

